

# BLACK POLITICS 1988 - APRIL

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# Degree for Mandela soon?

PRETORIA — The African National Congress' leader, Nelson Mandela, is expected to complete his LLB degree from the University of South Africa this year, a Unisa law lecturer, Professor Marinus Wiechers, said here.

Prof Wiechers praised the former Robben Island prisoner for being a conscientious student.

Mr Mandela practised as an attorney in Johannesburg before being sentenced to life imprisonment.

The LLB degree will allow him to apply to become an advocate.

The dean of the Law Faculty, Prof W. J. Hosten, said Mr Mandela's assignments would be kept by the department and not be placed in the library. This was normal practice with LLB assignments.

Prof Wiechers said Mr Mandela needed to complete a few ancillary subjects, including languages, to qualify for the degree.

Asked whether Mr Mandela would be allowed to attend his graduation ceremony, a Prisons Service spokesman in Pretoria said "Prisoners are not allowed to attend graduation ceremonies."

Unisa is a tele-tuition university but presents graduation ceremonies. It mails degrees to graduates unable to attend — Sapa

# Holiday time in Maputo. Albie Sachs, bound for the beach, opens his car ... and it explodes

By PAUL FAUVET, Maputo

APRIL 7 is a public holiday, Mozambican Women's Day.

So the mood in Maputo yesterday morning was quiet and relaxed — until 9.20, when a loud explosion shattered the calm of the residential area of Polana.

The victim of the explosion was exiled South African lawyer Albie Sachs, 53, a veteran African National Congress activist.

He had been on his way to the beach, where he frequently went at weekends and on holidays, and so was dressed in shorts and a T-shirt.

But when he turned the key in the lock on the door of his Honda car, the vehicle exploded.

The blast woke a professional Mozambican photographer, Jose Cabral, who lives nearby. His pictures show Sachs lying on the street, covered in blood, his right arm destroyed, but he is still conscious and trying to prop himself up.

In great pain, he was carried to a vehicle belonging to Mozambique tel-

**Moments after the blast, horrified bystanders carry a bloodied, but still-conscious Sachs to a waiting car.**  
Picture: JOSE CABRAL



evision and driven to hospital. The studios are near Sachs's flat, on the same road as the Polana Hotel and opposite the SA Trade Mission.

At least two other people were injured in the blast. One was a child playing nearby and the other was a Mozambican motorist who drove past at the time of the explosion and was

hit by shrapnel. The blast reduced Sachs's car to a heap of tangled metal and shattered most of the windows in the apartment block it was parked outside. Some windows in the neighbouring Portuguese embassy were also destroyed.

Sachs, a tireless and effective speaker for the ANC, has worked in

Mozambique since 1977. His fluency in Portuguese and English meant he was called upon as a translator at political meetings. Two days before the explosion, he translated at the world premiere of *Safari*, an Austrian/Mozambican film production.

Sachs, a soft-spoken and gentle man, is well-known and liked here

In Maputo, the attack is being linked to last week's SA Defence Force raid into Botswana and to the murder of the ANC representative in Paris, Dulcie September.

Mozambique's Minister of Justice Ousmane Ali Daulo has been at the hospital since Sachs was admitted. Sachs was reported last night to be in grave condition. He had lost his right arm and one eye had been badly damaged. There were also massive injuries to his lungs and liver.

## The Rambo surgeons: Focus on the hit-and-run war

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THE CONTENTS OF THIS NEWSPAPER HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

# Row brews over claims SA death squads out to kill ANC heads

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — Britain should threaten South Africa with a break in diplomatic relations over the alleged presence in London of a death squad acting on orders from South Africa, an MP urged this weekend

The Labour Party MP for Walsall North, Mr David Winnick, said he believed the "squad" was plotting the assassination of leading ANC representatives in Britain

This follows reports that a death squad was responsible for the murder in Paris last week of Miss Dulcie September

The French police believe the squad may now have moved to London

Mr Winnick said the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, should warn that this could lead to a break in diplomatic relations between the two countries

The MP has also approached the home secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, urging top level security should be afforded to ANC representatives in London

Mr Winnick added "It is known that South African murder squads operate in countries alongside their own. It seems now that they are spreading their tentacles wide"

On Friday it was revealed that reports leaked to the press by French and other Western intelligence sources pointed to South African agents having killed Miss September

According to the sources, National Intelligence Service (NIS) operatives arrived in Paris just before the murder and left immediately after, possibly for London

A report in a French daily said last week French and other western intelligence services, especially the Americans, were certain the NIS was behind the killing

These services apparently met after the assassination to discuss the possibility that the battleground between the ANC and South Africa had now been extended to Europe

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has denied that South Africa was involved and attributed the killing to a rival ANC faction. French police have said they have no clues as to the identity of the assassins

The reports said that even if the NIS — formerly the Bureau for State Security (BOSS) — did not carry out the killing, their agents certainly gave the order.

Western agents were said to have discussed similarities between the Paris killing and the attempted murder of an ANC official in Brussels in February

Mrs September was shot several times in the face and the Brussels representative Mr Godfrey Motsape, was wounded in a similar attack

Last month 17 kg of explosives were left outside the ANC bureau in the Belgian capital

The NIS was said to be a largely autonomous body within the South African administration and their recent activities in Europe could mean an extreme radicalisation of the service

The South African ambassador in Paris, Mr Hendrik Geldenhuys, released a statement after being called to the presidential palace, saying "There is no logical reason why South Africa should be implicated in an act of such absurdity"

Despite his protests against allegations of South Africa's involvement in the killing, the newspaper report said "How long can the president and the prime minister continue not to officially accuse South Africa"

# March on Cape Town: vivid memories recalled

An article in The Star of March 27 dealt with the late Brigadier I P S Terblanche of the South African Police and his courageous handling of the great march on Cape Town on March 30 1960

As a Johannesburger living in Cape Town at the time I was a first-hand witness to that remarkable event.

That morning, with a friend, I was looking over the second-hand stalls on the Parade when suddenly all the dealers began hurriedly packing up their wares.

One of the stallholders we knew pointed up towards Devil's Peak several kilometres away where round a bend in De Waal Drive had appeared a veritable river of

Write to Box 61682  
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black people marching down to the city

By the time we had got our car and dashed home to Oranjezicht to fetch my wife to see the spectacle the stream had reached Roeland Street.

I particularly remember the vast crowd being orderly and strangely quiet. We gathered in an office four floors up in a building at the intersection of Roeland and Butenkant streets from where we could look right down on the marchers who at that point had halted a mere three blocks from the Houses of Parliament

At their head was a slightly-built black man being addressed by a solitary senior police officer. Soon afterwards the huge throng dispersed without noticeable incident

My office was near Parliament and that afternoon I walked across to join bystanders at the top of Adlerley Street. The sight struck me as somewhat comic

In front of the railings of Parliament a group of black women was singing and dancing, the windows were filled with the anxious faces of innumerable MPs and officials as if under siege and, looking rather ridiculous, a great many policemen were perched precariously in the branches of the small trees surrounding the building

Throughout the day I was not aware of any serious disturbance or the need for strong police action.

However, those of us who had witnessed the dignified conduct of Philip Kgosana and the cool courage of Colonel Terblanche as they spoke man to man were shocked to learn of the black leader's shabby treatment by the then Minister of Justice

Robert H Johnston

Melville

# FBI warned us of SA 'hit squads', claims ANC

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Representatives of the African National Congress in the United States claim they have been warned by American law enforcement authorities to be alert to the possibility of South African "hit squads" operating in the US.

They claim that the Federal Bureau of Investigation contacted them last September and told them they should be careful.

The ANC's representative in Washington, Mr Dumisani Matabane, told a television interviewer that two FBI agents had told him that if he became suspicious that cars or people were following him, he should report it to the FBI.

His claim was repeated in a news agency report. ANC officials in New York have told newsmen that the slaying of Ms Dulcie September, an ANC representative, in Paris last week has given new urgency to the FBI warnings.

The SA Government has rejected charges that it had a hand in the assassination, suggesting that it was a result of internal feuding in the ANC.

## RUSE DENIED

An FBI spokesman in Washington declined to confirm or deny that the agency had been in touch with the ANC or to comment on allegations of FBI suspicions that SA hit men may be operating in the US.

The spokesman said that any suggestion that the FBI was using the alleged warnings as a "ruse" to keep in contact with the ANC would be incorrect.

In a report yesterday, United Press International quoted a Mr. Jack Terrell, described as a former, US-based mercenary who trained Nicaragua's Contra rebels in 1984 and 1985, as saying that "South African intelligence agents" had asked him to form an eight-man "hit team".

UPI reporter Jeff Stein said Mr Terrell claimed that ANC sympathisers in the US were to be assassination targets and that he had had numerous discussions with the "agents" in late 1985 or early 1986. He had decided ultimately against taking part and had disclosed the offer to FBI agents in July 1986.

# Beware of 'hitmen', ANC says FBI warned

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Representatives of the African National Congress in the United States claim they have been warned by law enforcement authorities to be alert to the possibility of South African "hit squads" operating in the US.

They claim the Federal Bureau of Investigation contacted them as long ago as September and told them they should be careful about their movements.

The ANC's representative in Washington, Mr Dumu Matabana, told a television interviewer that two FBI agents had told him that if he suspected he was being followed, he should report to the FBI.

ANC officials in New York have told newsmen the slaying of Miss Dulcie September, an ANC representative in Paris last week had given new urgency to the FBI warnings. The South African Government has rejected charges that it had a hand in the assassination of Miss September.

An FBI spokesman in Washington declined to confirm or deny the agency had been in touch with the ANC, or to comment on allegations of FBI suspicions that South African hitmen may be operating in the US.

In a news report yesterday, a Mr Jack Terrell, described as a former US-based mercenary who trained Nicaragua's Contra rebels in 1984 and 1985, was quoted as saying that "South African intelligence agents" had asked him to form an eight-man "hit team". The report said Mr Terrell claimed ANC sympathisers in the US were to be assassination targets.

He had decided ultimately against taking part and had disclosed the offer to FBI agents in July, 1986.

## ANC death: 'Recall our envoy' plea

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS — France must recall its ambassador to Pretoria if it is proved South African assassins were responsible for killing the ANC's Paris representative, Dulcie September, says the leader of the Socialist Party.

In a radio interview, Mr Lionel Jospin said South Africa was trying to kill ANC leaders "pretty well everywhere in the world".

The French newspaper Le Monde reported that President Mitterand was considering the ambassador's recall.

# Mitterrand reconsiders sanctions

PARIS. — President Francois Mitterrand said the murder last week of an ANC official had rekindled the question of economic sanctions against Pretoria, but he ruled out a break in diplomatic relations.

President Mitterrand said: "The crime committed raises even more ardently" the role of economic sanctions. But "a rupture is an impossibility".

When asked if he suspected South African involvement in the murder, he said: "I have had suspicions about the (South African) regime for a long time, but with regard to the assassination of Dulcie September, I can say nothing definite even if my intuition tells me something else."

Ms September, 53, was found shot to death in front of the door to her office in central Paris. Police said at the time that they had no witnesses and no material clues beyond the .22-calibre cartridge casings found at the scene.

On Saturday, the French daily Le Monde said Western intelligence agencies in Paris were convinced that South African secret service agents were responsible for the murder.

The front-page story said intelligence personnel believed the South African National Intelligence Service, if not directly involved, at least ordered the murder and possibly organized it.

And in Washington, FBI agents have repeatedly warned black South African anti-apartheid activists in the United States that they may be targets of "hit squads" dispatched by the Pretoria government. — Sapa-AP-UPI



# Top UDF member in court

SW 6/4/88  
CAPE TOWN — United Democratic Front executive member Mr Willie Hofmeyr appeared briefly in the Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the contravention of a restriction order.

Mr Hofmeyr (33) of Jaryis Street, Cape Town, was not formally charged.

He was not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

The hearing was postponed to June 21 and Mr Hofmeyr was released on R200 bail. — Sapa.

PARIS — A new name, and a strange one to French ears, has entered the presidential election campaign — Dulcie September

She was the representative of the African National Congress (ANC) in Paris and it would be fair to say that until she was murdered on Tuesday last week she was not a national figure. Indeed, few people in France were aware that the ANC had a permanent representative based at 28 Rue des Petites-Ecuries in the 10th Arrondissement, four blocks from the Gare de l'Est

On that Tuesday morning, Ms September went to work as usual

By lunchtime she, dead, was a national figure. Because she was murdered during an election campaign in which there are few issues, her death filled a gap. Dulcie September has become an election issue

#### RECEIVED DEATH THREAT

It is possible to reconstruct the last moments in her life because her murderer, having pulled the trigger six times, left the scene without disturbing it. He was, in the police phrase, "a professional"

We know that Ms September was shot from close range just after she had arrived at the office. We know it because her office key was still in the lock and the office post lay unopened on the floor

# September's death an issue in French election campaign

beside her. And that is about all we do know.

If the Paris police have more information, they are maintaining an uncharacteristic silence. But some of the presidential candidates, adopting the novel role of Sherlock Holmes, have solved the entire puzzle for them.

First on to the scene were an unlikely partnership from the Communist Party who (claiming the privilege of personal friendship with the deceased representative of the ANC) arrived at the same time as TV cameras and some time before the police had finished their work.

Holmes and Watson in this case were General Secretary Mr Georges Marchais and Mr Andre Lajoinie, the presidential candidate. Mr Marchais and Mr Lajoinie, after a cursory inspection, announced that Ms September had been murdered by an agent of the South African Government.

Standing in the corridor where she had died two hours earlier, they circulated photographs of themselves in her

company taken when she was remaining a French street. Rue Nelson Mandela. They then turned the scene of the crime into a political podium.

They said she had received an anonymous death threat shortly before she was shot and that her request for police protection had been refused.

Well, there is an election campaign on and the Communists do not find it easy to hit the headlines.

#### MARCHED THROUGH PARIS

Mr Marchais, who never says two words when 200 will do, then announced that Mr Jacques Chirac and Mr Francois Mitterrand had "the blood of Dulcie September on their hands." The Minister of the Interior has since said there is no record of a request for police protection, but does anyone believe him?

The Communists were soon followed by the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Mr Lionel Jospin, who was also convinced Ms September had been murdered by the South Africans. Then Mr Pierre Juquin, the ex-Communist candi-

date, reached the same conclusion. Then President Mitterrand said he had long held "certain suspicions about the South African regime."

As for Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, there was an equal certainty. He described the theories of the left as "paranoia." On just as little evidence he was quite clear Pretoria had nothing to do with it.

That evening 5 000 people marched through Paris behind Communist banners, and the South African Consulate in Marseilles came under rifle fire. The words "Botta (meaning Botha) assassin, SS" were painted on the Consulate wall.

As for Ms September, a real person whose death has caused real grief, she remains an election issue. Her sister, Stephanie, who lives at Ida's Valley in the Cape, said she wanted the body flown home. But no luck there either. Dulcie is to be buried in Pere Lachaise, with the Communards.

The banners will make a fine show — The Independent, London

# ANC won't attend funeral

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THE African National Congress (ANC) has decided not to send representatives to this week's funeral of the four people slain in Botswana almost two weeks ago

An ANC official said "It is too risky to send anyone there though we will be there in spirit. We discussed the matter thoroughly before reaching the decision."

The funeral of the victims of a South African Army raid into Gaborone on March 28 will take place under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) said close relatives of the deceased who attended a meeting at the offices of president Quett Masire announced the UN had undertaken to meet funeral expenses.

Government and refugee community representatives will be among the speakers at the funeral.

The four, including three women, were shot at point blank range inside a house. Their bodies were doused with petrol and then set alight by the raiders, who escaped.

Botswana denied Pretoria's allegation that the victims were ANC cadres.

Meanwhile a ANC representative said no date has yet been set for the funeral of Dulcie September who was assassinated outside the Paris ANC office last week.

She would be buried either in Paris or Lusaka, the spokesman said.

(11A) 7-13/4/88

## Church bars Cayco, WCCA ~~WCCA~~ *South*

A FULL GOSPEL CHURCH in Guguletu which recently refused political organisations admission to the funeral of a Cape Youth Congress member, Mr Solwazi Dugmore Hangana, has been criticised by the dead man's family

Hangana, 19, an active member of the church, was shot in the head by an armed robber a few weeks ago at a shop where he bought bread.

His family has now accused the church of playing into the hands of the Government

The church, which has a total membership of 97 people, distances itself from politics

Church official Mr Nkosinathi Caso told the family two days before the funeral members of Cayco, the United Democratic Front, Young Christian Students, Western Cape Students Congress, United Womens Organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Western Cape Civic Association would not be allowed at the funeral.

No police restrictions were placed on the funeral

Members of the family and political organisations accused Caso of collaborating with the police

Caso denied these allegations.

Police kept a close watch over about 200 mourners at the Full Gospel Church and the cemetery.

Mrs Nozipo Angelina Hangana, the mother of the deceased, said police asked family members whether members of political organisations would be present at the funeral.

She said her son became politically aware at Sizamile High School, where he served on the Students Representative Council.

He started reading political books and became a more responsible person

Her son loved Cayco as well as the church

The Full Gospel Church should accommodate politics and not tell the world it was not interested in it, Mrs Hangana said

# Transkei burial for slain ANC man

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A member of the African National Congress who was shot dead in his Maseru hospital bed last month is to be buried in Transkei today.

Mr Mazizi Attwell Mapekeza is to be buried under strict police restrictions at his home in Mpozolo Location in the Willowvale district.

The funeral has been restricted in terms of the Transkei's emergency regulations.

Flags, banners, placards, pamphlets or posters have been banned and the service must be conducted by an ordained minister.

An unknown gunman killed Mr Mapekeza in his bed in the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital, Maseru, on March 15 where he was recuperating under armed guard from a bullet injury received in an earlier incident.

Mr Mapekeza had been wounded by Lesotho police on February 25. A friend, Mr Thandwefika Radebe, also a Transkeian, was killed in the incident and a third man escaped uninjured.

Relatives claimed that police had been on a mission to eliminate ANC members but Lesotho police said the three men had attacked the police.

# 'Prison changed Dulcie September'

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By KURT SWART

DULCIE September, the recently-slain African National Congress (ANC) representative in France, was part of the youth who began to think of taking up arms after the Sharpeville massacre, according to Dr Neville Alexander who was jailed with September in 1964 for attempted sabotage

Alexander spoke to SOUTH last week about September's earlier political involvement with the National Liberation Front (NLF), which led to her imprisonment and eventual exile

"The feeling in 1960 was that the non-violent attitude had led to the Sharpeville disaster, and that the attitudes of whites could not be changed by non-violent means," Alexander said.

"People like Dulcie and Elizabeth van der Heyden were members of the African Peoples Democratic Union of South Africa (Apdusa), an affiliate of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM)"

The NEUM frowned upon any dabbling in warfare or political violence as "irresponsible opportunism"

September, along with most of the Cape Town youth wing, broke away from Apdusa, and the NLF came into being as a secret organisation committed to guerilla warfare

"The ANC, through Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), through Poqo, were already doing this and were more advanced. The NEUM in this torturous way also turned to armed struggle as the NLF was the 'prodigal son' of the NEUM," Alexander said

September served as treasurer of the NLF until her arrest

In the Western Cape the NLF had formal and informal contacts with Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo, and often assisted one another

"Every one was putting their lives on the line. One of the important differences we had with them was that we felt the time was not right for an armed campaign

"Dulcie and the rest of us were totally committed to an armed uprising over a protracted period of time, in the Chinese fashion. We weren't going to launch guerrilla warfare for a number of years. We studied terrain, communications systems, and the structure of the state. One of our mistakes was we put too much down on paper, which made it easy for the state to convict us"

At the trial the defence argued the NLF had not committed any act of sabotage. It was through this case that the judiciary established that an intent to commit sabotage was punishable by law, according to Alexander

"Dulcie and the others escaped after we were arrested in July 1963, a day after the Rivonia trialists were arrested. She was arrested in October

"We were naive to believe police interrogation would not crack anybody or that we would not be sentenced to long terms. There was also confusion in our ranks because we did not have the foresight to plan for such an event.

"We were young, inexperienced, and versed only in theory"

According to Alexander, meeting women from other organisations in prison was an invaluable experience for September



Dulcie September

and, like the others, took the imprisonment very well. Prison is like a university for political prisoners — she learnt a lot there. She had received a solid base in the radical, revolutionary, and uncompromising politics of the National Liberation Front.

"Despite the mistakes and inexperience, the two years we spent together was for her an important platform from which she could build"

Alexander met September once in Europe after her exile — a "brief and amicable" meeting in 1980

"Dulcie and I were close friends. She was a warm, enthusiastic person. She always calmed things down, and never seemed to lose her temper"

on the day he was arrested

"The police had found her address on someone they had arrested, but she managed to shake them off. She phoned me and said "Sabena is on the way"

"I didn't take it seriously. I thought she was joking, and had no idea that by Sabena she meant the security branch. The result was my total surprise when the police walked in. It showed our inexperience and naivety

"That time, when Dulcie tried to warn me, was the last contact I had with her before the arrests. The next time I saw her was in court," Alexander said

After her jail sentence, September left South Africa and eventually joined the ANC

She died last week when an unknown assassin shot her at least twice in the face at point-blank range outside her Paris office

This unleashed a storm of fury and protest in Europe with South African agents being accused of her killing

South African authorities have denied any involvement in her murder

In Lusaka, the ANC reacted to the death of Dulcie September by blaming the South African authorities

The ANC said the killing was not an isolated incident. "It is part of a larger pattern of terrorist attacks and criminal assaults perpetrated against members and leaders of the ANC in every country where we have an organised or diplomatic presence."

They referred to the attack on a house in Gaborone last Monday when four people were killed, and to the discovery of a bomb outside the offices of the ANC's chief representative in Brussels

Dulcie's links about ANC there September tried to warn Alexander

# French claim SA hit squad hunting in UK

## ANC take special security precautions

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

LONDON — Scotland Yard yesterday said it was "unaware" of any evidence to support French press claims that a South African murder squad may be hunting ANC leaders in Britain.

The respected French newspaper, *Le Monde*, claims the killers headed for London after the assassination in Paris last week of the ANC mission leader, Miss Dulcie September

*Le Monde* security experts, Mr Georges Marion and Mr Edwy Plenel, said they had been informed by French and American intelligence service sources that the killers were recruited by South Africa's National Intelligence Service

*Le Monde* said it "was

believed" that the gang — said to be three men and one woman — formed in London and travelled to France via Belgium, where they made two failed attacks on the ANC offices in Brussels, and then headed back to Britain

But Scotland Yard poured cold water on the *Le Monde* report, which went as far as claiming that Western intelligence services had even "tentatively" identified some of the killers and that one had a surname beginning with "K"

A Scotland Yard spokesman said "We have received many inquiries as a result of this report but the anti-terrorist squad is unaware of any information to support it"

The spokesman said there was no evidence to even suggest that the

killers were at large in Britain

A senior police source said "The ANC are given whatever protection is considered necessary. The same applies to any foreign political representatives in Britain who are considered to be at risk."

"We would not waste too much time on the substance of the *Le Monde* report. It is a bit far-fetched to suppose that any European government would allow known killers to cross its borders without making arrests. I think fact and fiction are a bit mixed up, to say the least."

The French police have also dismissed the *Le Monde* report saying they are still hunting Miss September's killers and do not at this stage have evidence that could identify them

The South African ambassador in Paris last week rejected as preposterous the claims that the South African Government was behind the assassination of Miss September

However, ANC figures in London are taking the *Le Monde* report seriously and are operating their own high security procedures

They have also been given added police protection after making special requests to the Home Office last week.

Scotland Yard will not comment on the sort of security it gives to the ANC but it is believed that the homes and all the movements of top ANC targets in London, including the movement's leader, Oliver Tambo, are under constant anti-terrorist squad scrutiny

# BBC accused of giving ANC 'oxygen'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The BBC has agreed to a live screening of a concert marking the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. However, the BBC has been accused of "providing oxygen to a terrorist organisation" over its plans to broadcast the concert.

Home Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd is to be asked whether this decision, "apart from being an abuse of licence-payers' money, is also in breach of the BBC Charter".

Mr John Carlisle, Conservative MP for Luton North and chairman of the All-Party British-South Africa Parliamentary Group, is tabling Commons questions after the announcement of the BBC's plans.

The entire 10-hour event, scheduled for June 11 at Wembley stadium, will be shown on BBC2. It will also be live on Radio 1.

Featured on the star-studded bill are Whitney Houston, George Michael, Dire Straits and Simple Minds as well as South African-born artists Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba. Harry Belafonte will be the host.

The concert, which has the full support of the Mandela family, is being organised by Artists Against Apartheid and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. An AAM spokesman says the movement is very excited about the BBC's decision.

Half the proceeds from tickets, which cost R100 each, will be given to children's projects in southern Africa, including those run by Save the Children, Christian Aid, Oxfam, War on Want, and the International Defence and Aid Fund. The rest of the money will go to the AAM.



# Tutu, Boesak, Chikane ahead of their churches

**S**TATE President P W Botha is correct in a sense when he claims that church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak are not representative of their churches

However, the State President is talking absolute nonsense when he accuses the church leaders of being Marxist and receiving instructions from the African National Congress (ANC)

Tutu, Boesak and Chikane are the authentic messengers of the gospel of Jesus Christ - in a way that the institutional church has never been

They are ahead of the institutions they represent That is where church leaders are supposed to be - calling their followers forward in obedience to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

At this critical stage in church history there existed a "yawning" gap between what the institutional church is and what it ought to be theologically There is a gap between the theory and practice

Theologically, the church is biblically required to identify itself with the poor and oppressed.

In practise, as an institution, it is located on the side of the ruling classes

In other words, the Gospel which the institutional church affirms contradicts its social location

The institutional church - be it Anglican, Catholic or Methodist - is constantly protesting against apartheid but has failed to engage meaningfully in the liberation struggle The church has been quick to pass resolutions but has not translated these into any programme of action

It has accepted the prescription of the rulers that theology and politics do not mix

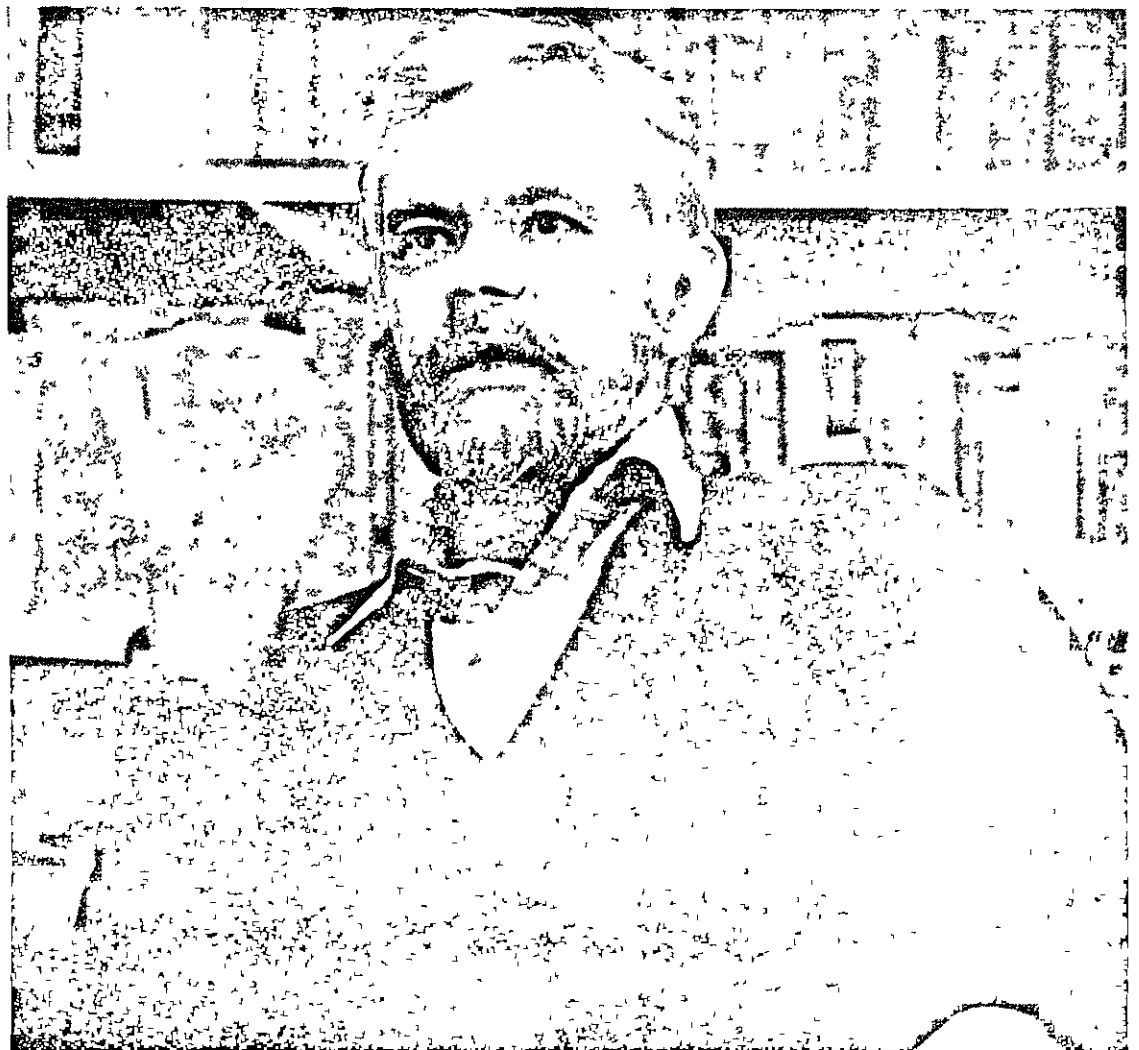
Men like Tutu, Boesak and Chikane are articulating a gospel which reminds the church of the dynamic role it is supposed to play on behalf of the poor and oppressed

There are several reasons why the Government regards these church leaders as a threat and why Botha has good reason to be awake at night worrying about them

The first is that they are articulating a message which the oppressed masses in this country instinctively understand, and which Christians in their better moments know to be the Gospel.

The second reason is that the ministry constitute a determined effort to relocate the institutional churches with the state of the

Church leaders like Boesak and Tutu are not representative of their churches. They are, in fact, ahead of the churches they represent. These are the frank opinions of Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town



Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio

liberation struggle

Thirdly, we are experiencing perhaps for the first time in our church history a new breed of church leaders who are willing and able to act ecumenically and corporately in opposing the State

As such, there is an unprecedented move to incorporate the churches in the liberation struggle Such action will not go unchallenged by the forces of the Government and this

constitutes the battle for the "soul" of the church

There is no guarantee that the institutional church will rise to the challenge presented by the present struggle or positively respond to the call of its most dynamic leaders

Historically it is, in fact, given its location on the side of the status quo, not well equipped to do so

On the other hand, the poor and the oppressed, who form the majority

membership of the churches, are obviously - latently or explicitly - on the side of the struggle for liberation Oppressed Christians who occupy the margins of society hold the key to the renewal of the church

They are the ones who respond to the message of Tutu, Boesak and Chikane' and it is their response to this message which constitutes the threat to the present oppressive and tyrannical state

# Sayco 'will not die'

*(Handwritten initials)*  
 17A



Flashback Sayco's campaign to save people on Death Row

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG - South African Youth Congress (Sayco) restricted with 17 other organisations in February is adamant that even at this dark hour it will continue to grow from strength to strength

"The history of Sayco will not end with the ban by P W Botha and his government. It is an ongoing process with an assurance of victory in the end," a top official of the Northern Transvaal Youth Congress (Notyco) said this week.

The official who did not want to be identified emerged from hiding after several months to give an interview to SOUTH.

Notyco, with more than 200 000 members, is probably the biggest of Sayco's ten affiliates.

Sayco celebrated its first anniversary on March 28.

"We feel Sayco should not disband, and it should continue with its work no matter what happens," the official said.

"Sayco cannot be silenced and its activities cannot be determined by apartheid legality. We will challenge these bannings legally and through mass action."

For example, Cosatu said they would take action if their special congress is banned by the authorities. "We will join them."

Sayco, which had more than half a million members when it was launched in secrecy in Cape Town last year, now claims to have more than a million members.

Its other nine regions are Southern

Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, South and Western Cape.

"We cannot be destroyed, we will resist, survive," the Notyco official said.

"We have called our membership to be more vigilant than ever before and to sharpen themselves for future battles."

"We have called on them to consciously build leadership and organisation in spite of detentions and assassinations."

"We are confident we will be able to build Sayco into a stronger and more popular organisation. We will survive and emerge victorious," he said.

Sayco was born in a period when more than 25 000 people were detained without trial during the first State of Emergency.

"Our preparation, our birth and our growth are taking place under extremely difficult conditions and very hostile to our objectives."

"But we managed to keep ourselves together," the spokesperson said.

He cited the Save The Patriots campaign launched in August last year as "one of our most important achievements."

### Positive response

Both the international and South African communities responded positively to our calls.

"We believe the stay of execution given to the Sharpeville Six was a direct result of the impact of our campaign."

He said the youth in South Africa continued to call on the international community to do more to save the lives of the more than 40 on Death Row.

Sayco took part in the May 5 and 6 stayaways last year protesting against the whites only election.

### Young pioneers

The action was a resounding success. It demonstrated the illegitimacy of the apartheid government and forged greater unity among the oppressed, the spokesperson said.

Sayco participated in campaigns for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the guaranteed safe return of exiles and the Living Wage Campaign of Cosatu.

The organisation has established what has become known as the young pioneers. This is a detachment of Sayco catering for the needs of people aged from six to 15.

"These people are already our members in many ways. Some of them have been detained and are still detained under Emergency regulations."

He said the UDF in Pietermaritzburg was presently enjoying overwhelming support.

Inkatha has shown its true colours, it has aligned itself with the coloniser.

He said Sayco had been bruised by the recent clampdown but was not completely down.

Our vice president Mzimasi Mancotywa of Port Elizabeth was detained in July last year. Recently two of our national executive members and five Southern Transvaal executive members were detained in Johannesburg.

### Peter Mokaba

He said the detention of Sayco president Peter Mokaba on Sharpeville Day was the climax of a year of repression.

Mokaba, 26, has been in and out of detention cells and prisons over the last 11 years. He was tried, convicted and served part of a sentence for undergoing guerilla training. He is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"His detention is a severe setback for the organisation. However, our masses are an inexhaustible source of leadership. They continue to produce men and women who dare to lead the fight."

During its first year, Sayco sent some of its leaders to Europe to rally support. They travelled to eight countries.

Sayco has also established contacts with anti-apartheid movements in Southern Africa. These include Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

# SA hints ANC behind attack in Maputo

DID 8/4/88

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**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government has dismissed allegations that it was responsible for the assassination attempt on the exiled African National Congress member, Mr Albie Sachs, in Mozambique and has hinted that the ANC itself could have been behind the murder plot.

This is the second time in ten days that the government has suggested that internal divisions within the ANC lay behind violent attacks on other members of the ANC.

The first was the death of Miss Dulcie September, the ANC's representative in Paris who was killed while she was unlocking her office door.

South Africa was also accused of being responsible for her death but the country suggested it was a result of internal division in the organisation itself.

Subsequently, French Intelligence has suggested the same thing.

It was reported in a leading French newspaper that Miss September might have been assassinated by members of the ANC because she was in favour of negotiations with the South African Government and because she had fallen out of favour with the Communist Party.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night rejected accusations of a South African involvement in the car bomb which nearly severed Mr Sachs' arm and left him in a critical condition.

"The South African Government cannot accept responsibility for the conflict in Mozambique and definitely not for the acts of violence which flow from it.

"This is also true as far as struggles going on within the ANC are concerned," Mr Botha said.

# Death clash SAP blamed

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Deputy Commissioner of Police in KwaZulu, Brigadier S M Mathe, has alleged that the South African Police (SAP) dropped off a truck-load of Inkatha members in a UDF area after interrogating them, resulting in a clash between the two groups which claimed the lives of two Inkatha men.

Brig Mathe made the allegation in a letter of complaint to KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week.

In his letter, Brig Mathe said a large number of Inkatha members were taken from their homes at Mpumuza for interrogation.

Afterwards, 20 Inkatha members in one police truck were off-loaded in the middle of Ashdown Village, it was alleged.

Brig Mathe said it was "known throughout Maritzburg that Ashdown is a strong UDF base".

He said the Inkatha members were attacked by armed UDF members and two Inkatha members, a Mr Ndlovu and a Mr Ngubane, were killed.

The SAP spokesman said that after questioning, people were returned, according to set policy, to roughly where they had been rounded up.

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# Is it right? asks grieving mum of Botswana raid victim

JOHANNESBURG. — A Soweto family heard yesterday that their son was one of the four killed in the South African Defence Force's raid into Botswana last week, the Sowetan newspaper reported today.

The Molefe family, of Meadowslands, was thrown into mourning by newspaper and radio reports that their son, Solomon, who they last saw in 1976, was one of those killed in the raid on a Gaborone house.

The family had been in the dark until yesterday as to the whereabouts of Solomon, who disappeared at the height of the 1976 unrest in Soweto.

Solomon Molefe, 36, has been

identified by the South African Police as a Botswana commander of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The three women who died with him in the raid have been identified as Miss Martha Madisa, Miss Thadi Seokamo, and Mrs Masego Ikgopoleng.

When she heard the news, Mrs Rosina Molefe, 57, had just arrived home from a visit to Robben Island to see her other son, Sonnyboy Moses, who is serving a 19-year sentence following the marathon Maritzburg treason trial in 1979.

She was surprised to learn that the four victims, including Solomon, were being buried yesterday.

"Is it right for them to bury my son without my knowledge?" she asked.

Mrs Molefe, who has no passport or travel document, said she did not even know where to begin in trying to go to Botswana to establish the truth.

Brigadier Herman Stadler, security police expert on the ANC, yesterday said Mr Molefe was a top ANC commander. Intelligence sources in Pretoria said Mr Molefe had masterminded 47 attacks in South Africa.

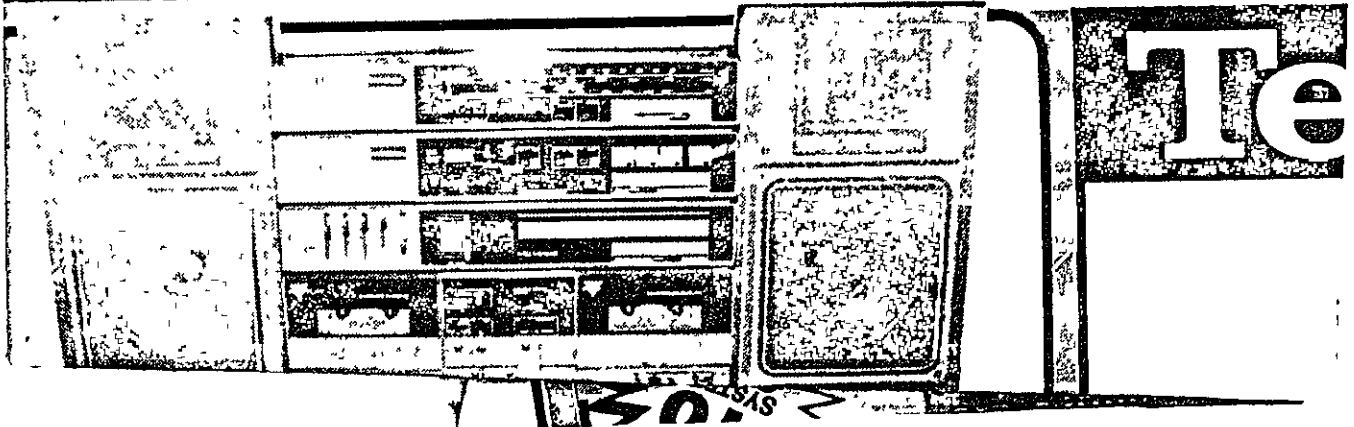
The sources said Mr Molefe survived several previous attempts on his life. He was allegedly trained in Angola and East Germany. — Sapa.

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# MELOTRONICS

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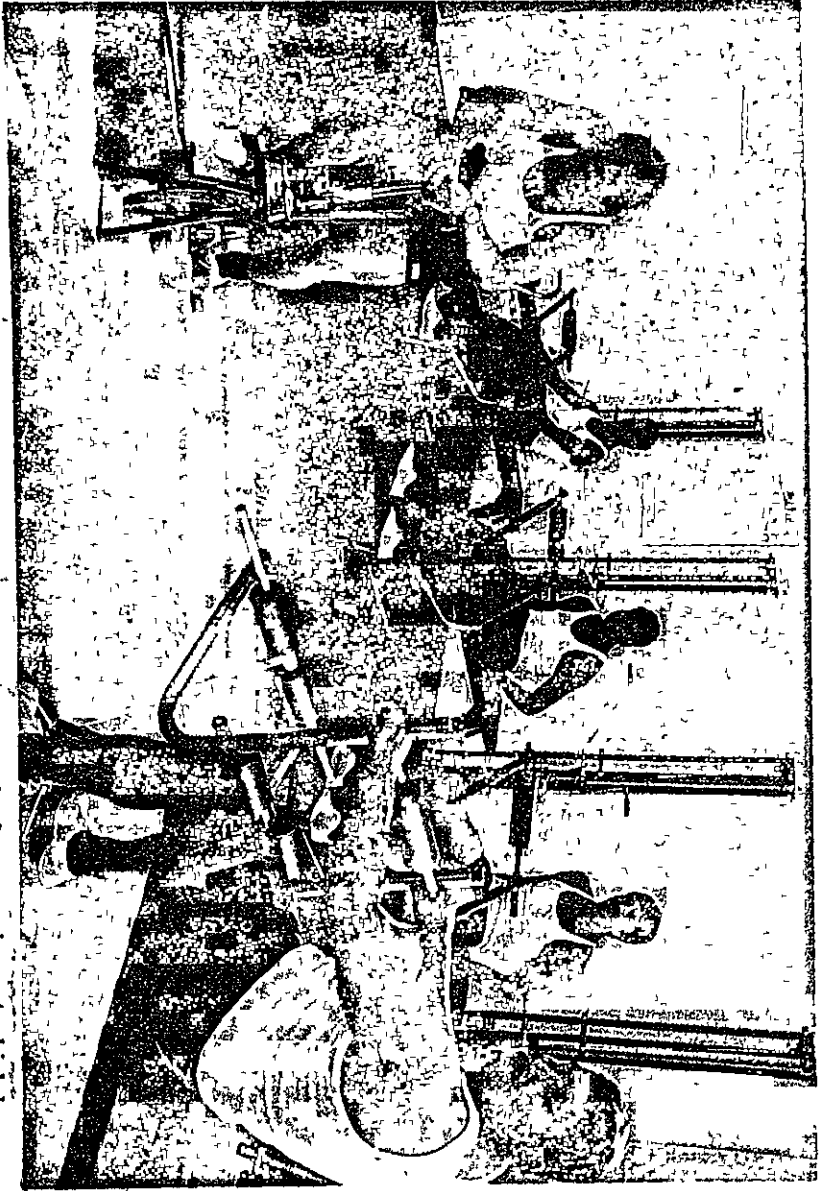


# Blast: top ANCO man Sachs fights for life

D/P 8/4/88

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Members of East London's Fire Department try out the R15 000 worth of gym equipment which has been installed to help them keep fire-fighting fit. From left, M. Magee, G. Lawrence, R. Augustine, W. Hansen and V. Smith.

MAPUTO — A senior member of the ANC and former South African lawyer, Mr Albie Sachs, was fighting for his life in hospital here last night after he was seriously injured when a bomb exploded as he opened his car door.

Mr Sachs, 53, whose arm was blown off in the 9 20 am explosion outside his apartment in downtown Maputo yesterday, was in a critical condition after an operation, hospital sources said.

Mr Sachs, the father of two teenage sons who live in London, is divorced from his wife, Miss Stephanie Kemp. His sons are expected to fly to Maputo today.

The Mozambique news agency, Am, said a 33-year-old man, Mr Ishmael Nagib Mussagy, received serious head injuries from bits of metal that hurtled from the booby-trapped car, and the man's three-year-old son was slightly injured.

In Cape Town, an advocate, Mr Harry Smithey, a former colleague and friend, said of Mr Sachs yesterday: "He was obviously to the left of the rest of us but he had no connections that were apparent to us."



ALBIE SACHS — as an advocate at the Cape Town Bar before he left South Africa in 1966.

with any particular organisation or party." Professor Tom Lodge, a political scientist at the University of Witwatersrand and South Africa's foremost expert on the ANC, said Mr Sachs was not working for the ANC in Mozambique.

parently on his way to the beach as yesterday was a public holiday.

Miss Sam Barnes, an American who works as information officer for the United Nations development programme, said she was driving past the corner of Mr Sachs' block.

"I saw Albie by his car. I slowed down and we waved at each other. Then I got as far as the end of the South African trade mission (40 metres beyond the corner) and I heard this horrible explosion."

"I looked back — Albie was lying on the sidewalk and the car was between him and the building also on the sidewalk. One of his arms was blown off and he was bleeding."

The explosion shattered windows in the nearby Portuguese Embassy. — Sapa-AP-RNS.

toll: 223

Factors which could be

D10m plan makes way

See also page 2



**SACHS FAMILY . . .** A younger Albie Sachs at the age of three with his trade unionist father Mr Solly Sachs. The picture was taken as Mr Sachs was leaving police headquarters in Johannesburg.

## SA-Botswana row over 'Molefe' death

JOHANNESBURG. — As exiled South African Mr Albie Sachs became yet another ANC victim of attacks in foreign countries this year, a row developed between SA and Botswana authorities over the identity of the man killed in the Defence Force raid in Gaborone last week.

Police said yesterday that the ANC's chief commander in Botswana, Mr Solomon Molefe, 36, was among those killed in the raid by the SADF.

Botswana said the man was Mr Charles Mokoena, a South African refugee, and that neither he nor the three Botswana women killed in the attack were ANC members. The South African identification was a "deliberate fabrication".

Asked to comment, Brigadier Herman Stadler, a security police expert on the ANC, insisted that it was Mr Molefe who had been killed in the raid.

## Third 'firing squad' victim has vanished

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

AN African National Congress member who was among three ANC exiles rounded up last month by an alleged Royal Lesotho Defence Force "firing squad" has gone missing.

The other two are dead, one died in a shootout and the other was assassinated in his hospital bed in Maseru.

Mbulelo Ngono, originally from the Port Elizabeth area, escaped from the soldiers, but was apprehended in Roma village on March 25 by four men wearing official police uniforms. He has been missing ever since.

Ngono's Durban-based lawyer, Kwenza Mlaba, says he telexed the Lesotho commissioner of police to enquire after his client's whereabouts, but had received no reply.

Questioned by the *Weekly Mail*, the head of the Lesotho CID, Colonel Samuel Brown, said: "We do not know about the Roma incident. We don't have him (Ngono)". Brown added that Lesotho police had not yet received the telex.

Attempts to speak to Commissioner of Police Major-General James Dingiswayo were unsuccessful.

Earlier this year, Ngono had reportedly been travelling to Mafeteng in the south of Lesotho, accompanied by ANC colleagues Mazizi Maqkeza and Thandwefika Radebe. On reaching Motsekuoa next to Tsoaing Bridge, they were stopped by heavily-armed soldiers.

During a search of their car a pistol was found on Maqkeza. According to one of his relatives, the soldiers then "lined them (the ANC men) up and began to shoot."

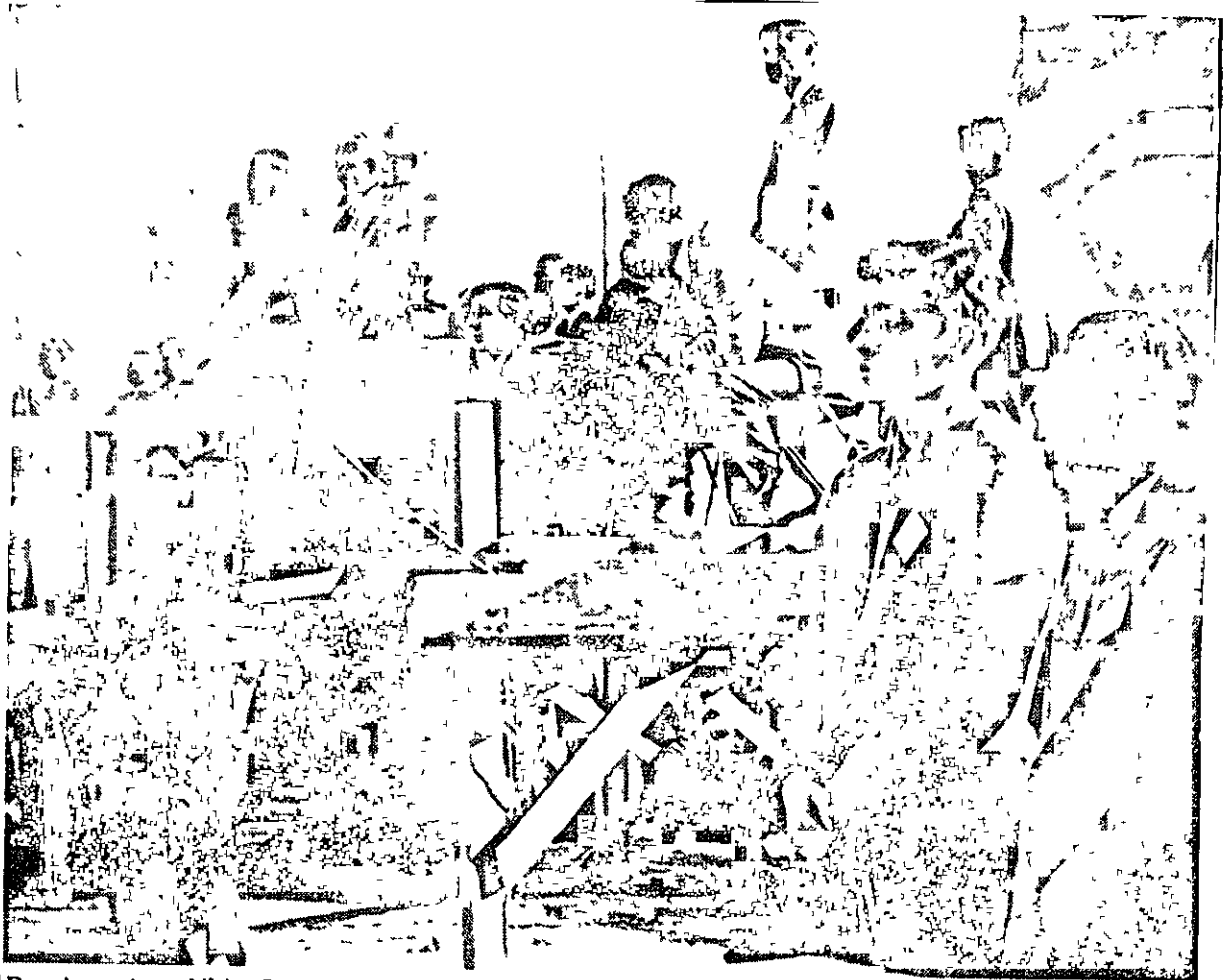
Radebe died on the spot, Maqkeza was hospitalised, and Ngono escaped. Maqkeza was shot dead by an unknown gunman on March 15 at the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital.

●Maqkeza's funeral was scheduled to take place yesterday at Willowvale in the Transkei.

*[Handwritten scribble]*

*[Handwritten initials]*





Bomb victim Albie Sachs (second from right) during the 1955 Congress of the People

Picture ELI WEINBERG

## Sachs: son of famous activist family

WHEN Albie Sachs turned six, his father — the famous trade unionist ES "Solly" Sachs — wrote on his birthday card: "May you grow up to be a soldier in the fight for liberation."

Forty-seven years later Albie Sachs is in a Maputo hospital, gravely injured after a car bomb explosion. He never carried weapons but has dedicated his life to serving the now-outlawed African National Congress — as a lawyer, academic, author, public speaker, and lover of the arts.

Sachs was born in Johannesburg in 1935, named after Albert Nzula, the first African general secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa. He moved to Cape Town with his mother and brother while very young and grew up in a highly politicised environment.

His father was to become general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, and his mother acted as secretary/typist to senior ANC leader Moses Kotane.

Sachs — a tall, gangly man who lopes rather than walks — began his political involvement when he joined the Modern Youth Society and played a small role on the left-wing newspaper *New Age*. He soon came into closer contact with the ANC and allied organisations and was present at

By **SHAUN JOHNSON, JULIE FREDERICKSE and PETA THORNYCROFT**

the Kliptown gathering of 1955 known as the "Congress of the People".

A banning order followed, believed to be the first imposed on a white university student.

Sachs had decided his talent lay in the law and in 1957 was admitted to the South African Bar as an advocate. Practising in Cape Town, he dealt mostly with cases involving black people.

His political involvement led to his arrest outside his chambers in 1963. He spent 168 days in solitary confinement, during which time he brought an application against a Cape Town policeman which directly affects the conditions of detainees today.

After he was freed in 1964, Sachs defended Stephanie Kemp, on trial for political offences. She later became his wife. Her leg was broken during her detention, and Sachs sued the then-Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster.

During this period he received a second, more stringent banning order, which severely prejudiced his ability to earn a living. According to contemporaries, he decided to live in

Britain rather than have to survive on charity in South Africa.

He left in 1966 and undertook research at the University of Sussex.

Sachs was deeply involved in anti-apartheid work outside Africa until 1977, when he went to live in Mozambique following the Frelimo takeover. He first worked in the law faculty at Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University, later joining the Ministry of Justice.

He was deeply involved in the revamping of Mozambique's legal system and the formation of their "people's courts".

Sachs is said to be an extremely popular member of the ANC and is regarded as one of the organisation's more notable intellectuals. He represented Maputo's small ANC diplomatic mission at the movement's crucial Kabwe Consultative Conference in 1985.

Sachs is the author of *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs*, which has been produced as a play in several countries, *Images of a Revolution*, a book on Mozambiquan wall paintings, and a tract on women and law. He also

co-authored an influential booklet dealing with the Mozambiquan economy and collaborated on Indres Ndlovu's account of Robben Island, *Island in Chains*.

# Nine years after, Mahlangu's contradictory legacy lives on

1A w/male  
8-14/4/88

THE ninth anniversary of the execution of African National Congress guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu was marked with solemnity this week in his home township of Mamelodi.

Mahlangu was detained in 1978 after a shoot-out in Johannesburg's Gogh Street, when police spotted three 'suspicious' looking men walking down a street and gave chase.

One of the three opened fire and two people were killed and several policemen wounded in the resulting shootout.

Mahlangu himself was never accused of killing anyone, his conviction, similar to that of the Sharpeville Six, was on the grounds of 'common purpose'.

Mahlangu spent a year on death row before being hanged, and an international campaign was mounted calling for clemency for him.

Mahlangu's name has contradictory meanings to South Africans: to whites, a trained terrorist, to blacks, a symbol of resistance, honoured each year in prayer services on the anniversary of his death, April 6.

Despite the strictures of the State of Emergency, the tradition was main-

**Nine years after his execution, the name of Solomon Mahlangu still has enormous power in South Africa. To many whites, he was a trained ANC terrorist, the first to be captured and executed. To many blacks, he was a martyr, his death commemorated every year. VUSI GUNENE reports on the service this week**

tained on Wednesday, as more than 200 people commemorated the execution.

The prayer service in Mamelodi, organised by the Pretoria branch of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw), was held at a local church — without the usual security force presence.

The *Weekly Mail* visited Mahlangu's mother on the morning of the anniversary. Martha Mahlangu, a patron of the restricted United Democratic Front, said "it pains me to

think about this day. I cannot erase the thought of it. It is something that will remain with this family until eternity." She was released from detention on June 12, 1987, having spent a year in custody.

Her son was born on June 10, 1956, and left the country in 1976 to undergo military training. He re-entered South Africa the following year.

In a prayer service late on Wednesday afternoon, Rev Lucas Mabusela of the Pretoria Council of Churches told mourners "As we remember Solomon Mahlangu, we should also remember those young people who are now on death row, and (we should remember) their families."

A moment of silence was observed in honour of assassinated ANC representative Dulcie September, and the four people who died in the recent South African security force raid into Botswana.

At the service, which was characterised by freedom songs and poetry readings, the recent bannings of extra-parliamentary organisations was condemned.

## Memories of a funeral that never was

NINE years ago, Solomon Mahlangu's family and scores of mourners attended a funeral that never was.

On the day Mahlangu was hanged, I went to Mamelodi, near Pretoria, to observe for my newspaper the preparations for the funeral of the first African National Congress guerrilla to be executed.

Mahlangu was to be given a funeral from his parents' home, unlike the paupers' burials in Mamelodi that customarily followed hangings at the Pretoria gallows. The Prison Service confirmed that an exception to the rule would be made: Mahlangu's body would be handed to his family after the execution for burial.

Family members had paid the necessary grave fee, for which a receipt had been issued. A requiem mass had been planned at the local Catholic church.

Cows, sheep and hens had been slaughtered to feed the mourners expected after the burial at the local cemetery.

A week's vigil at the family home preceded the hanging. Freedom songs, slogans and war cries were sung and chanted night after night in the packed marquee tent at the back of the Mamelodi home.

When Mahlangu was hanged, a large crowd waited outside Pretoria Central Prison with family members for his body. It never came. Enquiries made at the prison about the handing over of the body to the family were in vain.

Eventually prison authorities told the family to go home and promised to deliver the body to the church for the service.

The crowd outside the prison dispersed, with many people rushing to Mamelodi to be in time to witness the arrival of the body at either the church or the cemetery.

The Catholic church was overflowing with mourners. Family members had taken their place in front, before the altar. Hymns were sung, interspersed with prayer.

**The family and mourners arrived for the Mahlangu funeral in 1979. The church was filled to overflowing. The body never arrived.**

**THAMI MKHWANAZI remembers**

But the body did not arrive. Meanwhile another crowd waited at the cemetery. There too the body did not come.

Four hours after Mahlangu was hanged, together with four other men, several vehicles of South African Police appeared at the cemetery, a senior black uniformed member used a loudhailer to order mourners outside the cemetery to disperse. He said he had been instructed by his authorities to inform them that the body would not arrive.

The police left but returned to issue a second warning, giving the crowd five minutes to disperse. The crowd ignored him and, five minutes later, police used teargas, batons and sjamboks to scatter the crowd, which made its way to the family home. They were joined by a crowd from the church, a similar announcement had been made there.

Surprisingly, although there had been no burial, they observed tradition at the house and washed their hands in the water kept outside the house in baths, with hand towels hung over the fence and gate.

As after a real funeral, mourners

were served meals, dessert and cool drinks. As after a real funeral, they greeted and smiled at one another, but it was done with a pinch of salt.

Responding to newspaper enquiries, a spokesman for the South African Prisons Service said his department had been instructed by the security police not to release Mahlangu's body to the family. "Where was the body?"

A woman who had passed the Atteridgeville cemetery that morning on her way to board a train to work told commuters of what she described as a "miracle".

She said she saw a police jeep escorting a van into the cemetery. To her surprise, as there were no adults' burials in Atteridgeville on weekdays, she saw two adult-size coffins removed hurriedly from the van and buried alongside each other.

Also to her surprise she saw the "mourners", some in uniform, leaving the moundless graves without topping them with the usual flowers and ornaments. The "funeral", she said, was conspicuous by the absence of an officiating minister and the crowd that accompanied funerals of adults in Atteridgeville.

Two days later, Mahlangu's mother took both the security police and prison authorities by surprise when her photograph appeared on the front page of the *Sunday Post*, weeping by her son's grave in the Atteridgeville cemetery.

## FOR THE RECORD

WESTERN Cape United Democratic Front executive member Willie Hofmeyr spent two nights in police cells this week before appearing in court on charges of contravening his restriction order. He was released and told to reappear on June 21.

Another UDF executive member, William Thomas, has been served with a restriction order. It is believed he is the last of the 18 people the government initially announced it intended to serve with restriction orders.

COSTS incurred by the University of the

Youth Congress, Moses Mahlangu and Daniel Ntsoeng, has been postponed until May 18. They are facing charges under the Terrorism Act.

PW BOTHA, addressing a parade this week in Pretoria to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the police, called on the public and media not to belittle the South African Police. The SAP was not perfect, he said.

MORE than 200 people have died on South Africa's roads during the seven-day Easter

French official  
accused of  
trying to force  
out September

By ANDREW SPURRIER  
in Paris

A CLOSE collaborator of the French Interior Minister, Charles Pasqua, has been accused of trying to force African National Congress representative, Dulcie September, to leave France prior to her assassination in Paris last week:

Jean Taousson, a member of Pasqua's private office, has also been accused of helping South Africans prepare attacks against ANC and Swapo offices in France and elsewhere in Europe in 1985.

Although it has not been suggested that Taousson was directly involved in the killing of September on March 29, the allegations made against him are embarrassing for Pasqua and the government in the middle of the current presidential election campaign.

They pose the question of how a known apartheid sympathiser came to be appointed to a senior post in the interior ministry and raise doubts about the ministry's denials of claims from colleagues of September that she had asked for police protection.

The allegation that Taousson had tried to prevent September from staying in France was made in the Paris-based *Indian Ocean Newsletter*, which claims that he ordered the relevant services not to renew September's residence permit when it expired last October.

In the event, the newsletter says, the ANC representative succeeded in getting her permit renewed.

Yesterday, a magazine, the *Evenement du Jeudi* published new allegations against Taousson, claiming that he had helped South African intelligence services recruit volunteers to gather information about anti-apartheid organisations in Paris in 1986.

Taousson was unavailable for comment last night. He has, however, been quoted by one newspaper as saying: "I have no connection, either close or remote, with the South African secret services or with the death of September."

Taousson is known to have been close to the *Organisation de l'Armee Secrete* terrorist movement, which fought against Algerian independence in the early 1960s. He also edits an occasional publication called the *Courrier Austral Parlementaire*, financed by the South African government and considered to be the mouthpiece of French pro-apartheid circles. — The Guardian, London

W Maire

8-14/4/88

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# Kenya nod to SA diplomat - but he's ANC

By PETER WELLMAN, Harare

THE African National Congress has achieved a major diplomatic triumph — its first accredited ambassador in a Western-aligned African country.

Tamir Sindelo, of the movement's Africa desk in Lusaka, will soon present his credentials to President Daniel arap Moi as ANC ambassador to Kenya.

His accreditation is the culmination of long-term, low-key relations between Moi and the movement.

Diplomats here say the development is a major one for the organisation in achieving greater backing from African capitals for its claim to leadership of the struggle against apartheid. The ANC has also been invited to

send representatives to Nicaragua, Brazil and Argentina. These postings have not yet been announced.

The movement is launching a major reshuffle of diplomatic representatives throughout the world, from Australia to the United Nations. Most postings are for three years, but some people have been in place far longer than that.

In several socialist countries, its chief representatives hold full diplomatic status, in others they have quasi-diplomatic status.

Graham Morodi, chief representative in Lusaka, moves to Tanzania.

In Harare, Stanley Mabhizela, formerly of Port Elizabeth, has replaced Reddy Mazimba, who has been recalled to headquarters in Lusaka.

Harare has not been a high-profile posting, although the assassination of chief ANC representative Joe Qabi in 1981 — shot at point-blank range in his driveway — highlighted the dangers of chief representatives in frontline states.

No-one has yet been chosen to replace chief representative Dulce September, murdered last month in Paris. But in another European post, Solly Smith, who recently evaded a

kidnap attempt, is being recalled to Lusaka after more than 10 years. His replacement is Mendi Msamang, administrative secretary in the treasury at headquarters.

In Brussels chief representative Godfree Matsipe, who has had several bomb threats, is being transferred to Algeria.

From Australia Eddle Fungai becomes the ANC's observer at the United Nations. The previous UN man, Neo Mnumzana, returns to Lusaka.

The new chief representative in Australia is Dan Cindi, formerly attached to the Africa-Asia People's Solidarity Committee in Cairo.

# ANC Officials in UK Threatened

cmr tracks 4/4/88

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## Own Correspondent

LONDON — Britain should threaten South Africa with a break in diplomatic relations over the alleged presence in London of a death squad claimed to be acting on orders from Pretoria, an MP urged at the weekend.

Mr David Winnick, Labour Party MP for Walsall North, said he believed the alleged "squad" was plotting the assassination of leading ANC representatives in Britain.

This follows a reports that a death squad were responsible for the murder last Tuesday of ANC Paris official Ms Dulcie September.

Mr Winnick has written to the Foreign

Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe requesting he summons the South African ambassador without delay and warn him that under no circumstances will Britain tolerate South African government death squads operating in London.

He said the Foreign Secretary should warn this could lead to a break in diplomatic relations.

The MP has also approached the Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, urging top level security for ANC representatives in London.

"It is known that South African murder squads operate in countries alongside their own. It seems now that they are spreading their tentacles wide. I shall raise this matter in the Commons immediately after the Easter recess." Mr Winnick said.

On Friday it was disclosed that reports leaked to the press by French and other Western intelligence sources pointed to South African agents having killed Ms September.

According to the sources, South African intelligence operatives arrived in Paris just before the murder and left immediately after, possibly for London.

Ms September, the ANC representative for France, Switzerland and Luxembourg was shot dead as she entered her Paris office last Tuesday.

A report on Friday in the French daily newspaper Le Monde said French and other Western intelligence services, especially the Americans, were certain South African intelligence agents were behind the killing.

These services apparently met after

the assassination to discuss the possibility that the battleground between the ANC and Pretoria had now been extended to Europe.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has denied South Africa was involved and attributed the killing to a rival ANC faction. French police have also said they have no clues as to the identity of the assassins.

But the reports said that even if South African intelligence agents did not carry out the killing, they certainly gave the order.

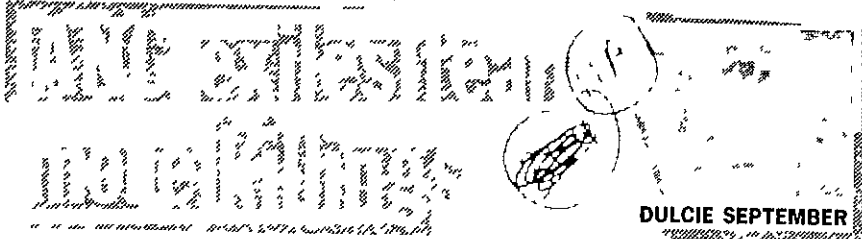
Western agents were said to have discussed similarities between the Paris killing and the attempted murder of an ANC official, Mr Godfrey Motsape, in Brussels in February.

The newspaper quoted one intelligence source as saying that the South African agency alleged to be responsible was "dangerously efficient".

"We have already seen some of its teams infiltrate a country without their embassy knowing," the source added.

The agency was said to be largely autonomous within the South African administration and its alleged recent activities in Europe could mean an extreme radicalization of the service, it was claimed.

The South African ambassador in Paris, Mr Hendrik Geldenhuys, released a statement after being called to the presidential palace, saying "There is no logical reason why South Africa should be implicated in an act of such absurdity."



**DULCIE SEPTEMBER**

EXILED ANC operatives are living in constant fear of professional hitmen responsible for the assassinations in the past year of three senior and scores of junior members

By **DRIES VAN HEERDEN** in Johannesburg and **JEREMY BROOKS** in London

Since the bullet-ridden body of Mrs Dulcie September, 50, the ANC's representative in France, was found on Tuesday morning outside the ANC office in Paris, European governments have been reviewing their security measures

On Friday, the British Home Office disclosed that security arrangements for the ANC's London office were "under review"

Mrs September was shot five times at close range with a 22 calibre rifle fitted with a silencer.

French police are con-

vinced the killing was done by a "highly professional" assassin, and not a rogue rightwinger

The ANC, too, believes that attacks on its representatives abroad are the work of hired hitmen sympathetic to rightwing causes

**Blame**

Despite Foreign Minister Pik Botha's denial, the ANC holds the SA Government responsible

"But it is almost impossible to prove any direct SA connection," said one source

"There are wheels within wheels — a long line of men recruiting others to hire someone to do the killing"

A case in point for the ANC is the trial in London last year involving shadowy rightwingers accused of plotting to abduct ANC executive member Joe Slovo

In Johannesburg, political scientist Dr Tom Lodge said this week there was a trend emerging in attacks on ANC personnel "that seems to lead back to Pretoria"

"I'm not suggesting that people in high places are actively planning the attacks"

"But at various levels of the security apparatus, people are taking their cue from the bellicose statements of politicians and acting accordingly," he said

**Dulcie fought for 'what was right'**

By **EUGENE ABRAHAM**  
**DULCIE SEPTEMBER**, the ANC's representative in France who was shot dead on Tuesday, always fought for "what she thought was right", her grieving sister said in Stellenbosch this week

Mrs Stephenie Arendse, Dulcie's eldest sister, said the fight for "what was right" started when Dulcie joined the National Liberation

Front soon after qualifying as a teacher

She taught in Athlone until her arrest in 1963 on treason charges. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

"Dulcie had changed when she was released from prison. She became very withdrawn," said Mrs Arendse.

● The South African Ambassador to France, Mr Hen-

rie Geldenhuys, was interviewed on Thursday by an assistant to the French President concerning the Dulcie September assassination, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

The ambassador had reiterated his official statement that the South African Government could not accept responsibility for the assassination, Mr Botha said.

D10 21/4/88

11A

# Political terror not a partisan matter

In the South African political conflict what news we are getting from the front lines is becoming ever more grim. The front-page picture of a seriously injured Albie Sachs crawling away from his bombed-out car is but the latest jolt in what is already a long list.

Consider such reports as the following

● Troops raid homes in a residential area, killing 42 people of whom at least 12 are civilians including women and children (Maseru, December 9, 1982)

● A car bomb explodes in a busy street outside the Defence Headquarters during the afternoon rush hour, killing 19 and injuring 215 (Pretoria, May 20, 1983)

● Planes bomb suburban homes, a day-care centre and a jam factory killing six people, including two women and two children (Maputo, May 23, 1983)

● A double car bomb near the magistrate's court kills three policemen and injures five more as well as nine civilians (Johannesburg, May 21, 1987)

● A powerful car bomb outside Wis Com-mand headquarters in the central city injures 68 people, all civilians (Johannesburg, July 31, 1987)

● A car bomb explodes in a shopping complex injuring 17 people, four seriously of which two are political activists (Harare, October 14, 1987)

● A powerful bomb explodes before the magistrate's court, killing three and injuring 20 (Gaborone, March 17, 1988)

● Raiders attack an ordinary house in the middle of the night, killing four people, douse their bodies in petrol and setting them on fire, totally gutting the house (Gaborone, March 28, 1988)

The list is far from complete and could easily be extended. Some of the particulars are disputed but these hardly affect the general pattern of the increasing use of political terror with-out regard to civilian casualties

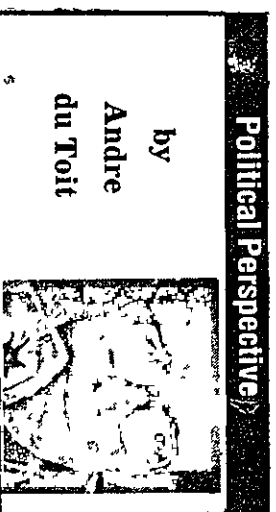
Many people are coming to accept this as simply part of the southern African situation. Many are also prepared to condone such indiscriminate violence if it serves the right cause. This leads to a selective and partisan approach to the incidents reported on our list. For some of the attacks and raids listed have been executed by members of the South African defence or security forces as necessary to combat the "terrorist onslaught" against the country. And

the ANC has accepted responsibility for some of the bombings listed as a necessary part of the "armed struggle" for liberation.

Each party, of course, condemns the atrocities of the other, and justifies the extreme measures needed to counter this.

And so the cycle continues and the cancerous growth of political terror spreads through the fabric of our public life. We remain numb and silent, or we only denounce the atrocities committed by the other side. A society which wants to retain any shred of public self-respect cannot allow this to happen. For what the list makes clear is that, whatever else may be said about their respective causes, both sides are using essentially similar methods.

In fact, in this murky world actions tend to be done almost literally interchangeably. Thus bombings officially blamed on the ANC are sometimes claimed actually to have been the work of agents provocac-



by  
Andre  
du Toit

## Political Perspective

teurs sponsored by the government. And Minister Pk Botha readily suggests that the recent shooting of Dulcie September in Paris and the car bomb that almost killed Albie Sachs in Maputo may actually be due to internal conflicts between rival ANC factions.

list makes clear is that, whatever else may be said about their respective causes, both sides are using essentially similar methods.

In fact, in this murky world actions tend to be done almost literally interchangeably. Thus bombings officially blamed on the ANC are sometimes claimed actually to have been the work of agents provocac-

Should we be any less morally outraged than with regard to the infamous "necklaces"?

The Gaborone raid was a military operation. It was officially described as having been executed "with surgical precision." Much has also been made in this case of the claims that one of the four victims was an ordinary civilian, Charles Makoena, as against the counter-claims that he was a regional commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Solomon Molefi alias Paul Naledi. More important, surely, is the apparently undisputed fact that the other three victims were mere bystanders, innocent civilians.

What we can expect from operations executed with "surgical precision" is precisely that they should differentiate between specific military targets and innocent civilian bystanders. But in this case we do not even get an explanation as to why loss of life was not minimized by capturing the suspects, instead of such indiscriminate killing. For

that, after all, is the crucial moral line which divides legitimate acts of war from war crimes and political terrorism.

Over the past few years there have been a number of explicit statements of the government's position in this regard, especially from General Malan. Thus he warned neighbouring countries in a major statement in 1983 in the following terms: "No matter what methods we have to use to fight South Africa's enemies in those countries we will have to do it. If these organisations conduct sabotage, must we sit back with folded arms and simply warn them diplomatically that they must stop?" General Malan reaffirmed this only last year: "I want to tell our neighbouring states that if there are any terrorists, we will snuff them out. And we will give them a hiding."

What is conspicuously lacking from such threats is any commitment to observe the basic distinction between combatants and non-combatants, between "hard" military targets and "soft" civilian and political victims. Thus there may well not be any evidence linking the government directly or indirectly with the attacks on Dulcie September and Albie Sachs. But this kind of action is also not

specifically ruled out by the thrust of General Malan's policy statements. The remedy is clear. The government should in word and deed distance itself from those who perpetrate political terror of this kind.

For its part the ANC professes to subscribe to the Geneva Convention and insists that its commitment to the armed struggle does not mean that it is waging a campaign of terror against civilians. At the controversial meeting in Dakar in July 1987 the internal South African delegation challenged the ANC that in line with this approach it should also be prepared publicly to denounce indiscriminate bombings when these occur. For a variety of reasons the ANC was not prepared to do this. The return of the internal delegation to South Africa was closely followed by the Johannesburg bombing of July 31, 1987 which has not been disowned or denounced by the ANC.

We have already gone too far down the road to an entrenched war of terror. It is not too late yet to say the killing and maiming of civilians must stop. It is not a partisan matter.

Professor Du Toit teaches in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.)

# 'ANC may have killed September'

by JAMES TOMLINS  
Weekend Argus Foreign  
Staff

PARIS. — France's tough anti-terrorist brigade considers that it is possible that ANC "ambassador" Dulcie September was assassinated here earlier this week by a rival faction in the movement.

Reliable sources said she supported dialogue between the ANC and Pretoria and this was opposed by a hard-line ANC faction.

## Death knell

She was apparently also no longer in favour with the leaders of the French Communist Party (FCP)

Security Minister Mr Robert Pandraud stated publicly "I believe the assassination was a settling of accounts between rival terrorist factions"

This is the same opinion as that expressed by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

*CONFIDENTIAL*  
*W/LEAKERS 2/4/88*  
*(11A)*

The South African Embassy has hotly denied a London newspaper report on Thursday that the French police have found South African diplomats unco-operative.

The report said that while the killer was not hiding in the embassy, he or she certainly used the facilities of its sophisticated international communications network

Police have few clues, except for the six used 0.22 cartridge cases found beside the victim's body outside her fourth-floor office

A silencer was used, so no shots were heard. Neighbours do not recall seeing any suspicious visitor

Friends of Miss September

said she had felt she had been followed recently

She had privately requested police protection in a meeting with a Foreign Ministry official

She was having problems with her residence permit, the friends added, and faced the possibility of being expelled if she drew attention to herself.

The possibility that South Africa was not involved in her slaying has been ignored by leftists here and South African diplomats and officials are receiving 24-hour police protection

South African Ambassador Mr Hendryk Geldenhuys was convoked by the Elysee Palace on Tuesday for a 30-min-

ute meeting with Mr Jean Audibert, Presidential Advisor on African Affairs

The meeting was unusual as this kind of representation is usually made to an ambassador by a Foreign Ministry official or even the Foreign Minister. However, President Mitterrand was anxious to underscore his personal "concern and extreme emotion" over the slaying

## Apartheid crime

Mr Audibert did not go so far as to put the blame for the assassination on Pretoria, but said grimly "this murder falls within the framework of a series of criminal actions aimed at settling by violence a situation whose origin in reality lies in the existence of the apartheid regime"

Mr Geldenhuys repeated his Government's position that South Africa was not involved in the crime — that "it would go against all logic — it would be absurd" to have done so



11/14/88

# Sachs fighting for his life in hospital

MAPUTO — Anti-apartheid activist Albie Sachs and a Mozambican citizen, Ismail Mussagy, are in "a very serious" condition today after the car-bomb blast here yesterday.

Mr Sachs's right hand was nearly severed in the 9.20 am explosion outside his flat in Maputo. Mr Mussagy received serious head injuries from bits of metal that hurtled from the booby-trapped car, and his three-year-old son was slightly injured.

The son was discharged from hospital yesterday evening.

Witness Ms Sam Barnes, an

American who works as information officer for the United Nations Development Programme, said she was driving along Julius Nyerere Street at the time of the explosion. "I got to the corner (in front of Mr Sachs's apartment block) and I saw Albie by his car," Ms Barnes said. "I slowed down and we waved at each other. Then I got as far as the end of the South African trade mission (about 40 m beyond the corner) and I heard this horrible explosion."

Ms Barnes, from Boston, Massachusetts, said she pulled over and heard sirens. "I looked back and I saw smoke. I immediately

thought, 'It's Albie, because of what the South Africans are doing all over the region,' she was quoted as saying.

"He was lying on the sidewalk and the car was between him and the building, also on the sidewalk. One of his arms was blown off and he was covered in blood. He was conscious and moved a little."

Mr Sachs was dressed in shorts and T-shirt, apparently on his way to the beach, when he opened the door of his Honda car. The car was turned into a twisted hunk of scrap and hurled three metres.

Mr Sachs, 53, a lawyer who was strongly linked to the ANC in the early '60s, clashed with the South African authorities from the age of 17. He left South Africa in 1963, and has been living in Maputo for 10 years.

Cape Town lawyer Mr Harry Suitcher, a former colleague and friend, said of Mr Sachs yesterday: "He was obviously to the left of the rest of us but he had no connections that were apparent to us with any particular organisation or party." — Reports by The Argus, Africa Service, Sapa and Reuters.



Wounded South African anti-apartheid activist Albie Sachs, photographed after receiving medical treatment in Maputo Hospital for injuries caused by a car-bomb blast.





**BLAST VICTIM** ... Exiled South African advocate Mr Albie Sachs crawls away from his burning car after a bomb exploded yesterday morning when he opened the car door in a Maputo street

Picture: Jose Cabral (AIM)

# Horror bomb

*ANC Times 8/24/88* *11A* *[Signature]*

**MAPUTO.** — Former Cape Town advocate Mr Albie Sachs narrowly escaped becoming the seventh senior member of the ANC to be assassinated so far this year when he had one arm virtually blown off in a car-bomb blast in Maputo early yesterday.

Late last night he was still fighting for his life after undergoing emergency surgery during which his mutilated arm was amputated. A spokesman at Maputo Hospital said the condition of the exiled South African was "very serious".

The powerful bomb blast — which left his car a mangled wreck, a large crater in the road and two other people injured —

de. seated at 9 20am in the central Maputo district of Polana as Mr Sachs, dressed in shorts and T-shirt, opened the car door.

It is believed he was heading for the beach at the time of the explosion, which hurled twisted pieces of the car up to 50m, shattered the windows of the nearby Portuguese Embassy, blasted branches of trees and sent a shower of glass from apartment block windows into the street. The South African trade mission is on the same street.

A 33-year-old Mozambican man, Mr Ishmael Nagib Mussagy, received serious head injuries from bits of metal that hurtled from the booby-trapped car, and the man's three-year-old son was slightly injured.

Mr Sachs — a father of two teenage sons who live in London — crawled from the burning car after the blast. His sons will fly to Maputo today to see him.

Yesterday, as Mr Sachs fought for his life, the Mozambican government and relatives of the injured man — one of whom, his elderly mother, still lives in Cape Town — laid the blame for the blast at Pretoria's door.

The official Mozambican news agency AIM has accused Pretoria of trying to assassinate Mr Sachs. It said there was "no doubt" as to who was responsible.

Our Political Staff reports that the SA government rejected the allegations that it was responsible for the bombing. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha suggested that the death of Paris-based ANC representative Ms Dulcie September and the bombing of Mr Sachs was the result of a power struggle within the banned movement.

"The South African government cannot accept responsibility for the conflict."

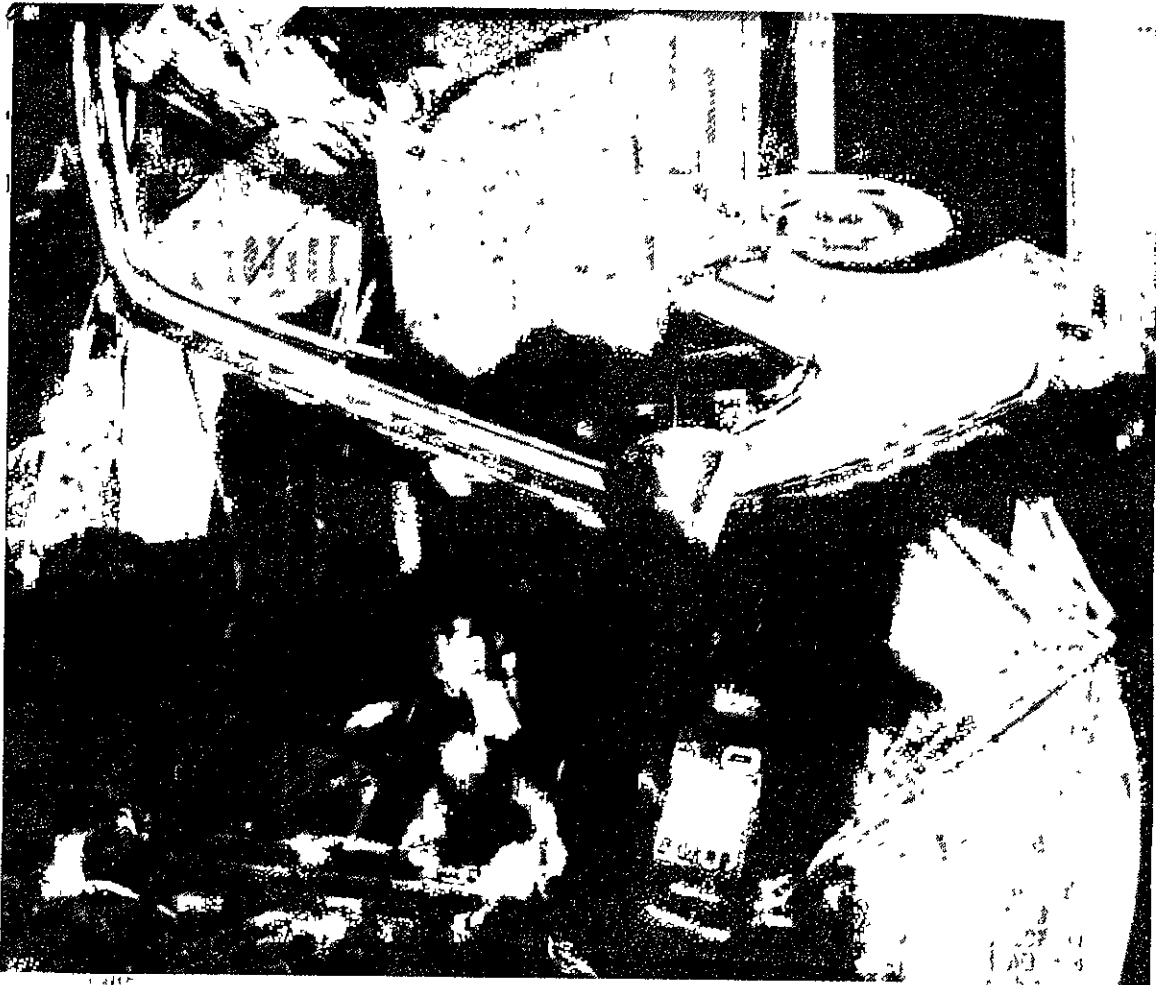
To page 3

## SA govt: ANC behind bomb

THE SA government has dismissed allegations that it was responsible for the assassination attempt on exiled ANC member Mr Albie Sachs and has hinted that the ANC itself could have been behind the plot.

This is the second time in a week that the government has suggested that internal divisions lay behind violent attacks on ANC members.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, last night rejected accusations of a South African involvement in the car bomb which ripped off Mr Sachs's arm and left him in a critical condition.



**AFTERMATH . . .** The mangled wreck of the car of exiled advocate Mr Albie Sachs. He was critically injured when a car bomb exploded as he opened the door of his car in a Maputo street yesterday morning. South Africa has been blamed for the explosion but has denied the allegation.

Picture JOSE CABRAL (AIM)

From page 1

Mozambique and definitely not for the acts of violence which flow from it," he said.

"This is also true as far as struggles going on within the ANC are concerned."

His former wife, Ms Stephanie Kemp, said "There can be no doubt that the South African regime is responsible. The blame is clear."

Speaking from London, Ms Kemp told Chris Steyn. "There can't be many South Africans who have had anything to do with the regime, who are not absolutely convinced that this was yet another attempt to intimidate those working for democracy and working against the injustice of apartheid."

"The only people who can question whether the South African regime have direct responsibility for the blast, are people who have some goodwill to apartheid."

"But it is extremely painful when somebody close to you is physically attacked. It makes you even more angry, it doesn't intimidate you. And I am sure Albie will not be intimidated either," she said.

Mr Sachs's elderly mother, Mrs R Edwards, said she was aware of what had happened to her son, but preferred not to talk about it.

A spokesman for South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS), Mr Christo Smith, yesterday declined to comment on the claims.

The attempt on Mr Sachs's life follows the assassination last week of Ms September. Since the start of the year five other ANC members have died in mysterious circumstances.

The recent killings continue a pattern established in the middle of last year when two senior ANC representatives — among them National Executive Committee member Cassius Make — were shot dead soon after disembarking from a plane at Swaziland's Matsapha Airport.

These killings followed widely-publicized claims that Pretoria had infiltrated the upper echelons of the banned movement and was obtaining detailed information on the movements of ANC members.

The government has denied responsibility for the deaths.

(TIA) (S.A.)

# ANC man did die, says SAP

Bl/day 4/4/88

PRETORIA — The SAP's Public Relations Division in Pretoria insists the ANC's commander in Botswana, Solomon Molefi, was killed in the SADF's March 28 raid into northern Gaborone.

The division was asked to comment on a Botswana government charge that reports identifying Molefi as a victim constituted "deliberate fabrication".

The Botswana Press Agency said yesterday Botswana maintained that the man killed in the raid was Charles Mokoena, a refugee since 1979.

The SAP's Public Relations Division said Molefi was born on January 11, 1952, and left the country illegally via Botswana in June 1976. He was trained in East Germany and Angola. He had been in Botswana since September 1986, and was suspected of complicity in numerous acts of terrorism in SA since then.

Botswana identified the four people killed in the raid as Martha Madisa (unemployed), Thandi Seokamo (a teacher), Masego Ikgopoleng (a bookshop employee) and Charles Mokoena.

A Department of External Affairs spokesman in Gaborone said yesterday: "The SA refugee killed is Charles Mokoena and not Solomon Molefi."

□ Reacting to allegations that SA tourists had been harassed by Botswana security forces after the recent SADF raid, a Botswana government spokesman said South Africans were "free to come here as always". — Sapa.

## Matee burial

THE former branch chairman of the Azanian Students Movement in Kroonstad, Free State, Mr Sompe Matee (21), was stabbed to death on April 2

He was a Form V pupil at Matlosane High School in Klerksdorp

He was chairman of the branch from 1984 to 1985

His funeral service will be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kroonstad at 2 pm tomorrow

# ANC man blasted

Sowetan 8/4/68  
ANC man blasted  
CIA

MAPUTO — A powerful car bomb explosion yesterday seriously injured prominent South African exile and ANC member Albie Sachs.

South Africa has already been held responsible for the bomb explosion which follows the murder about a week ago of the ANC representative in Paris Ms Dulcie September.

Her death has also been blamed on South African agents, but French police are still investigating her murder.

Yesterday morning's car bomb explosion



occurred at about 9.20 when Mr Sachs went to open the door of his car parked outside an apartment block in Julius Nyerere Avenue in the Polana suburb

First accounts say that when Mr Sachs turned the key in the lock the car exploded. Two other people were slightly injured.

The force of the blast shattered every window in the block.

Mr Sachs was seriously

injured but was still alive when he was taken to hospital

The explosion was so strong that windows were shattered in every house and building in the same block.

The Mozambique news agency, AIM, said he was a member of the African National Congress, but Mozambican official sources are baffled by the bomb attack against Mr Sachs

As an advocate he worked in a research department of the Mozambican ministry of justice and South Africa

had never demanded his expulsion from Mozambique, they said.

"At the time of the Nkomati Accord lists of ANC people who had to leave Mozambique were

• To Page 8

• From page 1 drawn and the South Africans never mentioned his name," the sources said

The Mozambique news agency, AIM quickly blamed South Africa for the car bomb

"In Maputo no-one doubts that the authors of this assassination attempt were agents of the South African Government," it said.

Mr Sachs was banned by the South African authorities in October 1955 when he was a student at Cape Town University

He later attended the "Congress of the People" in Kiptown

In October 1963 he was detained under the 90 day detention clause released in December and immediately rearrested

He later wrote a book called "The Prison Diary of Albie Sachs" which was turned into a stageplay.

This is the second time that a prominent anti-apartheid activist is the victim of a bomb blast

A parcel bomb killed anti-apartheid activist and ANC member Ruth First. She was the wife of ANC and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

At the time she worked at Maputo's University Centre for African Studies

Sowetan 8/4/68

# S FLOWERS FOR

# FAMILY

## Son among victims of SADF raid

Soweto 8/14/88  
11A

A SOWETO family only heard yesterday that their son was one of the four people killed in the South African Defence Force's raid into Botswana last week.

FOR SALE  
BOLIVIA AND  
MOKGADI BETA



GRIEF-stricken Mrs Rosalina Molele after news of her son's death was broken to the family. He died after the SADF raid in Botswana.

The Molele family of 774 Zone 1, Meadowlands, was thrown into mourning by a newspaper reporter and news over the radio, that the son, Solomon, who they last saw in 1976 was one of those killed during the raid on a Gaborone house.

The family was until yesterday in the dark as to the whereabouts of Solomon who disappeared at the height of the 1976 unrest in Soweto. Solomon Molele (36), has been identified as a commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing in Botswana by the South African Police.

The three women who died with him in the raid have been identified as Miss Martha Madisa, unemployed, Miss Thandi Seokamo, a teacher, and Mrs Masago Kgopoteng, a bookstore employee.

The Botswana Government had identified the dead man as Mr Charles Mokoena, a South African refugee.

### Shock for family

From Page 1  
Mrs Rosina Molele (57), had just arrived back home from a visit to Robben Island to see her other son, Sonnyboy Moses, who is serving a 19-year sentence following the marathon Maritzburg treason trial in 1979, when she heard the news of her son's death.

She was surprised to learn that the four victims, including Solomon, were being buried yesterday.

Meanwhile Brigadier Herman Stadler, security police expert on the ANC yesterday said Mr Molele was a top ANC commander. He was also known as Paul Naledi, regional commander of the whole of Botswana.

Intelligence sources in Pretoria said Mr Molele had masterminded 47 attacks in South Africa.

The sources said Mr Molele survived several previous attempts on his life. He allegedly underwent training in Angola and East

11A

SA exile fights for his life

# Sachs latest in string of ANC targets

11A  
8/7/88

SIX assassinations of ANC members so far this year culminated yesterday in the Maputo car-bomb attack on veteran member Albie Sachs.

Late last night Sachs was still fighting for his life, the Mozambican news agency, AIM, said. A spokesman at Maputo Hospital, where he underwent surgery, said the condition of the exiled South African was "very serious".

He was visited in hospital by senior members of the Frelimo government, who also visited the scene of the explosion.

The prominent anti-apartheid activist was seriously injured when he detonated an explosive device attached to his car when he turned the key in the door lock at 9.20am. The blast shattered every window in the block, the Africa News Organisation reported.

Sachs was rushed to hospital with serious injuries.

The attempt on Sachs's life follows the assassination last week of the ANC's Paris representative Dulcie September. Since the start of the year, five other ANC members have died in mysterious circumstances.

ANC member Siphon Ngema was gunned down in Swaziland in January, while Jacob Molokwane was killed in Francistown, Botswana, by unidentified gunmen. A car bomb killed two ANC members in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, and in March ANC cadre Mazizi Magakeza was shot dead in a Maseru, Lesotho, hospital bed.

## Business Day Reporters

Earlier this year treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and secretary-general Alfred Nzo escaped attempts on their lives.

The recent killings continue a pattern established in the middle of last year when two senior ANC representatives — including national executive committee member Cassius Make — were shot dead soon after disembarking from an aircraft at Swaziland's Matsapha Airport.

Reuter reports from Maputo that Sachs' right arm was severed in the blast. The blast left a wide crater in the road and hurled parts of the car 50m away.

Two other people were admitted to hospital with injuries, but one of them was discharged yesterday afternoon.

AIM has accused Pretoria of trying to assassinate Sachs. It said there was "no doubt" who was responsible.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that government rejected the allegations it was responsible for the bombing. Foreign Minister P. W. Botha suggested the death of September and the bombing of Sachs were the result of a power struggle within the banned movement.

"The South African government cannot accept responsibility for the conflict in Mozambique and definitely not for the

● To Page 2

## Sachs latest in string of top ANC victims

acts of violence which flow from it," he said.

"This is also true as far as struggles going on within the ANC are concerned."

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London Sachs was born in 1935. He married Stephanie Kemp, from whom he is now divorced. They have two sons.

He was detained in 1963 under the 90-

● From Page 1

day law and left the country in 1966 to lecture in law at Southampton University. ANC sources said Sachs played a leading role in the ANC's "legal section". He was employed in Mozambique's Ministry of Justice.

● See Comment Page 4



in medical costs, insurance pay-outs and the loss of skilled personnel in

# Sachs: 'intellectual rather than activist'

8/19/88 IIA

ALBIE SACHS, critically injured when a bomb destroyed his car in Maputo yesterday, became a member of the ANC in 1969 when membership of the organisation was first opened up to whites, according to Wits University political scientist Tom Lodge.

However, his role in the organisation appears to have been that of an intellectual rather than an activist, and since 1977 he has been employed at the Eduardo Mondlane University and, more recently, at the Justice Ministry, working on a legal code for Mozambique.

Lodge, who has met Sachs on a few occasions, said Sachs first became involved in politics during his student days in the Fifties as a member of the Congress of Democrats — the white wing of the Congress movement.

He was one of about 20 whites who took part in the 1952 defiance campaign.

Sachs was arrested after using the entrance for blacks at a Post Office, but the charges were later dropped.

He qualified as an advocate and was involved in the defence of ANC and PAC members in the early Sixties. He also defended his former wife, Stephanie Kemp, in the African Resistance Movement trial.

Sachs was one of the first people to

## ALAN FINE

be held under the 90-day detention law, and soon after his release he left for Britain.

He wrote an autobiography, and the chapters covering his detention experience were dramatised for British television recently.

For more than a decade he was a lecturer in law at the University of Southampton. During that period he wrote another book, which Lodge describes as the first powerfully argued critique of the South African system of justice. He has also published numerous articles in legal journals.

## Exempted

Since his move to Maputo in 1977, Sachs has been attempting to devise a legal system for a post-revolutionary, socialist Mozambique. Because of this — he has never been a full-time ANC functionary — he was exempted from the 1984 post-Nkomati expulsions of ANC officials from the country.

Lodge describes Sachs as a Marxist and a socialist. However, he is unsure whether Sachs is a member of the South African Communist Par-



□ SACHS ... critically injured

ty. Reuter quotes diplomatic sources in Lisbon as saying he is a member of the party.

Lodge says one can only guess at Sachs' involvement in the ANC. However, the fact that his name has not come up in political trials suggests he is primarily an intellectual figure rather than an activist involved in the ANC's military and organisational activities within SA.

Sachs is the son of Solly Sachs, the prominent garment industry trade unionist in the periods before and after the Second World War.

b1/b 31/4/88

# SAP claim ANC commander died in Botswana raid

(11A)  
(12)

PRETORIA — The public relations division of the South African Police maintains that the African National Congress's commander in Botswana, Mr Solomon Molefi, was killed in the South African Defence Force's March 28 raid into northern Gaborone

The public relations division was asked to comment on a Botswana Government charge that reports identifying Mr Molefi as a victim constituted "deliberate fabrication"

The Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) said yesterday Botswana maintained that the man killed in the raid was Mr Charles Mokoena, who had been a refugee since 1979

The SAP said Mr Molefi was born on January 11, 1952, and had left the country illegally via Botswana in June 1976

He was trained in East Germany and Angola

He had been in Botswana since September 1986, and was suspected of complicity in numerous acts of terrorism in South Africa since that date, they claimed

A security police expert on the ANC, Brigadier Herman Stadler, also

confirmed yesterday that Mr Molefi had been killed in the raid

He said Mr Molefi's aliases included Charles Naledi or Solly Naledi — but not Paul Naledi as reported

Botswana identified the four people killed in the raid as Miss Martha Madisa (unemployed), Miss Thandi Seokamo (a teacher), Mrs Masego Ikgopoleng (a bookstore employee) and Mr Charles Mokoena

Not one of the four people killed were members of the ANC, the Botswana Government claimed. The four were buried yesterday

Mr Molefi has, reportedly, survived several previous assassination attempts

In a letter from Botswana President Mr Quett Masire's office, the country yesterday demanded an apology and compensation for "South Africa's unprovoked act of aggression"

Botswana had previously called the attack "cold-blooded murder of four innocent people in their sleep"

South Africa had not responded to Botswana's demand for compensation for the attack — Sapa

Six arrested in Paris in connection with Dulcie September's murder

# ANC death: SA man held

## SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — One of the six people arrested in connection with the assassination in Paris of African National Congress "ambassador" Miss Dulcie September on Tuesday is from Cape Town.

He is 29-year-old Mr Partijn van Geems, son of Mr and Mrs N J van Geems of Bakoven.

Cape Town-born Mr Partijn van Geems is reported to have left South Africa for France in 1984, where he is said by authorities to have sought political asylum and evaded military conscription in South Africa.

When told of his reported arrest last night, a disbelieving Mrs van Geems said she and her husband had spoken to their son, also known as "Martin", in Paris on Wednesday night. She said her son was a band leader in the French capital.

### Questioning

"Everything seemed fine. He didn't say anything about this business I can't believe it I am stunned," she said, but refused to elaborate or discuss her son further.

This emerges after it was reported earlier yesterday that five people, several of them its organisers, were arrested for complicity in the assassination of Ms September in Paris on Tuesday, March 29.

Some were arrested in the Paris suburbs early yesterday morning and were taken straight to the headquarters of the criminal police.

Under French law they can be held for 48 hours for questioning, during which time they are not allowed to have any outside contact. It was later reported that four were released.

The arrests were made after a major uproar in the mass media over lack of apparent police success in solving the crime.

There is virtually universal agreement here that Ms September was assassinated by a South African death squad, but the French government, and even President Francois Mitterrand, have maintained there is no evidence of this. Pretoria has repeatedly said that Dulcie September was the victim of internal ANC strife.

The Saturday Star's Foreign News Service reported from London that, as mourners prepared for last night's vigil before today's burial of Ms September in Paris's famous Pere-Lachaise cemetery, fresh allegations were being made about the activities of South African death squads, now claimed to be operating in Western Europe.

The Paris correspondent of *The Times*, who reported this yesterday, said that an investigation in the respected weekly magazine, *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, this week alleged that a close associate of Mr Charles Pasqua, the hardline Interior Minister, had acted as a link-man for Pretoria.

The magazine identified him as Mr Jean Taousson, once an activist in the Secret Army Organisation (OAS) which fought to prevent the independence of Algeria from France.

Apart from having an official post in the Ministry of the Interior, Mr Taousson is the editor of a small publication considered by opponents of South Africa to be the voice of the pro-apartheid lobby in France.

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9/12/88



Mozambique and Zimbabwe blame Pretoria for bomb attack on Sachs

# New head for ANC mission

**SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS CORRESPONDENTS**

**LONDON** — Chief ANC representative here, Mr. Solly Smith, has been sent to Paris to take over as head of the ANC mission there following the killing of chief Paris representative, Mrs. Dulce September Mr. Smith, who was

## THE BARA BAROMETER

The barometer reflecting Baragwanath Hospital's bed shortage in the medicine department, monitored by the Saturday Star, shows a further decrease from last week.

The average daily number of sick patients without beds from March 21 to April 6 was 154 — 103 less than last week.

The highest number without beds on one day was 219 on April 6, compared with 302 last week.

## Winners of competition

Winners of the Allibert/Saturday Star Garden Furniture Competition run in WEEKENDS are 1 Mr. Ahmed Aiyaz, of Azadaville, 2 Mrs. Dear, of Craighall Park, 3 Mrs. Arundia Malomed, of Actonville. More details in next week's WEEKEND!

## Crosswords transposed

The Saturday Star wishes to draw to the attention of its readers that the grids of the "Wrestling" and "Easy/Cryptic" crosswords have been transposed on the back page of the comics in Weekend! We apologise for the inconvenience to crossword fans.

coming to the end of his term in London, was due to take up a post in Lusaka but has now been diverted to fill in in Paris.

ANC sources said he was officially acting head of mission in Paris. It was not known how long he would be there but it was likely that another official would be found to head the Paris group so that he could return to Lusaka.

His position in London has been taken over by Mr. Mendi Masimungu.

It is reported from Maputo that the ANC blames South Africa for the car bomb blast that severely injured ANC member Professor Albie Sachs.

"There is no doubt" that Thursday's attempt on the life of Albie Sachs is the work of the South African regime, said Mr. Kungwey Xuma, chief ANC representative in Mozambique.

Professor Sachs, a 35-year-old lawyer, left South Africa in the 1960s after defending several prominent ANC leaders after being detained himself and restricted to himself. He had lived in Mozambique for 10 years, first lecturing in law then helping to formulate new laws for the former Portuguese colony.

A bomb exploded under his car on Thursday morning as he opened the car door in front of his apartment building in central Maputo. His right hand was severed from his arm and he suffered eye, liver and lung damage, according to hospital sources.

## Letter bomb

Professor Sachs is the second ANC member to be bombed in Mozambique. In 1982 Ms Ruth First, who was married to Mr. Joe Slovo, former leader of the ANC military wing and head of the SA Communist Party, was killed in Maputo by a letter bomb.

The Mozambican government-controlled media

also blamed South Africa for the attack on Sachs.

Peter Frederix reports from Cape Town that PFP MP Mr. Van der Merwe said yesterday that right-wingers were most likely responsible for the blast that nearly killed Professor Sachs.

Mr. van der Merwe said the government, by the way it had denounced the ANC, had given "an up-front indication that any action against them would be tolerated."

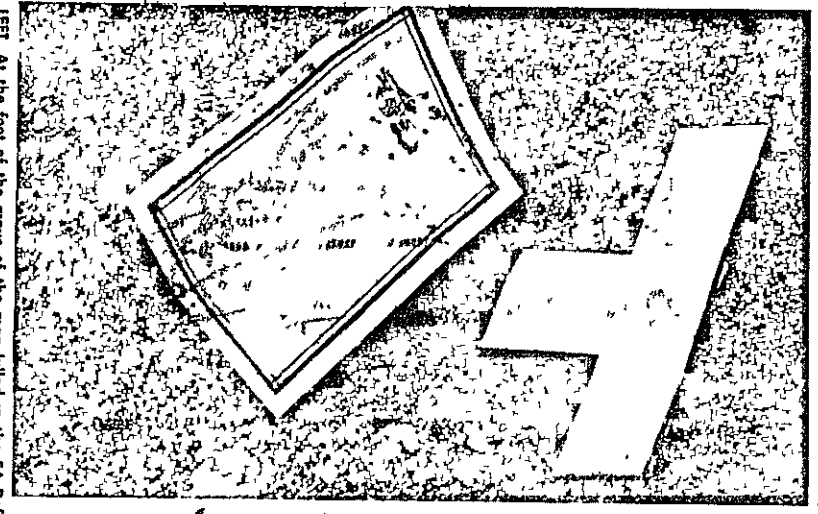
"I think this is quite possibly the work of right-wing hit squads. I'm not saying this sort of thing is decided on by the Government, but there is clearly a lot happening which the Government treats with sympathy."

Mr. van der Merwe said he was surprised by Foreign Minister P. K. Bobba's suggestion that the assassination attempt might have been the result of a power struggle within the ANC.

Mr. Bobba has denied Mozambican allegations that the South African Government was behind the assassination attempt.

Mr. Moolman Menez, Conservative Party spokesman on law and order, declined to comment until he had more information on the incident.

In Harare, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyirira claimed yesterday that South Africa had embarked on international terrorism to assassinate and exclude freedom fighters.



LEFT At the foot of the grave of the man killed in the SA Defence Force into Botswana on March 28 is a message. It reads: "Dear Comrade Charlie, You will not be forgotten by your people and comrades for the life you have so heroically given in the cause of justice, freedom and peace. The comrades who took your life should know that they are not forgotten. M.K." Botswana authorities claim the man who was killed was named Charles Molebena. The SADF, however, say he is a known ANC terrorist and his name is Solomon Molefi — or he gave him his ANC name, Paul Ndleli. RIGHT The husband of one of the three women killed in the road, with their child on his shoulders at the funeral service this week for his wife and the other victims. Photographs Ken Oosterbroek

## Pik sends protest note to Botswana

**CAPE TOWN** — The Department of Foreign Affairs has sent a protest note to Botswana's Department of External Affairs regarding the treatment of Botswana citizens by Botswana security forces.

In a statement yesterday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. P. K. Bobba said he had protested to Botswana about the treatment of Mr. S. C. Meyer and Mr. H. C. Coetzee while on a trip to Botswana for "tourism purposes."

In his note of protest, Mr. Bobba said Mr. Meyer was a debt collector for Westbank and had used the opportunity of his visit to Botswana to suspect a vehicle to Botswana for "tourism purposes."

Mr. Meyer and Mr. Coetzee were arrested by Botswana police and interrogated and treated rudely before being released.

In his letter, Mr. Bobba also said that in connection with the South African citizens who were apparently missing in Botswana — Sapa.

# Sachs remains critical

**THE** condition of African National Congress member Mr Albie Sachs, who was severely injured in a Maputo car bomb explosion on Thursday morning, remains critical, the official Mozambican news agency, AIM, said last night.

Mr Sachs, 53, who has been living and working for the ANC in Maputo since 1977, had his right arm amputated shortly after the blast.

The African National Congress yesterday formally blamed South Africa for the blast.

● Lawyers attending the "Laws against trade unions and political organisations" conference at UCT yesterday expressed their shock and contempt at the bomb attack on Mr Sachs,

a UCT graduate and former advocate of the Cape Bar.

Mr Geoff Budlender, director of the Johannesburg Legal Resources Centre, said he was "deeply shocked at the cowardly attack".

"Albie Sachs is one of the most original and thoughtful lawyers produced by UCT."

"His work on the nature of the South African legal system, and on how it ought to be changed, has had a deep influence on my generation of lawyers," he said.

Professor Hugh Corder, of the UCT law faculty said Mr Sachs's work had influenced many South African lawyers. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-  
Reuter

# City man linked to Paris murder

# ANC killings clue

Cape Times

9/4/88

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Own Correspondent

**LONDON.**—A Cape Town-born South African exile was reported to be among six people held by French police this week in connection with the killing of Ms Dulcie September, the ANC head of mission in Paris, on March 29.

The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, reported yesterday that Mr Martin van Geems, a conscientious objector who left South Africa in 1984 and was granted political refugee status in France the following year, was questioned by police in connection with the killing.

Mr Van Geems was detained on Thursday morning along with his Christian girlfriend Ms Amarijulis Horta, Mr Pytha Assesso, an Angolan who is president of the obscure Liberal Democratic Party of Angola, and his French girlfriend Ms Mireille Desranches.

The following day another two people were detained. *Le Monde* did not name them, but described them as a Frenchman of Congolese origin and his girlfriend.

The report said police are investigating claims that Mr Van Geems paid for the killing with money received from Mr Assesso who in turn received it from an unidentified source in Lisbon.

Last night a police source who would not be named claimed the five were released earlier yesterday when their detention came up for review. The *Le Monde* report said Mr Van Geems was well known in anti-apartheid circles and had met Ms September at ANC solidarity meetings. He was described as "artistic, pleasant and bohemian" who was not a militant activist. An ANC spokesman in Paris said Mr Van Geems was a little-known figure



**ASSASSINATED ANC OFFICIAL**  
... Ms Dulcie September

who had once approached the organization to join. He was asked to produce information about himself and as far as the spokesman could recall had not done so.

His mother, Mrs N van Geems, of Bakoven, last night refused to comment on the allegations.

The arrests would suggest that the French police suspect the murder is connected with an internal feud in the ANC.

The French government said this week it had no information that South African agents were involved. In an of the record briefing, one government official went further and suggested the killing could have stemmed from infighting in the ANC.

**No evidence**  
The ANC has steadfastly denied this blaming South African agents, while admitting they had no evidence to back this claim.

Some reports have suggested that in the Van Geems and Assesso case police were led by information supplied by the Renseignements Generaux (described by a South African embassy spokesman as the French equivalent of the ballistics and forensic department).

A conflicting report on French radio said Ms September had been killed by militant communists because she was an agent working for Western intelligence services.

# Arrested for Dulcie murder — now released — Cape Town man says from Paris

# 1 WVA STREET UP

by ALAN ROBINSON  
Weekend Argus Correspondent

**PARIS.** — Martin van Geems, 29-year-old South African-born musician, has vigorously denied any complicity in the assassination of top ANC official Dulcie September in Paris last week.

The strapping young man who once kicked sand in a weakling's face in the SABC TV advertisement for a brand of peanut butter, told me of "the grimmest 36 hours in my life"

Mr van Geems and his Chilean girlfriend, Amarylis Horta, were hauled out of bed at 6 am on Thursday by six heavily armed members of the French political police, grilled and then dumped in a Paris prison

"I could not believe what was happening. They burst in, giving my one-year-old little boy a terrible fright. They questioned us about Dulcie's murder and they just didn't want to know when we said we were innocent."

"They searched our home and our car and then carted us off to jail, where we were

separated. They grilled me for five hours non-stop and then dumped me in a small cell with 27 others

"It was terrible. Most of the others were drug addicts and small-time crooks. There was no ventilation, no windows, nothing. And they had the heating on full blast."

"They took my watch away so I lost all track of time. And they kept coming back to question me over and over again, the same questions, one after the other."

"They were bloody but never violent. It was only last night that they took me out again and said they accused me of being involved in Dulcie's murder."

Still seething with anger, Mr van Geems said the police had cleared him completely.

## LISTENER TELLS

Weekend Argus Reporter

## RADIO 5 DJ HE KNOWS DULCIE'S ASSASSIN

A MAN claiming to know who assassinated Dulcie September, the ANC representative in Paris, telephoned Radio 5 today, according to radio announcer Martin Locke.

The caller, apparently a South African, telephoned the radio station to protest the innocence of Mr Martin van Geems, who was arrested and then released in Paris, along with five others, in connection with the assassination.

Said Locke: "The man phoned to say he knew that Van Geems was not involved at all. He said he knew this beyond doubt because he himself was at the scene of the killing. That's all he said ... and he sounded very definite about it."

Locke talked about the telephone call immediately after the 7am news on Radio 5 today — after hearing that Van Geems and the five others had been released. He said it was an "interesting development".

But when the S.A.F. was contacted later today for further information about the telephone call, Locke was said to be "unavailable". A spokesman said that no further information could be given.

"They said I was the victim of dirty trick

"Who would want to do that to me? I am just a musician going about my business. Sure, I am politically aware. That is why I fled South Africa in 1984 and came to live in France as a political refugee.

"But my sympathies are entirely on the left. Someone set me up and I want to know who. They didn't just give police my name and address, they concocted a whole long story about how I was sent the money to pay the assassin, the lot."

"The police were only too eager to grab me and the others (a total of six people were held and then freed). They are under pressure from the politicians to act."

"The presidential elections in France are affecting everyone, and when there was no sign of any arrests after Dulcie's murder, pressure was piled on the cops."

"I don't mind saying I am bloody angry. One would expect this sort of thing to happen in South Africa, not here in France."

Mr van Geems is now worried all the publicity in France may prevent him



Miss Dulcie September

from getting a job

"My name has been in all the papers here and people will think 'where there's smoke there's fire'. I am going to see a lawyer on Monday."

"I want the police to apologise. I will demand that they clear my name publicly. If I could sue, I would."

But before seeing his lawyer, Mr van Geems had another appointment. He was due to attend the funeral in Paris this afternoon of Dulcie September.

count that the offences doing

# Mandela concert: MP attacks BBC

LONDON — The Conservative Party MP, Mr John Carlisle, has attacked the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for planning to broadcast a 10-hour pop concert to mark the 70th birthday of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Carlisle, who plans to raise the issue in the House of Commons, accused the BBC of "providing oxygen to a terrorist organisation".

"It is an abuse of licence-payers' money and almost certainly in breach of the BBC Charter."

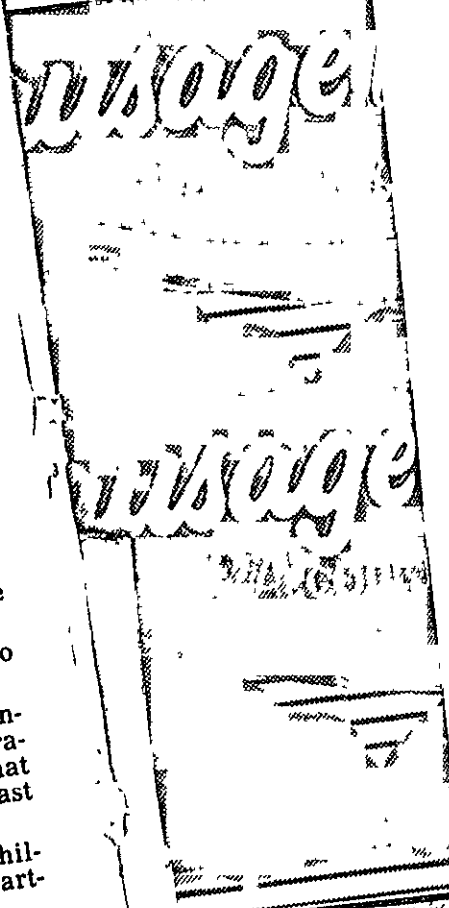
"It is an affirmation of the terrorist tactics of the ANC and of Nelson Mandela who stands for the violent overthrow of South Africa."

The concert will be staged at London's Wembley Stadium on June 11 and will feature top performers like Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, Simple Minds, Chrissie Hind and the Eurythmics.

BBC TV and BBC Radio One plan to link up to provide coverage of the pop marathon.

A BBC executive, Mr Alan Yentob, said the concert was a major musical event and the corporation would "take the greatest care to ensure that viewers and listeners can enjoy the broadcast without political intrusion"

Money raised at the concert is due to go to children's projects in South Africa and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. — Sapa



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# SA man quizzed over ANC killing

(11A)  
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**Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent**

LONDON — A Cape Town-born South African exile is reported to be among six people detained for questioning by French police in connection with the killing of the ANC's Paris representative, Miss Dulcie September

The French newspaper, Le Monde, yesterday named the South African as Mr Martijn van Geems, a conscientious objector, who left South Africa in 1987 and was granted political refugee status in France

Police sources said last night five of the six had been released without any charges being laid against them. The sixth remained in custody because his immigration papers did not appear to be in order

Mr Van Geems was detained on Thursday morning along with his Chilean girlfriend, Miss Amarylis Horta. The president of the obscure Liberal Democratic

Party of Angola, Mr Pytha Assesso, and his French girlfriend, Miss Mireille Desranches, were also arrested

Yesterday, another two people, described as a Frenchman of Congolese origin and his girlfriend, were detained

Le Monde said that police were investigating claims that Mr Van Geems paid for the killing with money received from Mr Assesso who in turn received it from a source in Lisbon

The newspaper claimed that Mr Van Geems had met Miss September at ANC meetings

However, other reports suggested that the police were acting on information supplied by ballistics and forensic experts which could implicate Mr Van Geems and Mr Assesso in the killing

The French news agency, Agence France Press, reported that the police did not suspect them of direct involve-

ment in the murder, while another radio report said that Miss September had been killed by militant communists because she was working for western intelligence

The French government said this week it had no information that South African agents were involved in the killing. One official suggested the killing could have stemmed from ANC infighting

This the ANC has steadfastly denied, blaming South African agents although admitting it has no supporting evidence

● The condition of Mr Albie Sachs, the ANC member who was severely injured in a Maputo car bomb explosion on Thursday morning, remains critical

Mr Sachs, 53, who has been living and working for the ANC in Maputo since 1977, had his right arm amputated shortly after the blast

# HOW ALS ATNCO'S SIBDUIE

## is buried

By JEREMY BROOKS, Paris  
A PUBLIC row erupted within the ANC and French anti-apartheid factions yesterday as murdered Paris representative Dulcie September was buried in the French capital's "Hero's Acre".  
At the same time, suspicion once again focused on claims that Pretoria was behind the assassination as police released five people arrested on Thursday in connection with the shooting.

Various groups, including a delegation representing French President Mitterrand and his Socialist Party, cancelled attendance at the funeral at the last minute. They objected to the presence in force of France's Parti Communiste, which by Friday was clearly in control of funeral and vigil arrangements — even providing their own security officers.

The ANC's entire leadership collected in Paris for the gathering — perhaps as a show of unity to counter suggestions by South African and French politicians that Mrs September was murdered by rivals in the organisation.

### Startling

ANC executives Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo relaxed a security rule of never making public their movements — flying from one country to another without the knowledge of even close colleagues.

This time, however, the entire executive committee stood at the graveside at Paris's famed Père-Lachaise. Alongside were delegates from the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Swope.

They met during a week of startling developments as French newspapers claimed "proof" of South African collusion in Mrs September's death, but quoted only unnamed intelligence sources. At the same time, five Parisians — including an exiled South African, prominent in anti-apartheid circles — were arrested by police.

One was 29-year-old Capetonian conscientious objector Martin van Geem, a "pleas-

**Reds**  
**take**  
**over**  
**vigil**

ant, artistic, Bohemian" character who fled SA in 1984 to escape national service.

A diplomatic source said the arrests were made following forensic and ballistic investigations.

Police sources, on the other hand, said they were investigating "a large sum of money handed over to van Geem by a friend, 35-year-old Angolan Pitha Asseser. They initially believed the money was given to a third party as payment to the killer."

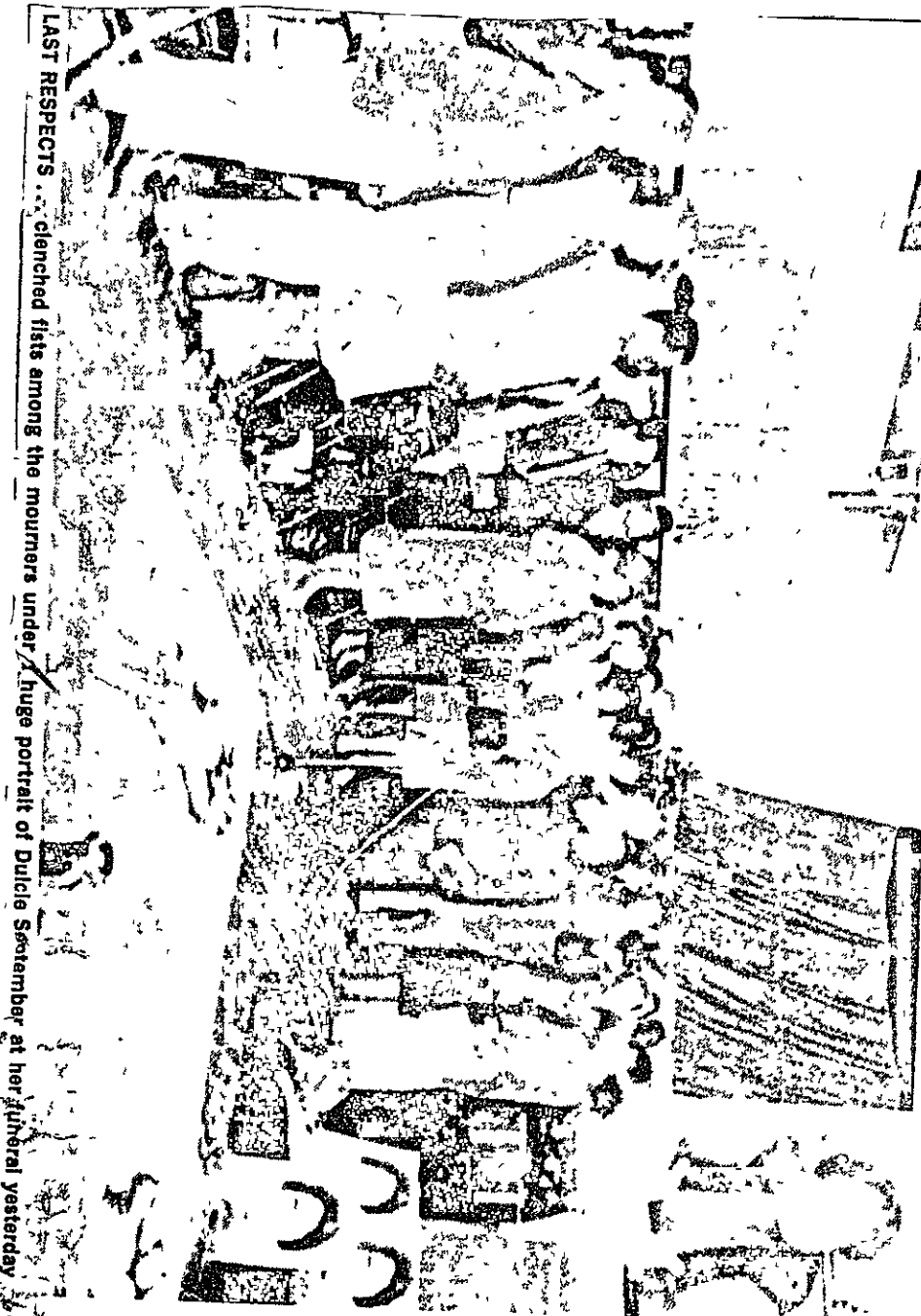
The source of the money is unknown — but police said the funds were routed through Lisbon before reaching Paris.

Another two detainees were Van Geem's fatmata, a Chilean woman, Amaylis Horta, and Asseser's girlfriend, Mireille Desplanches. The fifth person was not named.

### Blood

The ANC's show of solidarity at Mrs September's graveside included flying in more than 80 representatives from around the world, including the ANC choir from London.

Shortly after the Socialists backed out of the funeral, Communist Party secretary General Georges Marchais accused Mr Mitterrand and his Prime Minister Jacques Chirac of "having the blood of Dulcie September on their hands".



LAST RESPECTS... clenched fists among the mourners under huge portrait of Dulcie September at her funeral yesterday

# Hunt on for September's assassin

Cape Town  
11/14/88  
III

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The French police have put out an all-port call for the arrest of an unnamed Angolan national in connection with the assassination last week of Dulcie September, head of the ANC mission in Paris.

The police yesterday said the man they were seeking was wanted to "assist with inquiries" and they did not necessarily suspect that he was directly involved in her cold-blooded murder.

The Paris police also deny any knowledge of reports which Western intelligence services claim say that a so-called "Z-Squad" of South Africans are responsible for the latest spate of ANC assassinations.

A Paris CID spokesman said there was no firm evidence yet whether the murder was the result of a split among left-wing factions close to the ANC — or a right-wing political assassination

which could point to South African involvement.

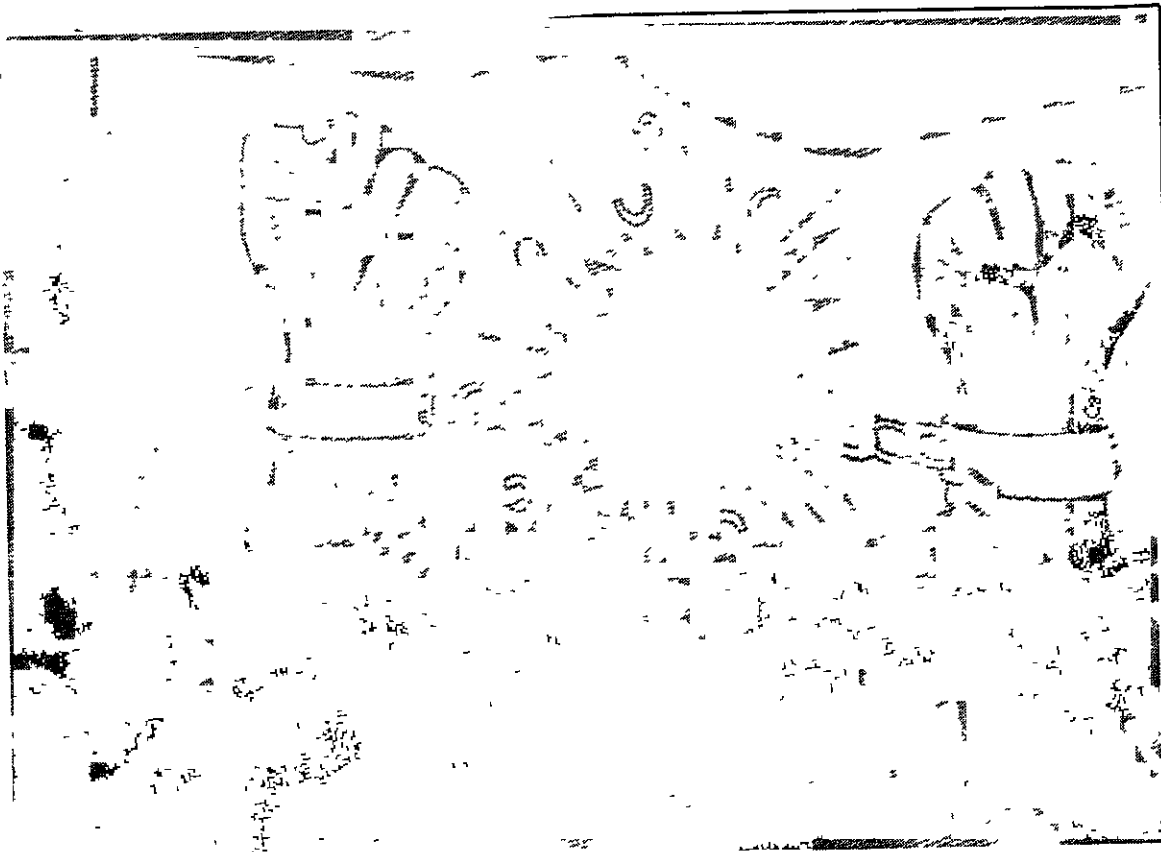
Intelligence sources in Paris said the "Z-squads" had initially been formed by the Bureau for State Security (BSS) and that the project was then taken up and perfected by the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

Its leadership and personnel are considered extreme right-wingers.

Meanwhile, only one of six men detained last Thursday and Friday for questioning is still in custody.

Police are investigating claims that Mr Pitha Assesso, 35, an Angolan national, was given a "substantial sum" of money by the wanted Angolan which may have been a payment for the murder of Miss September, according to the newspaper Le Monde.

● Mr Martijn van Geems, 29, of Cape Town, picked up with his Chilean girlfriend Ms Amaryllis Horta, has vigorously denied any complicity in Mrs September's assassination and has said the police had cleared him completely.



DEMONSTRATION... Mourners hold banners in front of the cemetery during Ms September's funeral

Picture REUTERS

CANC 7-7-85 11/16/85 (11A) 3/10/85

# Paris ANC burial

Own Correspondent

PARIS — Thousands of mourners paid their last respects to murdered ANC official Ms Dulcie September on Saturday and one ANC official accused South Africa of hiring death squads to liquidate members of the guerilla group

Up to 10 000 anti-apartheid campaigners joined African diplomats and ANC leaders in Pere Lachaise cemetery for the burial of Ms September, who was shot dead by an unknown assailant early on March 29 while opening the door to her Paris office. ANC members chanted around the coffin, draped in the ANC's green, yellow and black colours

A giant photograph of Ms September, who was head of the ANC mission in France, was mounted at the entrance to the cemetery

Ms Gertrude Shope, an ANC official responsible for women's issues, told the assembled mourners that Pretoria was "extending the death fields of South Africa" abroad by "sending paid killers and death squads to liquidate ANC delegates"

South Africa has denied involvement in the killing and suggested the murder resulted from ANC factional fighting — Sapa-Reuter

11A  
11/14/88  
**Wrong  
man shot  
in SA raid**

JOHANNESBURG — South African troops who killed four people in a raid on a suspected ANC hideout in Botswana shot the wrong man, the Sunday star reported

In Zambia, the ANC yesterday accused Pretoria of launching an international campaign of assassination to eliminate members of the ANC.

According to the Star, at least one victim of the March 28 military raid into Gaborone was mistakenly identified by the government as Mr Solomon Molefe, a "top regional commander" of the ANC

The newspaper showed Mr Molefe's family in Johannesburg a police photograph of the victim "That is not my brother," the Star quoted Mr Hose Molefe as saying

According to the report, the victim was actually a South African refugee, Mr Charles Mokoena. He was killed along with three Botswana woman in the pre-dawn "pre-emptive" raid on the Gaborone house

Pretoria alleges that the victims were active members of the ANC — UPI



**DEMONSTRATION:** A mourner holds up a picture of Miss Dulcie September, the murdered African National Congress representative in France, at her funeral in Paris. AX665 11/4/88

# Clashes mar Dulcie September funeral

**T**HE funeral of Miss Dulcie September was marred by clashes between anti-apartheid supporters and communists

The communists' role at the funeral on Saturday morning has split the anti-apartheid movement in France

The original plan was for more than 100 000 anti-apartheid supporters to attend the funeral, which would be addressed by French political leaders

But the French Communist Party (FCP) publicised the funeral, using its own slogans, and the result was that only 10 000 mourners attended

## The Argus Foreign Service reports from Paris

Mr Georges Marchais, Stalinist secretary-general of the FCP, was the only French-speaker

Communist Youth League members attacked Mr Harlem Desir, president of the SOS-Racism movement, when he tried to place a wreath on the coffin

His movement issued a statement later attacking the FCP for "monopolising the funeral for its own political ends"

The Socialist Party refused to send a delegation and few of its members turned up. Instead, former premier Mr Pierre Mauroy

laid a wreath on the coffin before it was taken to the Pere Lachaise cemetery

He also lashed out at the FCP for "the take-over of the funeral"

Several visiting ANC leaders have privately expressed concern at the overwhelming communist presence, which observers say now throws doubt on the independence of the ANC, certainly in France

A French liberal said bitterly "The funeral showed, once and for all, that Pretoria was right in its claims that the ANC is communist. It is the end of any mass unified

anti-apartheid movement in France"

An FCP official, asked to comment on the funeral "takeover", said "It is the time to count one's friends — those who support total sanctions against South Africa"

Notably absent from the funeral were the French anti-apartheid elite, headed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the President, and Mr Breyten Breytenbach

● The police investigation into Miss September's assassination is back to square one after five alleged suspects were questioned and then released on Friday

# ANC killing: French seek Angolan

LONDON — The French police have put out an all-ports call for the arrest of an unnamed Angolan national in connection with the assassination last week of the head of the ANC mission in Paris, Miss Dulcie September.

Police yesterday said the man was wanted to "assist with inquiries" although they did not necessarily suspect he was directly involved.

Meanwhile, only one of six people detained last Thursday and Friday for questioning is still in custody.

Police named him as Mr. Rutha Assesso, 35, also an Angolan national who is the appointed head of a radical group he calls the Liberal Democratic Party of Angola.

The police are investigating claims that he was given money by the wanted Angolan which may have been a payment for the murder of Miss September, says the Le Monde paper.

Le Monde had reported — without police substantiation — that the cash was then handed to an exiled South African conscientious objector, Martijn van Geems, who was known to Miss September. Van Geems was among the six people detained last week.

There was undoubted and bitter hostility on show at the weekend at Miss September's funeral in Paris, when the French Communist Party took total control.

When word spread that the communists were preparing to turn it into a propaganda exercise, thousands of socialists stayed away.

The funeral speech was made by the Communist Party's leader, Mr Georges Marchais, who has been responsible for several reports claiming that the South African National Intelligence Service (NIS) was behind the murder.

The Paris police deny any knowledge of reports that Western intelligence services say a so-called "Z-Squad" of South Africans are responsible for the latest spate of ANC deaths.

known as "Z-Squads Incorporated" — a group of professional hitmen.

Intelligence sources in Paris said the Z-Squads were formed by the Bureau for State Security (Boss) and the project was taken up and perfected by the NIS, the paper said.

The claims came in the wake of an escalation in the "secret war" against the ANC — including the assassination of Mrs September and the attempted assassination of Professor Albie Sachs.

Responding to the reports, the director-general of the NIS, Mr T. D. Barnard, said last week it was a bad day when newspapers in South Africa could believe so-called Western intelligence sources. He said he had "no comment" on the reports.

Prof Sachs, who was injured in a car-bomb attack in Maputo on Thursday, was out of immediate danger.

Mr Ishmail Mussagy, 53, a passerby who was injured in the blast and flown to Johannesburg, was still in a critical condition, a hospital source said. DDC-Sapa

The fears that South African agents have started murder operations in Europe comes closer to eventual substantiation in London, it is claimed, than France.

The ANC is in the process of examining evidence seized by Scotland Yard's Anti Terrorist Squad during the ANC kidnap case last year.

The Johannesburg Sunday Star yesterday quoted unnamed Western intelligence sources as saying that the South African Government had a top secret weapon

LUSAKA — As Albie Sachs battles for his life at Maputo Hospital, Mozambique, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa — of which he is a veteran member — has reiterated its view that there was a definite plan to eliminate senior activists of the exiled movement

Although Pretoria, through its Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has expressed the much-debated opinion that recent assassinations of ANC leaders abroad have been the result of in-fighting within the ranks of the ANC, the organisation has asserted that unity among its members was now "more solid than ever before"

Speaking to the *Africa News Organisation* (ANO) shortly after the assassination attempt in Maputo on Thursday on Sachs — engineered via a bomb attack on his car — the ANC described Botha's suggestions as an "absolute lie"

A spokesman for the organisation, however, pointed out that the ANC did anticipate Pretoria would venture to discredit it

"There can be no question of how united we are in the ANC," the spokesman told ANO. "We expected Pretoria to say something like that when in fact there is nothing like it."

Recent assassinations and attempted assassinations of leading ANC figures, according to the ANC, confirmed what the organisation has been signalling to the world for two years now.

This, the ANC spokesman said, could be borne out by the fact that not so long ago four people in Britain — who were arrested and against whom charges of conspiracy to eliminate several of the ANC leadership were later withdrawn — had on their "hit list" ANC president, Oliver Tambo, former ANC military wing commander, Joe Slovo and ANC Paris representative, Dulcie September, who was killed after several gun shots had assailed her

Another example the ANC has given is that of the failed attempt on the life of its representative in Brussels only a few days before the assassination of September. In that instance, the representative was working late in his office when a 40-pound bomb

# ANC on spate of attacks

outside the building went off

"Our representatives, particularly in Western Europe and North America, have repeatedly reported incidents of the telephone threats made to them," pointed out the spokesman. "But we have never detailed these calls."

## Mvemve

Following the death in the late 1970's of ANC representative in Lusaka, John Mvembe, after a parcel-bomb attack, it seems the most number of attempts on the lives of senior ANC officials and activists emerged since 1981

From then up to now,

## SEQUEL TO BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS

FOCUS

Sowetan 11/4/88

(Handwritten scribble)

11/4



ANC chief Oliver Tambo ... target?

other explosions to rock parts of Johannesburg"

"Although these attacks did not necessarily signal a period when the ANC would accelerate its programme for change," the spokesman said, there was "no doubt" that unofficially there was a feeling that there should be "an eye for an eye" attitude towards South Africa

## Settlement

Asked about a negotiated settlement in South Africa, particularly after the string of attacks on ANC members this year, the spokesman said that was a possibility which never existed for Pretoria in any case despite international moves to settle South Africa's problems through political means

Previously, the ANC had clearly put forward conditions for negotiations which South Africa had rejected

"The recent banning of 18 organisations in South Africa confirms to us that it is Pretoria which is afraid to come to a negotiated settlement in South Africa"

In spite of any denial forthcoming from Pretoria of its involvement in the assassination of September or the assassination attempt on Sachs, it seems accusing fingers will continue pointing to South Africa

Africa and Mozambique, are presently allowed to have only a diplomatic presence in Mozambique

Nevertheless, following the attempt on the life of Sachs, the ANC believes that the sudden spate of attacks on its members has "a lot to do with the challenge from the right wing" in South Africa which Pretoria "has to satisfy"

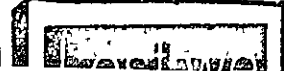
## Harassed

"Pretoria clearly feels harassed by the right in the present political climate," the ANC spokesman said "It barely took two hours after the recent explosion outside the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court for South Africa to come up with the name of Heinrich Grosskopf, an alleged ANC member, as the one behind that and

at least 17 of them are believed to have been assassinated — among them the ANC's Zimbabwe representative, Joe Gqabi (1981), Slovo's wife Ruth First (1982) and ANC national executive member, Cassius Make (1987) — in different parts of Southern Africa

The ANC has said previously that it has never used the frontline states as launching pads for its attacks on South Africa. In fact, Pretoria compelled the governments of the Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana to close down the offices of the ANC in their countries — and this the ANC did, according to the spokesman

Up to ten people from the ANC, however, in terms of the Nkomati Accord signed by South





# DULCIE BURIED AT FAMOUS CEMETERY

Sowetan  
11/4/88  
114

PARIS — Dulcie September, the African National Congress official shot to death on March 29 in Paris, was buried at Pere Lachaise cemetery in a funeral service attended by several thousand mourners at the weekend.

A giant photograph of Ms September, who was killed outside the offices of the anti-apartheid organisation, was mounted at the entrance to the cemetery, bordered by two large banners in the ANC's black, green and yellow colours. South Africa has denied accusations that its secret agents were behind the slaying. Former premier Pierre Mauroy,

## Thousands at the funeral in French capital

representing the Socialist Party, and aides to President Francois Mitterrand paid their respects to Ms September's family on Saturday morning, but cancelled plans to attend the funeral in a dispute with the French Communist Party. Communist leader Georges Marchais was the only French

speaker at the ceremonies, where communist supporters physically blocked the leader of the anti-racism group SOS-Racism, Harlem Desir, from placing a wreath at the grave.

SOS-Racism issued a statement expressing "indignation" and accusing the Communist Party of monopolising the organisation of the funeral.

Pere Lachaise, on the eastern edge of Paris, is the best-known cemetery in France, drawing tourists to see the tombs of Abelard and Heloise, Oscar Wilde, Frederic Chopin, Marcel Proust, Rock singer Jim Morrison and dozens of other famous people. — Sapa-AP

Webster

now says

he's guilty

11A  
S.M.  
12/14/88

MARITZBURG — Alleged African National Congress member Mr Gordon Webster, who is charged with murder, attempted murder and 12 counts of contravening the Internal Security Act, changed his plea to guilty in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

Defence counsel, Mr Nigel Willis, said Mr Webster wished to change his plea and offered to submit a statement in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Webster pleaded not guilty at the start of the hearing in February this year. Mr Willis informed the court yesterday of Mr Webster's intention to change his plea and the defence submitted a written statement prepared and signed by Mr Webster in terms of section 112 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

The hearing was adjourned until today.

# Breakaway body splits UCT sport

Cape Times 12/4/88

~~HA~~

HA

By CHRIS STEYN

SPORTS activities at the University of Cape Town appear to have split down the middle, apparently on racial lines.

A new organization, the SA Tertiary Education Sports Council (Satesco), started operating on campus at the beginning of the year in direct opposition to the UCT Sports Union, which runs 39 clubs representing over half the student community.

The Cape Times learnt yesterday that the new union was formed because students refused to continue playing in SADF and police tournaments.

UCT Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute for the Study of Public Policy, Professor Robert Schrire, criticized the formation of the body, saying the "spirit of H F Verwoerd is alive and well" on the university's playing fields.

He alleged the university administration had "once again caved in to the demands of militant students and has now agreed to the establishment of what is in effect separate and parallel sporting associations for blacks.

"Although membership will be

nominally open to all students, the new system will in fact be for blacks only."

Deputy vice-chancellor Professor J V O Reid denied that the university authorities had caved in to the demands of militant students and insisted that neither body was racially exclusive.

Two of the five members of Satesco's executive were white, he said. "I have yet to meet a nicer bunch of students. They are very conciliatory."

The Sports Union had 6 842 members and Satesco 132, while 167 students were members of both, he said.

He said a sports co-ordinating council had been appointed to deal with "differences and problems which might arise" as a result of the formation of a second union.

UCT Sports Union chairman Mr. Chris van der Hoven said students joined Satesco "on a point of principle and are discouraged from joining the union".

Satesco has confined itself to playing SA Council on Sport (Sacos) league matches, while the Sports Union continues to play Western Province league matches.

# Surprise birthday bash for Mrs Joseph

*Sowetan 12/4/88* (11A)



Mrs HELEN Joseph

THE political outlook of Mrs Winnie Mandela and that of her children was shaped by veteran anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph, friends and local and foreign journalists were told at the weekend.

Speaking at a surprise 83rd birthday party for Mrs Joseph held in Honeydew, Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela said Mrs Joseph was her mother.

She said she was only 22 years old when her husband, Nelson Mandela, went under-

ground and it was Mrs Joseph who became her mentor. She gave her her political perspective.

"She taught me to overcome racial prejudice, to identify the enemy and that not all whites are Boers who oppress us," Mrs Mandela said.

She said Mrs Joseph had become "a symbol of resistance".

She said when she was sent to nine years exile in 1977, Mrs Joseph was the first per-

son to visit her, accompanied by a mutual friend, Mrs Barbara Waite.

The party was attended by friends of Mrs Joseph, Mrs Mandela and her daughter Zinzi, the Mandela United Football Club and members of Fetraw to which Mrs Mandela and Mrs Joseph belong.

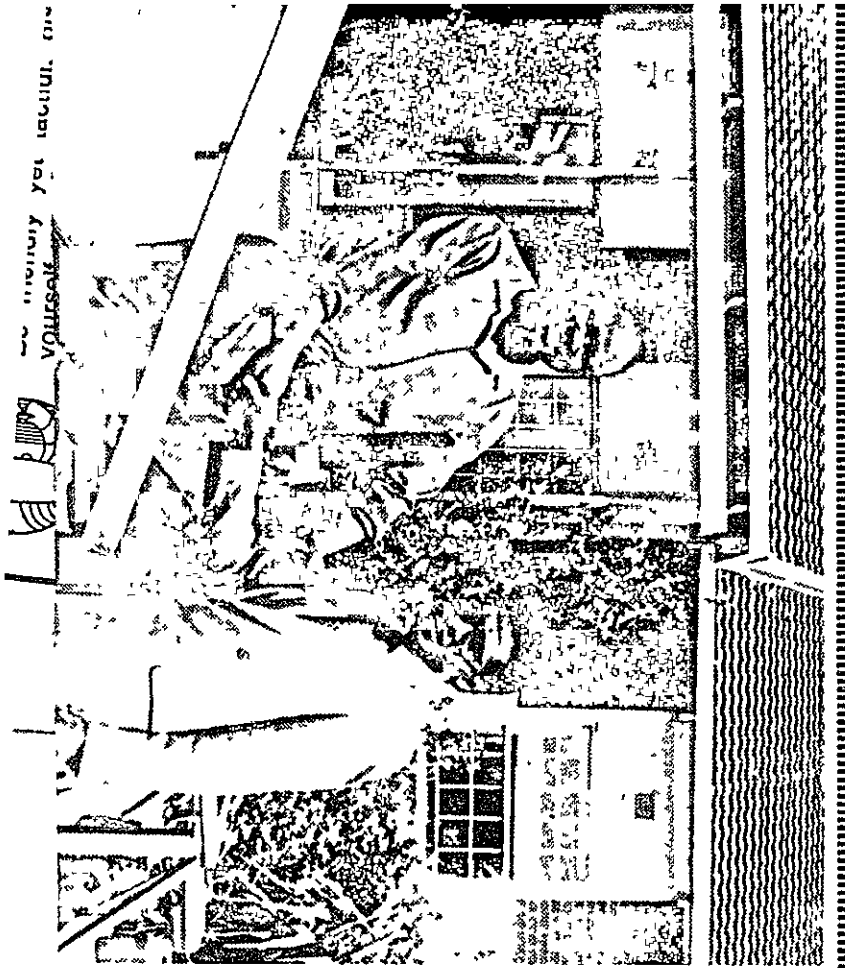
Mrs Joseph, who looked frail, was supported by Mrs Mandela when she stood up to deliver a short speech. As a listed person, she cannot be quoted.

# PROTECT ANGO

## Kaunda's plea to guerillas' hosts

Sowetan 12/4/88

Sapa-  
Reuter



BRUSSELS — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has appealed to states where the African National Congress has offices to protect members of the South African black nationalist group.

Dr Kaunda, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), made his appeal at a news conference on Sunday here after talks with United Nations general secretary Dr Javez Perez of Cuellar.

Asked his reaction to the fatal shooting of an ANC official in Paris by an unknown assailant on

March 29, Dr Kaunda said:

"Protecting ANC leaders is a responsibility for all host countries. I am appealing to all governments which have allowed the ANC to establish offices in their countries to take it as their responsibility to protect ANC leaders."

South Africa has denied involvement in the killing and suggested the murder resulted from ANC factional fighting.

Dr Kaunda said the region's problems would be solved only by an end to South Africa's apartheid system of racial segregation.

ANC <sup>ANCs 14/4/88</sup>  
important  
to future <sup>(11A)</sup>  
in SA, says  
Nat MP <sup>10/1</sup>

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Parliamentary Staff

THE controversial National Party MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, said that all existing black political groupings in South Africa — including the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently restricted organisations — would have to be addressed and were as important to the political future of South Africa as the various white political groups

Speaking during the second reading Budget debate in the Assembly yesterday, Mr Nothnagel said the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, was giving recognition to an important reality when he said the real choice in the South African conflict would be between the African National Congress and the AWB.

"I'm not one of those people who thinks the AWB is important I think they get too much publicity. But when Mr Terre'Blanche says it's going to be either the ANC or the AWB he is right in recognising that the ANC is a very important part of South African politics"

#### GUNS, VIOLENCE

Just as the existing white political groupings would be important in determining the political future of South Africa, so would all the existing black groupings, Mr Nothnagel said — "the ANCs, the Azapos and the 17 restricted organisations"

"You cannot bluff yourself that with guns and violence you can erase the political ideals of these people, even the most radical," he said

Mr Terre'Blanche was right again when he said that a political ideal could not be locked up. He was, of course, speaking for the white man, but the principle that one could not lock up the ideas and ideals of even the most radical leftwinger was correct, Mr Nothnagel said.

"The AWB must tell us whether they think you can put the ideals and aspirations of the black South African behind bars, no matter how radical and how different he is from you

#### CITIZENSHIP

"At one point or another you have to address these people politically and that's just as much a fact as we are sitting here tonight," he said

He said the thing he and many of his colleagues were most proud of was the recent legislation which reinstated citizenship for all South Africans

"The political party that takes away that reinstated citizenship from black South Africans will be responsible for the most bloody and final revolution," he warned

"We (the National Party) won't let you (the Conservative Party) send our children and yours recklessly into a blood-bath"

# 'MANDELA CAMPAIGN'

11A

14/4/67

London

LONDON — Mr Ismail Ayob, the attorney for Nelson and Mrs Winnie Mandela, would visit Britain from April 20 to 25 to promote the "Nelson Mandela — Freedom at 70" campaign, according to a statement by anti-apartheid campaigners.

The statement said Mr Ayob would take part in the Press launch of the campaign in London, together with the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and the founder of Artists Against Apartheid, Jerry Dammer.

Another engagement would be a visit to Glasgow to meet the Lord Provost and principal of Glasgow University.

"Glasgow was the first community to grant Nelson Mandela the freedom of the city and Winnie Mandela is currently rector of Glasgow University," said the statement.

Sapa.

# Vigilantes stop man aiding wounded daughter

The Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN — Faced with threats if he aided his daughter, who had been shot in the stomach by vigilantes, Mr Joseph Ntuli had to fetch police to help her

Mr Ntuli of Kwamashu said his daughter, Nompumelelo, was fighting for her life in an intensive care unit.

His daughter had gone to the funeral of a schoolfriend on Saturday, Mr Ntuli said

About 1pm he received a call telling him she had been shot

The caller said the mourners had been attacked by vigilantes

"She was in a lot of pain. A man helped me pick her up. As we were holding her, some youths came and asked where we were taking her and threatened to beat us."

"We disregarded the threats and put my daughter into the car. Just as we were about to rush her to hospital, five men came to us. They asked me why we were taking the child."

## PANGAS

"One of them said he did not want me to take her away; he wanted her to die there because she and her friends were coming to attack his house," Mr Ntuli said

The men, armed with pangas, sticks and spears, threatened to drag the injured girl from the car and to beat her father. They forced him to take her out of the car

He left and called a police patrol to fetch her



3 bystanders wounded in crossfire

# Police hunt ANC terror suspect after gunfight

7/19  
S.M.  
14/4/88

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter  
Police are hunting a suspected ANC insurgent who escaped after a cornered man detonated a grenade, killing himself and two Pretoria riot policemen in Mpumulanga township near Hammarsdale early on Tuesday.

A third SAP member was injured in the blast.

Only hours after the grenade blast a second insurgent was shot and killed by police in a gunfight which left three civilians injured, two by AK-47 bullets and a third whose leg was hurt while he was fleeing from the scene.

The dead policemen, members of Riot Control Unit 19 in Pretoria, are Constable Marthinus Jacobus Nel (22) of Vryheid and Constable Gerhardus

Cornelius Oosthuizen (19) of Witsieshoek. Both were single.

Their injured colleague, whose name has not been released, was treated in hospital for a shrapnel wound in his shoulder and discharged.

The three policemen were on secondment to Mpumulanga

Injured in the gunfight were Mr Joseph Mazibuko (25), who was shot in the shoulder, and another man who was hit in the left buttock Mr Joseph Mokwena injured his leg while running away, police said.

Police have seized two AK-47 rifles, a rucksack containing two foreign-manufactured handgrenades and two fully loaded AK-47 magazines.

The drama began at about 1 am when the policemen noticed three men walking in the township. One was carrying an AK-47 rifle.

When the suspects saw the police, they fled, but were pursued. One was then cornered.

"As they were about to arrest him, he pulled out the pin of a grenade and blew up the two policemen and himself. A third policeman was injured in the shoulder by shrapnel," said a spokesman from the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria.

Reinforcements were called in and a large follow-up operation was launched for the two remaining suspects

At about 6.10 am, one of the hunted men was spotted hiding in the bush.

He opened fire at police with an AK-47 rifle and hurled a grenade at them

An intense gunfight then ensued and three members of the public were wounded before the suspect was shot dead

## Soweto student dies in his sleep

The body of a 17-year-old Soweto youth who died in his sleep in the USA where he had attended school since September will arrive in South Africa today for burial.

It is believed that Desmond Letsie Mphenyeke of 64, Tshiwelo Extension 3, who had been in good health, suffered heart failure while asleep. He was rushed to hospital unconscious and died after admission.

Letsie was granted a scholarship to study in the US where he joined his brother, Thebe, who has been studying in America since 1986. Letsie was a Form 2 pupil at Marvelhood School in Cornwall, Connecticut.

3 bystanders wounded in crossfire

# Police hunt ANC terror suspect after gunfight

11/11  
S.M.  
14/4/88

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

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# Death stalks ANC

14-20/4/85

11A  
South  
11A

THE African National Congress (ANC) has stepped up security and appealed to Western European and other governments to provide protection for its members.

This follows new claims that assassination squads were out to hit the exiled movement's leaders and activists.

"We have increased our vigilance and tightened our security. We have warned our members all over the world to be more careful," an ANC national executive member said from their headquarters in Lusaka this week.

The latest victim in a spate of attacks is former Capetonian Albie Sachs who was seriously injured in a booby-trap explosion in Maputo last Thursday

The ANC's representative in Paris, Dulcie September, was gunned down on March 29 and four people killed in an attack by a S A Defence Force unit on a house in Botswana on March 28

The South African government said top Umkhonto weSizwe member Solomon Molefe was killed in the Botswana raid — a claim dismissed as "sheer lies" by an ANC executive member.

• TURN TO PAGE 8

# Death squads

• FROM PAGE 1

"We have no military presence in Botswana or any Frontline state. By announcing the name of a fictitious ANC member 'Pretoria' is trying to make us confirm we have people in Botswana," he said

The Botswana's Department of External Affairs identified the South African refugee killed in the raid as Charles Mokoena, a civilian

In Soweto, the family of Solomon Molefe said the man killed "is not our son". Mrs Rosina Molefe of Meadowlands said a photograph which appeared in several newspapers was not that of her son

## Z-squads

Meanwhile, reports in weekend newspapers quoted Western intelligence sources as saying secret teams of killers known as "Z-squads Incorporated" were being used against ANC members abroad

An ANC spokesperson said the exiled movement had not been "taken seriously" when it previously brought the existence of the squad to the attention of the international community

In Paris, a weekly paper alleged that an officer of the French Ministry of the Interior recruited mercenaries on behalf of the South African secret services for action against the ANC and Swapo

The same officer refused to extend the residence permit of Dulcie September. The officer's identity was not revealed

The newspaper revealed schemes to assassinate ANC representatives as far back as August 1985

## Kidnapped

Two days before September's murder, the British Intelligence Service allegedly informed its French counterpart that a South African was in Paris

An ANC executive committee member alleged the name of Dulcie September was on a hit-list of ANC members who were to be kidnapped or murdered. The list was discovered during last year's arrest of four agents in London.

It was also alleged a list of all anti-apartheid organisations was drawn up last year

A journalist who claimed he had seen the list, said it contained the name of the ANC, and Swapo, among others

11A  
11A

*SAF Files 16/4/88*

*117*  
*215*  
*276*

### **Inkatha interdicts extended**

MARITZBURG — Three Supreme Court interim interdicts against Inkatha officials who were alleged to have assaulted a number of residents in townships around the city were extended yesterday.

Mr Jerome Mncwabe, an Imbali town councillor, who was cited in two separate matters, had an order restraining him from killing or assaulting Mduduzi Sililo and six others extended until April 25.

In another matter, Mr Mncwabe, Mr Sichizo Zuma, the chairman of the Harewood Inkatha Youth Brigade, and Mr Thulani Ngcobo had an order restraining them from killing or assaulting Mr Johannesburg Mthembu and three of his sons extended until May

City job reservation still exists

Staff Reporter

FORMAL job reservation may be on the way out, but the informal variety is still very much alive — in Cape Town it is sanctioned by a branch of at least one major employees' association.

A "gentleman's agreement" exists between a branch of the mainly-white SA Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME) and the now defunct Cape Divisional Council that certain posts remain "traditionally for members of the white population group", according to a report leaked to the press recently.

The Cape Times was unable to establish which posts these were.

But the secretary of the mainly-coloured Western Province Local Authority Workers' Association, Mr J Schippers, confirmed that his association had asked that this "gentleman's agreement" be nullified.

It had made the request even before the Regional Services Council (RSC) had taken over from the Divisional Council.

*APR- TRAVIS 14/4/88*

# ANC member gets six months' jail

By VYETTE VAN BREDA  
Court Reporter

A SHY pre-school teacher and mother, who became a member of the African National Congress after she and her husband went to Botswana to seek employment, was sentenced yesterday to an effective six months' imprisonment.

Farreda Khan, 27, of Seventh Avenue, Grassy Park, was sentenced in the Cape Town Regional Court to two years' imprisonment, of which 18 months were suspended for five years. She is on R500 bail pending an appeal against her sentence.

Khan pleaded guilty to contravening the Internal Security Act by being a member of the ANC between December 1982 and June last year.

In a statement handed to the court, she said she and her husband, Mr Patrick Ricketts, went to Botswana, where they hoped to find work. In Botswana, they both became members of the ANC. Khan said she returned to South Africa in May last year and resided at her parents' Belhar

home until her arrest and three-month detention.

In a confession which she made to a magistrate shortly after her arrest, Khan said when she and her husband arrived in Gaborone, they were taken to an "ANC house" by two men.

Later, she went to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka and in February, 1983, she left for Angola, where she attended "a small transit camp" for nearly two weeks and was spoken to about "politics" in South Africa.

She then left for a bigger camp, where she was the only woman among 50 men. Here, she was also lectured to on various subjects of a political nature.

After a month at this camp, she contracted malaria and after medical treatment, she was joined by her husband and both of them returned to Gaborone.

Khan said she also went to Hungary for about two months as she was suffering from the after-effects of malaria. Her parents fetched their child and brought him to South Africa. Her husband is still in Botswana and her sons are three years old.

Khan's mother, Mrs Rугaya

Khan, said the Khan family was a close and very religious one. As they were Muslim, the wife had to obey her husband and had very little rights of her own.

She said Khan was a "very soft person and also sickly. She is not at all violent. Since the case she is very nervous and has seen a psychologist".

Mrs Khan said when she visited her daughter in Gaborone, she had no idea that she was "involved in politics".

Mrs Freda Hendricks, a director of 10 pre-school centres on the Cape Flats, said she had lectured Khan at the Athlone Training College.

Mr Hendricks became friendly with Khan and described her as an "honest, shy but friendly, hardworking" person. She was dedicated to teaching and very fond of children.

The magistrate, Mr P M A Louw, took into account that Khan did not receive military training, although she was interviewed by the ANC to take up such training in Gaborone, Lusaka and Luanda.

Mr W J Human prosecuted Mr M Donen, instructed by Enver Daniels and Co, appeared for Khan.

# Killings 'make sanctions urgent'

PARIS — The assassination of Dulcie September made the question of economic sanctions against Pretoria an even more urgent issue, French president Francois Mitterrand said in a radio interview.

Asked if he suspected Pretoria of murdering September, Mitterrand replied: "I've had suspicions for a long time. I can affirm nothing even if my intuition tells me something."

French Socialist Party leader Lionel Jospin called for the recall of the French ambassador to South Africa if Pretoria was found to be involved in the killing of September.

The South African ambassador to France Hendrik Geldenhuys was summoned to the French president's office to be informed of Mitterrand's extreme emotion over the killing.

This came as the ANC accused France of failing to give September adequate police protection although she was on an alleged Pretoria hit list.

### Increased protection

The spokesperson said France "could have done more" to prevent the March 29 killing of September.

"Some countries have increased protection for our militants, others have not listened to our warnings," he said.

However, ANC leaders said although convinced of South Africa's involvement, they had "no evidence at the moment".

Meanwhile, SABC radio reported in an editorial Mitterrand and others had accused South Africa of involvement in the slaying because of the issue's "emotive impact on this month's general election in France."

If it had not been for the forthcoming election the French government would probably have recognised that "endemic and violent internal strife" was characteristic of all "terrorist" organisations.

"The reaction to the murder of the ANC's representative in Paris has plumbed new depths in offensive behaviour and disregard for the most elementary notions of fair dealing," the editorial said.

## Paris slaying — 5 released

PARIS — French police questioned, operated and released five persons in connection with the March 29 murder of the ANC's Paris representative, Dulcie September.

The five South African political refugees, Martijn van Geems, a Chilean woman, an Angolan man and two Frenchmen sources said.

ANC representatives who were in Paris last weekend for September's funeral charged that the French police are trying to cover up for the real killers.

# 5 000 at September funeral

ABOUT 5 000 mourners, including top African National Congress officials and other leading anti-apartheid activists, attended the funeral of murdered ANC representative Dulcie September at the Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris last Saturday.

Among those at the funeral were September's sister and brother-in-law, Stephanie and Renatus Arendse, who are expected back in South Africa this weekend.

Anti-apartheid organisations are believed to have sponsored their trip overseas.

Others at the funeral included Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC leader Oliver Tambo, and Georges Marchais, secretary-general of the French Communist Party.

A message from the British Anglican prelate Trevor Huddleston was read out at the ceremony.



Wounded Albie Sachs receives medical treatment in a Maputo Hospital

# ANC under fire

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) has appealed to Western Europe and other governments to provide protection for its members against what they called South Africa's assassination squads.

An ANC spokesman alleged South African death squads had been "unleashed to eliminate our leaders and activists".

"We appeal to governments, especially Western European countries where threats on our representatives have been persistent, to provide the

necessary protection for our representatives."

"They will have to decide what kind of arrangements they can provide. We would not like to see a repeat of what happened in Paris," he said, referring to the recent assassination of Ms Dulcie September, the ANC's chief representative in France.

The ANC was reacting to reports in a Johannesburg newspaper quoting Western intelligence sources saying South Africa operated teams of killers known as Z-squads incorporated in its war machinery against ANC members abroad.

The report linked the murder

squads' to the recent spate of attacks on ANC officials abroad including the assassination of Ms September.

The spokesman said the existence of the squad was known to the ANC but when it was brought to the attention of the international community the exiled movement was not believed.

He said the answer was for the ANC to take the necessary precautions to thwart enemy machinations.

Western Europe should take very strong action against the South African government which cannot and must not be treated as part of a civilised world community.

Meanwhile, it has been reported in a Paris weekly that an officer of the French Ministry of the Interior re-

cruted mercenaries for the South African secret services for action against the ANC and Swapo missions in Western Europe.

The same officer refused to extend the residence permit of Dulcie September. The officer's identity was not revealed.

The newspaper revealed schemes to assassinate the ANC representative as far back as August 1985. Two days before the murder, the British Intelligence Service allegedly informed its French colleagues that a National Intelligence Service (NIS) agent was in Paris.

### Anti-apartheid

An ANC executive committee member alleged the name of Dulcie September was on a list of ANC members who were to be kidnapped or murdered. The list was discovered during last year's arrest of four agents in London.

According to another French weekly, the NIS asked the French Secret Service early in 1986 through a cabinet minister to draw up a list of all the Paris based anti-apartheid organisations.

A journalist at the weekly claimed he saw the list which contained the name of the ANC Swapo Association Française D'Amitié Et De Solidarité Avec Les Peuples D'Afrique and others.

### Political partner

The report contained a meticulous description of the ANC mission building in Paris.

The weekly alleged South Africa was without doubt, backed by several French government officials.

South Africa had always been considered a profitable trade and political partner. Its raw material deposits meant much to the free world, another weekly stated.

Although President Francois Mitterrand referred to the murder as an indication of the need to impose immediate economic sanctions against South Africa, he was not in favour of cutting diplomatic relations with South Africa.



Albie Sachs tries to get to his feet moments after the blast

Speakers blamed South Africa for the death of September who was shot as she opened her mail outside the ANC's Paris office on March 29.

An ANC speaker said September never "fought with anything other than her pen".

Representatives from the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), and the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, from the French territory of New Caledonia, attended the ceremony.

A huge photograph of September hung over the gates of the cemetery, flanked by two ANC flags and banners denouncing apartheid.

After each speech, the crowd broke into hymns and anti-apartheid songs.

Police inquiries into the killing have apparently proved difficult, as there were no witnesses.

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in a Maputo Hospital

# Fingers pointed at Govt

MOZAMBIQUE has accused the South African government of being responsible for the bomb blast that maimed Cape Town exile Mr Albie Sachs in Maputo last week.

European diplomats in the city unanimously condemned the bomb blast, while the African National Congress accused the Government of having drawn up a plan to eliminate senior activists of the organisation.

An official of the Mozambican government said those responsible for this attack can only be people who command and organise bandit activity against our country, namely the apartheid regime.

The official linked last week's bomb to the

'recent spate of attacks in Lusaka, Bulawayo, Maseru, Gaborone and Paris.

For how long is the international community going to tolerate this terrorism that recognises no borders, and knows no limits to its destructive and murderous fury?

The British ambassador in Maputo, James Allan, deplored the car bomb explosion. He described Sachs as a friend and a British citizen' and said the attack was 'a matter of great concern to me personally.

Asked if the British government would make any representations to South Africa over the attack, Allan said "We have continued to pressure South Africans and all those concerned to refrain from any

action of this type.

The French ambassador, Gerard Cros, described the bomb blast as 'lamentable', and said terrorism is not the best way to solve the problems of Southern Africa.

He reiterated the position taken by French president Francois Mitterrand that the South African government was responsible for killing September.

The Portuguese ambassador, Palouro Das Neves said "This attack like any other act of terrorism, deserves nothing but vehement condemnation.

Unfortunately such attacks are happening repeatedly in this part of Africa. It is urgent to establish an atmosphere of peace and trust.

Interviewed in Maputo, Laurence Alexander, first secretary at the Australian High Commission in Harare, said he saw the attack on Sachs in terms of the recent spate of attacks in the region.

He described Sachs as "a man of the highest principle and integrity, who had 'won the respect of the Australian government" for the legal assistance he had provided last month during the case of an Australian missionary, Ian Gray who stood trial for security offences.

## Explosion

An ANC spokesman described as an absolute lie allegations by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha that recent attacks on ANC representatives could be ascribed to infighting in the organisation.

Pretoria had drawn up a programme to end the movement of its senior activists.

The ANC believed the sudden spate of attacks on its members had a lot to do with the challenge from the right wing in South Africa.

Pretoria clearly feels harassed by the right. It barely took two hours after the recent explosion outside the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court for South Africa to come up with the name of Heinrich Grosskopf, an alleged ANC member as the one behind that and other explosions.

The spokesman also said there was a failed attempt on the life of the ANC's Brussels representative days before the assassination of September.

# er fire!

of attacks including member assistance of the ANC but attention unity, the elevated in the ANC cautions to us" take very the South uch cannot e part of a



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# The story behind the photos

MAPUTO — Jose Cabral, who photographed Albie Sachs bleeding profusely after last week's bomb attack, was faced with the classic photographer's dilemma: To help the victim or to get the pictures.

Many newspapers throughout the world published a photograph of Albie Sachs (above), showing him lying on Julius Nyerere Avenue, his torso slightly raised, with his shattered right forearm almost completely severed from his body.

Cabral, 36, is a teacher at the Maputo Photography Training Centre. He has been a photo journalist since 1975.

He was asleep in his flat on Julius Nyerere Avenue, close to the block where Sachs lives, when he was awakened by the explosion.

"I loaded my camera and ran to the street. When I neared the site of the blast I saw Sachs lying in the middle of the street. I presumed he had been taken there from the pavement by



Passersby try to rush Sachs to hospital. His injured right arm is clearly visible.

people who were trying to help him.

"In those seconds the dilemma that many photographers have faced hit me — taking the photograph or assisting Sachs. He had clearly lost a great deal of blood, particularly from the area of his smashed elbow.

"Fortunately, people at that moment began to help him, and I could concentrate on photographing the scene," said Cabral.

The next photograph he took shows Sachs being

carried over to an open truck. The photo shows his right forearm dangling uselessly by his side.

There was great confusion in the few minutes before Sachs was driven to hospital in the truck, Cabral recalls. People were crying out "help him, help him!"

Cabral heard the wounded lawyer mutter "disconnected phrases" in English and Portuguese. "Leave me" was the only phrase I understood.

D/P 1417188

# Police hunt 3rd ANC suspect after attack

**PIETERMARITZBURG** — Police have launched a search for a suspected African National Congress (ANC) terrorist following an attack in the Mpumalanga area near Hammarsdale early yesterday

During the attack two young policemen and two terrorists were killed.

The dead policemen were identified as Constable Martinus Jacobus Nel, 22, of Vryheid and Constable Gerhardus Cornelius Oosthuizen, 19, of Witsieshoek.

The drama began at about 1 am when a police patrol spotted three suspicious-looking men. According to a

police statement from Pretoria, the men fled and were pursued by the police

"A man was apprehended but pulled the pin from a handgrenade which was already in his hand," the statement said.

"The handgrenade apparently exploded in his hand killing both himself and two constables."

A third policeman was wounded in the shoulder by shrapnel and taken to Grey's Hospital

In a follow-up operation, police spotted the second suspect at about 6 am

The man opened fire with an AK-47 rifle and

hurled a handgrenade at them. The police returned the fire and the terrorist was fatally wounded

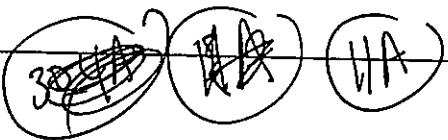
Two AK-47 rifles and two rucksacks containing two Russian-made handgrenades and two fully-loaded AK-47 magazines were found

The police statement said three local residents were wounded in the shoot-out, apparently by the terrorist's fire.

Two were identified as Mr Joseph Mazibuko, 25, and Mr Joseph Mokwena, 31. A third person who was shot in the buttocks has not been identified. All three were admitted to Edendale Hospital — DDC



# Points of departure



**Worrall:** Allan, it strikes me that you are very deeply rooted in Uitenhage. The Dale Street Congregational Church — is that still your church?

**Hendrickse:** No. The church itself was moved under the Group Areas Act. It was of great sentiment to us — it was the church in which my dad was a lay preacher, where he studied and was ordained; in which I was baptised and confirmed; in which I got married and in which my kids were baptised and so on. But when you go down there now it is all gone — the houses have been broken down, the church has been demolished. The only thing that remains is the belfry — almost like a slave bell. The story goes that in order to demolish it, the demolisher had to put a chain around the bell, and then hooked this to his bakkie. But when he tried to pull it over, the bakkie ricocheted and thereafter nobody tried to remove it. It is still standing. You came from a very achievement-orientated family — your brothers and sisters are all well-educated.

My eldest brother is a gynaecologist and is with a Durban hospital. My second brother was a businessman who died at an early age. But the third brother Paul, was especially talented. He is the chap who became a member of the Royal College and Institute of Gynaecologists and became a world-renowned authority. He was a professor of gynaecology in Nigeria where he died in 1987. I have one sister who is a teacher in Uitenhage and another sister who is an American citizen. She has a doctorate in psychology.

You spent your youth at Uitenhage, and then you went on to Fort Hare where you met some quite outstanding personalities.

My formative years were spent living in a mixed neighbourhood with all kinds of people — English speakers, Afrikaners, Chinese and Indians, and so on. This was sort of capped when I went to Fort Hare — which I believed then, and still believe, is the answer to the South African situation. It was completely integrated. We were all just one big family, particularly figures like Professor Z K Matthews, who eventually became Botswana's representative at the UN. Robert Mugabe was there, as was Gatsha Buthelezi. I was exceptionally close friends with Orton Chirwa — he was subsequently condemned to death in Malawi, but not executed. And my roommate was Dr J Njoroge, who was Minister of the Interior in Kenya. You learnt the politics of protest in the following years and went into the CRC. In 1976 you spent 60 days in solitary confinement. Would you say that your style was of politics of protest, followed by a period of accommodation? And now are you back in the politics of protest?

Yes and no. I am still committed to the politics of negotiation, but that does not

With the confusion in the PFP and the fragmentation of extra-parliamentary opposition to the Left of government, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and Independent Party founder Denis Worrall have emerged as key players in mainstream politics. The *FM* asked Worrall to interview Hendrickse, partly to explore any common ground on future reform.

exclude protest. For example, after numerous protests by the PFP about the segregated dining-room facilities for parliamentarians, we (the LP) staged a protest sit-in for two days and the facilities were opened. Although there were a lot of different reactions to the swimming incident in Port Elizabeth, that was a form of protest. I believe I won internationally on that issue.

**Did the incident contribute to the political relevance of the Labour Party?**

Yes, very much. We gained relevance, not because of the swimming incident as such, but because the State President deplored it on television for a full 23 minutes!

**It strikes me that the distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics is now an acknowledged feature of our political situation. How do you see this distinction and how do you think it can be bridged?**

It is only recently that we have got parliamentary participation. The anti-apartheid protest as reflected in, for example, the Non-European Unity Movement, was exclusively extra-parliamentary. My one regret is that we seem now to be in opposition to each other. It is almost as if it is two dogs fighting over a bone when a third one runs away with it. The two spheres ought to be complementary to each other.

**There surely is a common objective.**

That is so. Participation and non-participation are strategies, but they should complement each other.

**Let me put a suggestion to you. I believe that the two spheres can be bridged with a genuine negotiation process. I believe that all the constitutional options, including the more controversial ones, should be put on the metaphorical table. And that all political organisations and parties which are committed to peaceful change should be invited to participate in that process. But for this to work the government will have to drop the idea that black organisations will come into the executive or into existing parliamentary institutions. That is not going to happen.**

You are right. The problem at the moment is that the government sees itself as monopolising the process. For example, the National Council, which was a good idea, has been

formulated with a structure which is not acceptable to the Labour Party. It is even less acceptable to those outside the system. But it could have been an important point of departure.

**If it occurred outside the existing institutions?**

That is correct.

**Moving on to your role within the tricameral system, do you feel you have justified your participation?**

We said very clearly that our participation had to be justified in terms of dismantling apartheid and uplifting a depressed and deprived community. We have made a contribution to breaking down apartheid through participation on the standing committees, where we have succeeded in bringing about no fewer than 72 amendments to discriminatory legislation. But I think that the growth of support for the Labour Party itself reflects our dedication within the system to progress in education, housing and social and welfare questions. People are seeing things happening and this has justified participation up to this time. However, if reform is going to stand still we will have a problem.

**Regarding your role within the government, what effects has your resignation from the Cabinet had?**

It was an experience serving on the highest echelon of government, but it was also a shattering experience. We were exceptions among the Afrikaners, and were of course outnumbered 18 to 2. There is of course no vote — decision is by consensus — and therefore one felt shackled again, because any decision made by the Cabinet was binding on you, and this was used against the Labour Party. When we wished to innovate



**Worrall and Hendrickse**

200A 11A

something in caucus or in a standing committee, one of the government guys would come along and say your leader approved of this in Cabinet!

**I suspect that your resignation gave you and the Labour Party a greater relevance within the coloured community. Would you welcome UDF participation in elections? And how would you fare?**

I have no doubt that we would do well. People are inclined to look at the real issues. They look at the situation in which they live. Within my own community the support for the UDF has declined. When they initiated the organisation in 1984 in Mitchell's Plain, they had an audience of some 25 000 people. Last year they celebrated their anniversary and press reports said there were no more than 3 000 present. This is a question of raising expectations and not fulfilling them. "We want our liberation now" and emotional appeals work among youngsters. But people like Alan Boesak had to change their position. They had to admit that education before liberation was an important preparation for the struggle.

**If I were to mention three events that we have talked about — the swimming incident, your resignation from the Cabinet, and your stand on the question of a deferred House of Assembly election — which do you think has given greater relevance to the Labour Party?**

Certainly my resignation from the Cabinet. You see, Group Areas will remain a sore point with the coloured community, in which about 100 000 families have been uprooted. But you must also bear in mind that last year was the 21st anniversary of the District Six removal. And you have the development of the community, for example Mitchell's Plain — almost a new community which doesn't know District Six as we knew it. They have established a new character, a new community and a people who don't have the same emotional reaction as the older

generation. But you are not suggesting that there aren't individuals who want to live outside their designated areas? It was clear to me at the Labour Party congress in December that this is the point the coloured community feels most strongly about.

You are right, and certainly there are people who wish to live outside their areas. But what I am saying to Afrikaners is that it is perfectly feasible for them to repeal the Act. Aside from the fact that it is difficult for somebody who lives in Mitchell's Plain simply to sell out and buy a property and build a house somewhere else, you do not give up your home, your plans for the future, and your community in order simply to fill an ideological expectation. District Six is again an example. The people who had real grass-roots experience of the place are no longer with us. I have said to the State President that there is an opportunity of winning the hearts and minds of the coloured people by declaring District Six open — this would really be a symbol of goodwill. Unfortunately, he replied that District Six was 80% owned by whites and the coloured people were tenants.

**It seems to me, given the high priority your supporters place on the repeal of group areas, that there is no way you can agree to President Botha's request to defer the election?**

I have no doubt about that. With a rightwing opposition, many persons perceive the Labour Party to be the major liberal opposition party in parliament and you the most senior parliamentarian. Thus the FM has even suggested that you might be leader of the PFP.

**The Labour Party won't like that! But are you ready to play a leading role on the creative opposition side? I ask this because I understand the frustration and irritation which many people presently experience. Are you prepared to be the catalyst?**

I think the Labour Party has always seen a role in the South African situation. This is true not simply of the opposition, but also in terms of black and white relations. We see ourselves as being in the middle.

**You are co-operating with the PFP in parliamentary matters, and with the establishment of the Independent Party you offered to co-operate — an offer which we immediately accepted. But how do you see this proceeding in practical terms?**

We still have to work hard on the whole question of historically determined perspectives which white and black people have. Are you saying that there is a psychological barrier?

Yes, but I agree with you that we have got to start somewhere. What about a DTA (Namibia) kind of agreement?

I think it is a matter of a common goal but with separate and complementary strategies. It seems to me that we could agree on a basis of co-operation within the creative opposition along the following lines: opposition to apart-

heid and discrimination; recognition of the principle of voluntary association, and that groups will constitute themselves in terms of religious, language and cultural interests; recognition that the future has to be negotiated on an "all-options-open" basis.

Expressed in positive terms, the Independent Party is therefore committed to a non-racial, democratic and free-market SA. Now it seems to me that there are three principle positions that you and I and other people in the creative opposition could share. Do you have a basis here?

I think so. I think we need in particular to emphasise the question of voluntary association. I have no doubt that is why I am here and why others have chosen a different role. Like me, I think you feel very strongly about the Indaba. Can your relationship to Mangosuthu Buthelezi be patched up?

I think the situation is one of healthy disagreement on his part. I have never felt on a personal level that it was a case of Gatscha Buthelezi against Allan Hendrickse the person. We've met as brothers, and we will continue to meet as brothers and we share certain basic things. Oscar Dhlomo was at the funeral of one of my members recently, and my expression of sympathy to Inkatha and the chief ministers personally on the death of Bishop Zulu was a real identification. The decision of the Labour Party to participate in the tricameral system may have hurt him personally. But I think that today there is a better understanding of what we are trying to do. We also consult with Inkatha, and of course we participated very fully in the Indaba.

**How are your party finances?**

One of our problems is that the LP originally started as a labour movement and was handicapped in that legislation prevented us from raising money for political purposes. In the late Sixties, whether we could receive money from white businessmen and from overseas was complicated by the Improper Political Interference Act. The result is that we used to take collections as we went from meeting to meeting in elections. The CRC gave us some basis for a party income, in that in 1975 at Umtata we took a decision that public representatives should give some of their income to the party. Today we all give 10% of our salaries to the party. But the corporate sector should look more sympathetically at our position.

**This is one of the advantages of us finding some basis of co-operation. One last question. If you had the power the State President has, what immediate steps would you take?**

I have no doubt in my mind that the first step would be to release Nelson Mandela and other long-term prisoners. I still regard them as political prisoners. I believe that they would have an influence on the atmosphere of violence that has been created, sometimes consciously but other times as a response to the whole question of apartheid. This is a major obstacle to black leaders serving on statutory bodies, and with their release we would have a fresh start.



.. looking for common ground

# MP Harris objected to permit — Heunis

By BARRY STREEK

A LABOUR PARTY MP, Mr Peter Harris, was named yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, as the person who objected to the granting of a permit under the Group Areas Act for someone who was not coloured to live in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Heunis did so after the MP for Mitchell's Plain and Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, issued a state-

ment saying that both he and Mr Harris wanted the name of the objector made public.

Mr Heunis's disclosure is highly embarrassing for the Labour Party, which has called for the immediate scrapping of the Group Areas Act and has refused to support amendments to the constitution to delay the general election next year unless the law is abolished.

The naming of Mr Harris follows a reply by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and

Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, to a question from Mr Harris in the House of Representatives on Wednesday.

Mr Meyer said the permit, which was required by someone who was not classified as coloured to occupy property in Mitchell's Plain, was granted in spite of the objection.

The purport of the objection, which was received on October 12 last year, was "because the area is earmarked in terms of the Group Areas Act for coloured ownership

and occupation solely", Mr Meyer said.

He also said he would furnish the name of the person who objected to the permit being granted if Mr Harris authorized him to do so.

Yesterday, Mr Landers issued a statement in which he said: "I wish to state that I have never made any such objection."

"Indeed, it was on my advice that Mr Peter Harris submitted the question, and we both agree that we would like the name of the objector

made public," Mr Landers said.

Mr Heunis was then approached with a copy of Mr Landers's statement and he later confirmed that Mr P C Harris, the MP for Strandfontein, had objected to the granting of a permit under the Group Areas Act in a letter, dated October 12, to the Regional Director of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the Cape Provincial Administration.

Mr Harris could not be reached for comment last night

*Cape Times 15/4/88*

*HB*

CAP 7013 15/14/88

# Nat rethink on ANC, banned organizations?

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Political Staff

SENIOR Nationalist frontbenchers appear to have adopted a major change of attitude in publicly recognizing the political importance of the ANC and other banned organizations.

The outspoken MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, drew a barrage of Conservative Party criticism yesterday for his budget debate speech in which he openly said the ANC and the 17 organizations recently banned by the government were an important factor in South African politics.

## Solution to SA's problems

And, in spite of the CP's attacks, senior frontbencher Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi and the party's chief information officer, came to his defence.

"The ideas of the ANC and the 17 organizations are important. You cannot argue about that," he said, attacking Mr Fanie Jacobs, the CP MP for Losberg, for suggesting Mr Nothnagel had said a solution to South Africa's problems was not possible without the ANC.

What intrigued other opposition MPs yesterday was whether the apparent attitude of certain senior Nationalist MPs was shared by the party hierarchy, particularly in light of Mr Nothnagel being publicly chastised for saying the government would eventually have to talk to the ANC.

Mr Nothnagel also raised the hackles of the CP during his budget speech when he said the NP had got the political myth that whites were a "chosen race" out of its system.

Another myth the party had got out of its system was that the Afrikaner race was more important than the South African nation, he said.

"As certain as we sit here tonight, the best way for the white man to destroy himself is to pamper the baasskap myth," said Mr Nothnagel. "We in the NP have entirely got out of our system the myth that we can stay standing through weapons and violence."

The NP had also jettisoned the myth that there was such a thing as a white South Africa.

He said defiantly that CP members had quoted from an article he had written last year about the ANC but he had never withdrawn one word of it.

The controversial AWB was getting far too much publicity but even its own leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, had recognized the importance of the ANC in the political realities of the country.

"As certain as we are sitting here I say that the NP, the PFP, the CP, the NRP, the AWB and every political grouping which exists is important on the road ahead for South Africa," said Mr Nothnagel.

## 'Reject terrorism'

"On the other hand, certain organizations which are active in black politics — the ANC, Azapo, Azano and every one of the 17 organizations which were banned — are of political importance and anyone who cannot see this cannot even recognize the political realities of South Africa.

"Now we can talk about how we handle them.

"We can talk about terrorism, which we all reject with contempt and abhorrence and which we can only destroy with violence.

"As far as radical black politics is concerned we must not bluff ourselves that we can wish it away with rifles and violence."

Ideals could not be locked up, he said.

closure of the teachers' colleges in Paarl or Wellington, if so, (a) who were the members of the deputaton, (b) on whose behalf did they come to see him and (c) what was their request to him,

(2) whether as a result he was directly or indirectly involved in the decision to close the Paarl Teachers' College,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†THE STATE PRESIDENT

(1) to (3)

I was approached in this regard, but I indicated that the matter is an own affair in terms of the Constitution Act and that I could consequently only act on the advice of the Ministers' Council concerned

Bureau for State Security/State Security Council: sponsoring of certain party

Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the State President

Whether the Bureau for State Security or the State Security Council sponsored a certain party, the name of which has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply, if so, (a) why, (b) when, (c) to what extent and (d) what is the name of this party?

THE STATE PRESIDENT

(a), (b), (c) and (d)

I refer the hon member to the replies to questions on the same matter as answered by the then Prime Minister in Parliament on 6 and 9 August 1974

I abide by the answers then supplied and have no reason to deviate from them now

Mr D J N MALCOMESS Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, is he aware that during the course of last month, by means of a letter to the *Financial Mail*, Chief Buthelezi made the categorical statement that the Shaka Spear Party in opposition to him was sponsored by the then Bureau for State Security through their employee Francois Fouché?

THE STATE PRESIDENT Mr Speaker, I am not aware of the statement, and in any case if the hon member has any information, he may

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(3) Yes It is intended not to fund the approved formula in full Nor has it been possible to do so for some years

(4) No

New Questions

Males/females awaiting execution

\*1 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice

How many (a) males and (b) females of each race group were awaiting execution in the Republic as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

†THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

On 14 March 1988 six Black men and one Black woman were awaiting execution while the cases of the rest were still in various stages of the post sentence process, the largest group being involved in appeals

†Mr F J LEROUX Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know how many people have thus far been pardoned this year

†THE MINISTER Mr Speaker, the answer is five persons

Offences against security of State: life sentences

\*2 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice

(a) How many persons are at present serving life sentences for offences against the security of the State and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

†THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

(a) 21

(b) 31 December 1987

Persons under 18 years awaiting trial

\*3 Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice

How many persons under the age of 18 years were held awaiting trial in prisons on 31 December 1987?

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

582

[Remainder of reply laid upon the Table with leave of House]

Section 29 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) stipulates *inter alia* that a person under the age of eighteen years who is accused of having committed an offence shall, before his conviction, not be detained in a prison unless his detention is necessary and no suitable place of detention mentioned in the Child Care Act is available for his detention In deciding as to the suitability of the place of detention, the nature of the offence with which a person is charged is taken into account, as well as age, sex, character, etc

A juvenile who is detained in terms of this section shall not be permitted to associate with a person over the age of twenty-one years who is in custody, provided that he may be permitted to associate with such a person in custody who has been charged jointly with him, if the head of the prison is of the opinion that such association will not be detrimental to him An awaiting trial woman under the age of eighteen years is placed in the care of a woman

All persons awaiting trial or sentence are segregated from sentenced and other categories of unsentenced prisoners as far as possible and association between prisoners awaiting trial or sentence are restricted to a minimum in order to prevent collusion or conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice

The honourable member is also referred to the press statements of Mr F W De Klerk, Minister of National Education and Mr S J de Beer, Deputy-Minister of Education of 15 August 1987 and 14 March 1988 respectively

Release of Mr Govan Mbeki from jail: international press conference

\*4 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Deputy Minister of Information

Whether the Bureau for Information arranged an international press conference for Mr Govan Mbeki upon his release from jail, if so, (a) at what total cost to the State and (b) on whose authority?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION

Yes, to ensure orderly coverage of this sensitive and newsworthy event

(a) No special costs were incurred

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

# Let ANC join talks, say Nats

15-21/4/88  
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*Two amazing 'verligte' speeches by  
Nat MPs spark a rumpus in the House*

THE banned African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the 17 other recently restricted organisations would have to be a part of South Africa's future — that's what two senior National Party MPs said this week

On Wednesday, controversial National Party MP Albert Nothnagel caused a stir in parliament by saying all political groupings, including the ANC and the restricted 17, will have to be included in the negotiation process

He also said although people could be locked up and organisations restricted, ideas could never be locked up

And last night Con Botha, senior NP information officer and MP for Umlazi, said he agreed with Nothnagel that the ideas of the banned and restricted organisations were important to a solution of the South African dilemma — as important as the various white political groups

This comes just two months after the government banned these organisations from any political activity and at a time when there are extremely severe penalties for "enhancing the image" of the ANC. It also comes after Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, has threatened newspapers with closure for writing about the ANC — even if it is in a negative light

Nothnagel, who shortly before last year's white election wrote that most Nationalists accepted they would have to negotiate with the ANC, defiantly said this week that he had not withdrawn a word of the article, nor would he ever do so

Conservative Party MPs reacted to his speech with shock: former trade unionist Arrie Paulus said he imagined the speech had been delivered by someone from Mamelodi rather than the MP for Innesdal.

Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgieter-

srus, accused Nothnagel of being "a ventriloquist for the ANC".

Nothnagel said Eugene Terre-Blanche, "the arch-verkrampste and the arch-Boer", had said it was either the AWB or the ANC and through this had acknowledged that the ANC was a "terribly large factor in the political reality of South Africa"

He believed every political grouping was important, including the NP, PFP, CP, NRP and the AWB

"On the other hand, every single organisation which operates in the black political terrain — the ANC, Azapo and every one of the 17 organisations who were restricted — are of political relevance.

"As far as radical politics is concerned, we must not bluff oneself that a person can wish it away with guns and violence"

The ideals, aspirations, strivings and ideals of a black man — no matter how much one differed from him — could not be locked up

"I say now a person cannot do it"

## Deadlock at Kuwaiti airport

ALGIERS — One of the Kuwaiti hostages aboard a commandeered airliner at Algiers airport said yesterday that the hijackers "will kill us all" unless their demands were met.

The hostage, Zaid Ahmed, radioed this call to the airport control tower after mediators had resumed negotiations to free 32 hostages now in their 10th day on the plane.

However, earlier reports quoted the editor of a local newspaper saying even if they kill all the hostages the Kuwait government would not meet their demand to release 17 pro-Iranian militants jailed for bombings in Kuwait.

By late yesterday, there was no sign that the hijackers would waive their demand. However, they earlier agreed to move the plane to a remote taxiway to avoid embarrassing visiting Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda.

Two hostages have so far been killed.

The contents of this edition  
have been restricted in terms of the  
Emergency regulations

# NP adopts change of attitude towards ANC

**Political Correspondent**  
**CAPE TOWN** — Senior National Party MPs appear to have adopted a major change of attitude in publicly recognising the political importance of the ANC and other banned organisations.

The outspoken MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, drew a barrage of Conservative Party criticism yesterday for his budget debate speech.

He had said the ANC and the 17 organisations recently banned by the government were an important factor in South African politics.

In spite of the CP's attacks, a senior front-bencher, Mr Con Botha, the NP chief information officer, came to his defence.

"The ideas of the ANC and the 17 organisations are important. You cannot argue about that."

he said, attacking Mr Fanie Jacobs, the CP MP for Losberg, for suggesting Mr Nothnagel had said a solution to South Africa's problems was not possible without the ANC.

What intrigued other opposition MPs yesterday was whether the apparent attitude of certain senior Nationalist Party members was shared by the party hierarchy, particularly in light of Mr Nothnagel being publicly chastised for saying the government would eventually have to talk to the ANC.

Mr Nothnagel also raised the hackles of the CP during his budget speech when he said the NP had got the political myth that whites were a "chosen race" out of its system.

Another myth the party had got out of its system was that the Africaner race was more important than the South African nation, he said.

The NP had also jettisoned the myth that there was such as thing as a white South Africa.

He said, defiantly, that CP members had quoted from an article he had written last year about the ANC but he had never withdrawn one word of it.

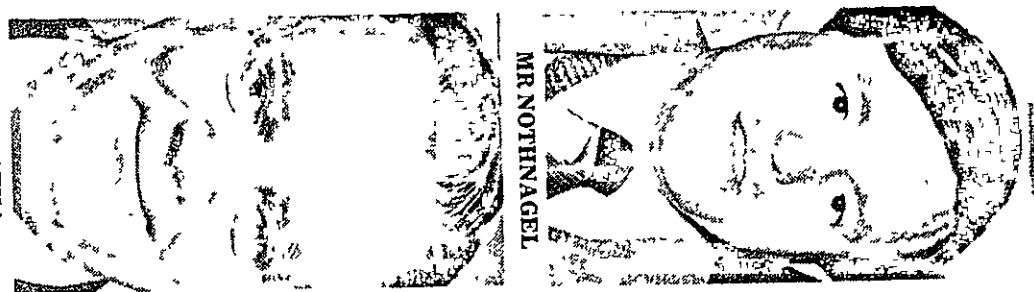
The controversial AWB was getting far too much publicity but even its own leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, had recognised the importance of the ANC in the political realities of the country.

"As certain as we are sitting here I say that the NP, the PFP, the CP, the NRP, the AWB, and every political grouping which exists, is important on the road ahead for South Africa," said Mr Nothnagel.

"On the other hand, certain organisations which are active in black politics — the ANC, Azapo, Azapo and every one of the 17 organisations which were banned — are of political importance and anyone who cannot see this cannot even recognise the political realities of South Africa as Mr Terre-Blanche has

"Now we can talk about how we handle them."  
"We can talk about terrorism, which we all reject with contempt and abhorrence and which we can only destroy with violence."

"As far as radical black politics is concerned we must not bluff ourselves that we can wish it away with rifles and violence."  
"Ideals could not be locked up," he said.



MR NOTHNAGEL

MR BOTHA

of this kind of action.

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# Top ANC man may be in Swaziland

MATSAPA — A senior member of the ANC, Brigadier Mbita, was reported to have arrived in Swaziland by air early yesterday morning from Zambia.

Informed sources said that top secrecy surrounded the arrival of Brig Mbita, believed to be head of the ANC's military wing, as well as the purpose of his visit.

It is believed that Brig Mbita, had requested a meeting with the Swazi Foreign Minister, Senator George Mamba, as

part of the ANC's efforts to repair relations between itself and the Swazi government.

These soured three years ago following a violent confrontation between an armed ANC group and Swazi security during which some members of the Swazi security forces were killed.

The same sources also revealed that South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, is expected to visit Swaziland today. — Sapa



# MP's 'challenging and provocative' speech raises eyebrows in Parliament

## NP's stand on ANC under fire

**POLITICAL STAFF**

**CAPE TOWN** — Two National Party MPs have stated in as many days that the ANC must be taken into account in any future political dispensation — but the NP claims it has not changed its policy on the ANC.

Mr Albert Nohmangel, MP for Innesdal raised eyebrows in Parliament this week by saying that all existing black political groupings, including the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently restricted organisations "would have to be addressed and were important to the political future of South Africa."

After an outraged reaction from the Conservative Party MP Mr Fanie Jacobs, Mr Con Botha on Thursday backed Mr Nohmangel — but also severely qualified what he had said.

Mr Botha explained yesterday that he had tried to distinguish between what Mr Nohmangel had said and how the CP had interpreted it. These two were "world apart".

And yesterday Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk entered the controversy by saying that it was not NP policy that the ANC had to be included in the political future of South Africa.

### Controversial

He made this point when under attack by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg during the Budget debate in the House of Assembly.

Dr Hartzenberg had referred to the controversial speech made on Wednesday night by Mr Nohmangel. His "challenging and provocative" speech was not addressed to the CP but to his own party, said Dr Hartzenberg.

gel had argued that it was impossible to reach a solution without the ANC. The ANC was to be included and the way in which this was to happen, according to Mr Nohmangel, was "nothing more and nothing less than in central government" said Dr Hartzenberg.

"Now we (the CP) can tell the voters it is National Party policy that the ANC is to be included in central government."

"Mr Nohmangel has said a person was stupid to imagine that you could 'lock up' the ideals of the ANC and of the 17 recently restricted organisations."

### ANC a factor

Mr Con Botha said that Mr Nohmangel had been talking not so much about the ANC as an organisation but about the ideas it stood for.

He added that President Botha had already stated that the Government accepts that the ANC is a factor in any discussion about the future dispensation.

He had accepted this when he said the ANC was welcome to join in the negotiations about future dispensations by doing so without announcing violence.

Mr Jacobs seemed to be interpreting that we were saying the ANC should be brought in irrespective of whether they renounce violence.

Asked what the ideas of the ANC were that the NP believed would have to be taken into account, Mr Botha said he meant the ANC's "basic concept that it was working for black political rights."

The National Party's statements interpreted as recognising the importance of the ANC and other banned organisations were welcomed yesterday by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

**Pilot had planned a new life**

### SARA MARTIN

Boxes filled with the belongings of Captain Jacob Kait (40), the pilot who died in this week's United Air Dakota crash near Henneman, he unwrapped in this flat in Bellevue, Johannesburg.

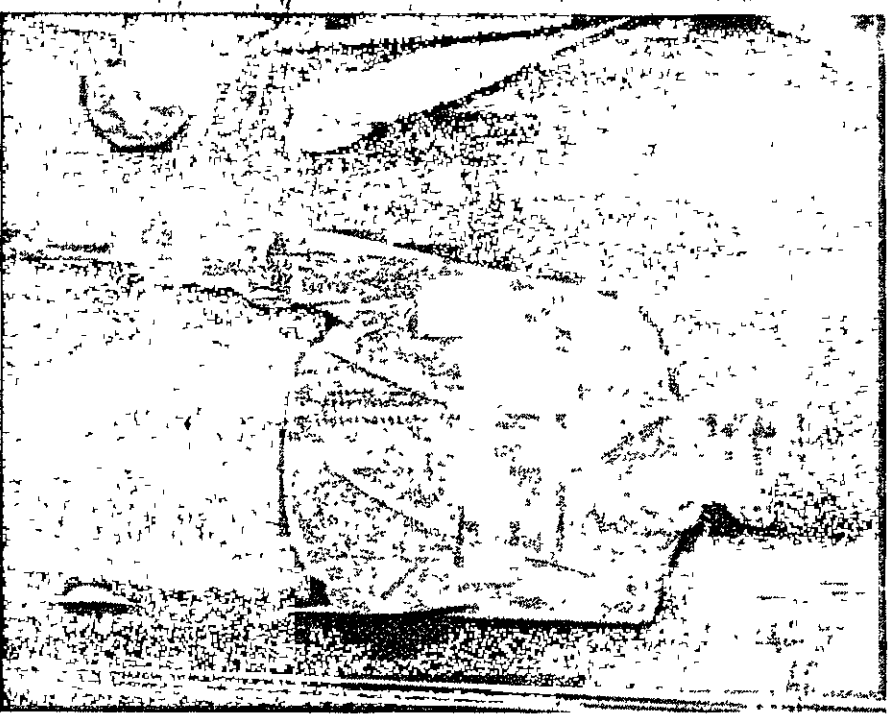
They arrived only on Thursday from Windhoek together with his furniture.

He had moved into the flat on April 1, set on starting a new life in Johannesburg after a two-year spell as a pilot in Namibia.

He had spent the entire Easter weekend painting and renovating the flat.

On the kitchen table are notes outlining all the household chores, such as hanging curtains, he had planned for each day after his scheduled return from Bloemfontein.

No relatives have asked after him. The owner and caretaker of the block of flats, Mr Vincenzo Naavaria, is not allowing anyone in the flat unless they produce written permission from a magistrate.



South African-born British athlete Zola Budd arrives at a London hotel yesterday for a meeting of the International Amateur Athletic Federation council who will decide on her fate in future international competitions

## Mother still stunned at narrow escape

### SARA MARTIN

Mrs Gill Whitmore, mother of Paul Whitmore, one of the jockeys who through a strange quirk of fate escaped a fiery death aboard the Dakota that claimed Henneman on Wednesday night, was still stunned by the tragedy when she attended yesterday's memorial service at the Newmarket race course for members of the racing fraternity who died in the crash.

She could not help thinking of her 13-month-old granddaughter who might so easily have lost her father.

"It seems as if my son was a rosbud that had not blossomed and was not ready to go," she said.

"On the other hand I am filled with sorrow at the thought of all the other young widows and tiny tots who lost their fathers."

## We'll be killed —

### hostages

**ALGIERS** — Two hostages aboard a hijacked Kuwaiti jetliner said in messages broadcast yesterday that they would be killed if the Kuwaiti Government did not yield to the demands of the hijackers.

About 30 passengers, including three members of Kuwait's royal family, were reported being held in grim conditions, all handcuffed and forced to remain silent.

The Arab hijackers released another hostage on Thursday, the 71st freed since the ordeal began April 3 on a flight from Bangkok to Kuwait. They said they released Djuma Abdell-Chatu (70) "for humanitarian reasons."

The hijackers are demanding that Kuwait release 17 jailed pro-Iranian terrorists. Kuwaiti officials have refused.

Mr Chatu's release and the hostages' pleas followed two days of negotiations between the hijackers, Algerian officials and a Kuwaiti delegation in Algiers.

The jet flew to Algiers from Larzac, Cyprus early on Wednesday continuing an ordeal that previously took it to Mashhad, Iran, after the hijacking — Associated Press

# Hendrickse's Stalling Tactics

## Botha's Vote

**STALLING** tactics by the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party have robbed President P W Botha of a symbolic, first-ever joint debate on his parliamentary vote in the coming week.

The National Party is eager — after weeks of soul-searching following by-election defeats — to consolidate its anti-rightwing constituency by bolstering the Government's reformist image.

As a first step, it hoped to set the scene for President Botha's vote with joint debates involving the three Houses of Parliament.

To achieve this, the NP gave in to an LP demand that joint debates be followed by the three Houses voting in the same chamber where the debates took place.

But Mr Hendrickse has once more riled his adversary, Mr Botha, by not allowing the new set of rules to be steamrolled through the parliamentary process.

This disappointment by the Government comes after sources close to the Cabinet revealed this week that it plans a special push to show it can get along with moderates across ethnic barriers.

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview "There is no way we are going to help the Nats maintain the facade that the tricameral Parliament is a success and that it runs smoothly.

"We have said so over and over again, we are in the system to dismantle apartheid.

"We are not in it to help the Nats fight off the CP and other right-wing elements. That's their own indaba.

"We are fighting to bring blacks into a nonracial federal system of government and joint debates without blacks is not, at least not for us, in any way exciting progress.

"So we are in no hurry —

By **LESTER VENTER**  
and **NORMAN WEST**

but we shall not stand in the way of joint debates, because that's what we want — but not at a pace dictated by the Nats."

Mr Botha will now need to place special emphasis, according to expectations among politicians, on his second trump.

Efforts to get the much-stalled National Council going where a new constitutional deal is to be worked out with black moderates.

A Cabinet source said Mr Botha had "no choice" but to deal strongly with the National Council legislation in efforts to demonstrate that reform would meaningfully involve urban blacks.

## Demands

To gain at least a degree of credibility for the National Council, the Government plans to meet black demands for elected representatives to serve on the body.

Senior Government men said this week black elections were now the focus of the National Council issue.

The country's approximately 10-million blacks would elect nine representatives to the council.

A remaining problem that has to be sorted out is that the National Council draft Bill requires participation by non-independent homeland leaders.

Some of these, primarily Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, refuse to have anything to do with the idea.

17665 18/4/88

# Arming the ANC not strategy for SA peace, says Jackson

11A 327

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — American presidential candidate the Rev Jesse Jackson has left the door open to arming the African National Congress, but said it would not be his strategy for peace in Southern Africa

He also largely blamed black-Jewish racial friction in the New York area on the Israeli-South African connection

Mr Jackson was speaking in an interview published at the weekend in the the New York Times

Tomorrow is a vital day as New Yorkers pick 255 delegates Massachusetts Governor Mi-

chael Dukakis is out to extend his uncomfortably slim lead, but opinion polls suggest he is only a few points ahead of Mr Jackson

On whether he would give the ANC military aid, Mr Jackson told the New York Times "Possibly, because I see ANC as a legitimate freedom-fighting force

"But I think there are other more effective approaches than to equip them for a military struggle in South Africa That would not be my approach

Question "But you're not ruling it out?"

Answer "No"

Mr Jackson described the Isra-

el-South Africa link as a fundamental issue of tension between black and Jewish New Yorkers

There's certainly a tension between Mr Jackson and the Jewish mayor of New York, Ed Koch, reports Sapa-Reuter

Mr Koch has publicly accused Mr Jackson of lying about his relationship with slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King, and of privately referring to Jews with the ethnic slur "Hymie"

Blacks account for about 25 percent of New York's Democratic voters and they are expected to turn out in record numbers on behalf of Mr Jackson

# Nothnagel to sue CP paper over ANC link

Pretoria Bureau

National Party MP Mr Albert Nothnagel launched a R75 000 damages claim on Friday against the Conservative Party mouthpiece *Die Patriot* involving an article which linked his name with reported utterances by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

The case, being heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court, involves a front-page article in *Die Patriot* headlined "Albert stem saam" (Albert agrees).

The article dealt with an interview with the ANC leader in which he is quoted as saying that black people were encouraged by the death of white people.

WHEN I read Eugene Valberg, I was not quite sure how one ought to react to him. I still don't think that I do. The problem is that the man is so racist one must wonder whether it makes sense at all arguing with him. But I'll try.

Let me start by stating the essence of his argument as I understand it. He argues that in itself discrimination against black people is evil, but that there are good reasons for it. The whole tenor of his article suggests that he is speaking on South Africa as a philosopher or an ethicist.

I suggest that we should examine the claims he makes at two levels — that is the ethical and the empirical.

One of the questions in ethics is whether it is possible, morally, for there to be a good reason for doing something which in itself is evil.

It would be very difficult to advance a universally acceptable argument for that proposition. And this is why Valberg should have disclosed the framework within which he is arguing that there are good reasons for discriminating against black people. I suggest that a person with the sort of experience that Valberg professes should have known that it is not possible to make the categorical statement that he is making on the oppression of black people.

### Logical

The second problem about Valberg's argument is that he does not assign the same logical status to the word *good* throughout his argument. I think that it is very clear that the term *good reason* is not assigned an ethical content by Valberg.

This comes out clearly from the parallel which he draws about barring black customers from fitting on clothes in a shop. He says that there is an injustice in barring all blacks from fitting on clothes, because blacks who are not thieves will suffer in the process. He also recognises the injustice of allowing all whites to fit on clothes, because that will allow

whites who are thieves to get away with it. But because black thieves are proportionally more than white thieves Valberg thinks that it would be justifiable to bar blacks only from fitting on clothes. Clearly, then, the term *good reason*, when applied to that sort of example, is devoid of any moral content. We could replace it with the term *convenient*, and we shall not lose anything.

If Valberg were concerned with the moral signification of the term *good reason*, it would be logically impossible for him to end up espousing a dispensation which prevents blacks from stealing while giving,

white thieves a free hand. If he were interested in the ethical issues implicit in his article, Valberg should argue that theft is morally reprehensible whether the culprits are black or white. The shopkeeper who is concerned with preventing theft and, indeed, to protecting his financial interests, would impose a blanket ban on all fitting of clothes. The colour of the thief would be quite irrelevant. The shopkeeper would consider the fact that, in the long run, it makes little or no difference for running a profitable business that white people steal a little less than black people.

### Respect

On the empirical plane, Valberg shows a remarkable respect for, and appreciation of, experimental and statistical evidence. But once we have noted that, two issues are curiously missing in his thesis:

- He does not provide us with statistics to show that the prevention of blacks from fitting on clothes has succeeded in reducing the incidence of theft, and

- It is difficult to understand how Valberg brought himself to expect that the number of white thieves in Africa might be comparable to that of black thieves, using absolute numbers. White

# OPINION

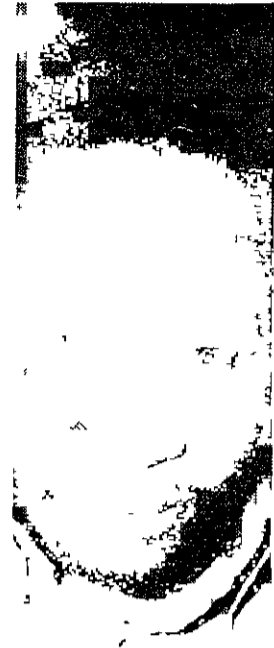
# Blame it on history

Sowetan 18/4/88

11A

## Reaction to attack on blacks

EUGENE VALBERG, a lecturer in philosophy at the National University of Lesotho, recently wrote an article critical of democracy in black Africa. He claimed that South African blacks were better off under the present white government. In this article MANDLA SELEOANE (right), a labour analyst, responds to comments by Mr Valberg.



people in Africa are so hopelessly outnumbered by black people that Valberg should, in fact, be working out an explanation for us why there is even the number of white thieves, relative to that of black thieves, that he is speaking about.

Still on the empirical plane, Valberg takes us on a trip around Africa and he proclaims "See how undemocratic your people are! There is not one country in Africa which has free and fair elections. Why should we think that you in South Africa would be different if you had political rights? It is quite clear that if you were given the right to vote, the order would soon be one of *no man, no vote*."

Some of us naively remonstrated: "But, Valberg, look at Botswana. How can you say that there are no free and fair elections there?" Valberg retorts "If Botswana were not economically dependent on South Africa, they would not be having free and fair elections."

The man thinks so naturally white!

We have a history, Valberg, which goes beyond the period when your foreparents invaded Africa and America. If you could, just for one moment, move out of your metaphysical cocoon and study some historical documents, you will see that Africans are not the inherently anti-democratic people that you portray them as being.

I agree that Africa was not a garden of roses before your foreparents came here. There are several things in our past that I shall join you in denouncing. We had, however, democratic social institutions. Not, maybe, institutions like your Congress in America. Not, maybe, institutions which your American white arrogance would accept as being democratic. But democratic enough, and humane enough to accommodate visitors like your forebears, who have now turned us into foreigners in our own land. Democratic enough, Valberg, to host visitors like your forebears, who have wiped out the indigenous people of America.

### Hate

Your foreparents destroyed all those institutions. No, they did more: they have implanted in the minds of indigenous people, wherever these might be, a spirit of self-denial and self-hate. Your parents did that because it was necessary for the pursuit of their selfish desires. That is why, Valberg, we in South Africa today are willing and able to kill each other in order to make room for people like you, not only in the struggle for liberation but also in a liberated South Africa as well.

The point I am making is that the practices of people are a product of historical events. I am arguing that speculative philosophy is not the key to understanding people's behaviour or for bringing about the desired behavioural patterns, on a societal level. If one wishes to understand behavioural patterns, one should inquire how the social structures which have bearing on those patterns came to be and for what purpose.

If Valberg approached the matter this way, he would end up making the metaphysical claim that blacks are inherently anti-democratic.

• To be continued tomorrow

# Jackson would consider arming ANC

SPR 12/4/88 The Star Bureau (1A)

WASHINGTON — American presidential candidate the Rev Jesse Jackson has left the door open to arming the African National Congress but said it would not be his strategy for peace in southern Africa.

Mr Jackson, who has surprised political pundits with his tremendous showing so far in the race for the White House, was speaking in an interview published at the weekend in the *The New York Times*.

Opinion polls suggest he is presently only a few percentage points behind governor Mr Michael Dukakis in New York, which

has become the centrepiece so far of the electoral marathon.

On whether he would give the ANC military aid, Mr Jackson told *The New York Times*: "Possibly, because I see the ANC as a legitimate freedom-fighting force.

"But my approach to southern Africa is different than just narrowing it to support the ANC militarily.

"I think there are other more effective approaches than to equip them for a military struggle in South Africa. That would not be my approach . . .

"My first step would be to have a summit meeting with the Frontline leaders of

southern Africa. My second would be to help build a (trade and transportation) corridor out of Mozambique

"The third step is negotiations. I would negotiate South Africa out of Angola and Namibia as a basis for any further relationship with them."

Asked if he would feel comfortable arming the ANC if it was the only way to oust the present Government, he said: "But that's not where you start. There has to be a comprehensive approach."

Question: "But you're not ruling it out?"

Answer: "No, you don't rule it out."

● See Page 11

PW gave the <sup>ARC 645</sup>  
<sup>19/4/88</sup>  
final word on  
ANC — Minister

From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

(11A) (30/7/88)  
THE "final word" on National Party policy on the African National Congress was contained in a speech made by President Botha in 1985, said Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, concluding the parliamentary debate during which NP MP Mr Albert Nothnagel made his controversial ANC speech.

Replying to his budget vote in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr du Plessis referred to a speech delivered in Springs in October 1985 by President Botha.

#### TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

Mr Botha had said that if the ANC wanted to talk to the South African Government it would have to lay down arms, stop car bombings and terrorist activities and cut international ties with communism, said Mr du Plessis.

That was the National Party viewpoint and the "final word" on the ANC, he said.

"No man has the final word," interjected Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe.

In the course of the budget debate last week, Mr Nothnagel made a speech in which he said the ideas of the ANC and the 17 restricted organisations were indisputably important to a political solution in South Africa.

Existing black political organisations and groupings were as important to this end as were the various white groupings, he said.

● See page 6.

# PW's 'final word' on ANC

19/11/88  
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## Political Staff

The "final word" on National Party policy in respect of the ANC was contained in a speech made by President Botha in 1985, said Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, concluding the parliamentary debate during which Nationalist Party MP Mr Albert Nothnagel made his controversial ANC speech last week.

Replying to his budget vote yesterday, Mr du Plessis referred to a speech delivered in Springs in October 1985 by Mr Botha.

Mr Botha had said that if the ANC wanted to talk to the Government it would have to lay down arms, stop bombings and terrorist activities and cut ties with communism, said Mr du

Plessis. "No man has the final word," interjected Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe.

In the course of the budget debate last week, Mr Nothnagel made a speech in which he said the ideas of the ANC and the 17 recently restricted organisations were indisputably important to a political solution in South Africa.

Existing black political organisations and groupings were as important to this end as were the various white groupings, he said.

Chief NP information officer Mr Con Botha was seen to support Mr Nothnagel when he said no one could dispute the importance of the ANC's ideas.

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CMT Trusts 19/11/88 (11A)

# 'Youth demands reform'

## Political Staff

The government has officially acknowledged that there is "a connection" between the frustrations of young black people and their political expectations.

In a policy statement released last night, the government said it "realizes the necessity of political reform and the accommodation of all population groups in the political decision-making process.

"There is a connection between the frustration of young black persons and their political expectations.

"For this reason, the govern-

ment is going ahead with its programme of political reform and single-mindedly furthering various programmes of education and upliftment that have the potential to contribute, in the social sphere, towards a general improvement in the quality of life, and particularly in the quality of lives of young people.

"The present already provides for administration of justice in respect of intimidators and politically-motivated juvenile delinquents," the government said.

Last night's statement was issued in response to the President's Council report on the youth

which was handed to President P W Botha last year.

The government said it accepted the council's recommendation for a youth strategy to develop sound values and positive attitudes, but although it accepted that the proposal for a youth council or youth trust was a good idea, it believed it would be unwise to have the execution of a youth actions co-ordinated by a central body.

The establishment of bodies, such as a youth council, would be welcomed if these were the initiative of the private sector, the government said.

**B**ECAUSE of the idealism built into his philosophy, he was bound to end up making a judgment about black people which defeats its own purpose. I am assuming here in Valberg's favour that his interest in the matters he discusses is more than academic.

I am assuming, so to speak, that he discusses these matters because he would like to see some changes come about. If that is so, the best way of changing people's practices is not to tell them that it is inherent that those practices should come from them. If black people are inherently undemocratic, why should they strive for the impossible — i.e. to be democratic?

If, however, we recognise the historical evolution of the practices that Valberg is complaining about, then we shall see that there is nothing inherent about them. And because they are not inherent, there is scope to change them. The other advantage of the historical approach over the speculative approach is that, had Valberg used it, he might have paused and wondered *Am I the person to make that criticism?*

Far be it from me to suggest that there is no longer individual responsibility or that it is not possible to tamper with the course of history. The contrary is true. The whole thrust of my argument is that there is scope for intervention, and that it is possible to break the chain of lack of democracy in Africa, to the extent that Valberg is correct in pointing out.

### Picnic

The way in which Valberg speaks about lack of democracy in Africa is exaggerated. It is exaggerated in itself and also in terms of the comparison he is seeking to make between Africa and the white-ruled world.

He says that there is relative freedom in South Africa and cites the very article written by Joe Thloloe as evidence of that. He says that Joe might never be able to write an article of that nature in an African country.

The interesting thing to note is that Joe's article is like a Sunday school picnic in compar-

# We will be free, Valberg

# OPINION

Somefam  
19/4/88  
11A

**EUGENE VALBERG**, a lecturer in philosophy at the National University of Lesotho, recently wrote an article critical of democracy in black Africa. He claimed that South African blacks were better off under the present white government. Today, in the second and last part of this article, **MANDLA SELEOANE** (right), a labour analyst, responds to comments by Mr Valberg.

son with the insults that Valberg is heaping on all Africa, including the country now hosting him. If his criticism is correct, how come he is able to write such an insulting article about Africa, and make it clear that there is no exception and that by extension he is also criticising Lesotho? How come he writes this with obvious absence of fear for the consequences on him of such arrogant criticism?

If Valberg were a visiting lecturer in a South African university, and he heaped that sort of insult on the government here, the prospects are more than good that he would be requested to go back home. If he doubts that, let him ask John Lewis who did not, by the way, insult the South African Government. If Joe's article is proof of the relative freedom we have

in South Africa, why did the Government, dear Valberg, close down the *New Nation* and other newspapers in the past? Why have they served a notice on *The South*?

I think that by pointing out that there is relative freedom in South Africa, Valberg intends to imply that there isn't even relative freedom in Africa. But freedom is everywhere relative. Even in your ideal America freedom is relative. People have as much right to criticise the regime as the regime itself allows them. Think about McCarthy.

### Destiny

In fact in a number of respects America's record on democracy is much less attractive than that of Africa. Think about how your government interfered with the right of the Vietnamese to chart out their own destiny. Think about how your government even now undermines the



right of the Nicaraguans and several other nationalities to determine their destinies. So really, Mr Valberg, who is an American to tell us?

Finally, let us examine Valberg's claim that white people in South Africa are withholding political rights from us because they wish to prevent a further

degeneration of democracy. Could one be more ahistorical?

The denial of political rights to black people goes back to a period much earlier than the emergence of the African states relied upon by Valberg to justify continued white domination. If it is because of the example set by those states that we are denied political rights, why were we denied those rights before these states set the example? I suppose that Valberg means that white people, all-knowing as they are, knew in advance that that is what would happen if we were given political rights.

### Reasons

Speaking about inevitable things. There is one only which we are certain of. If the rest of Africa was able to free itself from white domination, there is no reason why South Africans should be different. Therefore, Valberg, there WILL be social transformation in South Africa one day, and that is quite independent of whether there are good reasons or not for our oppression. When that day comes, I hope that you will be around to criticise us, we need people like you to stop us from excesses.

11A 9/day 19/4/88

# Statistics show ANC attacks not curbed by emergency

THE number of incidents involving ANC guerrilla activity dropped only slightly last year compared with the previous year, regardless of the State of Emergency

This is according to statistics in the latest Indicator SA, published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier

ROGER SMITH

Leon Mellet said the Emergency was succeeding in curbing unrest, which had to be distinguished from "terrorist incidents", the increase in which was part of a world-wide phenomenon

This was rejected by Wits University political scientist Tom Lodge, who said the statistics reflected a situation specific to SA which was not part of a world-wide trend.

He said the idea was "the normal kind of gobbledygook you get from government", which saw the ANC as part of a world-wide terrorist conspiracy

The restrictions imposed by the emergency would, if anything, make it more likely for people to turn to ANC guerrilla activity.

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fts mist IN PRIF Du Plessis will not drop controversial MTC

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9/2009

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 19 1988

# Sachs sees Press: goes to London for treatment

MAPUTO — Albie Sachs, the activist lawyer who lost an arm in the car bomb blast in Maputo on April 7, has left for London for further medical treatment, accompanied by members of his family.

Sachs will be fitted with an artificial right arm in London, reports the Mozambique news agency AIM.

His brother John and two sons, Alan, 18, and Michael, 16, who travelled from England to be with him after the bomb blast, were at his bedside at the weekend when

Sachs gave a Press conference. Sachs, who spoke of his links with the ANC, and gave his views on the assassination attempt and what motivated it, cannot be quoted in SA.

Surrounded by the crowd of relatives, nurses and journalists, Sachs took charge of the news conference, showing a remarkable liveliness for someone who had been so close to death less than a fortnight

earlier. His right side was swathed in an enormous bandage.

On his head, face and torso could be seen dozens of small scars left by the shrapnel from the explosion. Although he had suffered constant pain and had difficulty in moving, his morale seemed to be high.

He could not use his right eye, which was still covered with congealed blood. His hearing had been slightly affected by the

blast. His right arm, shattered in the explosion, was amputated above the elbow.

One of Sachs's long-standing colleagues in the Ministry of Justice, Gita Honwana, told reporters the ministry hoped Sachs would return "very soon" to Maputo.

"His contribution to the ministry's research department, and particularly to the creation of a system of people's justice, has still not finished", she said.

# Mugabe slates SA's use of 'dirty tactics'

HARARE — SA was increasingly resorting to "dirty tactics" against its independent black neighbours because of its inability to contain the struggle for democracy within its own borders, President Robert Mugabe told Zimbabweans at celebrations marking the eighth anniversary of independence.

Zimbabwean security forces had proved well able to contain "the proxies of apartheid" during the past year and there had been a major improvement in the security situation with the signing of the unity accord with Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party.

The appointment of Nkomo, to the new post of Zanu (PF) second vice-president was announced at the weekend.

Mugabe said SA was resorting to "invasions, raids, bombings, clandestine operations and, worst of all, aiding and abetting puppet organisations". The latter included the Renamo and Unita.

## MICHAEL HARTNACK

There had been an improvement in the Zimbabwean economy with recent good rains, but the weather and depressed world prices for Zimbabwean exports continued to hinder attempts to create jobs for the thousands qualifying through the greatly expanded school system.

Although his government had settled 40 000 peasant families on 27-million hectares of former white commercial farmland taken over since independence, he acknowledged environmental as well as financial constraints in pursuing the policy.

Zimbabwean Minister of Defence, Enos Nkala yesterday reported major successes by Zimbabwean forces in defeating Renamo rebels along the "Zimpo corridor".

Nkala denied run-ups of grievous Zimbabwean casualties in the prolonged Mozambican civil war. These rarely exceeded five a month, he said.

## No independence

### visit for Harington

HARARE — Head of the South African Trade Mission in Harare Johan Viljoen was not allowed to see Odile Harington at Chikurubi maximum security prison yesterday, but warders promised to give her a parcel containing bilfong, chocolates and pork pies to celebrate Zimbabwe's independence anniversary.

Viljoen said he found the approaches to Chikurubi jammed with thousands of relatives and friends when he went there in the hope of being allowed consular access to Harington, 27, serving a 25-year sentence for attempting to infiltrate the ANC.

Long-term prisoners are theoretically permitted a special food parcel and an extra visitor to celebrate the Zimbabwean independence holidays. Viljoen went to Chikurubi on the "off chance" after receiving no reply to repeated written requests to be granted special holiday access.

"I didn't get to see her, but I was allowed to leave a food parcel with the officer in charge of the women's section," said Viljoen. "She promised me Odile would get it."



# Sachs: From protest to exile

By CHRIS STEVY and  
Own Correspondent

ALBIE SACHS — critically injured in a car-bomb blast in Maputo yesterday — entered anti-apartheid politics in 1952 when, at the age of 17, he addressed a public meeting in Cape Town to protest at a state order forcing his father to resign as a trade union leader.

His father, Mr Solly Sachs, was one of South Africa's first trade unionists to be listed a communist and banned. He died in exile in London in 1976, aged 75.

Mr Albie Sachs became involved in politics during his student days as a member of the Congress of Democrats and was one of about 20 whites who took part in the 1952 defiance campaign.

As an advocate he defended ANC and PAC members in the early 60s. He also defended his former wife, Ms Stephanie Kemp, in the African Resistance Movement trial. Exiled in 1966, he joined the ANC in 1969

when membership was opened to whites. For more than a decade he lectured in law at the University of Southampton before he moved to Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University.

Because of his involvement in devising a legal system for Mozambique, Mr Sachs was exempted from the 1984 post-Nkomati expulsions of ANC officials from the country.

In 1981, the BBC telecast a play that dealt with his incarceration under SA's 90-day detention laws. "A Jail Diary Of Albie Sachs" told of how he was arrested on October 1, 1963, under the General Law Amendment Act.

His first recorded clash with the SA authorities was in 1955 when he was fined 15 pounds for disfiguring public buildings by putting up and exhibiting unauthorised posters.

Two months later, in October, Mr Sachs — then a fourth-year law student — was banned for five years. He was arrested after using the

black entrance at a post office, but the charges were later dropped.

In April 1963 — then an advocate at the Cape Town Bar — he was served with two five-year banning orders in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

In October that year, he was detained for 90 days under the General Law Amendment Act. On December 29, he was released but immediately held again.

In March 1964, he was released after 168 days in solitary confinement without being charged.

In August that year, Miss Kemp — detained in July 1964 during raids on the African Resistance Movement and jailed for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act — left for England to marry Mr Sachs after serving a year of her sentence.

The couple — who have two children —

were divorced several years later.

In 1964, he wrote a book, "The Prison Diary of Albie Sachs".

His father — born in White Russia in 1902 — came to South Africa in 1913, and joined the International Socialist League in 1920 before forming the Young Communist League in 1922. He spent six months in the USSR in 1925.

In 1931 he was expelled from the Communist Party.

In 1950 he was named as a communist and, in 1952, the then minister of justice, Mr C R "Blackie" Swart, ordered him to resign as general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union — a position he held since 1928.

He refused, and was arrested and sentenced but on appeal the sentence was suspended. He resigned from the union in 1952 and sailed for England in 1953.



YOUNG ADVOCATE...  
Albie Sachs in 1966

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# Angry Tutu rejects call by communists

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called for financial and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa, but angrily dismissed a communist call for the church to back ANC violence

At a press conference here, the representative of the Morning Star, the Soviet Communist Party's voice in Britain, asked him to endorse an ANC call for the church actively to back violence

The archbishop turned, blazing eyes on the man, and barked "The church could never em-

brace violence and the church does not take its marching orders from any political group. We take our mandate from the Lord and the scriptures."

He said sterner measures including diplomatic sanctions and denying South Africa access to world money markets should be enforced

The archbishop said a harder line was necessary, especially if a new bill to ban foreign funding to opposition groups in South Africa became law

It was his mission, he said, to persuade the Christian family worldwide of its role to promote action in combating apartheid, which was "a crime against humanity"

It could be more effective than trade sanctions alone if Britain, for example, broke or cut back diplomatic ties and the South African diplomatic presence abroad was accordingly limited

Archbishop Tutu said Britain, the United States and Germany readily imposed sanctions on countries like Nicaragua and Poland but were always concerned about the effects action would have on black South Africans

While critical of British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's refusal to impose telling sanctions, he thanked her publicly for intervening with other Western leaders on behalf of the Sharpeville Six

DID 2014/88 (804) (11A)

# ANC man died in blast — SAP

PRETORIA — The South African Police confirmed yesterday that the man who was killed in the first blast in Pretoria last Friday was a trained African National Congress terrorist

However, they were not prepared "at this stage" to identify him or furnish any other particulars about him

The Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, said it had also been established that the man was killed when an explosive device, which he had on his person, exploded "for some or other reason"

"A black man who was arrested in the vicinity of the second explosion was interrogated and released after it was established beyond doubt that he was not involved in either of the two explosions," the police statement said

"A third explosive device which was discovered was not, as reported earlier, found in the Kingsley Centre

It was found, unactivated, wrapped in a plastic shopping packet next to Beatrix Street, near Schoeman Street

All three explosive devices were limpet mines

"The term Kamikaze terrorists, used by cer-

tain newspapers, creates a totally false impression

"These terrorists are not death-defying fighters who are unconcerned whether they die

"Everything indicates that they were sent by their cowardly masters to terrorise innocent members of the public

"Their numerous failures must be seen as an example of the reprehensible actions of the ANC to misuse persons who slavishly follow that organisation

"An appeal is made to all editors not to speculate further on this matter as such rumours can serve no useful purpose

"Should further information which is in the public interest become available, it will be furnished in the form of a news media statement."

Gen De Witt said he had issued the statement as a result of speculation regarding the explosions

He also appealed to the general public to be on the look-out for suspicious parcels and articles left unattended

He added that in this event such articles should not be touched in any way and that the police should be called immediately — Sapa



# Bomber 'was ANC man'

Business Day Reporter (1/20/88)

POLICE Commissioner Hennie de Witt said yesterday the man killed in last Friday's explosion in Pretoria was a "trained ANC terrorist" but police were not yet prepared to identify him or furnish any other particulars about him.

De Witt said the SAP had determined the man was fatally wounded when an explosive device on him exploded.

A man, who was arrested in the vicinity of the second explosion, was released after it was established beyond doubt he was not involved in the explosions.

A third explosive device was found in a shopping packet next to Beatrix Street. 20/1/88



# New drive to have Mandela released

LONDON (11A) Nelson Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, joined church and anti-apartheid leaders yesterday to launch one of the most ambitious campaigns ever staged in the international drive against Pretoria — the "Nelson Mandela: Freedom At 70" campaign.

Activists have set themselves the target of generating what they hope will be a sufficient international clamour to secure the release of the veteran leader before his 70th birthday on July 18.

The campaign culminates in five weeks of intense activity and reaches a crescendo on July 18.

One highlight likely to generate substantial publicity is a birthday tribute concert at Wembley Stadium on July 11 featuring a host of top pop stars. The event will be televised by the BBC.

## March

A day later, ANC president Oliver Tambo will launch the 1000 km "Nelson Mandela freedom march" from Glasgow to London. Twenty-five marchers, symbolising the 25 years Mandela has spent in prison, will walk to London. The march will be led by three former Robben Island prisoners — Indries Naidoo is the only one named so far.

One day before Mandela's birthday, the march will culminate in London when thousands of people gather in Hyde Park for what is being forecast as the biggest anti-apartheid event organised in Britain — Nelson Mandela freedom rally.

Among international figures who will address the rally is Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Speaking at yesterday's launch, Anti-apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said of Mandela "He is one of the outstanding individuals of his day... that he should spend his 70th birthday in prison is intolerable and totally unacceptable."

In a video message, Mrs Winnie Mandela said she was "touched and moved" by the campaign. — *Sowetan Foreign News Service*

# Hendrickse slates attitude of Minister to coloureds

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, needed to re-appraise his attitude to financing the House of Representatives departments, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

The Minister's attitude, he claimed, did not help the process of reconciliation.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the Budget, Mr Hendrickse said the Ministers' Council's decision to ad-

just coloured pensions by R12 a month was part of an on-going programme to wipe out the disparity with white pensions.

On the day a newspaper report to this effect was published on March 21, Mr du Plessis had written to him, saying he had authorised the Treasury to withhold R36,6 million which was to have been used for the increase.

Before he (Mr Hendrickse) could reply to this letter, Mr du Plessis went on TV to explain why there would be no increase for coloured pensioners

## Executive, not the Left, is the destabiliser — PFP

The greatest onslaught on the status and relevance of Parliament came not from leftist circles but from the Executive in South Africa, Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point), said today.

He said in committee stage debate on the State President's vote that the last controversial legislation to come before the standing committees on law and order had been the Internal Security Amendment Act and the Public Safety Amendment Act.

Since then the only actions of note by the Ministry of Law and Order had been administrative, in the form of bannings and restrictions.

In spite of the State President's claim to the contrary, his period in power had not seen much talk of respect for fundamental human rights.

At a meeting on March 30 between Mr du Plessis and administration officials, the Minister had shouted at them as if they were children, Mr Hendrickse said

In his reply to the debate, Mr du Plessis said he could not authorise Treasury money to finance an increase in coloured pensions this year because the House's administration had not specifically budgeted for it

The Government felt strongly about pensions, but the cold reality was that there was no money for an increase. — Sapa.

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21/4/84

D 10 24/1/88 (11A)  
**Court**

# convicts ANC bomber

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

## PIETERMARITZBURG

The ANC bomber Gordon Webster was yesterday found guilty of the murder of Colonel Robert Welman of the Durban police, and attempted murders of two other people when he planted two limpet mines at the Chamberlain Road substation in January 1986.

Webster, who was found to have joined the ANC in 1984 and received military training outside South Africa, was convicted by Mr Justice McCreath and two assessors on 11 charges against him of terrorism, murder and attempted murder of Colonel Robert Welman of the Durban police.

On the murder charge the judge said although Webster claimed he had expected and believed that both the limpet mines would detonate at the same time, in the light of his background training and knowledge of explosives the court was of the view that he did in fact foresee the possibility that the two explosions might not occur simultaneously.

Colonel Welman, Sgt Roelof van der Merwe and Mr Mervyn Dunn, a Durban Corporation training officer, all suffered severe burns when the second limpet mine at the Chamberlain Road substation detonated about

25 minutes after the first explosion, according to evidence before the court.

Colonel Welman died in hospital some weeks later.

The judge said that on another occasion when Webster admitted planting explosives at the Shongweni-Assagay substation, it was quite clear that he had deliberately used different coloured lead plates on two limpet mines to ensure that a substantial number of hours elapsed between the explosions, and to test Webster had admitted this. The second limpet mine had been planted at a hole in the security fence where Webster had gained entry.

The court also accepted the evidence of an in-camera state witness who was part of a conspiracy led by Webster to attack substations in the Mooi River district in April 1986, who testified that it was not his duty to plant a land mine in a dirt road leading to one of the substations.

Webster was also convicted on charges of attempting to attack the Mayville electricity sub-station in Durban, and of having planted bombs which exploded at Umlaas Road, Durban; another explosion at Chamberlain Road substation; and a blast at Huntley's Hill substation in Westville.

In addition he was found guilty of having established and concealed caches of arms and explosives during 1986.

The court also found that he had recruited others into the ANC and given them training in the use of firearms and explosives.

The trial resumes on Friday.



Mr. P. W. Botha

Mr. Albert Nothnagel

# Nothnagel 'no friend' of terror — PW

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night came to the defence of his outspoken frontbencher Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, who was facing possible disciplinary action over his controversial speech last week about the political importance of banned organizations

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to make a major statement on the Group Areas Act today and allow for certain areas to be declared "open" for occupation by people of all races. At the same time, however, he is expected to state that the provisions of the Group Areas Act outside the open areas will be applied more stringently than is the case at present

Describing him as his "friend from Innesdal", Mr Botha said "I do not think he is always careful enough about what he says, and I have told him so. But I have the highest regard for his competence and sincerity

"He is not a friend of terrorism or violence and on that I will defend him. He knows I think he is sometimes overhasty in what he says, but we all sometime let our tongues run away with us"

To page 4

From page 1

## P W Botha's vote

Taking the adjournment on the first day of the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha referred to Conservative Party attacks on Mr Nothnagel and statements on the ANC, but went on to repeat his willingness to talk with the ANC if it laid down its arms, stopped its violence and came to the negotiating table

This in effect backed up what Mr Nothnagel has said

He thanked Dr Andries Treurnicht, Leader of the Opposition, for what he had said about the ANC

Opposition parties clashed over Mr Nothnagel's speech

While Dr Treurnicht, rampant after three CP by-election victories, tried to hang the government on charges of wanting to consort with the ANC, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin praised Mr Nothnagel. If Mr Botha wanted to find an alternative to apartheid he should turn to Mr Nothnagel rather than attempt to outbid the Conservative Party in "the market of white privilege", Mr Eglin said.

Mr Nothnagel replied by saying CP speakers conveniently omitted to say that he had spoken of a "peaceful" solution and the fact that his article should be read in conjunction with a qualifying statement:

He said he still stuck by the party's policy that negotiations could not be conducted with organizations which used violence as a means to a political end. He also wanted nothing to do with communism

"I remain loyal to the NP because I know its leaders will do what is best," said Mr Nothnagel

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# Mandela — 'Freedom at 70'

11A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, joined church and anti-apartheid leaders yesterday to launch one of the most ambitious campaigns staged in the international drive against Pretoria — the "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" campaign.

Activists have set themselves the target of generating what they hope will be a sufficient international clamour to secure the release of the veteran leader before his 70th birthday on July 18.

One highlight likely to generate substantial publicity is a birthday tribute concert at Wembley stadium on July 11 featuring a host of top pop stars. The event will be televised by the BBC.

A day later, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will launch the 1 000 km Nelson Mandela Freedom March from Glasgow to London.

Among international figures who will address an international rally in London's Hyde

Park on July 17 will be Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, former Tory Chancellor Lord Anthony Barber and film director Sir Richard Attenborough are among leading international figures backing the campaign.

Others include UN secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has warned that it is no longer possible to talk of peaceful change in South Africa.

He said the churches in the country had "re-committed themselves to a peaceful, non-violent strategy against apartheid", while understanding "why liberation movements have resorted to force".

But "the reality is that there is a war on in South Africa and people are already dying".



ABOVE: Mrs Joyce Mtimkulu. "I hope one day I'll find his bones and give him a decent burial"  
INSET: Missing student leader Sphiwe Mtimkulu



# Mother gives up hope of finding son

11A

From MONO BADELA  
JOHANNESBURG - Six years after the disappearance of Congress of South African Students (Cosas) leader Sphiwe Mtimkulu, his mother has lost hope of ever seeing him alive again

Mtimkulu went missing on April 14 1982 when he went to collect medication at Livingstone Hospital in Korsten, Port Elizabeth

He was suffering from thalium poisoning and could barely walk

His lawyers were preparing a law suit against the then Law and Order Minister, Louis Le Grange, claiming R150 000 for allegedly poisoning him while in detention

The court action was postponed because of Mtimkulu's disappearance

As Port Elizabeth activists planned to commemorate the sixth year of Mtimkulu's disappearance, his mother Joyce appeared to have accepted her son was dead

"It's so long now, it is so quiet and time seems to be moving. We hear nothing. I don't think he is alive. I hope one day I'll find his bones and give him a decent burial," she said

She hoped her son's disappearance would not remain a mystery

A reward of R2 000, offered by the Civil Right League, has failed to reveal his whereabouts

Mtimkulu was admitted to Livingstone Hospital shortly after his release. He was later transferred to Groote Schuur, suffering from paralysis of the lower limbs

Mtimkulu was not the only activist to disappear in Port Elizabeth

Mystery still surrounds the disappearance of Pebco leaders Spho Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela disappeared on May 9 1985

Last year their wives unsuccessfully filed an application in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court claiming the three had been seen in police custody

They demanded that the divisional commissioner of police in the Eastern Cape hand over their husbands

Two months after the disappearance of the Pebco leaders, the badly burnt bodies of four Cradock community leaders, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauhi were found near their vehicle



Webster  
guilty of  
terrorism

MARITZBURG — ANC member Gordon Webster, 24, was convicted yesterday of four counts of terrorism by Mr Justice McCreath and two assessors sitting in the College Road Supreme Court in Maritzburg.

The charges relate to Webster becoming a member of the ANC in Botswana, his undergoing military training under the auspices of the ANC in Angola to overthrow or endanger the state, and recruiting others to join the ANC.

He was also found guilty in connection with attempts to plant explosives at the Mayville electrical sub-station in Durban.

The court has not yet made a ruling on a charge of murder or attempted murder.

The judge said it was the unanimous opinion of the court that Webster had not deliberately set a booby trap to kill police Colonel Robert Welman in January, 1986.

Judgment is continuing. — Sapa.

D 10 24/1/88 (11A)

# Court

## convicts

# ANC

## bomber

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

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The trial resumes on Friday

# Co-operation

BLACKS must cooperate with one another if they hope to attain independence.

Delivering a keynote address at the two-day seminar of the Black Management Forum, Mr E Nyathi, who is also publisher of a monthly journal, *Southern Africa Focus*, said blacks would have to come up with a multifaceted effort to gain political and economic power

He said "Co-operation lies at the heart of our redemption. We should all engage in an exercise of self-discovery and learn to appreciate and have pride in ourselves and our African heritage"

## Progress

The aim of the seminar, whose theme was "The new economic framework for South Africa", was to assist and encourage the development and advancement of the black community.

Mr Nyathi said whatever progress black managers have made in the past they still laboured under racial constraints. Their white bosses and colleagues still have limited faith in them

Sowetan 2/1/4/88  
is vital

## BMF indaba told

Black managers could still achieve something if they worked hard in co-operation with other black community organisations.

"One tragedy of apartheid's application is the poor self image that blacks have of them-

selves. Consequently we often fail to appreciate the good done by fellow blacks," he said

He said there was a backlog in housing, education, business development which any equitable economic policy shall have to deal

with

Both the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front have an important role in the formation of future economic policies

The seminar ended yesterday

(20)

(11A)

11A

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and State President PW Botha — the two chief protagonists in the deepening conflict between the State and the Church — seem to be involved in an elaborate game of chess.

Each carefully considered move is being played out before the full glare of the world's media.

There have been smaller clashes in the past where Tutu, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, managed to come off best.

Tutu's calls to the international community to impose sanctions and his campaign to get Western countries to break diplomatic relations with South Africa incensed Botha — but no legal action was taken against the Archbishop.

However, Botha seems determined not to lose this latest encounter. A lot more than pride is now at stake. This is how the seven-week clash started.

February 29 Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, the SA Council of Churches' the Rev Frank Chikane and about 150 other churchmen are arrested outside St George's Cathedral after attempting to march to Parliament.

The petition protested against the government's clampdown on 17 organisations.

Several clergymen are hosed by policemen using a water cannon.

March 2 Speaking in parliament, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok — one of the president's most active supporters — claims that clergymen like Tutu are 'hiding behind the cloak of sanctimoniousness'.

March 7 Tutu, Boesak and others launch "The Committee for the Defence of Democracy" in response to the government's crackdown on anti-apartheid opposition.

March 12 Vlok restricts the new organisation and bans a rally organised by members of the Committee for March 13 at the University of the Western Cape.

March 13 Speaking at a detainees' support service at St George's Cathedral, Tutu accuses the Government of being the greatest threat to public safety in South Africa.

He claims members of the present Government — including Botha — supported the Ossewabrandwag when it

# Botha and Tutu toe to toe

committed sabotage to undermine the South Africa war effort during World War Two.

"If their own laws were used against them, they would be found guilty of terrorism," says Tutu.

March 16 The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, in a joint pastoral letter, expresses "profound dismay" at State actions against the church.

March 16 Tutu meets with Botha at Tuynhuys to ask the president to grant clemency to the Sharpeville Six.

In the stormy 45-minute meeting Tutu claims Botha 'lambasted and threatened him'.

"He said I was looking for trouble and would get it. I told him to go ahead."

Botha accuses Tutu of having preached under a flag depicting the hammer and sickle and claims he had photographs to prove the charge.

Botha uses the meeting to hand to Tutu a letter he has written in reply to one he received from the Archbishop along with the petition.

Frank Chikane about the attack of the archbishop.

In his letter Botha tells Chikane it is a "flagrant misrepresentation to say he had singled out the Archbishop for criticism."

Botha also accuses the SACC of "loving" the ANC and the SACP and of "embracing their call for violence, hatred, sanctions, insurrection and revolution."

Botha adds that he has always striven to conduct his personal life and his service as president according to the principles of Christianity. The letter receives substantial coverage on SABC.

March 25 Tutu's press secretary John Allen reveals the Anglican Church is considering taking legal action against Botha and the SABC since Botha's letter "linked Archbishop Desmond in the public mind to landmines, necklaces, hatred and revolution."

March 25 The NGK Sendingkerk cancels important unity talks with its white counterpart and claims one of the reasons is the "vicious attack by the synodal commission on Boesak and Tutu."

March 28 Boesak makes public his assassination fears and says he sees a link between the death threats and the heightened conflict between the Church and State.

March 30 Questioned in parliament, Vlok admits the Eloff Commission had not found that the SA Council of Churches was lending financial or other support to "terrorist" movements.

April 6 Forty five theologians accuse Botha of being "unchristian" in his attack on church leaders Tutu, Boesak and Chikane.

April 11 The Archbishop replies to the letter he received from the president with an eight-page letter delivered to Tuynhuys.

In the letter Tutu describes the apartheid policies as "positively unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil."

## Kingdom of God

He reiterates that he has never been photographed preaching beneath a flag depicting the hammer and sickle as alleged by Botha.

"I want to state the obvious. I am a Christian religious leader. By definition that surely means I reject communism and Marxism as atheistic and materialistic. I try to work for the extension of the Kingdom of God."

"For whose kingdom do you work with your apartheid policy? I pray for you as I do for your ministerial colleagues, every day by name."

The SABC does not broadcast Tutu's reply.

April 13 The Geref Kerk mouthpiece, Die Kerkbode, says the church has "new information" on the way in which revolutionary forces are abusing religion and the church.

April 14 The opposition parties in the House of Assembly voice a common concern about the Church State confrontation.

National Democratic Movement MP Mr Peter Gastrow accuses the Government of "hijacking" Christianity to prop up its 'fading, legitimacy'.

April 17 Archbishop Tutu, fresh from a highly publicised visit to Namibia, flies to Europe. In Lisbon he urges Portugal to use its position in the ECC to press for tougher trade sanctions on South Africa.

## State's actions

March 17 The letter receives widespread publicity. In it Botha questions Tutu's "understanding of evil" and challenges him to declare whether he is "acting on behalf of the Kingdom of God, or the kingdom promised by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party."

"You owe all Christians an explanation of your standpoint," Botha says.

March 22 Anglican bishops from throughout Southern Africa hold an emergency meeting in Johannesburg to discuss the threat of government action against Tutu. The Right Rev Keith Sutton arrives from England to show solidarity.

In a statement the bishops claim the Ned Geref Kerk and the government have launched an attack on Tutu and Boesak which is aimed at portraying them as Marxists and isolating them from their churches as a prelude to State action against them.

Sutton says the message from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Anglican Church is clear: "You touch one of our bishops and you touch us all."

At a press conference Tutu challenges the Government to do its worst. He emphasises he will not obey a banning or restriction order, and that they will have to jail him.

March 23 The general purposes committee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) announces it has cancelled a meeting scheduled for March 28 with the Ned Geref Kerk.

The organisation says it is "shocked" at the attack on Tutu and other church leaders by the church's general synodal commission, which stated, among other things, that Tutu and Boesak were "on the road to disaster."

March 24 Unexpected support for Tutu is expressed in a letter to the press by an NGK minister, the Rev Herbert Brand of

It is causing deep distress to me that the Ned Geref Kerk leadership has launched an attack on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, while positively fawning on a Government which persists in making a mockery of the call of the word of God to love, justice and humility."

March 24 Botha replies to a letter he received from SACC general secretary

1/14  
8/1 day  
21/4/88

### Treurnicht slams Nothnagel and ANC

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The ANC and its politics could not be divorced from violence and terrorism, Leader of the Opposition Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking first in the State President's Vote, he said the article by Albert Nothnagel (NP, Imesdal) published in Inside South Africa, parts of which he quoted, had embarrassed the National Party.

Since then, Treurnicht said, Nothnagel had said there was not a single word in the article he had retracted or ever would retract.

"He says that he, like most Nationalists, view it as a myth that a lasting solution can be obtained without also involving the ANC in the process or obtaining black participation without releasing Mandela and other political prisoners.

"He also says he and these Nationalists can identify with the total liberation struggle of the Black man."

Nothnagel had also criticised two previous prime ministers, Malan and Verwoerd, for their refusal to meet the ANC in their time as "a most serious political blunder". Treurnicht said the ANC was infested with communism — Sapa.

8/1 day  
21/4/88

### PARLIAMENT

# A place for all groups in future SA, says Nothnagel

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — For the NP, the future of SA as a "single" was more important than any one part of it and that included the Afrikaner, Albert Nothnagel (NP Imesdal) said yesterday.

"As an Afrikaner nationalist, and as much as I love the Afrikaner and other groups in the country, the Afrikaner's socio-political aspirations and all he claims are not more important in the SA of tomorrow than the interests of all in SA," he said in the Budget debate on the State President's Vote.

The Afrikaner and the whites alone could not have the total say. Nothnagel referred to attacks on him by the CP after a recent speech he made in Parliament in which he said the ANC and the 17 organisations which were restricted in February were "important" to SA's future, and after a magazine article he wrote on the ANC last year.

The NP's stand on the ANC was very clear, and this was it would not negotiate with the organisation before it foreswore violence.

"I have no problems with this". The government insisted political prisoners renounce violence before they could be released and he agreed with this.

His use of the phrase "total liberation struggle" in his speech last week had been used in the sense of black South Africans' social and political aspirations and had nothing whatsoever to do with being in favour of violence or communism and the ANC, as the CP was trying to portray, Nothnagel said.

On CP attempts to besmirch him with their references to his article on the ANC last year, Nothnagel said the official Opposition propagandists were ignoring the fact he had started with the words "No peaceful solution is possible without...".

### Fair

Also, the article should be read in conjunction with a speech he made in the House last year after the article appeared and after he had had consultations with the Transvaal NP leadership.

The whole essence of the NP's policy was to move towards a situation where there

was fair and just treatment of groups and individuals

"Everyone must feel he is free to take part in political and economic activity and that discrimination is not part of our policy... it will not help the CP to try to associate any of us with the ANC, communism or violence."

### Moving

The NP's constitutional policy was one for all the people of SA to have a right to participate in political structures on a group basis

It was no secret that the NP did not have all the structures yet, but it was moving towards them on the basis that the whole was more important than any one part.

Referring to the statement by Ferdie Hartzenberg in the House that he (Nothnagel) had said it was a myth that any solution in SA would not be acceptable to the blacks unless the ANC was included, Nothnagel said he would say outright it was a lie to anybody who repeated this outside Parliament. — Sapa

Political Staff



SAMUEL Kolsang.



PHIL Mthimkhulu.

# Leaders hit out at P W's plan

*Sowetan 22/4/88*

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A NUMBER of black leaders have scoffed at the proposal by State President, Mr P W Botha, to create a multi-racial policy making body which will include blacks in Parliament.

They feel that the deal would include those blacks who work in Government-created institutions and would not satisfy the broad mass of people who want to see their jailed leaders elected to Parliament on

a one-man-one-vote system

Political analyst Mr Phil Mthimkhulu, who lectures at the university of South Africa, said blacks would find the new plan confusing as much as the Government's confused constitutional plans

He said many blacks would not be interested in participating in such a body as it was tantamount to being offered small concessions

What would satisfy blacks, he said, would be universal franchise, the unbanning of political organisations and the release of those leaders who are languishing in jail so that they should come and take their place among the people

## Question

He felt that the majority of blacks would question the existence of the President's Council and resist participating in a body that they had no hand in planning

The Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (Ceapa) felt the proposal was one of trying to create a quadra-cameral Parliament

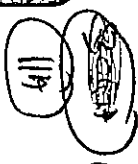
The organisation's

organising secretary, Ms Thembi Mbobo said people were not interested in advisory bodies but wanted to participate fully in Government

The former mayor of Atterdenville, Mr Z Z Mashao, said the proposal would not be relevant as long as true leaders were still languishing in jail

He said "Unless the government released all political detainees, unbanned all political organisations and individuals the proposal would not serve any purpose"

The leader of the newly formed Vaal Residents' Representative Party, Mr Samuel Kolsang, said the move was welcomed, but asserted that the government should consider releasing all political detainees





Mr JAY Naidoo and Mr Muntu Myeza at a seminar organised by the Black Management Forum in Johannesburg.

# LEADERS <sup>South Africa</sup> <sup>22/4/88</sup> SHELVE DIFFERENCES. 11A

TWO leaders this week shelved their differences to deplore apartheid and propose a new economic framework for South Africa at a two-day seminar in Johannesburg.

The adherents of the Freedom Charter and the Azanian Manifesto told a Black Management Forum seminar that South Africa's future economic framework would be determined by the black working class.

The seminar, whose theme was "The new

economic framework for South Africa", was also addressed by leaders in commerce and industry.

An adherent of the charter, Mr Jay Naidoo, said apartheid had built a layer of black petty bourgeoisie who preferred to have a stake in the present system rather than identify fully with

the liberation struggle.

He said black managers had a major role to play in bringing about political, social and economic change in South Africa.

"The future society, irrespective of the economic framework, will require trained managers. What we need to realise is that apartheid does not reward merit but colour," he said.

"The demands of the Charter provide the only viable answers to the

political and economic crisis which has plunged our country into conflict and mass suffering."

An adherent of the Manifesto, Mr Muntu Myeza, said blacks were made hostile by the oppressive and exploitative laws of the country.

Apartheid, he said, would lead South Africa into catastrophe.

Both speakers said apartheid and capitalism were inseparable systems which must be destroyed in South Africa because they had left many people unemployed.

These systems, they

added, had made the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Apartheid paid workers poor wages, offered inferior working conditions, housing and education and had repressive laws.

Educationist Mr Curtis Nkondo said the capitalist South Africa had benefited whites at the expense of the black majority.

During the seminar black managers were encouraged to join and identify themselves with community organisations.

11A

A seminar explores

# New eyes on

WELL over 600 people have died in the violence around Pietermaritzburg during the 14 months to March 1988, but there is still no consensus about the cause of the conflict.

A different explanation for the particularly intense violence in Edendale township, the largest in Pietermaritzburg, was offered to conference participants by Natal University researcher Nkosinathi Gwala

The state has blamed "radicals" and the UDF/Cosatu as manipulated by the African National Congress, an analysis often used by Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The theory that a large criminal element has been operating in the area, capitalising on the instability, is also popular, while Cosatu, through its interdict applications, has put some of the blame on Inkatha "war-lords"

However, Gwala argues that the violence is "a reflection of a very deep legitimacy crisis facing Inkatha as a liberation movement"

"The Pietermaritzburg violence captures in a very dramatic way what has become a pattern in other conflict-ridden townships in Natal, that more and more African people are increasingly questioning the credentials of Inkatha as a liberation movement.

"This violence also reveals what some would like to turn a blind eye to — the fact that Inkatha's support base is shrinking and, as an organisation, it is relying more and more on bu-

The violence in Natal has been blamed on the 'comrades', the 'warlords' and on 'criminal elements'. But few have managed to explain why it began . . . until a conference this week, which shed new light on the causes of the bloodshed  
**CARMEL RICKARD reports**

reaucratic domination and repression to maintain its support base"  
Gwala says the history of the Eden-

dale area left the region with several unique features — such as the extent of private ownership of the land.

"Edendale (is) one of the very few places where Africans have freehold property. It is this legal status of the land that has given the landowners unusual autonomy from the state and Inkatha"

Both the state and Inkatha are unhappy about the autonomy of Edendale, Gwala argues, and in their concern about control of the area, their interests coincide

"For the state, it would have been

## Arithmetic of hate: 622 die in 90 days

STATISTICS of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area, kept by Natal University's Centre for Adult Education, list 622 deaths between January last year and March this year

There were in all, 1 160 incidents of political violence during 1987 and nearly 500 in the first three months of this year

Centre staff member John Aitchison told the seminar that where a judgement could be made of the affiliation of initiator and victim in killings since last January, 174 victims were aligned with the United Democratic Front and 79 with Inkatha

Looking at the total number of incidents, it seemed Inkatha members were the initiators in 367 incidents and members of the UDF in 112. Members of black consciousness organisations were the initiators in 19 incidents of political violence.

Two members of the South African Police died during 1987, while there have been no SAP fatalities this year

Commenting later, Aitchison said there were a large number of killings and other incidents in which the alignment of the victim and aggressor were not known

However, he believed that, from the "rather limited cross checks" he had been able to make, the tendency of the figures was correct — that the UDF had suffered more heavily than Inkatha in the conflict.

"Many incidents where we have good information come from areas nearer to the city where our contacts are good. In the outlying areas it is most difficult there to determine affiliation"

Aitchison said he suspected a number of those victims whose affiliation was not known were neutral in the conflict, claimed by neither side

"The reason we aren't able to be more precise is because the authorities don't release the victims' names and addresses"

Sources providing data for his "census" were newspaper articles on "unrest reports", and of murder and public violence trials, the Sapa version of the police unrest report, accounts from witnesses and victims of political violence recorded by the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, reports from organisations and individuals in Pietermaritzburg, particularly the Detainees' Support Committee, lawyers, trade unionists, clergy and political activists as well as affidavits before

\*  
Blessed are the dead  
For they will  
Never be suspected,  
Never be chased  
Never be unmanageable  
Never be transformed into firewood  
Never be killed  
For they are now  
Protected from adversaries  
Saved from opponents  
Secured from the persecution of this world  
Blessed are those who are dead

— by B M Tenza of Imbali published in Echo February 28 and read at the seminar on violence in Pietermaritzburg

court in applications for interdicts against local "war-lords"

On the question of bias in his statistics, he says cross checking of non press sources has shown they have been reliable, but adds that most of these non-press sources are organisations sympathetic or not hostile to the UDF/Cosatu alliance. He concedes "the vacancy in sources is one for detailed Inkatha gathered information"

Aitchison's figures show a dramatic change in the number of deaths every month in January last year, only one death was recorded, this soared to 60 in September, 83 in October, 113 in December, 161 in January, 50 in February and 14 last month

The statistics also showed that Vulindlela and neighbouring Edendale were the two worst-hit areas, with 146 dying in Edendale and 254 in Vulindlela during the months January 1987 to March 1988

Looking at the progression of violence in the townships, Aitchison says, "It would appear that the violence actually started in Imbali, affected Ashdown and then led to the major battle, that for control of Edendale, and then flowed into Vulindlela where it seems that deaths reached horrifying proportions in December and January"

From those killings where he has been able to establish the age of the victims he concludes at least 68 per cent of the dead were 25 years or under (the youngest was seven)

"There is a terrible message in this age composition. The conflict is devouring the young

"Any response to the conflict that does not take seriously the aspirations of these youth and offer a meaningful life (which must include addressing political needs) is doomed to failure"



Survivors Gladys Sangweni lost husband, child and home, allegedly in Inkatha attacks

## Stay away, police politely told

PIETERMARITZBURG security police chief Brigadier Jac Buchner is a man not used to being denied access to any one or any place

But this week he was politely told he was "not welcome" on the local university campus to attend an all-day seminar on the violence which has wracked the region surrounding Pietermaritzburg

Deputy director of the Centre for Adult Education at the university and co-organiser of the conference, John Aitchison, contacted Buchner to ask him not to attend. He told Buchner a number of speakers felt the presence of a senior security official would inhibit what they had to say and subsequent discussion

"I have felt all along that it is essential to get to the bottom of this violence if it is to be solved and the problems overcome

"I felt by going to hear these speeches I might get some fresh ideas I might have asked some questions but I certainly did not intend interfering with or inhibiting either the speakers or their audience," Buchner said

Following this exchange, University vice principal Colin Webb commented the university regretted Buchner should feel insulted by being asked not to attend

Webb said the university's commitment to free dissemination of ideas remained, but "the measure of intellectual freedom which a university is able to maintain is directly affected by the constraints on human freedom in the surrounding society"

Although he did not attend, Buchner's presence was strongly felt during one session.

In a conference paper, Ruth Tomaselli of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, University of Natal, Durban, showed a video

of an SABC-TV comment programme screened in January

Buchner, interviewed during the *Network* programme, described the "daunting task facing the police" in Pietermaritzburg

In particular he described the "traditional fear" of black people who fear burning more than they fear death

"This is a traditional fear. When a person dies, they believe the spirit of the forefather is reincarnated . . . But what we have here is where a person is burnt, specially when he is alive, then the belief is that his spirit perishes with him, so that the children have no mediator between themselves and the forefathers' spirits. That is a very important aspect of traditional culture"

Buchner said security forces would be "merging as members of the community" to re-establish law and order and to "re-establish or restore the dignity of the local community."

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute referred to another absence from the seminar — that of an official Inkatha representative

Woods began his address by saying the institute was "independent" and did not represent any political party. He added the absence of an Inkatha representative "totally negates the contribution that Inkatha can make"

Aitchison told the *Weekly Mail* the organising committee had considered whether to issue official invitations to representatives of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Inkatha and the South African Police

"However when the UDF and Cosatu were restricted the problem was resolved. We felt it would have been invidious to invite Inkatha when the UDF could not attend, and so no representatives of any political grouping were invited"

## REPORTING ON THE FRONT

THE sometimes impossibly difficult conditions under which journalists are working in Pietermaritzburg were highlighted during the seminar

Khaba Mkhize, editor of the *Natal Witness* supplement, *Echo*, told of the problems in being a reporter living in the townships

"To report on violence as an 'insider' is to risk death, or unpopularity at the least," Mkhize said

He said he was sometimes approached by people living near him who would ask him why, knowing what he did of the truth of what was happening in the

area, he did not report on these facts in his paper

"I often have to give a crash course on the Emergency regulations to explain the problems of what we can and cannot publish"

Mkhize said reports alleging attacks by one side were often seen as evidence of his personal affiliation to the other side in the conflict. And attempts had been made on his life

*Natal Witness* journalist and author David Robbins, said since February when "the state's security management system cranked into place in Pieterma-



Natal's violence

# the violence

whole context needed  
 IIA (circled)  
 (circled)

ideal for Edendale to be under the direct administration of the KwaZulu bantustan, controlled by an increasingly collaborative organisation like Inkatha. For Inkatha control over Edendale would give substance to its claimed membership of the 'Zulu nation', as well as its claimed membership of 1.5-million members.

Gwala says there is strong evidence that the Pietermaritzburg area is "traditionally a very strong ANC

Edendale is one of the few places where blacks own freehold property. This gives the landowners unusual autonomy from Inkatha's patronage or bureaucratic control.

area, at least up till its banning in 1960" while Inkatha has never been strong in the Natal midlands.

In addition, there has been a political re-awakening in the area during the 1980s, largely led by the

"progressive labour movement" and the UDF, but Inkatha actively opposed several significant and well-supported labour and community actions, organising strike-breakers and breaking a consumer boycott.

"The workers and the Pietermaritzburg community learnt their lessons about Inkatha through these events."

But Gwala believes the most important explanation for the conflict is Inkatha's failure to get a foothold in the Edendale community through its normal methods of "bureaucratic control, patronage and distribution of resources."

In response to being blocked in Edendale by a community which did

not need its patronage, Inkatha began "a violent recruitment drive"

He adds, "In fact when one examines other conflict areas in Natal where Inkatha is involved, there is an increasing propensity towards violence on its part where these bureaucratic entry points are closed."

If its forced recruitment drive fails, like it clearly has in Pietermaritzburg, it appeals to the state for more administrative and repressive powers. That is why Inkatha is now pushing for more areas to be incorporated under the KwaZulu government and for more police powers in the form of the KwaZulu Police.

"The frustration of Inkatha is heightened in a place like Edendale where the landowners are somewhat more autonomous because of the freehold status of their land."

While Inkatha does still retain mass support, it is nonetheless becoming like other bantustan ruling political parties. Where there is resistance to the state Inkatha is now almost always on the side of the state.

"No matter how hard you try, it is almost impossible to convince black people that a police force under apartheid or a bantustan government can be part of a liberation movement."

Discussing the causes of the violence in his paper, church worker Peter Kerchhoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa) said the conflict was not "mindless black on black conflict."

He added, "It is also not purely a clash between Inkatha and the UDF."

"While our evidence suggests the fighting is Inkatha versus non-Inkatha, I am not saying that Inkatha has the sole responsibility."

"If we want to understand the causes we cannot simply say it is a struggle for power. We have to understand what apartheid has done to all of us."

Socio-economic conditions were also blamed for much of the problem by Inkatha Institute speaker Gavin Woods.

He said the institute had conducted a survey of socio-political conditions, attitudes and opinion in the affected areas.

They discovered about 350 000 people living in the region, about 11 people per house of one or two rooms, under appalling conditions of poverty and unemployment, with poor roads, inadequate health services and a lack of recreational facilities.

On average there was one breadwinner — earning about R200 a month — per 15 people. This means 70 percent of the people live below the bread line.

Unemployment among the institute's 'focus group' (youth aged 15-24, the group most involved in the violence) was about 80 percent.

They experience intense frustration, feeling they have no future, and move to "group formations", says Woods.

"Youth gangs are a feature of ghettos but the tendency is even stronger in this region where apartheid has caused the disintegration of society."

He said the fighting was a result of "displaced aggression" — the youths turned to closer targets because they could not take out their frustrations on the real causes of their problems.

He also blamed the *lumpen proletariat*, saying this criminal element would "kill for a radio".

Of the 240 youths in the institute's sample "only 12 percent saw the UDF or Inkatha as vital components of the violence, 95 percent had no political understanding of these movements and had no formal connections with them."

He added that a large number did not know the names of leaders, and that this was especially true of the UDF-aligned youths interviewed.

Woods said it was important to distinguish between the "underlying and incidental causes" of the conflict.

The socio-economic problems and political frustrations caused by apartheid were the "underlying causes", while the ideological differences were "incidental".

He called on participants to direct their attention to 'the real causes' and make an action plan to "lift the quality of life of these unfortunate people".



Final journey — comrades carry Mduzuzi Mvubo and Ndoda Mchunu to Mphophomeni graveyard near Howick

Pictures CEDRIC NUNN, Alrapix may publish, and regulations which have restricted the activities of organisations and silenced their leaders.

"When the delicate balances evolved through the wisdom and experience of centuries of law are perverted to promote or preserve the privileges of a ruling class, one of the many victims is the law itself which becomes a mere display of force, little if any different from the force displayed by a bandit."

"The need for the victims of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area to resort to the dangers and expenses associated with the interdict applications in order to claim the fundamental rights and protection that should be theirs in any sane society, shows that the courts and the legal process have become a mockery."

"The judges, still fiercely proud of their independence, have been turned into impotent second-rate — may I say independent — press agents."

"While this might be a sad spectacle for many, a sadder feature is that the disillusionment created can only serve to promote further violence and disrespect for law on all sides."

LEGAL restrictions preventing news of conditions in the townships reaching the wider community had led to the South African judiciary becoming "impotent press agents".

This was the view presented at the seminar by Natal University law professor, James Lund.

His argument is that laws and regulations in South Africa so effectively restrict the flow of information about what is happening in the black areas, that the only way to get this news out is to bring court interdicts.

Looking at the spate of applications for interdicts brought in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court during the last few months, he asks why they were brought and what it was hoped to achieve through the applications which could not be achieved through other means.

One reason might be to obtain protection for the individual applicants and other victims of violence in their communities.

"Given the nature and extent of the violence and the impunity with which some of the perpetrators appear to have acted, it would seem to be

## The court plays chief reporter

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

somewhat naive to expect that the assaults, killings or other attacks would stop merely because a judge had, with due ceremony, embodied a prohibition against such conduct in a formal court order."

Another reason for bringing the interdicts could have been to "identify those people committing acts of violence so that the police and prosecuting authorities, armed with the evidence contained in the affidavits, would be compelled by (white) public opinion to institute criminal proceedings. But this has not generally followed."

A third reason, he suggests, could be to gain publicity

If this was the motivation behind the applications, Lund says, it reflects on the state of the law and the legal system in South Africa today.

"In a normal society with a free press and access to information it would obviously be unnecessary to go to the length of applying for interdicts that by and large simply restate the law in order to ensure the publication of information vitally affecting the society and its citizens."

"But South Africa is clearly an abnormal society."

Lund lists legislation which prevents those outside the black areas from knowing what happens in these communities — laws which keep groups strictly apart such as the Group Areas Act, laws severely limiting the information which the media

be published in connection with security force action.

Robbins adds, "In our attempts to publish news of the unrest, we are now helped only by the protection given by parliament and the courts. When affidavits are filed and questions are asked in parliament, some facts become part of the public record and can therefore be published."

"In spite of this however, we know of many incidents and detentions which should be reported, but the police refuse to confirm, and the reports remain unpublished. As a newspaper we

## LINES: FEAR AND DANGER

rietzburg townships, the situation underwent a profound and ominous change" and the problems of reporting greatly worsened.

Restrictions on key organisations and their leaders made it virtually impossible to quote a balance of opinion regarding any incident.

"Matters were further complicated by the introduction into the townships of *kitskonstabels*, some of whom had been Inkatha activists during the previous months of fighting. What had once been an essentially civil struggle, with the security forces, more or less on the sidelines, is

now a struggle between the state and Inkatha on one side and the popular 'progressive' resistance on the other," and so was subject to Emergency regulation restriction relating to security force action.

The change was reflected by the changed police attitude to the newspaper's requests for comment.

"Whereas before the police were sometimes prepared to confirm and comment on our stories they no longer do so, and refer reporters asking for comment, to Section 3(1) of the regulations which says nothing can

feel shackled and frustrated we know we are not fulfilling our basic function properly — which is to keep our readership fully informed."

Added to this the physical risks to reporters trying to enter these areas are very real. There is also the problem of the great reluctance of people to talk to the press for fear of reprisals by one side or the other.

"Our proximity to the unrest has heightened our awareness of the need for even handed reporting and for objectivity and balance. As a newspaper we

# ANC works on new blueprint

24/1/88 Times

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE ANC is discussing a new constitution at the same time as the Government is revealing its blueprint for the future.

But unlike President P W Botha, who wants to resurrect the office of Prime Minister, the ANC seems to be opting for an executive president, American-style.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka this week confirmed there had been discussions on various constitutional options among the organisation's leadership.

But, he said, the intention was not to produce blueprints or final solutions

## Final

Documents and proposals were circulated among interested members to stimulate debate

A document that did, however, arouse great interest was drawn up by ANC veteran Jack Simons, head of legal affairs Zola Skweyiya, and secretary of the constitutional committee Job Jobodwana

The document makes it clear at the outset that the Freedom Charter adopted at Kliptown in 1955 remains the cornerstone of ANC policy.

This calls for a nonracial society, a multi-party democracy with universal franchise, and a mixed economy

The drafters of the document made a study of several other constitutions such as

# for SA BUT FREEDOM CHARTER STILL THE KEYSTONE OF ITS POLICY

11A

Sweden and Nicaragua in formulating their proposals.

But they emphasised that the final constitution should be drafted by elected representatives of "all the people" and that the way in which "power is to be transferred" — peacefully or after a violent struggle — would also determine the nature of the constitution

Unlike the Government, which seems to be heading towards some sort of federal or confederal arrangement, the ANC remains strongly in favour of a unitary state

And, whereas President Botha is reverting to pre-referendum days to revive the post of Prime Minister, the ANC seems to be committed to a strong executive president elected by popular vote.

The Government is of late strongly in favour of devolution of power to a third tier or local authorities, although its critics maintain that it is ac-

tually tantamount to a centralisation of power and a mere devolution of execution of duties.

The ANC has always placed strong emphasis on local government and this document reaffirms the trend

As far as the economy is concerned, the ANC attitude of a strongly-controlled economy is at odds with the Government's new-found move towards privatisation

## Fears

In a number of statements in recent years, ANC spokesmen have, however, stressed the importance of a "mixed economy" to allay the fears among whites of rampant nationalisation.

The keyword for the ANC is therefore "pragmatism", and it can be expected that the economic debate will be an important feature of future discussions



NON-VOTER . . . Guest speaker, UDF regional chairman, Mr Dullah Omar, left, at the inaugural conference of the Cape Democrats at UCT yesterday

Picture MIKE HUTCHINGS

*Mr 19/65 25/4/88*

# 'Courage needed to oppose apartheid'

*HA*

By CHRIS. BATEMAN

IT TOOK great courage for White South Africans in their insular positions to launch an anti-apartheid group and members could expect surveillance or even detention, Mr Dullah Omar, chairman of the UDF, said yesterday.

Speaking in his personal capacity, he addressed about 80 people at the inaugural conference of the Cape Democrats at the University of Cape Town. He predicted that the organization would have a stormy life.

Mr Omar said it was to be hoped that members would be able to prevent "the situation of many of our compatriots who find themselves out of circulation because of their non-racial ideals".

White democrats found themselves in a more difficult position than those who were not white because they operated in an environment which "broadly speaking" accepted the divi-

sions of South African society and the privileges that went with them.

The Cape Democrats yesterday adopted the Freedom Charter and voted to seek affiliation to the United Democratic Front. The organization is non-racial and aims to win whites over to the anti-apartheid struggle.

Members resolved to call on the government to create a climate for negotiations by scrapping all apartheid laws, lifting the state of emergency, releasing black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and lifting bans on black political organizations.

Mr Omar said one crucial role they could play was to keep themselves and others informed about events in the black townships.

● Dr John Greene, UCT electrical engineering lecturer, was elected vice-chairman, Ms Rosemary Mene-Gibert treasurer and Ms Debbie Marsden secretary.

# 'Keep troops out of schools' call

Staff Reporter

Argus 25/4/88

CAPE Democrats, a new extra-parliamentary political group, has called on the security forces to keep out of schools, saying pupils "cannot be educated at gunpoint".

The call was made in one of six policy resolutions taken at the organisation's inaugural conference, attended by more than 100 people, at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Other decisions were to adopt the Freedom Charter and to seek affiliation to the United Democratic Front.

Opening the conference, advocate Mr Dullah Omar praised members for their courage and said the organisation was likely to have a "stormy life".

He said "It is to be hoped that members will be able to avoid the situation of many of our compatriots who find themselves out of circulation because of their non-racial ideals".

Among resolutions taken were that the organisation would "focus on building non-racialism by bringing white South Africans into the democratic movement" and that it would support those who refused to serve in the Defence Force.

The organisation called on the Government to scrap apartheid legislation, lift the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, unban banned organisations and withdraw security forces from the townships.

A resolution on education called for an end to the "detention and harassment" of pupils and teachers.

# Alleged members of PAC not in court

5/4/86  
Sawston

11A

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THREE alleged members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army did not appear in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court on Thursday as scheduled because the Attorney-General had not issued a certificate on whether they should be granted bail.

The senior public prosecutor, Mr A R van Wyk, said this from his Johannesburg office.

The three men are Mr Jackie Seroke (28) of Tembisa township on the East Rand; Mr Mandla Cele (34) of KwaMashu, Durban, and Mr Patrick Khomongwe (24) of Mdantsane, East London.

They are facing charges of terrorism, belonging to a banned organisation and four alternative counts of possessing explosives, pistols ammunition and PAC publications.

The State alleges Mr Seroke left South Africa for Botswana on September 8 last year with Mr Percy Ntsala and returned with 12 handgrenades, five Scorpion machine pistols, 11 magazines and a quantity of 7,65 rounds of ammunition.

Mr Cele and Mr Khomongwe are alleged to have received military training in Lesotho or Tanzania, Lybia and Zimbabwe.

# Court told ANC man felt remorse

Byday

(11P)

26/4/88

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Convicted ANC terrorist Gordon Webster had felt remorse and sadness when he learned of the death of Durban police colonel Robert Welman, after a limpet mine explosion at the Chamberlain Road substation in January 1986 for which he was responsible, the Supreme Court here was told yesterday.

University of Cape Town senior lecturer in social work Gordon Isaacs told Mr Justice McCreath and two assessors he believed extenuating circumstances existed, which reduced the moral blameworthiness of Webster in the murder of Welman.

Isaacs testified he had formed the opinion that there were four main features influencing Webster which amounted to extenuation.

These were emotional immaturity, vulnerability resulting from his childhood background, influence of more powerful forces and people on him, including indoctrination by the ANC and an absence of any inherent wickedness in Webster.

**Black policeman gunned down with AK-47**

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*Cape Times 26/4/88*  
Own Correspondent  
DURBAN. — A black police sergeant was gunned down with an AK-47 rifle while on his way to work near Newcastle yesterday morning, police in Pretoria confirmed last night.

man, whose name has not yet been released, was shot just before 5am while waiting at a bus stop at Osizweni.

The report also said another two men were wounded in two other unrest-related incidents in Natal — Sapa

A spokesman said the dead police-

**Pupil 'assault':  
Cops not charged**

*Cape Times 26/4/88*  
Staff Reporter

TWO Nyanga high school pupils who were allegedly tortured by policemen were not prepared to attend an identity parade and no eyewitnesses to the alleged assaults could be found, the Attorney-General, Mr Neil Rossouw, said yesterday.

Confirming his decision not to prosecute the five policemen who were under investigation for allegedly assaulting and electrically shocking Mr Sonwabe Madikane, 17, and Mr Mandla Malgas, 18, Mr Rossouw said the docket could be reopened "at any stage".

The pupils told journalists that they were part of a group returning from a meeting at the Idasa headquarters in Mowbray on January 19.

A Landrover had approached and they had immediately discarded Idasa literature they were carrying and fled. Police had allegedly caught them.

They were handcuffed, interrogated for four hours and electrically shocked and assaulted, they said.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) applied to the Supreme Court here yesterday to have the recent restrictions placed on 17 organizations, including itself, set aside.

*Azapo 26/4/88*  
*Cape Times*  
**asks court to overturn bannings**

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order are cited as respondents.

ity legislation

In an affidavit before the court, Mr Nchaube Aubrey Mokopae, national health secretary of Azapo, said the Minister of Law and Order had no power under the emergency regulations to terminate the existence of any organization, although such powers were contained in other so-called secur-

Azapo asked for an order which would declare invalid the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24, allowing organizations to be restricted.

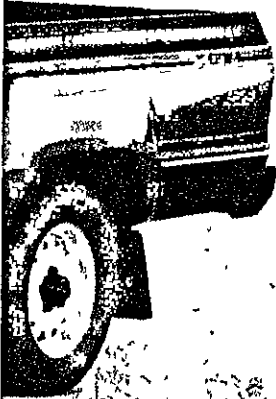
It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organizations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

**Durban prostitute acquitted of murder**

respondent

briefing.

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72643 26/4/88

EMERGENCY UPDATE

## Man stabbed in face, three held

PRETORIA. — A man was stabbed in the face at Sobantu near Maritzburg when he refused attempts by a group of men to force him into joining their organisation, the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said today.

In its overnight unrest report, it said three men were arrested in connection with the incident.

The extent of the man's injuries was not known, the report said. — Sapa.



D 1 D 26/4/82 (2/11A)

## Azapo applies for lifting of restraints

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) made an application to the Supreme Court in Durban yesterday to have the recent restrictions placed on 17 organisations, including itself, set aside.

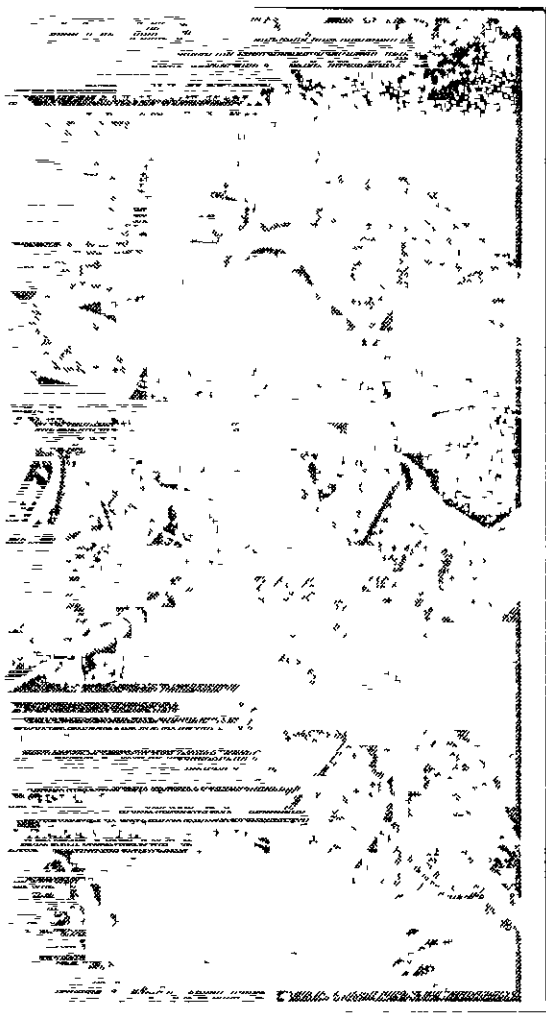
The State President and the Minister of Law and Order were cited as respondents.

In an affidavit before the court, the national health secretary of Azapo, Mr Nchaube Aubrey Mokopae, said the Minister of Law and Order had no power under the emergency regulations to terminate the existence of any organisation although such powers were contained in other security legislation.

Azapo asked for an order declaring the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24, allowing organisations to be restricted, null and invalid.

It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organisations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

Mr Justice Bristowe adjourned the application to a date to be arranged. The respondents have been asked to file answering affidavits by noon on May 13 and Azapo to file its replying affidavits by noon on May 20. — DDC



# Azapo fights curbs

*sowetan 26/4/88*  
*11A*

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday made a Supreme Court attack on the amendments to the emergency regulations under which it and 16 other organisations were banned in February.

Azapo cited the State President and the Minister of Law and Order as respondents.

It asked for an order declaring the amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on February 24 allowing organisations to be restricted null and invalid.

It also asked that the restrictions on Azapo and the other organisations promulgated in February be declared invalid.

Mr Justice Britstowe adjourned the case to a date to be arranged. — Sapa.

By Patrick Lawrence

The Star Tuesday April 26 1988

114 No evidence to suggest guerilla war has entered new phase, says SA officer

# ANC suicide-mission theory debunked

It was premature to deduce that with its purported use of "kamikaze" insurgents prepared to blow themselves up in launching terror attacks a new phase had begun in the African National Congress's guerilla campaign, a top intelligence officer told The Star this week.

He was reacting to reports in Afrikaans newspapers that interpreted the recent "limpet mine attack in Pretoria, in which a bomber blew himself up, as evidence that the ANC was sending in badly trained recruits on suicide missions.

## Dismembered

There were no grounds for concluding that the bomber photographs of whose dismembered body were splashed across the front pages of *Beeld* and *Rapport*, deliberately blew himself up or even that he was badly trained, the officer said. The man had, however, been identified as a

SA 26/1/88

## ANC fighter

It did not automatically follow that a saboteur was on a suicide mission or that he was badly trained if he blew himself up, the officer said. He offered two alternative explanations. The bombs might be old and faulty, or the bomber might not have been able to handle his murderous skills and had thus made a mistake. There had been mistakes before, the officer said, citing the Pretoria car bomb explosion in May 1983 in which 19 people were killed. That bomb was detonated prematurely when someone accidentally tuned in on the

remote-control frequency set by the bombers to trigger the explosion.

Another example not mentioned by the officer might have occurred in June 1985 when four young men from the East Rand townships of KwaThema and Duduza blew themselves up with grenades.

As they pulled the safety-pins, the grenades exploded in their hands. The grenades were possibly old stock or were primed by an agent provocateur to explode prematurely.

Hastily trained ANC guerillas were not a new phenomenon, the officer said. From 1983 the ANC had instituted crash courses in guerilla warfare, giving recruits instruc-

tion in the use of limpet mines and hand-grenades.

These courses were held in neighbouring states or even in South Africa itself. They seldom lasted longer than a weekend.

## Sophisticated

But these crash programmes supplemented rather than replaced longer training courses of ANC recruits at camps in Angola, Tanzania, East Germany and the Soviet Union.

Crash-course "graduates" co-existed with fighters whom the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, had trained in the use of

sophisticated techniques of guerilla warfare.

Moreover, the officer argued, the use of naked terror was not a new development. The planting of a limpet mine outside a cinema complex, as happened in Pretoria recently, was terrorism by any definition, but was not without precedent in the "armed struggle".

One had only to think of the Amanzimtoti shopping complex bomb, which killed five civilians in 1985, or the car bomb that killed civilians in Durban's Marine Parade in 1984.

The ANC's public position had been that it attacked "hard targets" — police sta-

tions, government buildings and strategic installations — and that where civilians were killed it was not a matter of deliberate policy.

The civilian casualties in the 1983 Pretoria car bomb were presented by the ANC as accidental, the bomb having been aimed, according to the ANC, at SA Air Force headquarters.

But, the officer said, on the ground the situation was different, the distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets often blurred in the eyes of ANC combatants, taking them down the road to terrorism *per se*.

TO ADVERTISE ON THIS PAGE — TELEPHONE EAST LONDON 26141

<sup>DID 27/4/88</sup>  
**Grosskopf may**  
**be in** <sup>(BAA) (11A)</sup>  
**Lusaka hideaway**

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's most wanted man. Mr Heinrich Johannes Grosskopf, 24, is believed to have escaped to Lusaka

Security sources told our correspondent yesterday that Mr Grosskopf had apparently evaded a massive police dragnet to cross the Botswana border.

However, the African National Congress yesterday denied any knowledge of Mr Grosskopf's whereabouts

Security sources could not explain Mr Grosskopf's escape

Since personnel at all border posts were on the alert for him, it seemed likely that he crossed the border by foot or in a private plane.

Police said none of the recent bomb blasts in Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg had been linked to Mr Grosskopf

He is being hunted in connection with the Krugersdorp car-bomb which killed three people and injured 20 in March this year, and the Quartz Street car-bomb which injured 68 people in Johannesburg in July last year.

He is also wanted for questioning in connection with last May's bomb blast which killed four people and injured 20 outside the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court.

The reward for Mr Grosskopf's capture has increased to R54 000 after donations by members of the public.



MR GROSSKOPF

### Warning to hunters

BISHO — Ciskei's wild animal hunting season is from June 1 to July 30, and the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development has issued a warning that hunters should obtain licences

The department warns that "whoever breaks this provision would be dealt with severely" — DDR.

DID, 27/4/88

# May Day rallies planned 100A

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent 11A

JOHANNESBURG—Cosatu said yesterday it had planned a number of rallies to commemorate May Day on Sunday.

Some members would also report for work on May 6 as a form of protest against the State President's proclamation of the day as Workers' Day

Indoor rallies would go ahead in Cape Town and Johannesburg. But permission for a meet-

ing in Secunda had been refused and replies were being awaited regarding a Port Elizabeth gathering

Permission for a meeting in Durban was granted subject to various undertakings from Cosatu on issues like crowd control, curbing of violence, non encouragement of educational boycotts and unlawful strikes, and that the State of Emergency would not be mentioned.

"We have agreed to these conditions, but refused to agree that

police be allowed inside to monitor and film the meeting" A reply from the magistrate was being awaited

Regarding May 6, the spokesman said some affiliates had negotiated for members to work on this day in exchange for another holiday, such as March 21

Others will attempt to attend work as normal, while most will stay home, but not as an alternative to May Day being a paid public holiday, he said

# SACC kidnap drama. accused granted bail

The young man accused of holding hostage a South African Council of Churches secretary at Khotso House earlier this month, was yesterday granted R2 500 bail by a Johannesburg magistrate.

Mr Denzil Bruce Mellors (19), of Brakpan, is facing charges of kidnapping, causing a bomb scare, unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition and theft of a firearm. He has not been asked to plead

The State opposed the bail application.

Earlier, Mr Mellors described the events which led to the drama at Khotso House on April 11.

He said he had been on a 10-day pass from the SA Prison Services training centre in Kroonstad when he became worried, as a Methodist, about what he termed reports that Methodists might be ordered by their church leaders "not to do military service".

On Monday April 11 went to Khotso House to get more information on the matter.

He said he now agreed that he would have done better to consult a minister.

## 'SACC LINKED TO ANC AND SOVIET UNION'

He took the gun for self-protection. As he read pamphlets shown to him in the library, he realised that the SACC was linked to the ANC and ultimately to the Soviet Union, he said.

A secretary came in and he took out the gun and told her to sit down in an office, close the door and telephone the police.

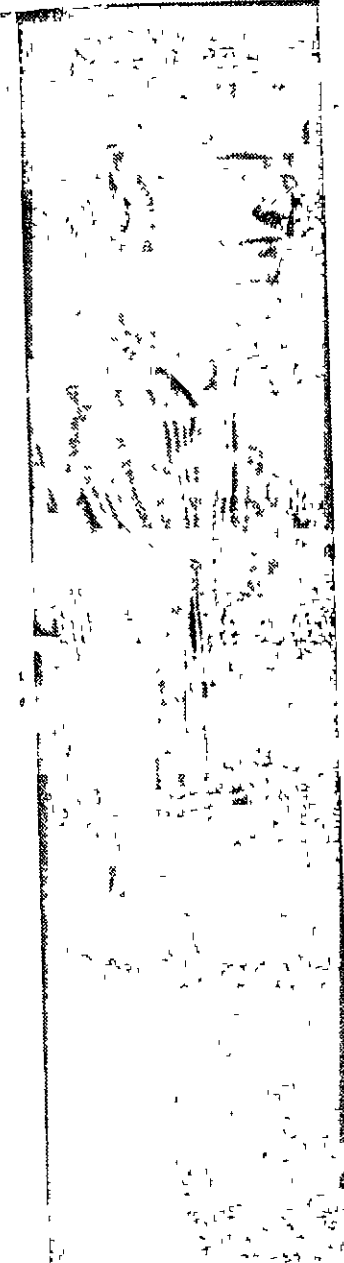
He later telephoned a friend, a Sergeant Kruger in Nigel, and asked him to come to Khotso House as he realised he was acting childishly and Sergeant Kruger could possibly help.

While waiting for the policeman, he heard people in the passage and told the secretary to tell them there was a bomb in the vicinity.

When Sergeant Kruger arrived, Mr Mellors handed himself over.

He said he realised he had acted childishly, but denied having planned the action

The hearing was postponed to May 27.



Mr Denzil Mellors leaves the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

# Convicted bomber (11A) says he had no star 27, 4, 86 wish to kill anyone

DURBAN — After African National Congress bomber Gordon Webster had caused the death two years ago of Colonel Robert Welman with staggered explosions, he again staggered detonations at a sub-station to show that the "ANC could enhance its sabotage campaign and that it could kill if it wanted to", the Supreme Court was told here yesterday

Webster, who has been convicted and was giving evidence in mitigation of sentence, said he had never intended to kill anyone.

Webster, who on January 9 1986 placed the limpet mine which caused Colonel Welman to be so badly burned that he died 21 days later, placed two limpet mines to explode at varying times in an electricity sub-station at Shongweni on March 2 1986

At about 8 pm he had placed a timing device in one mine to make it detonate in one hour. In another mine he placed a timing device to make it go off nine hours later

Had he wanted to kill, he said, he would have inserted a timing device to make the second mine go off four hours later, when people were likely to be examining damage caused by the first blast

## NO REJOICING

He said that if he had wanted to kill, he had the arsenal and the opportunity to do so. "I had no wish or inclination then or now to do so.

"When I was arrested, I was found with a lot of arms and ammunition I never tried to use them, although I had the opportunity

"I have never had the desire nor temptation, no matter how transient, to kill a policeman. I do not rejoice when I hear of white young men being killed in the operational area."

Webster, who said he had recruited Robert McBride, now awaiting execution for the beach-front Magoo's Bar bombing murders, into the ANC, said he was angry with McBride for detonating the car-bomb.

He felt, however, that he should do something for McBride, who had freed him from police custody in Edendale Hospital

**Azapo** (11A)

# turns 10 years old silently

By Michael Tissong

When the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) celebrates its 10th anniversary today, it will be under a veil of official silence reminiscent of the "silence" that was imposed on its entire first executive in 1978.

Azapo's executive was banned as soon as they were elected to office at the organisation's inauguration in Soweto.

Today, Azapo is in a similar predicament because of the restrictions the Government placed on Azapo and 16 other organisations in February.

The terms of the restrictions mean that Azapo may not engage in any activities of resistance without Government approval.

Azapo was formed after the Government banned Black Consciousness organisations, several people and two newspapers — *The World* and *Weekend World* — on October 19 1977.

Azapo upheld the banner of Black Consciousness and incorporated socialism into its outlook at an ideology conference in April 1981.

Developing on the theories of Marx, Lenin and Mao, Azapo believes that only a socialist transformation of the economy could lead to an equitable distribution of wealth.

Its documents propose nationalisation of private productive property after "liberation".

No minority groups would be recognised in what Azapo calls the "Socialist Workers' Republic of Azania" and all people would be required to voice political opinion in one Parliament.

Among the campaigns the organisation has engaged in is the cultural boycott campaign from 1979.



CAPL TIMES 28/4/88

## Police 'had informer' with ANC, court told

BETHAL — As recently as March this year, the police had an informer at the African National Congress in Lusaka, a security branch officer testified in the Bethal terror trial yesterday.

Warrant Officer Nic Deetlefs testified that photographs of ANC documents handed in to the court as an exhibit had been taken by a police informer at the ANC's offices in Lusaka.

The three accused, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, pleaded not guilty to charges under the Terrorism Act and of high treason.

Because of an objection raised by Mr H K Naidu, defence counsel for Mr Ebrahim, on the admissibility of the photographs, the documents have not as yet been admitted as evidence. — Sapa

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# Police helicopter was Sam-7 missile 'target'

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[Signature]

Argus 12/5/88

The Argus Correspondent

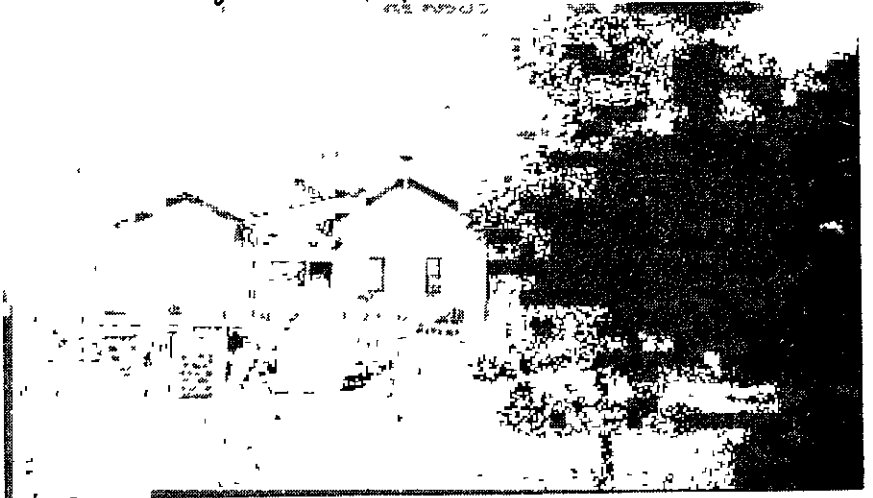
JOHANNESBURG — The ANC arms cache found on a smallholding at Broederstroom in the Transvaal is the largest in South Africa so far and includes a Sam-7 missile which was allegedly to have been used to down a police helicopter at the Rand Easter Show.

The surface-to-air missile, which is portable and weighs only 9,2kg, could have been used against aircraft using the scores of airports and airstrips in the Transvaal, recalling the two Rhodesian Air Viscounts shot down in late 1970s with great loss of life by guerrillas armed with Sam-7 missiles.

### BATTERIES

The missiles have a range of nine to 10km and are ideal for terror attacks.

The missile was allegedly to have been used against a police helicopter at the packed Rand Show during a public display, but the plan was shelved by the cell commander — believed to have been a former journalist of the now-defunct Rand Daily Mail — who apparently thought his own personnel would be at risk



**HIDEAWAY:** The house on the smallholding at Broederstroom where the white ANC cell was hiding out.

Sam-7s have been extensively deployed throughout the world and rely on tail-pursuit interception of low-flying aircraft. The missile has proven especially effective against helicopters. It has an infra-red homing device.

The weapon can be used individually by a single operator or can be mounted in batteries on vehicles.

It has seen service with Warsaw Pact nations, Egypt, Syria, Vietnam, Cuba and other countries.

**O**n April 13 a clash near Durban between suspected members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and police, led to the deaths of four people. But these days in South Africa this isn't even a major newsworthy event anymore.

It is merely one incident among many. Many such clashes took place last year.

An account of the clashes reveal that the ANC is still managing to infiltrate South Africa and get arms and personnel into the country.

Most South African whites unquestionably accept the routine media reports detailing the latest killing by the South African Defence Force (SADF) or the police of "ANC terrorists."

According to official statistics for 1987, a total of 446 ANC members were arrested during the year and 44 were killed.

In addition, 38 Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members were arrested and three killed.

What the statistics don't reveal is that most of the encounters have taken place in black townships in South Africa.

In addition, a significant number have been directed at members of the SADF and the SAP.

This appears to indicate both the extensiveness of ANC support inside South Africa and that, despite the SAP's reported claim that it was able to capture or eliminate "terrorists" within 90 days of their entry into the country, some members still slip past the wide dragnet.

Some of the known clashes last year include:

- January 23 Police shot dead two suspected ANC members near Soweto, Johannesburg. A police statement said arms and ammunition of "Russian origin" were found.
- March 15 An alleged ANC member in police custody took his captors to a hidden arms cache where he attempted to hurl a grenade at them. He was shot dead by police.
- March 17 In Inanda township near Durban, an ANC "cadre" and a woman were fatally injured as the house in which they were staying was attacked by police armed with grenades.

- April 8 An alleged member of the ANC was shot dead, another injured and a policeman left for dead after a wild shoot-out near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal.

# ANC men still get in



- April 13 A black security policeman was killed and another injured in an ambush by nine men, some of whom were armed with AK47 rifles of "Eastern bloc" manufacture.
- June 10 Two policemen were seriously injured and a youth killed in a shoot-out between "insurgents" and police in Soweto, Johannesburg.
- July 7 Police, acting on a tip-off, killed an alleged ANC member and a woman in a township near Fort Elizabeth by driving a Caspary over the shack in which they were cornered. An arms cache was also reportedly found.
- Also in July, police shot dead Ashley Kriel, according to them a trained ANC guerrilla, while attempting to arrest him in Cape Town.
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- August 4 Three suspected ANC members were shot and killed when police opened fire during a high-speed car chase on a motorway just outside Johannesburg.
- September 10, in Chesterville near Durban, an ANC member was killed while trying to throw a hand grenade at members of the SAP who were attempting to arrest him.
- September 11 Two white policemen were shot dead in

- KwaNdebele at close range by unidentified men armed with an AK47 rifle.
- September 13 Three "ANC insurgents" were shot dead in a gun battle with combined SAP/SADF forces in the Northern Transvaal near the border with Zimbabwe.
- September 15 Security forces killed two more alleged ANC members in the same region. Police alleged the five were infiltrating the country from Zimbabwe.
- November 24 Police killed two alleged ANC members and a "collaborator" after hurling grenades into a house in the black township of Umlazi. Weapons of "communist origin" were reportedly found in the house. One of the dead was a member of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Nunsa).
- December 10 Police in the Port Elizabeth township of Soweto again used a Caspary to flatten a house in a pre-dawn raid. The bodies of four alleged ANC members were recovered along with weapons of "Soviet origin."
- December 12 Two members of the SAP were shot dead and four others wounded when a gunman fired at a police vehicle in Soweto. Police say after the incident they recovered a number of AK47 cartridges.



Alleged ANC guerrilla Ashley Kriel

The first quarter of this year has seen the SAP coming under direct attack from ANC members.

Most of the incidents this year have been aimed at special or municipal police in black townships. At least six of these policemen have been killed and a large number injured.

Police attribute an attack on municipal police in Soweto on March 8, in which nine were injured, to an "ANC gang who have

been operating in Soweto since December.

In an earlier incident in Athridgeville near Pretoria two policemen died from fire from AK47 rifles. It is also attributed to an "ANC gang."

It is significant that the "terrorists" killed remain faceless and nameless statistics, and it is difficult to establish any details about them - *Press Trust of SA*

# Pupils 'try' teachers



**Political Staff**  
TEACHERS at some schools were being brought to trial by pupils who conducted "peoples' courts", the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

Introducing his budget as the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse said the coloured community was going through an era of "unprecedented orchestrated turbulence" at secondary and college level despite the state of emergency.

He said the education department found itself wedged between two factions. On the one hand it had to contend with the unwillingness of the government to divorce education from its ideology of sep-

arateness, while on the other it was confronted with elements of radicalism.

"The House of Assembly still fails to seize opportunities to enhance its credibility in the eyes of the moderate, fair-minded people of South Africa by backpedalling and free-wheeling on the road of reform to which it claims to be committed," he said.

Mr Hendrickse said that at secondary school level, the department was now experiencing huge problems with "pupils who busy themselves with alternative or people's education".

Such people, he said, "willfully stay away from classes, conduct 'peoples' courts' where teachers are brought to trial, demand the appointment or transfer of

school staff and even demand to address the school at assemblies".

And at college level the department had the problem of students resorting to uncalled for, unprofessional and indefensible actions as a means of "airing their grievances".

He said his department was no longer prepared to "play a spectator-role amidst threats of boycotts and similar protests".

Peoples' education was merely a part of the whole pattern of an alternative structure for South Africa, and by bringing such a structure into being alongside recognized structures, the proponents of such education intended it to replace the present structure once the latter had become "discredited and abandoned".

CARL TINTS 22/4/88

# Vigilante orders from SAP van

## Supreme Court Reporter

A POLICE video film taken on the first day of fighting in KTC showed a witdoeke vigilante say over a police public address system that people were needed at KTC.

The video, shown in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, was to enable Mr Clifford Dikeni, a lecturer in African languages at the University of Cape Town, to translate what was said in Xhosa into English.

Mr Dikeni is a witness in the R312 000 damages claim by the Methodist Church and 21 families against the Minister of Law and Order arising from the destruction of most of KTC by witdoeke.

The minister has agreed to pay R200 000 of the claim, should the action succeed.

Mr Dikeni was yesterday shown a scene where a witdoek addressed others in Xhosa through a police van's public address system. Major Dolf Odendaal, second in charge of the riot squad, was in the background.

"Where people are needed is at KTC, at Mahobe Drive, at the plastic/canvas shelters and at the centre."

## 'Well done'

The camera then pans across to the devastated satellite camps at Crossroads. The scene, filmed at the bottom of Mahobe Drive, showed many witdoeke and a police van and Casspir in the background.

A speaker said in Xhosa: "If we get somebody who has died here or who has been stabbed, well ... amongst you that person has to be buried because we didn't sign for that. Thank you. Where people are needed is at KTC."

Another scene shows scores of witdoeke massing in the road near shacks while a white police van cruised slowly. In the background smoke and flames could be clearly seen.

A voice said in Xhosa — which Mr Dikeni said sounded like a white man's voice because of the pronunciation: "Do not resist asseblief tog. Just go to your homes ... don't go in there ... get out of that place ...

"You have done your job, well done! Go home ... Go, you have done your duty."

The hearing continues on Monday.

ARGUS 28/4/88

# ANC couple win asylum

11A 28/4

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — A South African couple have been granted asylum in the US after claiming to be active members of the African National Congress whose lives would be in danger if they returned to Africa.

An immigration court halted the deportation yesterday of

Mr William Shisana, 36, and his wife Olive, 37, after a judge heard that they would have to return to Tanzania, an "imminent target of South African security forces wanting to strike at ANC members".

Mrs Shisana heads the women's division of the ANC in the US.

**O**N April 13 a clash near Durban between suspected members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and police, led to the deaths of four people. But these days in South Africa this isn't even a major newsworthy event anymore.

It is merely one incident among many. Many such clashes took place last year.

An account of the clashes reveal that the ANC is still managing to infiltrate South Africa and get arms and personnel into the country.

Most South African whites unquestioningly accept the routine media reports detailing the latest killing by the South African Defence Force (SADF) or the police of "ANC terrorists."

According to official statistics for 1987, a total of 446 ANC members were arrested during the year and 44 were killed.

In addition, 38 Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members were arrested and three killed.

What the statistics don't reveal is that most of the encounters have taken place in black townships in South Africa.

In addition, a significant number have been directed at members of the SADF and the SAP.

This appears to indicate both the extensiveness of ANC support inside South Africa and that, despite the SAP's reported claim that it was able to capture or eliminate "terrorists" within 90 days of their entry into the country, some members still slip past the wide drag-net.

Some of the known clashes last year year include:

• January 23 Police shot dead two suspected ANC members near Soweto, Johannesburg. A police statement said arms and ammunition of "Russian origin" were found.

• March 13 An alleged ANC member in police custody took his captors to a hidden arms cache where he attempted to hurl a grenade at them. He was shot dead by police.

• March 17 In Inhanda township near Durban, an ANC "cadre" and a woman were fatally injured as the house in which they were staying was attacked by police armed with grenades.

• April 8 An alleged member of the ANC was shot dead, another injured and a policeman left for dead after a wild shoot-out near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal.

# ANC men still get in



• April 13 A black security policeman was killed and another injured in an ambush by nine men, some of whom were armed with AK47 rifles of "Eastern bloc" manufacture.

• June 10 Two policemen were seriously injured and a youth killed in a shoot out between "insurgents" and police in Soweto, Johannesburg.

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## LETTERS

THE EDITOR  
PO BOX 13094  
SIR LOWRY ROAD

(S/A) (S/A) B/day 28/4/88

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — ANC terrorist Gordon Webster admitted in the Supreme Court here yesterday that he had lied while testifying in London last year during the trial of Parade Hotel bomber Robert McBride.

Webster said he lied to "save" McBride, to whom he owed his life.

He was being cross-examined by the State after testifying on extenuating circumstances following his conviction last week of murder, attempted murder and terrorism.

The conviction relates to explosions at substations, including one in Chamberlain Road which caused the death of Durban policeman Colonel

## Webster admits lying in London court case

Robert Welman in January 1986 and injuries to Mervyn Dunn and Sergeant Roelof van der Merwe.

He also told the court that the scheme to seize hostages in SA to secure the release of McBride had been hatched prior to his giving evidence in London

Potential hostages included Natal Supreme Court Judge Mr Justice Shearer and senior police officers connected with the McBride trial.

He told the court he owed his life to McBride, who had rescued him from the intensive care unit at Edendale Hospital after he was shot and wounded by police while on a mission to bomb substations in Mooi River in April 1986, and he had wanted to save him in return

He testified that he had shot people in Edendale Hospital during his rescue when, in fact, he had been incapable of handling a firearm



Officer:  
SAP had  
informer  
in ANC  
Offices

BETHAL — As recently as March this year, the South African Police had an informer at the African National Congress offices in Lusaka.

Warrant/Officer Nic Deetlefs, of the SAP security branch, testified in the Bethal terror trial yesterday that photographs of ANC documents handed in to the court as an exhibit had been taken by a police informer at the ANC's Lusaka offices.

In his testimony W/O Deetlefs said that it was not possible for the police to procure the originals of the documents as they had no official access to the ANC's offices.

Because of an objection raised by counsel for the defence Mr H. K. Naidu, on the admissibility of the photographs, the documents have not as yet been admitted as evidence.

W/O Deetlefs said that as the documents were obtained secretly, it would not be in the interests of state security nor in the public interest to divulge the exact method that had been used, nor the identity of the police informer.

The accused, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Terrorism Act and of high treason.

The judge is Mr Justice J Daniels, assisted by two assessors — Sapa

**T**HIS year marks the 10th anniversary of the Azanian People's Organisation — once one of the most popular organisations among black people in the country

Sad to say, though, that only the name Azapo and dealing with the organisation's administrative duties are what is left since March 24, this year, thanks to the stroke of a pen by Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order

Azapo is one of 18 organisations whose activities have been restricted by the South African Government

It is against this background that Azapo is "celebrating" a decade of existence

The black consciousness organisation was started in 1978 after the Government banned 20 organisations, two newspapers and a periodical on October 19, 1977

### Racism

This action raised concern about the future of black opposition

The origin, aims and commitment of the organisation are best outlined in an updated version of Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi's book, *Theory and Practise of Black Resistance to Apartheid*, on which this article is based

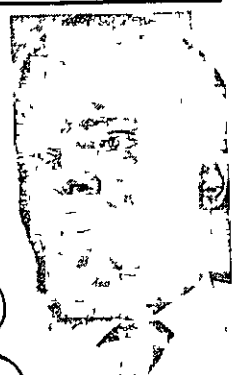
Azapo saw as one of its early tasks the reorienting of the black consciousness movement by "taking it to the broad masses of people"

By this it was probably mooted its worker-focus policy, which has been increasingly emphasised since the organisation was launched

Dr Motlhabi adds that at its launching in September 1979, Azapo

# Curbs mar happy day for Azapo

secretan 23/4/88



Mr KHEHLA Mthembu secure his brother's release

Mr Nkondo's brother, Zinjwa, was in the plane that was forced to land by the South African authorities in Bloemfontein

By talking to Mrs Suzman Mr Nkondo had violated the Azapo principle of non-negotiation with the system

Azapo spearheaded the cultural boycott and artists like Ray Charles and the O Jays have said they would never forget the lesson given to them. This is why the United Nations adopted a blacklist against all artists performing in South Africa

## FOCUS

By SELLO RABOTHATA and MOKGADI PELA



Mr ISHMAEL Mkhabela

projects and other approaches aimed only at motivating the community for later action

The organisation also committed itself to a programme of action

However it does not seem to have spent much time formulating such a programme

It succeeded in some of its campaigns, particularly in cultural boycotts, and to a limited extent, sports boycotts

For the most part, however, Azapo's programme has been "inward-looking", urging black self-help activity much as the BCM used to do

Azapo's first committee included, among others, the president, Miss Nombulelo Melani, Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Khehla Mthembu

Soon after Azapo's formation, almost the entire executive committee was arrested and later banned

Azapo's Bloemfontein branch chairman, Mr Isaac Mdre, was banned and banished to Welkom

In 1979, Mr Curtis Nkondo, then president, was suspended for his frequent violation of Azapo protocol and particularly after he had asked Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party to intervene to



Mr LYBON Mabasa

said the South African problem was an economic one, racism being used as an instrument of economic exploitation and oppression

It defined workers as all those who were thus exploited and oppressed, that is, black people. These people were to be in the vanguard of the liberation struggle

Azapo was formed to continue the trend of resistance to all that the Government and its policy of apartheid stood for



Miss NOMBULELO Melani

In many respects Azapo's policy appears to have been a continuation of that of earlier black consciousness movements although there are many points of difference

Hence it cannot simply be assumed that Azapo is itself only a continuation of any of the past BC organisations under an assumed name

What it has in common with the old BCM is the black consciousness approach, with its emphasis on conscientisation as a motivating strategy

### Boycotts

Although at its inception Azapo adopted aims and objectives that focused purely on the conscientisation strategy, its activities in subsequent years went beyond this "people-centred" approach to posing some challenges to the government

This was done mostly indirectly, such as by encouraging rent boycotts or campaigning for the international community to isolate South Africa

This was certainly a step beyond self-help

# Webster

200  
11A

## 'distressed

sonetan 28/4/68

## at injuries'

**CONVICTED** African National Congress member Gordon Webster said he felt distressed, sad and worried when he heard three people were injured in an explosion as a result of limpet mines he placed at a substation, the Maritzburg Supreme Court heard on Tuesday.

Giving evidence in extenuation, Webster said he was still distressed that Colonel Robert Welman was killed as a result of his injuries.

Webster said he placed two limpet mines at the Chamberlain Road substation and removed the safety pins together because he "expected and believed they would explode simultaneously".

He said he went to Botswana where he explained to his "contacts" what had happened and took precautions to ensure it did not happen again.

When he placed similar limpet mines at the Westville substation, there were no "accidents".

### Negotiation

Responding to questions from Mr Ismael Mohamed, SC, for the defence, Webster said isolated acts of sabotage were part of the "multi-faceted campaign" of the ANC to force the South African Government into negotiation.

He said he was impressed by the lectures he received at the ANC military camp in Angola as he was taught to avoid the loss of life or expose people to any danger.

"It is not the policy of the ANC to kill anyone . . . I was happy with this," he said.

Speaking on the ANC policy towards white people, Webster said they were always seen as an indigenous people of South Africa and the struggle was against the system of government. By introducing the system, the white government entrenched itself more than before" and he said he did not wish to defend the apartheid system.

When questioned by Mr Mohamed about his opinion of soldiers dying on South Africa's borders, Webster replied: "All these deaths are unnecessary. I am not happy about death".

### Car bombing

He left the country in the hope of furthering his studies at the ANC college in Tanzania, but said he was not a mature person at the time of leaving and he had no clear idea of what or where he would be studying

Speaking of his reaction to the car bombing at the Parade Hotel in Durban, for which his friend, Robert McBride, was convicted and sentenced to death, Webster said he was "angry and horrified"

He admitted his plan to take hostages in the hope of freeing McBride was "far-fetched and quite silly" and said there were no definite plans of how it would be carried out — Sapa.

# Mbeki to challenge restrictions in court

By Jo-Anne Collinge 28/4/88

Lawyers for African National Congress leader M. Govan Mbeki have served papers on the State President and others, challenging the restrictions which were imposed on their client within weeks of his release from Robben Island last November.

Mr Mbeki (77) served 23 years of the life sentence imposed on him during the Rivonia trial, in which Nelson Mandela and other top ANC men received similar sentences

In terms of the emergency regulations, Mr Mbeki

was served with an order restricting him to the magisterial area of Port Elizabeth, preventing him from participating in political activities, and restraining him from communicating with the press

Mr Mbeki is applying to the Eastern Cape Supreme Court to

● Declare the entire state of emergency on which the order rests invalid

● Alternatively, to declare the particular regulation, in terms of which the Commissioner of Police is delegated powers to make orders, invalid.

● Or thirdly, to declare the order itself invalid.

It will be argued, among other things, that the order restricting Mr Mbeki is too vague to be lawful. The municipal boundaries of Port Elizabeth are not definitely ascertainable, it will be argued

It will also be submitted that there was no basis in law for the Commissioner to have issued the order against Mr Mbeki

The only grounds for the issue of such an order is to protect public safety, maintain public order, or help terminate the state of emergency, it will be submitted

● According to Mr Mbeki's Johannesburg attorney her client has been refused permission to visit his wife at her home in the Transkei

# ANC training for <sup>Steer</sup> sabotage, not killing, <sub>28/4/88</sub> bomber tells judge

~~(S)~~ (11A) Own Correspondent ~~(S)~~

DURBAN — African National Congress bomber Gordon Webster (24), last week convicted in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, of murder, attempted murder and 12 counts of terrorism, said yesterday that in the ANC's armed struggle against the South African Government, installations were to be sabotaged, but death and injuries were to be avoided.

He was being cross-examined by Mr Ian Slabbert, SC, a deputy attorney-general.

Mr Slabbert asked Webster how the proviso that death and injury were to be avoided accorded with the 1983 Pretoria motor car bomb which killed and maimed many.

## SELL-OUTS ELIMINATED

Webster said that he had asked instructors in Angola why people were being hurt and killed and the reply was that the people inside the country were not controlled by the ANC.

Mr Slabbert said that there had been evidence by Security Branch commander Brigadier Jack Buchner, based on ANC literature, that collaborators and "sell-outs" were to be eliminated.

Webster said he was taught that in his mission, which was mainly to sabotage electrical sub-stations and to recruit people for the ANC, lives were not to be taken.

Mr Slabbert said that Webster had been provided with firearms and notes he wrote for his recruits stated that AK47 rifles were to be used to "kill or engage the enemy".

# Inkatha violence spreads to Durban

THE political violence in and around Maritzburg since the beginning of last year is now spreading to Durban and elsewhere

It forms part of the on-going strife between Inkatha on the one hand and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on the other

Although sporadic violence is not new to these areas, it is now escalating

Unaccounted murders, attacks on youths, petrol-bombing of homes, and residents fleeing their homes has become the order of the day in several townships in and around Durban

Over the past few weeks the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, claimed violence in Natal decreased as the result of intensified efforts by the South African Police (SAP)

But a closer look at the situation paints a different picture

On April 9 a house in which two orphaned young sisters were staying, was attacked, petrol-bombed and burnt to the ground in Shongweni

## Brutally slain

In the nearby township of Mpumalanga, Inkatha attacks on members of the progressive UDF-affiliated Hammarsdale Youth Congress (Hayco) appear to be increasing

In one incident a 102-year-old grandmother who refused to divulge the whereabouts of her grandson, a Hayco member, was brutally slain

The areas worst hit by the present wave of attacks are the Durban townships of Clermont, KwaNdengezi, KwaMashu, Umlazi and Inanda

In Inanda more than 11 homes have been burned down in the past few weeks

Mr Alec Erwin, a former national education officer of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), outlined some of the reasons for this gloomy scenario

## Verbal abuse

"The violence is a clash between the conservative Zulu organisation of the KwaZulu homeland, Inkatha, and the rest of the residents

"It is not black-on-black violence between rival tribes or factions as portrayed in the commercial press and by the State

"If the township residents - whether they align themselves with the progressive movement or not - show any signs of not supporting Inkatha or of being antagonistic to the local Inkatha leadership - there is a very high probability that incidents of violence will take place

"This kind of situation is present in



Gladys Sangweni stands in the ruins of her house. Her husband and daughter were killed by vigilantes because her son was identified as an Edendale Youth Congress member

many areas in Natal and it is for this reason that there is a good chance that the violence will escalate in these areas unless the judicial system is shown to be working effectively"

According to Erwin the pattern of the violence, which has seen more than 500 people killed in the Pietermaritzburg area since early last year, is very clear

"The Inkatha leadership start by holding meetings. If they are questioned or queried in any way in a meeting, those questions are labelled as "UDF" or "Cosatu" irrespective of whether or not the questioner belongs to one of these organisations

"And then the pattern is fairly general after that. The persons who

ask the questions are subjected to verbal abuse and it often degenerates into physical attacks and even death

"When that happens there is a tendency for the community to organise to defend itself against these attacks"

Erwin, now the national educational officer of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), said he did deny that retaliatory action had taken place

He stressed, however, that the killings and attacks - which did not discriminate in terms of sex and age - were perpetrated by a very distinct and identifiable group

"In Pietermaritzburg we call these Inkatha-linked people 'warlords'

they are individuals who organise armed men around them

"Their weaponry ranges from pangas to R1 military rifles, shotguns and riot guns

"The warlords tend to control small areas or fiefdoms and try to ensure that there are no other organisations in the area besides Inkatha

"The warlord phenomenon is characteristic of virtually all of the Natal violence. In virtually every area where there is violence you find these warlords"

Erwin claimed the Government was implicitly or directly abetting the "warlords" in the violence against progressive forces in all the townships - Press Trust of South Africa

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## Take from Peter

Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) has effectively lost a major political confrontation with Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and now sits with the embarrassing problem of trying to find R40m to make good a public promise to increase coloured social pensions by R12 a month

The increase, announced by House of Representatives Health and Welfare Minister Chris April last month, appeared at first to pose a major political problem for the National Party. Coloureds were to get a pension increase, but whites were not. The Conservative Party sat up and took notice.

Du Plessis, obviously angered by April's announcement, pointed out that no provision had been made in the Budget for the R40m that would be needed for the increase. If April wanted to go ahead with it, money would have to be taken from other allocations within the coloured "own affairs" budget. He would have to take from Peter to pay Paul.



April ... will not meet deadline

He pointed out in a letter to Hendrickse that there was simply no money for the increases and appealed to the LP leader — in the national interest — to reconsider. It was clear, however, that the LP saw the increases more as a "narrowing of the gap" between coloured and white social pensions than as an increase. April, committed publicly to achieving parity in pensions by the end of next year, faces a major political problem. He will not meet his deadline and may have to quit to save face.

In response to Du Plessis' insistence that the money was not available, April and Hendrickse claimed in the House of Representatives that Du Plessis had "frozen" the funds needed for the increase. Du Plessis strongly denied the charge; it was never approved.

Du Plessis tells the FM that if the Treasury approves money for increases for coloured pensioners, then black and Indian social pensioners would also have a right to claim increases and this would cost about R230m, "which can't be afforded right now." He says financial discipline now will mean an improved economy later — and this will benefit pensioners far more than giving them increases, while not keeping inflation in check or improving the economic outlook.

"Government remains committed to closing the pensions gap, but would like to seek the solution to this problem in sustained economic growth, rather than in an economic over-burdening of the taxpayer and over-borrowing in the market. Getting inflation down now will greatly benefit the elderly, and getting growth going will greatly enhance our ability to get money from the economy," says Du Plessis.

Nevertheless, Hendrickse and April sit with a problem. They cannot go back on their word, despite the perception that Du Plessis is the villain.

Suggestions are that they will delay the increase until later in the year, thereby reducing by about half the amount they need.

But they will still have to find about R20m. Du Plessis will be watching them like a hawk. Over-spending on pension increases will simply not be allowed.

54

29/4/88 FM (2)

24

117  
SME

# No link between Church 'peace plan' and the ANC

By Carina le Grange,  
Religion Reporter

Police have asked for copies of the Methodist Church study document proposing that it become a "peace church", but an official of the church has said there is no link between the proposal and the African National Congress

A past-president of the church, the Rev Peter Storey, said in a statement yesterday that the proposal to become a "peace church" was not linked to any political movement

An interview on television on Sunday night created the impression that there could be a link between the Church's

proposal and the African National Congress, he said

"I was quoted in a way that could easily be misconstrued to imply a supportive link between the Methodist Church and the ANC.

"Replying to a question on why the Methodist study document on the proposal referred to non-co-operation with the State and not with the ANC, I said this was so because it is the National Party and not the ANC that is in power. I also said if at any time a body such as the ANC were in power, the Church would be obliged to oppose any injustices in the same way"

29/3/88. SME



# Investigation stalls Goniwe inquest

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Port Elizabeth

THE inquest into the deaths of Mathew Goniwe, Cradock teacher and regional organiser for the United Democratic Front, and three other political activists was postponed on Tuesday for further investigation.

Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto, chairman of Cradock Residents Association, Fort Calata, UDF executive member and Sicelo Mhlawuli, a member of the UDF, died under mysterious circumstances after they left Port Elizabeth for Cradock having attended a UDF briefing on June 27 1985.

When the formal inquest opened in February this year, H van der Walt who was to have led evidence, informed the court that representatives of the families intended to bring an application for an order that a formal inquest be held.

When the inquiry resumed this week, inquest magistrate EL de Kok was informed that the state needed time for further investigations. An application was made for the inquest to be postponed to July 25. The application was granted. — Pen

29/4 - 4/5/88

*w/record*

**MESSINA** — Members of the ANC who entered SA to carry out military operations should be treated as prisoners of war, Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies director and Law Professor John Dugard said yesterday at the landmine trial in the Messina Circuit Court.

Dugard was giving evidence in mitigation for two ANC members — Mthethetheleli Zephania Mncube, 28, of Diepkloof Soweto and Mzond-eleli Euclid Nondula, 25, of Mdan-tsane East London — who were earlier found guilty on 38 of 41 charges.

Their trial is the result of a series of landmine explosions and discoveries in the SA/Zimbabwe border area between late 1985 and 1986.

## ANC men are prisoners of war, Dugard testifies

(11A)  
B/day  
29/4/88

The charges included murder, attempted murder, illegal possession of arms and ammunition, treason and terrorism.

Dugard told Mr Justice J P O de Vilhiers and two assessors that Mncube carried arms, wore a uniform and was subjected to a military commander, as well as military discipline.

He said Mncube regarded himself

as a soldier and was expected to be treated as one when captured.

He said the ANC was recognised by the international community as a national liberation movement engaged in a just struggle.

"The General Assembly of the UN gave its approval to the treaty that captured ANC freedom fighters should be granted prisoner of war status," Dugard said — Sapa

ARCUS 29/4/88

(M)

**NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL**

**d** Police to probe claim of SADF killings

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PRETORIA. — Following a report in a Johannesburg daily newspaper, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has ordered an investigation into allegations made at a Free the Children Alliance commission held at the University of the Witwatersrand last Saturday.

A statement issued by the police said the newspaper mentioned that Mrs Margaret O'Neil told the meeting a 12-year-old boy was shot dead at a Soweto school by security forces. She had also mentioned an incident in which a teenage girl was necklaced, while her brother was shot dead by security forces.

**FULL SPEECH**

Police said Mrs O'Neil had furnished them with a statement and handed them a copy of her full speech.

She had said the schoolboy was shot dead because "he made the mistake of running to pick up a schoolbook which he had left in the middle of the playground", said the statement.

It was alleged the teenage girl was an informer, and that her brother was killed four days after her, in front of their mother.

ON  
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# 'ANC documents' in Bethal terror trial

*SAF Times 29/4/88* 119

BETHAL — Secret ANC documents, photographed by a South African intelligence agent at the organization's Lusaka offices, were handed in as exhibits yesterday in the Bethal terrorist trial — in spite of an objection by the defence.

Mr Justice J Daniels overruled objections lodged by Mr H K Naidu on behalf of accused Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, in the Circuit Court.

Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim are on trial on charges of high treason and under the Terrorism Act

The documents — reports from ANC regional centres in various frontline states to ANC headquarters in Lusaka — recounted the many problems experienced by the ANC as a result of shortages of weapons and funds and the infiltration of informers

One document dated November 1986 was signed by Mzwandile, earlier identified as Mr Ebrahim. It refers to arrests by the SAP and the death of four cadres in an armed clash in an unidentified border area. He writes that secure accommodation had become a problem and the support network enjoyed previously had thinned out considerably.

The defence contested the testimony.  
The case continues. — Sapa

MARITZBURG — Convicted ANC bomber Gordon Webster had become disenchanted with his "brief history as a freedom fighter" and found the ANC's attitude to soft targets or the taking of innocent lives to be abhorrent

# Bomber hated ANC policy

This was evidence given in the Supreme Court here yesterday by Webster's brother George, who is an attorney

He was testifying for the defence during the inquiry into whether or not extenuating circumstances existed in favour of Webster following his conviction on 14 counts of murder, attempted murder and terrorism

He said his brother had always been "sorrowful" about the death of Durban policeman Col Robert Welman, who was injured in a limpet mine explosion in January 1986, but he was not concerned about that death alone

"He is violently against the taking of human lives"

Webster said he believed that his brother in his heart was still convinced that the principles for which the ANC stood were correct. However, he found the organisation's attitude towards the taking of innocent lives, or soft targets, to be abhorrent

Own Correspondent 29/4/88

Webster said his brother was not a wicked person. In his youth he had always been gentle, caring and very loving

Earlier a specialist psychiatrist, Dr A Lasich, told the court in his opinion there were several factors which influenced Webster's actions in sabotaging substations in Natal which substantially diminished his moral guilt

Dr Lasich said he had found Webster to be emotionally immature in comparison with his intellectual ability and he was easily influenced by other people

He was particularly vulnerable to indoctrination at the hands of the ANC as a result of his childhood experiences, the need to establish his identity and to be accepted by others

Legal argument by the defence and State on the existence of extenuating circumstances will start today

# SAPAR GETS AMERICAN ASYLUM

WASHINGTON — An American judge granted political asylum on Wednesday to a South African couple who are both members of the outlawed African National Congress.

Relatives of Mrs Olive Shisana (36) and her husband William (37) applauded and embraced as the judge announced the decision on grounds the two "have fear of persecution in their native land and a fear for safety worldwide" because of their political activities.

"It's a big relief," said Mr Shisana, who studies psychology at the University of Baltimore, after kissing his wife's clasped hands.

The decision allows the Shisanas, who came to the United States as students 12 years ago and have been non-immigrant residents since 1984, to apply for permanent United States residence in one year.

## Party

"I can't believe it," Mrs Shisana, who heads the ANC's women's section in the United States, said after the four-hour hearing on whether or not they should have been deported. "Maybe we should have a big party."

The Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS), which refused two earlier written requests by the Shisanas for asylum, has until May 9

SAPAR-REUTER

to appeal the decision by Judge Joan Arrowsmith INS attorney Mr Robert Bingham said he did not immediately plan to contest the decision.

The United States grants political asylum if applicants prove a well-founded fear of returning to their native country, do not have a firm resettlement agreement elsewhere and are deemed meritorious of United States residence.

Expert witnesses told the court of violent attacks organised by the South African Government on ANC members in Southern Africa and Western Europe.

Judge Arrowsmith said while the couple had shown "an element of opportunism" in delaying asylum application while students, they deserved to stay because they had made "substan-

tial contributions professionally" to the United States, had been residents for a "considerable number of years" and had two children born here.

## Change

"We find that the favourable factors do outweigh the negative factors in view of the contributions they are making, and will make in the future," Judge Arrowsmith said.

And, she said, as ANC members "they have been active in the political cause of negotiating anti-apartheid action and attempting to bring about a change in the policies in their native land."

Mrs Olive Shisana works as a government statistician and both she and her husband hold

United States doctorates

The couple testified they fled South Africa in 1975 because of their active political opposition to Pretoria's apartheid policies. En route to the United States they spent 12 months in a refugee camp in Mozambique and two and a half months in Tanzania, which provided them with travel documents to leave

Star 29/4/88 P1A

## Africans see time differently, says seminar absentee

Mr John Mavuso, the former ANC member now a member of the Transvaal provincial executive committee, failed to attend a top level seminar in Johannesburg yesterday focusing on population growth that he was to have addressed.

The other speakers were the former Broederbond head and vice-rector of RAU, Professor JP de Lange and Mr Christo Nel. Mrs Margaret Lessing of the Women's Bureau was to have spoken but did not because she was ill.

The organisers, the Council for Population Development, were unable to explain Mr Mavuso's absence. They said he had contacted them in the morning to say he would be late.

His speech was read by Professor Pieter Haasbroek, a member of the Council, who chaired the seminar. It was attended by about 150 people from

womens organisations, engineering concerns and the business community

Mr Mavuso said in his prepared speech that time was viewed in a totally different way by the African tradition

A person experienced time partly in his own life, and partly through the society which stretched back many generations before his own birth.

Time was thus seen as a two-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present and virtually no future. Actual time was that which was present as well as which was past, so that this concept stretched "backward" rather than "forward".

In contrast to western or technological societies where time was a valuable commodity to be utilised, sold and bought, in African traditional life time was created by a sequence of historical events

Star 29/4/88

## Police chief warns papers about 'lies'

WINDHOEK - The Commissioner of the SWA Police, Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws, has warned newspapers that action will be taken against those that disseminate lies about the police.

In a statement published yesterday General Gouws referred to a report in the latest issue of *The Namibian* newspaper.

The report quoted an Ovambo official as saying security forces had abducted about 30 schoolchildren from northern Namibia and dropped them in Angola for "propaganda purposes".

The editor of the *Namibian*, Miss Gwen Lister, and a senior reporter, Mr Mark Verbaan, have been called to give evidence before a military board of inquiry to be convened in Windhoek in terms of the military disciplinary code.

The hearing has been set down for May 20 and is to be held at a military base. — Sapa

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# Union members increase

PARLIAMENT — The upward trend in trade union membership had continued in 1987, although at a slower rate, the director-general of the Department of Manpower, Dr P J van der Merwe, said in his annual report tabled yesterday

A total of 1 879 400 workers belonged to registered unions. The number of strikes and work stoppages had increased to 1 148 in 1987 from the 793 of 1986, but fewer workers were involved in each strike.

While registered unemployment among whites, coloureds and Indians had shown a 14,7 percent drop from January to October, figures for blacks showed a 28,5 percent increase. — Sapa.

# House 'aided black advances'

The House of Delegates had contributed to the advancements which had been made in black education, the Chairman of the Ministers Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday.

Speaking in the Educa-

# ANC detention camp in Angola, says US report

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress maintains a detention camp in northern Angola and might hold other detainees elsewhere in that country and in Zambia, according to a new State Department report.

It says conditions at these facilities are likely to be harsh, with the degree of severity determined by availability of amenities, local laws and in some cases, personal animosities.

The report was prepared in terms of a law passed by Congress ordering a study of forced detention by the ANC and by the South African Government.

## SOUTH AFRICAN AGENTS

The report does not estimate how many detainees the ANC has held at any one time. "The majority are suspected of being South African agents or infiltrators.

"ANC cadres who become politically dissatisfied or who refuse military training might also be detained, according to defectors.

"Some, although probably not a large number, are believed to be detained for non-political (for example, disciplinary) reasons."

Reports that the ANC has a large detention camp in Zambia could not be confirmed.

Turning to South Africa, the report devotes four pages of detail on detentions and treatment behind bars, quoting extensively from statistics kept by the Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC), one of the groups targeted in a Government clampdown

On treatment of detainees, the report says detainees are often held incommunicado, "a situation that provides considerable potential for police abuse of detainees".

11A



# Webster's ANC lectures 'relentless'

Star 29/14/88 Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Convicted ANC bomber Gordon Webster was influenced to engage in acts of sabotage by "relentless" ANC lectures over a period of six months in Botswana and Zambia, a lecturer in clinical psychology at the University of Natal told the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The psychologist, Mr F M Bassa, said that Webster generally had a submissive personality as a result of the absence of an appropriate father figure during his formative years and his adolescence. He had an extremely close relationship with a harsh, punitive mother with the emphasis on the control of emotions.

His feelings of a lack of effectiveness led to a sense of inadequacy and low self esteem. These feelings were aggravated by discrimination on the grounds of skin colour.

Mr Bassa was giving evidence on possible mitigation for the defence.

Webster was not a psychopath and did not show any signs of inherent wickedness, he said.

The hearing continues.

# BLACK POLITICS — 1988

## MAY

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### Publications

Title	Date of Publication	Price
VDU Users Survival Package (6 pp)	1982	30c
Land Valuation (4 pp)	1982	20c
Electricity Struggles	1983	50c
The Struggle for Better Sewerage	1983	50c
Hire Purchase Checklist (5 pp)	1983	25c
Medical Aids Schemes (forthcoming)	1984	25c

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### UNEMPLOYMENT WORKERS MOVEMENT

Address:

P.O. Box 21, Manenberg 7764

# BID TO END APARTHEID

11A

A CAMPAIGN entitled "101 ways to end apartheid" will be launched in public in Johannesburg today.

Organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, planned activities include an essay competition for school-goers, radio "phone-ins" and a non-racial sports day.

The venue for the launch is Johannesburg's Market Theatre. A Press conference — to be addressed by, among others, churchman Dr Beyers Naude — starts at 6pm.

The public launch, presided over by entertainers Des and Dawn Lindberg, is due to start at 7pm — Sapa

Own Correspondent <sup>Star</sup>  
2-15/88

Analysts believe the South African Government's political crackdown could have sparked an increase in urban terror

Over the past month, attacks have averaged one every three days

The analysts say the battle by anti-Government forces has now shifted from the formerly unrest-ridden townships to another arena — that of high-profile attacks.

"The more successful the Government gets in its campaign of counter-insurgency, the more the tempo of insurgency increases," says Professor Deon Fourie, lecturer in strategic studies at Unisa

"It is essential for them (the insurgents) to show the flag at whatever cost."

Since the Krugersdorp bomb blast on March 17, which killed three people and injured at least 20, there have been 13 reported attacks countrywide.

This includes landmines that were defused before exploding.

At the Pretoria bomb blast outside the Sterland cinema complex, a man was killed and another seriously injured

#### COMPENSATING

A bomb exploded recently outside Parliament in Cape Town, and an explosive device planted in a flower-box caused damage to the Johannesburg City Hall.

Political analyst and ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge says it is possible that the ANC is compensating for the repression of political organisations by going for high-profile military attacks.

"If I were in the ANC high command now, I would say the 'people's war' is not on the cards and we need to create an image of sophistication by carrying out elaborate attacks which will attract local and international attention

"It is plausible that this is what they are thinking"

Professor Peter Vale, direc-

## Urban violence — maybe the State in the future

tor of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, says the State now has a domestic advantage, but the increase in bomb attacks implies that the "war continues"

"The tempo is moving at a faster rate than we tend to see," he says, adding that it is difficult to control bomb attacks

Dr Lodge says the recent bomb blasts in Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg show a degree of co-ordination which indicates that much of the ANC's organisational structures are still intact.

"The most likely explanation is that the ANC is alive and well, and the fact that the bomb blasts were all in major centres raises the possibility that there was co-ordination between them

He believes the ANC is still sticking to its policy of not attacking civilian targets.

"When 'soft' targets are hit, which is rare, I think it is the work of someone who is locally trained and does not follow the ANC policy as rigorously as it would be by someone trained outside the country, and not influenced by local perceptions"

Professor Fourie says the recent spate of attacks is a defiant gesture by the ANC, who wanted to show that they "haven't been beaten"

"It's all a question of technique. You can't allow the Government to get on top of you, and if it looks as if you have been beaten then you have to do something to show you haven't," he says.

Professor Fourie says the clampdown on township unrest

could have led to a feeling that it is more productive, from a publicity point of view, to engage in bomb attacks

"The value of this strategy is increased if there is Government over-reaction

"If people who are uncommitted become antagonised, it serves as a recruiting ground for the insurgents"

He says the attacks have been "pretty indiscriminate", and although there is talk of avoiding 'soft' targets, this has not really been the case

"This could also be caused by the fact that it is difficult to control cadres from a long distance."

The director of the institute, Professor Mike Hough, says it is difficult to pinpoint reasons for an increase in sabotage

"It could be coincidental that at times we do suddenly have a flare-up

"A clear pattern that has emerged is that increasingly there are more and more attacks on 'soft' targets

#### SMOKESCREEN

"This means that either talk of avoiding 'soft' targets is a smokescreen, or that the ANC has lost control of its people in the field"

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, says the bombings over the past few weeks have achieved what they were designed for — to intimidate

He says the police have the situation under control and the attacks are the work of a few men who have slipped the police dragnet

# Call for unity

Soweto  
2/5/88

119

• From Page 1

Nefolovhodwe, asked the police to identify themselves and after holding talks with their chief, a Colonel Cilliers, the police said they would only film the proceedings when they deemed it fit

Various speakers addressed the meeting, including speakers from Azanyu and the National Forum

Only the democratic movement and a society based on the principles of the Freedom Charter could save this country from "apartheid war", a Cosatu official told a May Day meeting in Johannesburg

Mr Chris Seopasengwe called for unity among worker organisations, saying "for too long we have allowed the State to exploit our divisions." He was addressing about 1000 people at the University of the Witwatersrand

Ms Amanda Kwadi, an official of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedraw), said workers would continue to commemorate May Day despite the fact that their leaders and organisations were banned. She said workers had built South Africa through their "sweat and blood".

May Day was about the struggle of the working class against exploitation and apartheid, capitalism and racism, a May Day meeting called by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa (Johannesburg branch) was told

Branch chairman Mr Miller Moela called on Cosatu and Nactu to unite: "in the interest of working class unity". He said there was a need for a united front supporting socialism

Nactu official, Mr Paul Plaatjes, said unions all over the world "had political views", and that South African unions were no exception. He said the problems of this country could not be solved by the banning of organisations and leaders

Police at Soweto meeting, but . . .

Steer 215788

# Peaceful protest marks May Day



South African union leaders celebrated May Day yesterday by rejecting the Labour Relations Amendment Bill as a threat to industrial relations.

Rallies organised by the main union groups, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), went ahead peacefully.

However, at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church police intervened during a Nactu-organised meeting attended by about 200 people.

Police who sat in on the meeting and filmed proceedings had to be persuaded by the organisers to allow a workers' play to continue.

Several police vehicles were parked outside throughout the meeting.

Addressing the meeting, Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Pandelani Nefolouhodwe, called on the labour movement to prepare to defend itself against "State attack" in 1988.

"The State has banned organisations, closed down newspapers and attacked the workers in the form of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill

## State backing

"The Bill, aimed at seriously restricting trade union activities, will cause a lot of strain in the industrial relations field as it gives employers an upper hand, especially as its application will be backed by the might and brutal force of the State"

At the University of the Witwatersrand, Cosatu official Mr Kgetsi Lehoko told more than 1 500 people that the State's actions against unions came at a time when workers' living standards were under increasing attack by the State President's "Bothanomics"

economic programme

"The wage freeze will increase poverty, starvation and hunger," Mr Lehoko told the meeting, his speech punctuated by worker slogans and songs

The Fedtraw (Federation of Transvaal Women) spokesperson, Ms Amanda Kwadi, told the meeting that South African workers had a tradition of celebrating May Day and continued to do so despite the restrictions placed on opposition organisations and leadership

## Inseparable struggle

"In South Africa, the struggle of workers cannot be separated from that of the community because workers are equally affected by the same problems affecting their communities," said Ms Kwadi

These problems included the eviction of rent defaulters, the enforcement of the Group Areas Act and the education crisis

At a meeting called by the Johannesburg branch of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, a National Council of Trade Unions spokesman, Mr Paul Plaatjes, described the Labour Relations Amendment Bill as an attack on the entire labour movement

At the University of the Western Cape, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo told a 2 000-strong audience that the labour movement was under systematic attack from the Government through the imposition of a wage freeze and attempts to curtail union activities.

● Cosatu said it had been refused permission to hold an indoor meeting in Port Elizabeth. Permission had been refused for an outdoor rally in Natal — Staff Reporters and Sapa

# Hunt for man who shot top ANC official

cap Times 3/5/88  
114

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The Belgian authorities have issued an international arrest warrant for a man — reported to be a white South African — in connection with the attempted assassination of a top ANC official.

The man, whose identity is being kept secret, is suspected of being behind a series of attacks on the ANC representative in Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, Mr Godfrey Motsepe.

His details and country of origin are being withheld in line with Belgian policy that all judicial investigations be carried out in secret.

A Belgian spokesman refused to give any further details or comment on claims made by Mr Motsepe in an interview with the Dutch newspaper De Standaard at the

weekend that the suspect was a white South African

An anti-terrorist brigade spokesman was quoted as saying that the investigation definitely concerned a South African individual, and an alert had been sent out via Interpol.

It is understood that the warrant may have been issued as much as two weeks ago.

The ANC office in Brussels has been the object of two attacks this year and it is in connection with these that the man is being sought

In February, Mr Motsepe was slightly wounded when an unidentified attacker fired gunshots at the office.

And last month a 20,3kg bomb was found in a sports bag outside the office. It was defused by bomb disposal experts minutes before it was timed to go off.

*C.M. 7/15 3/5/81*  
**Unions 'use power base for politics'**

*11A*  
**Political Staff**

THE trade union movement has in the past year made increasing use of its power base for political or quasi-political purposes, according to National Manpower Commission (NMC) chairman, Mr Hennie Reynders

In a foreword to the NMC's annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday, Mr Reynders comments that this trend is burdening the labour relations system with matters that actually do not form part of the relationship between employees and employers.

He notes that the focus of labour relations in SA is largely on the conflict potential between employer and employee and predicts that this will continue to be the case for some time as a result of the circumstances that are peculiar to this country.

This is in sharp contrast to labour relationships in the West where they exploit the co-operation potential including worker participation in management decisions.



*Howard*

Whether has Department is planning any recreational resorts and out-of-school sports facilities for the current financial year, if so, (a) what (1) resorts and (ii) facilities and (b) what total amount is it estimated will be involved?

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID**

Yes, in the case of the Department of Development Aid

- (a) (1) (1) In co-operation with Qwaqwa, the first fase development of a recreational resort at Botshabelo, which will include a kiosk, picnic spots, ablution blocks, a recreational hall and playground
- (2) The erection of a restcamp on the hiking trail at the Blouberg Nature Reserve in the District of Pietersburg
- (3) The erection of a wilderness camp and picnic spots at the Lekgalameise Nature Reserve in the District of Letaba
- (4) The erection of a caravan camp at the Arabie dam Nature Reserve in the District of Groblersdal
- (5) The erection of a wilderness camp and the laying out of hiking trails at the Nubeni Nature Reserve in the District of Port Shepstone
- (u) (1) Botshabelo — The erection of an indoor arena and change rooms at the soccer stadium
- (2) Imbal — The planning and commencement of a sport complex consisting of a soccer field, athletics track and a tennis court
- (3) Ashdown — Enlarging of the existing soccer field
- (4) Clermont — Erection of a soccer stadium, combi court and practice wall
- (5) Ngutu — The planting of grass and the provision of water,

temporary seating and a kiosk at the soccer stadium

(6) Soshanguve — Two soccer fields as well as the erection of change rooms at the soccer stadium and the two existing soccer fields

(7) Nondweni — The erection of a sport complex with amongst others a soccer field and an athletics track

(8) Inanda — The development of a soccer field, six combi courts and a swimming pool

(9) Tshame — The levelling of a site for general sports

(b) R7 742 115

No, in the case of the Department of Education and Training

(a) and (b) fall away

NOTE

(1) The responsibility for recreation resorts is at present being transferred to the Provincial Administration

(2) An amount of R11 200 000 has been budgeted for the completion of out-of-school sports facilities initiated during the previous financial year

(3) Projects currently under construction, approximately 259

**John Vorster Square: special group areas police squad stationed**

\*4 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) Whether a special group areas police squad has been stationed at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg, if so, (a) since when has this squad been in existence and (b) what is the purpose of the squad,

(2) whether this squad visited Cape Town in 1987 and 1988 to investigate alleged contraventions of the provisions of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, if so, on how many occasions,

(3) whether any other similar squads are in existence within the South African Police

*Howard*

Force, if so, (a) how many and (b) where are they stationed?

**THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER**

(1) (a) and (b) I refer the hon member to my reply to oral Question No 5 of 9 June 1987

(2) Yes On one occasion during 1987

(3) Yes

(a) and (b) One such unit was established at C R Swart Square, Durban, after July 1987

**Upgrading of Kwaamevane Township: amount allocated**

\*5 Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 25 August 1987, his Department has allocated the amount of approximately R1,5 million for the upgrading of Kwaamevane Township, near Howick, if not, why not, if so, for what purpose was this amount utilized,

(2) whether additional funds will be allocated in this regard in the 1988-89 financial year, if not, why not, if so, what is the amount involved?

**THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING**

(1) No, but the National Housing Commission has approved a project in respect of planning fees (design) to the amount of R70 000 of which R18 778 was spent during the 1987/88 financial year

(2) Yes, an amount of R11 223 as applied for by the Natal Provincial Government, has been earmarked for the continuation of the planning (design)

Contact with Mr Nelson Mandela

\*6 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Justice

With reference to his reply to Question No 4, standing over, on 29 March 1988, (a)(i) at which prison institution or institutions and (ii) on how many occasions has he had contact with Mr Nelson Mandela and (b) what was the (i) date and (ii) purpose of each of these meetings?

**THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE**

As mentioned in my reply to Question No 4 on 29 March 1988 I do visit prisons and I do have contact with individuals and groups of prisoners under various circumstances. In this process I have had contact with Mr Nelson Mandela. However, I do not deem it desirable to deal with details regarding specific prisoners in public

**Meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises**

\*7 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Justice

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 4, standing over, on 29 March 1988, he has at any time met with Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises, if so, (a) what was the purpose of these meetings and (b)(i) when and (ii) where did they take place?

**THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE**

The hon member is referred to my reply to the previous Question

**Countries in Africa which have accorded landing rights to SAA**

\*8 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs

Whether he will furnish the names of the countries in Africa which have accorded landing rights to the South African Airways, if not, why not, if so, (a) what are their names and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS**

Yes

(a) Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Ivory Coast

(b) 22 April 1988

**Locust control: amount spent**

\*9 Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agriculture

(1) What amount was spent on locust control during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available.

# Attempts to kill ANC official: warrant issued

D/P Daily Dispatch 3/5/88 Correspondent

LONDON — Belgian authorities have issued an international warrant for the arrest of a man — reported to be a South African — in connection with the attempted assassination of an ANC official.

Because of Belgian policy that all judicial investigations be carried out in secret, the identity of the man — suspected of masterminding a series of attacks on the ANC representative to Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, Mr Godfrey Motseppe — cannot be revealed.

A spokesman for the Belgian Justice Author-

ity confirmed yesterday that the warrant was issued through Interpol

The spokesman refused to comment on claims made by Mr Motseppe in an interview with the Dutch language newspaper, De Standard, that the suspect was a white South African

In the interview Mr Motseppe said the man had sought political asylum in Belgium, probably to escape conscription or after having "deserted" from the army.

He sourced the information to the Belgian State Police, saying they had told him this after he had criticised them for their "lax attitude" towards the inquiry

The ANC office in Brussels has been the object of two attacks this year and it is in connection with these that the man is being sought

In February, Mr Motseppe was slightly wounded when an unidentified attacker fired gunshots at the office.

Last month a 20 kg bomb was found in a sports bag outside the office. It was defused by bomb disposal experts minutes before it was timed to go off.

The police are said to have discounted any links between these attacks and the recent killing of Mrs Dulcie September, the ANC representative in Paris, a few days after the Brussels bomb was discovered.

Mr Motseppe said that Belgian detectives were working closely with their French counterparts but that "highly-placed persons in the government do not wish them to finish their job"

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# MOVE TO BAR ANC

LONDON — A South African police film of a raid on white ANC insurgents has been sent to Mrs. Thatcher, it is claimed here.

It was sent in an attempt to persuade the Prime Minister to clamp down on the ANC's London base, says a report in the *Mail on*

*Sunday.*

~~2027~~ . IIA 1/3  
The film shows a security operation that netted an arsenal of weapons and allegedly revealed a white ANC command structure leading back to London.

The report adds: "The South Africans have bypassed the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is at odds with the Prime Minister because of his determination to maintain contact with the ANC.

"Many top ANC men, including the president, Oliver Tambo, use London as a base and the organisation has offices in the capital."

Pretoria Correspondent

The defence counsel for the 19 people accused of treason in the so-called Delmas trial yesterday called on Mrs Sheena Duncan, a former president of the Black Sash, to give evidence.

The trial, in which some of the accused are former United Democratic Front executive members and trade unionists, asked Mrs Duncan to testify on the Black Sash's opposition to constitutional development in South Africa.

She told Mr Justice van Dijkhorst she had been a member of the Black Sash since 1963 and

## Sheena Duncan testifies in Delmas trial

was currently national co-ordinator of the Black Sash's advice office.

She said that in the beginning the Black Sash was "purely a protest movement" with 10 000 members. It later became a smaller organisation fighting for human and civil rights in South Africa.

"The main objective of the Black Sash is to work for justice and democracy in South Africa. We are a political pressure group and we took an active part in opposing constitutional development

in the country." She told the court she was at a meeting during July 1977 of the organisation's then vice-president, Mrs Joyce Harris.

The meeting dealt with the constitutional proposals and was attended by members of churches, trade unions and the Urban Foundation.

A copy of Mrs Harris's introductory speech was handed to the court.

An ad hoc committee was founded at this meeting and existed until November 1983. The committee explored ways of

taking united action and seeking unity.

Mrs Duncan said it never became a large movement. She said these meetings were not secret and, as it called for united action, members of the various organisations were asked to discuss issues discussed in the ad hoc committee with their organisations.

### HOMELANDS POLICY

The ad hoc committee concerned itself with constitutional structures in South Africa, she said. Mrs Duncan told the

court the Black Sash took an active part in voicing its opposition to the homelands policy and the black local authorities legislation.

A document she wrote, entitled "You and the New Pass Laws", was handed to the court.

A copy of this document was found in one of the accused's possessions. She said this document suggested to people what they could do to oppose the new legislation.

Mrs Duncan told the court that statements, such as "violent conflict

is inevitable", which she had made at various meetings, were not meant to incite violence.

Mrs Duncan told the court that a personal and major concern of hers was the way the Government and the authorities created an image of the enemy.

"It is a recurring theme in my speeches. It is important to realise who we are fighting against. We are fighting brothers, sons and fathers — all part of our people.

"The enemy is not an anonymous mass coming from abroad to attack our borders," she said. The case is proceeding

# PW: SACP link prevents lifting of ban on ANNC

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CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday ruled out any possibility of unbanning the African National Congress while it remained "totally linked" to the South African Communist Party (SACP).

He said there would be no release of political prisoners for as long as they refused to renounce violence, take part in talks and affirm that they would not use violent means to bring about change in South Africa.

Replying to the Progressive Federal Party's MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who called for the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of prisoners, Mr Botha said he was not prepared to allow the South African Com-

munist Party to operate in South Africa because it was dangerous.

During the debate on Mr Botha's Vote in the House of Delegates, the State President said he could not unban an organisation like the African National Congress which claimed to be the partner of the South Africa Communist Party.

Mr Botha said terrorism thrived on publicity and the lack of opportunities presented to people.

It was for this reason that in opposing terrorism, South Africa had

launched a vast socio-economic programme "as never before".

The job creation programme was an example of this, he added.

Mr Botha said that pressure from outside and influences which were being brought to bear were the reasons for certain black leaders not co-operating in the government's constitutional initiatives.

Mr Botha said reform had to be taken step by step and did not simply mean the handing over of South Africa to irresponsible people.



MR BOTHA



MR POOVALINGAM

# Accused seen with ANC, says witness

By Therese Anders,  
Highbeld Bureau

BETHAL — A former African National Congress unit chief of staff and instructor told the Bethal treason trial yesterday he had seen one of the accused on several occasions at ANC premises in Luanda and Lusaka. *SW 15/86*

Defence counsel Mr H K Naidu, for accused Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, said his client denied having been in Luanda during the 1982-83 period when the witness claimed to have seen him.

The former ANC member, who was arrested in 1986 at Umlazi near Durban, is being referred to throughout the trial as Mr X4.

He was giving evidence against Mr Ebrahim, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko and Mr Simon Dladla, who are charged with treason and terrorism.

Mr X4 said he left South Africa in July 1980 to join the ANC in Swaziland

From Swaziland he was sent to Maputo, then to "Vienna", a transit camp in Angola, where he waited to be sent to "Gomalundi" military science training camp.

Later he went to East Germany to further his training.

He returned to Luanda in December 1981 and he worked for the Angolan chief representative of the ANC and the ANC's army regional headquarters

It was here that he claimed to have seen Mr Ebrahim

In 1985 he went to Lusaka where he stayed at an ANC house known as the "the revolutionary council"

Mr X4 said he saw Mr Ebrahim twice during his 10 days at the house. He also saw convicted terrorist Gordon Webster.

The case continues

# 'Other leadership' might have been better — PW

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Parliamentary Staff

IF "other leadership" had emerged from the House of Representatives since its inception, relationships between "the whites, the Afrikaners" and "the coloureds" would be much better than they were, President Botha said in his budget vote debate in the House.

Mr Botha said yesterday that if there had been "more balance and more use of opportunities" by leadership in the House of Representatives, "things would have been different"

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, who resigned from the Cabinet in August last year after a number of widely publicised clashes with Mr Botha, is leader of the majority Labour Party and Chairman of the Ministers' Council for the House.

"Following Mr Hendrickse's resignation, this House has had no representation at Cabinet level," Mr Botha said

Challenged by Mr Peter



Mopp of the Democratic Party as to whether this state of affairs was constitutional, Mr Botha said appointments to the Cabinet remained entirely at the discretion of the head-of-state in terms of the 1983 Constitution

## Discipline

Mr Botha believed it was important that a member of the House of Representatives be in the Cabinet, but that the Cabinet had to be a "disciplined body" run according to the rules that he, as head-of-state, determined

If these rules were ignored there would be "chaos".

Without committing himself in any way, Mr Botha said an appointment to the Cabinet "could" be made from the House of Representatives. There were qualified people in

the House and if someone was prepared to obey the rules he might invite that person

Mr Botha said he had received numerous top-level delegations from African states in the past few weeks and they had drunk tea with him at Tuynhuys

They would certainly not have travelled thousands of kilometres to speak to him about better relations with South Africa if they believed, as Mr Hendrickse said, South Africa was "out of step" with the rest of the world.

"But the Cabinet knows about this," said Mr Botha, referring to the nature of his deliberations with these African delegations

## "Cruel Act"

In his address to the House, Mr Hendrickse made a plea again for the scrapping of the "ungodly and unchristian" Group Areas Act which symbolised more than anything else the evil of apartheid, the policy that put South Africa out of step with the rest of the world.

He quoted Dr Erica Theron's

condemnation of this "cruel Act" to corroborate his plea

"Whether you deny it or not, apartheid is alive (lewendig)," said Mr Hendrickse

"Alive and well (spring lewendig)," interjected Mr Peter Hendrickse who in his address warned the Government against any attempt to "ram" changes to group areas legislation through the President's Council, an action the Government is prepared to take, according to recent speculation

Mr Botha answered all pleas to scrap the Act, saying it was the subject of legislation which would be put to Parliament this session and he did not want to pre-empt it

"I just want to say though that I think the coloured population is making a mistake in not building up its management committees," he said

With the new Regional Services Councils through which to deliberate and advance, it was a mistake not to accord greater status and autonomy to management committees.

## Minister 'dodging the

# Call for common roll to fight the right wing

Political Staff

THE leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, yesterday called for coloured people to be put back on the common voters' roll to fight that which "can be the cause of the country going under"

He was referring to the threat of the right wing

Speaking during the debate on the State President's vote in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse said the Conservative Party appeared to be making gains

"Perhaps it is therefore time to return us to the common roll," he said

President P W Botha did not respond when he replied to the debate Earlier, Mr Hendrickse said parlia-

mentary democracy in South Africa was nothing more than a means of "legitimizing a tyranny of the minority"

"The South African parliamentary democracy tends to disguise and entrench what is in reality a system of irresponsible bureaucratic control and is far from what we believe would be a democracy of government of the people, by the people and for the people"

Mr Hendrickse said nothing other than full participation of all people in South Africa in all law-making processes would satisfy the demands of the "oppressed people"

● PW Botha addresses House of Representatives — Page 4



# Govt plans new set-up for blacks

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT is proposing the establishment of nine new regional "own affairs" administrations for blacks, based in the nine economic development regions.

The scheme forms part of government's latest constitutional plans.

Provision is also made for a black own affairs "ministers' council".

An added proviso is a national forum, which would operate on the same level as the three Houses of Parliament.

Other implications are an all-race "Leaders' Council" and a Cabinet of technocrats.

In the first of a series of articles on government, Business Day today examines, both in words and graphically, the hugely complicated SA constitutional structure and attempts to unravel some of its mysteries.

● See Page 8

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# Boy dies — 10 held

ANOTHER 10 people have been arrested by the KwaZulu police following the killing of a Ntuzuma schoolboy, Bheki Gebashe, 16, a fortnight ago. Bheki, a pupil at Igugulabasha High School, was with a group of youngsters when they were attacked by armed people.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa Reuter AP and UPI

DIP 415788

## Coetsee mum on Mandela

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday refused to give details of his meetings with ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, or to say whether he had met him outside Pollsmoor Prison

He had been asked by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP, indirectly elected) on how many occasions he had met Mandela, at which prison institutions these meetings had taken place, whether he had met Mandela outside prison premises and on what dates these meetings had taken place

Mr Coetsee said he did visit prisons and he did have contact with individuals and groups of prisoners "under various circumstances"

"In this process, I have had contact with Mandela.

"However, I do not deem it desirable to deal with details regarding specific prisoners in public," Mr Coetsee said.

By Dirk Nel  
Northern Transvaal  
Bureau

## Messina terror trial unique, says counsel

SKV 4/5/84  
MESSINA — Counsel for the defence in the Messina terrorism trial, Mr Rodney Black, said yesterday that the case was unique

Mr Black was submitting his final argument in connection with possible extenuating circumstances in the trial of Mheteleli Mncube (27) of Soweto and Mzondeleli Nondula (24) of Mdantsane who have been found guilty of murder, attempted murder, terrorism and illegal possession of arms and ammunition

"We are dealing here with two men trained

as soldiers by the African National Congress, who believed they were under military orders, and not merely with undisciplined people acting on their own initiative," Mr Black told Mr Justice J P O de Villiers

"The nature of the crimes are not in question here, but the moral blameworthiness of these men," said Mr Black

He submitted that their belief that they were involved in a just struggle, which was re-

cognised and supported internationally, represented extenuating circumstances

Mr Frans Roets, representing the State, said there were in his opinion no extenuating circumstances, and called on the judge to impose the maximum sentence

"When Mncube left the country, he was not an impressionable youngster, but already a grown man and a member of the ANC, who had a school record of radical activities"

Earlier the general

secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, expressed his strong opposition to the use of violence in efforts to bring about a non-racial society in South Africa

He added that he had reluctantly become aware of a "war situation" between the ANC and the Government

He was familiar with the situation the two accused had found themselves in during township unrest, which prompted them to leave the country for ANC training

The judge said he would give his verdict on extenuation today

# Accused said to hold senior post in ANC

By Therese Anders  
Highveld Bureau

One of the accused in the Bethal treason trial, Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, was yesterday described as a man of "high position" in the ANC by a former ANC unit chief of staff.

Giving evidence *in camera* as a State witness, the former ANC member said he had heard from other cadres that Mr

Ebrahim had a position within the organisation "to do with money"

The witness, who was arrested near Durban in 1986 after infiltrating South Africa, is referred to throughout the trial as Mr X4

Mr X4 was giving evidence against Mr Ebrahim, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko and Mr Simon Diadia, who are charged with

treason and terrorism

Mr X4 said he had seen Mr Ebrahim at the ANC offices in Luanda during 1982/83, and during 1985 in Lusaka at the ANC house known as the "revolutionary council"

He said the only other time he had seen Mr Ebrahim had been in court on Monday

However he had seen a photograph of Mr Ebrahim when a police investigating officer had shown him an album during his interrogation

Earlier Mr X4 had been asked by defence advocate Mr H K Naidu to supply his Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) name to the court Mr X4 initially resisted this request, explaining "that the cadres who may be sent to eliminate me will know me by my MK name".

After a request by the judge, Mr X4 wrote his MK name on paper and handed it to the court

The hearing continues.

# Controversy after PE swim

CAA  
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## Political Staff

THAT controversial swim by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse off King's Beach at the beginning of last year triggered a chain of events that had far-reaching implications

Relations between the Labour Party leader and the State President have steadily deteriorated since Mr Hendrickse's apology to Mr Botha following the swim and a televised harangue by the State President.

Last August, there were bit-

ter and acrimonious exchanges in the House of Representatives during the State President's vote, many of them focusing on the Group Areas Act

And just days later, Mr Hendrickse precipitated another crisis when he resigned from the cabinet

That brought the director general of the SABC, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, into the fray

Coverage of Mr Hendrickse's resignation on the 8pm SABC-TV news was unacceptable to

the State President, who, by his own admission, telephoned the SABC demanding that the facts be presented correctly

Mr Hendrickse's remark yesterday that the State President owes him an apology in the wake of the court decision on King's Beach is hardly likely to improve matters

Few people will forget a very flustered Freek Robinson re-reading the State President's letter to Mr Hendrickse in the wake of that phone call

— he has since been sent to London

And Mr Eksteen?

There have been denials that his departure was based on anything other than the financial state of the SABC, but bearing in mind the settlement, few are prepared to accept that Mr Botha's will has not been done

In between, there has been the Labour Party threat that it will not be party to postponing white elections from 1989 to 1992 unless the Group Areas Act is scrapped

Cyf Links 5/5/88

# Botha owes apology — Hendrickse

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## Political Staff

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse yesterday said the State President, Mr P W Botha, owed him an apology in the wake of the court decision that King's Beach had not properly been zoned for exclusive white use.

He was reacting to a decision handed down by Mr Justice Kroon that the beach had not been set apart for the exclusive use of whites. An interdict was issued preventing the Port Elizabeth municipality from stopping people using the beach.

The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, has appealed against the judgment.

Mr Hendrickse was severely berated by Mr Botha on SABC-TV after he had gone swimming off King's Beach in January last year with a number of other MPs from the House of Representatives.

Announcing the decision in the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said "somebody owes me an apology".

In a statement later, he said he welcomed the court decision, adding that it once again proved the madness of the racist laws and regulations.

"In spite of the state's decision to appeal, I think that someone in the "high place" owes me an apology

Mr Mia Loonat, MP for Gelvandale, one of the applicants, said Port Elizabeth could now look forward and put the racist past behind it.

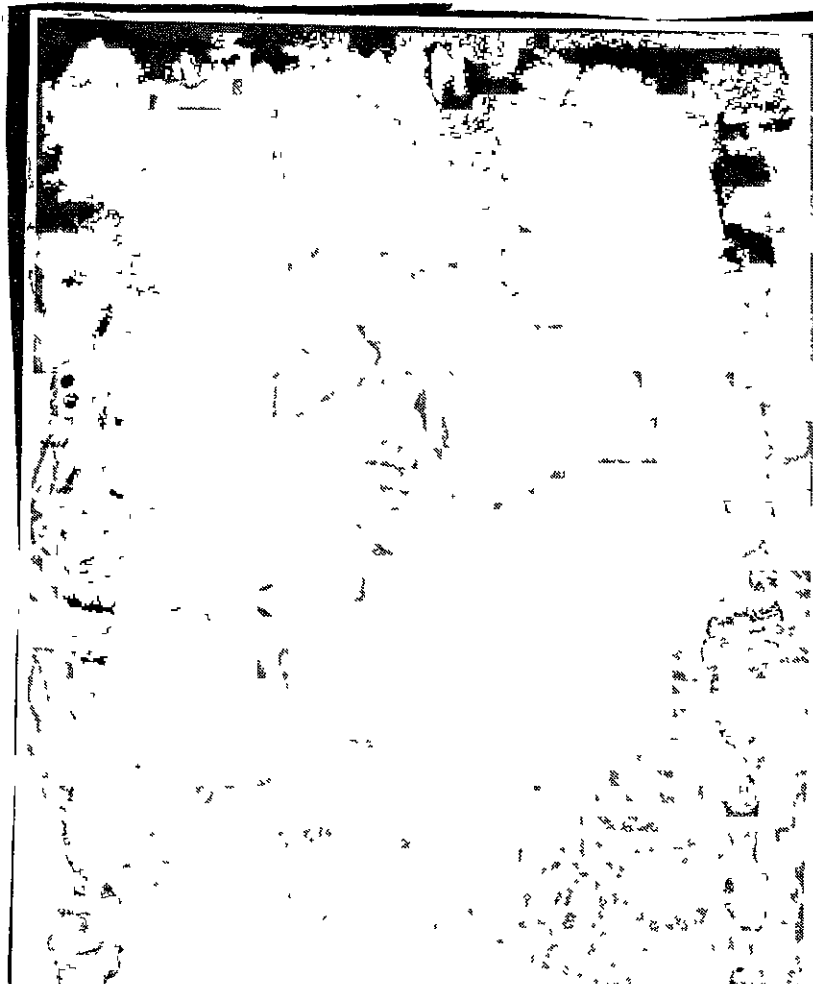
The PFP MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, said he was "delighted", adding that it was a tragic fact of South African life that it took a court decision before all South Africans could enjoy a beach.

Anyone who thought the government was moving in the direction of reform should think again, he said.

"The decision to appeal is a clear indication that the government is not about to reform, and the Administrator of the Cape and Mr Chris Heunis must take full responsibility for trying to keep the South African clock stopped in the last century"

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said that if the "bungling, clumsy, incompetent government" had not taken action by October 28 — the date of the municipal elections — voters of Port Elizabeth should support the CP. "We will correct the situation with great speed"

● Controversy after PE swim, page 4



MEMBERS of the Daveyton Adult Choir on their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Pic MBUZENI ZULU

## Davey choir back

THE Daveyton Adult Choir was never given permission by the United Democratic Front to perform in a choral festival held in Cork, Ireland, last week.

This was said by Mr Tom Boya, mayor of Daveyton and the choir's public relations officer, on the arrival of the 65-strong choir at a Press conference held at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Boya also denied reports that the choir had connections with and was partly financed by the South African

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Government

"It is totally unjustified and wrong to suggest that the choir is connected with the Government. More than 30 companies, as well as the choir, raised about R160 000 to fly the members to Ireland," Mr Boya said.

He also denied that the choir members were stranded while in London.

He added that he went to the festival as PRO of the choir and not as mayor of

Daveyton

Mr Boya blamed Mr Kadar Ismail of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement for all the problems encountered by the choir in Ireland. The choir was nearly barred from taking part in the festival after protests by the Irish AAM.

### Festival

The choir was only allowed to perform at the festival after Mr Boya had agreed to remain in London as demanded by the festival organisers and

the Irish AAM.

However, Mr Boya claimed that he and his wife Florence sneaked into the festival unnoticed last Sunday to watch his choir perform.

A total of 80 choirs from different countries performed at the festival which was attended by more than 3 000 people.

• The choir, which gave six performances at the festival, were at the weekend announced winners of the festival's Peace Movement Award.



# JOIN FIGHT TUTU TELLS US BLACKS

'Form powerful lobby'

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NEW YORK — Archbishop Desmond Tutu called on Afro-Americans to form a powerful lobby in the United States to prevent the US government from "collaborating with apartheid."

He was addressing a congregation of several thousand in the Anglican Cathedral of St John the Divine during a welcome to him from the people of Harlem, New York, according to a church statement received by Sapa



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

He told the crowd "You uphold us, you support us and you fire us with zeal so that we are able to tell the perpetrators of injustice and oppression 'Hey, you have had it You have lost you can't imprison people's ideas Others before have tried and they have bitten the dust You will bite the dust as well' "

### Protests

He said black Americans had played an important role in 1984 when they began protests against apartheid

Referring to the pro-Israeli lobby in the US, he said "I want to

suggest that it is high time you began a lobby as powerful as that other lobby (if you did) no administration would ever dare to collaborate with apartheid

"You would be able to determine the agenda of your country you have a crucial role to play to end this scourge which is as evil, as immoral, as unbiblical as Nazism ever was "

### Freedoms

Archbishop Tutu said white South Africans spent so much time trying to protect their "sectional freedoms" that they had no time to enjoy them

"We want freedom for everybody in South Africa We don't believe in sectional freedom "

He received a standing ovation after concluding "The only way we can be free is together, black and white The only way in which we can survive is together, black and white The only way in which we can be human is together, black and white" — Sapa

# Union delegates meet ANC

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

South Africa's second biggest labour federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), held its first meeting with the African National Congress this week to discuss issues facing the labour movement

The ANC has previously met the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), while Nactu has met the Pan Africanist Congress

A joint communique said the two organisations had reviewed the "repression" in South Africa; the legislative programme of the Government, including the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the municipal elections in

October and other issues of common concern

The ANC delegation was led by general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo.

According to the statement, the two organisations "recognised that unity in action is a prerequisite for the quick defeat of apartheid".

In a separate statement in Johannesburg, Nactu said the two organisations had agreed on several issues, including agreement that the Freedom Charter was not a prerequisite for unity; that all "legitimate" organisations had a role to play in the "liberation struggle" and that there were more points of agreement between the parties than those which divided them.

# Indian MPs break away

Can Times 6/5/88



Mr Rajbansi



Mr Pachai

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## Political Staff

**INDIAN** politics was in total confusion and turmoil yesterday as 11 members of the ruling National People's Party in the House of Delegates resigned to form a majority alliance with the Solidarity opposition.

But Ministers' Council chairman Mr Amichand Rajbansi has refused to resign, claiming that he still heads the largest single party in the chamber and confidently predicted he could regain the majority by "dangling carrots"

The confusion was accompanied by charges and denials that religious and caste differences and not political policies were behind the split.

The new alliance claims the support of 24 MPs — 11 Solidarity, 11 in the newly-formed Peoples' Progressive Party and two Independents — to Mr Rajbansi's 19, with two members of the Progressive Federal Party in the middle

## Chairman of the House

The 11-man breakaway from the ruling NPP includes three members of the Ministers' Council — Mr Ismail Kathrada, Mr Kassie Ramduth and Mr Raman Bhana. They are under the leadership of Mr Achmat Lambat

The Chairman of the House, Mr Abram Mayet, has also defected

Confident of assuming power, the new alliance has drawn up an agreed list of positions, which would have to be approved by the State President, placing Mr J N Reddy, now leader of the Solidarity opposition, as chairman of the Ministers' Council.

Mr Somaroo Pachai is also proposed as a deputy minister, which he is now.

The members are. The Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr S Pachai (Independent Natal Midlands); the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr K Ramduth (NPP Clare Estate), the Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Mr R Bhana (NPP Malabar), the Minister of the Budget, Mr I Kathrada (NPP Verulam); House of Delegates chairman Mr A Mayet (Independent Nominated); House of Delegates deputy chairman Mr M Thaver (NPP Nominated), Mr N Khan (NPP Isipingo), Mr J Seedat (NPP Nominated), Mr N Jumuna (NPP North Coast), Mr I Dasoo (NPP North-Western Transvaal), and Mr A Lambat (Ind Actonville)

# Worried Rajbansi determined to hold on to power

By BRUCE CAMERON

Political Staff

**BELLEAGUERED** Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the radically reduced National People's Party, has threatened to hold elections and to use legal technicalities to hold on to power in the House of Delegates.

Mr Rajbansi has a simple majority in what is now a "hung" House of Delegates after 11 members, including three of his Ministers, deserted his National

Peoples' Party in the opening moments of yesterday's sitting. Confusion reigned as the Ministers refused to resign, saying an agreement with the 11-member Solidarity Party plus support from three independents gave them the majority.

There was doubt about numbers today with both sides claiming different figures.

The new alliance has a maximum of 25 seats as against a maximum 19 for the NPP, with

the two Progressive Federal Party members staying out of the fray.

Minister of the Budget Mr Ismail Kathrada, the behind-the-scenes leader of the revolt, said "Mr Rajbansi is morally obliged to resign."

Mr Kathrada said the reason for the break-up was Mr Rajbansi's consistent refusal to agree to a commission of inquiry into the multitude of accusations of corruption in the House of Delegates.

But Mr Rajbansi refused to back off, saying he would use a technicality in the rules of Parliament to prevent a vote being taken on any possible motion of no confidence.

## PARTY CONFUSED

He would also not call a commission of inquiry, saying this was a "non-issue — all they want is complete power."

At a Press conference held by the newly-formed breakaway party of the rebels, the People's

Party of South Africa (PPSA), the leaders were confused as to what their next step would be.

Mr Rajbansi was also claiming that the position was fluid and could change rapidly, predicting a repeat of last year's drama when members changed sides and changed again as the majority swung like a pendulum between the NPP and Solidarity.

To protect itself from the em-

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

## Rajbansi may call election

(Continued from page 1)

barrassment of a brief period of power Solidarity has this time insisted that the rebels form a separate party.

The new party was set up in secrecy earlier this week to avoid Mr Rajbansi taking counter moves.

The new party and Solidarity have signed an agreement that would make Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy chairman of the Minister's Council of the House of Delegates.

Mr Kathrada would retain his portfolio but take on housing as well, Mr Baldeo Dookie, who resigned as a Minister and led the revolt last year would return to the Council as Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Kessie Ramduth, would remain with education, and Mr R Bhana with health services.

The leader of the PPSA, Mr A E Lambat, who is considered to be a figurehead, would not hold any important position.

President P W Botha has indicated he will not take any immediate action to resolve the situation.

In a statement last night Mr Jack Viviers, spokesman for Mr Botha, said "the President deals with situations like this according to the constitution and he has nothing on his desk".

The new alliance however claims that Mr Botha could act and recognise the "new majority".

In terms of the constitution the President "shall so dissolve any House or reconstitute the Ministers' Council in question if such House passes a motion of no confidence in the Ministers' Council" — or rejects an "own affairs" budget.

Mr Rajbansi was clearly hoping the threat of an election would frighten the rebels into returning as they could not be certain of holding their seats.

Mr Kathrada said however that the rebels were quite prepared to fight an election but he doubted that Mr Botha would disrupt the workings of Parliament for an election.



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

NEWS

# Above the law? ANC pushes POW claims

Captured African National Congress guerrillas increasingly describe themselves as soldiers entitled either to treatment as prisoners of war or, at the least, to a status above that of ordinary criminals.

The six-month long Messina landmine trial, which ended on Wednesday when the judge imposed multiple death sentences on Mthetheli Mncube, of Soweto, and Mizondedeli Nondula, of Mdantsane, is a reminder of that.

Both Mncube (27) and Nondula (24) regarded themselves as soldiers of the ANC underground army Umkhonto we Sizwe. But, in sentencing them to death for murder and terrorism, Mr Justice J P O de Villiers rejected their view of themselves as combatants in a war.

Mncube was convicted for lay-

ing a landmine which killed a farm worker and for killing two policemen. Nondula was convicted for planting the landmine which killed six members of the De Nysschen and Van Eck families.

Dismissing the contention that the two men were operating in a "battle zone," Mr Justice de Villiers said, "If you are fighting the Government, you do not kill people left and right and plant landmines at random to injure and kill innocent people."

But the argument is not over. Mr Justice de Villiers granted them leave to appeal. The argument that they are soldiers fighting a war which they — and much of the rest of the world — believe is justified will be heard before the Appeal Court.

Another related appeal is pend-

## PATRICK LAURENCE

ing: that of Mxolisi Petane, deputy ANC commander in the Western Cape who was jailed for 17 years last year.

His appeal is different in one important respect from that of the Messina trialists. Where Mncube and Nondula want the court to recognise that their view of themselves as soldiers constitutes an extenuating circumstance, Petane is contesting the right of the courts to try him as a prisoner of war.

The ANC, as Professor John Dugard explained in his evidence for the defence in the Messina trial, has filed a declaration with the International Committee of the Red Cross, committing itself "wherever practicable" to abide by the Geneva Conventions

on the conduct of war. The ANC commitment was made in 1980, three years after new protocols were added to 1949 Geneva Conventions, extending them from wars between states to "armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination".

The ANC is so far the only "national liberation movement" to file a declaration of acceptance with the International Red Cross. In theory it means that, in the eyes of international law, captured ANC guerrillas are entitled to treatment as prisoners of war.

There is one major problem. South Africa is not a signatory to the 1977 protocols and is thus not bound by them.

In addition, as Ms Christina Murry, of the University of Cape Town, has argued, the protocols impose obligations on signatories and, by implication, on the ANC. One is to distinguish "at all times between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian and military objectives and to direct their objectives only against military objectives".

Another is that combatants must distinguish themselves from the civilian population "while they are engaged in an attack or in a military operation preparatory to an attack".

Mncube claimed he and his comrades were wearing blue overalls which distinguished them from the local population.

His two comrades were killed by the SADF. He was captured but escaped after his hands were

tied with his shoelaces and he was loaded into the back of a police bakke.

He untied himself, grabbed a gun and killed his captives. He was recaptured a few days later.

The ANC regards farmers as part of the military network since they are linked up to the SADF's area defence network. That may justify, in the minds of its commanders, the planting of landmines on farm roads used by the SADF. It has so far failed to impress the courts.

So has the ANC's commitment to the 1977 protocols. Five years ago three ANC guerrillas — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung — were sentenced to death. They attacked three police stations, which prima facie qualify as military targets.

# Rajbansi calls for an election

call this  
2/5/88  
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## Political Staff

THE Indian House of Delegates is headed for a general election to sort out this week's "palace revolution" which precipitated yet another power struggle in this chamber of Parliament

The 11 National People's Party (NPP)-aligned rebels, who broke away to form the Peoples' Progressive Party in a majority alliance with the Solidarity opposition, appear to be weakening

Yesterday Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates (HoD), said he had been approached by some wavering rebels who wanted to know "where are the carrots" he promised to dangle for their return

From its very inception, members of the HoD have shown themselves to be open to persuasion about their political affiliations. It has generally been agreed that few, if any, fundamental differences separate the major parties in the House

Political observers have agreed that status and position, coloured by religious differences, appear to have played a more important role in the HoD than political considerations

However, yesterday Mr Rajbansi, who said earlier that he had expected the attempted coup, completely changed his mind about how to deal with the breakaway faction which includes three of his ministers and a deputy minister

"We are quite relaxed and getting fantastic support from around the country," he said during a break of the NPP's national executive meeting in Durban

"All of them want an election."

The hands of the State President, Mr P W Botha, are tied by the constitution and there appears to be little chance of his reconstituting the Ministers' Council, unless the chamber declines to pass the budget

"I am going flat-out for an election. What is happening now is making a mockery of Parliament," said Mr Rajbansi

# Simmering revolt boils over

by BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

THE revolt in the National People's Party, which finally boiled to the surface this week, has been bubbling ever since the unsuccessful rebellion last year.

And again at the centre of the trouble has been NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Last year the main issue appeared to be personality differences and the division of the spoils of power.

This time, however, not only is Mr Rajbansi's style of leadership at the heart of the problem, but also his persistent refusals to agree to a commission of inquiry into the ongoing and many allegations of corruption in the administration of Indian own affairs.

Mr A E Lambert, leader of the newly formed breakaway party, the People's Party of South Africa, said in an interview the refusal to have a commission of inquiry was bringing the House of Delegates into disrepute.

On top of this there is disquiet among members at what they say is the slowness in the provision of new housing for the Indian community.

All this has been complicated by accusations that religious differences between Muslims and Hindus was playing a role with Muslims attempting to grab control.

Muslim members strenuously denied this and pointed to the mixed composition of not only the new party but also the alliance with Solidarity.

After last year's revolt, Mr Rajbansi settled down to a more or less peaceful year with only his arch political enemy, Mr Pat Poovalingam MP, then leader of the Progressive Reform Party, plugging away with accusations of corruption and misgovernment and demands for an inquiry.

The accusations have tended to dominate much of the workings of the House of Delegates with new accusations being made weekly.

By the beginning of this Parliamentary year it

was clear that Mr Rajbansi was facing another rebellion.

The first public move came when the NPP candidate for a vacant nominated seat was defeated by the opposition Solidarity candidate, Mr Abdul Razak.

There was talk of a cabal that was working to unseat Mr Rajbansi from within the NPP.

Existence of the cabal was denied by its alleged members.

There were repeated warnings after this that there would be a palace revolution and Mr Rajbansi would be thrown out.

But each time Mr Rajbansi, an experienced political operator, outmanoeuvred his opponents.

Since the Easter recess it had become clear that a palace revolution would not succeed and the "cabal" looked at other methods.

Solidarity was loath to open its arms again to the rebels after being made to look a bit silly last year.

The rebels, however, working in close consultation with Solidarity, decided to break and form a new party.

Solidarity agreed to form a coalition with the new party. The price, however, was that its leader, Dr J N Reddy, should become chairman of a re-constituted Ministers' Council, and the leader of the last rebellion, Mr Baldeo Dookie, should be re-appointed to the council.

The Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismail Kathrada, one of the three Ministers who has broken away, and the main organiser behind the latest revolt, said at a Press conference that the two parties could combine within six months, depending on developments.

No one in Cape Town was prepared to take bets that Mr Rajbansi would not make a comeback.

Within minutes of the revolt, Mr Rajbansi was claiming the position was fluid and he gave a clear undertaking that "I will go down fighting."

Mr Lambert

Mr Rajbansi

# Father may visit Lusaka

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JOHANNESBURG — A Johannesburg businessman, Mr Joseph Annegarn, who is the father of ANC suspect Mr Paul Annegarn — said to be in an ANC camp in Angola — may visit Lusaka to negotiate for his son's release.

Broederström uncovered by police last week.

The Swaziland parents of Miss Susan Westcott, one of the four who were arrested, said yesterday they were now satisfied their daughter was involved and would try to see her in Pretoria Central Prison.

The British consul in Johannesburg, Mr Douglas McDougall, was yesterday granted access to Miss Westcott. He said she was in good spirits.

Mr McDougall said in-

indications were that the group might be brought to trial within a month.

Meanwhile, Mr Joseph Annegarn said yesterday he last saw his 23-year-old son in May 1986 when, after nine months in the army, he defected from the SADF.

Family members described Paul as a pacifist who hated violence. They said he "could not take the indoctrination of the army and hated being trained to kill".

They were surprised to learn that he had al-

legedly joined the ANC, but not that he had decided to leave SA to join the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London.

They said in 1985 he was arrested with 280 protesters outside SA House during a large demonstration during which red paint was thrown at the embassy and a wreath placed outside the main door.

Paul Annegarn was born in Benoni and schooled at Benoni West, Athlone School and Sandringham High.

He registered as an objector with the London office of the Committee for South African War Resisters (COS-WAR) and it is understood that he helped with their work.

He was a highly respected member of the anti-apartheid community in London, said people who knew him, and did regular work at the Anti-Apartheid Movement headquarters.

A spokesman for the movement said they had never heard of him.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said arrangements would be made for them to meet or talk by telephone.

According to police sources Paul Annegarn was a fifth member of the alleged ANC cell in



# Bhaskar Weekly

1K  
S/Wed 8/5/88



By GEORGE MAHABEER

**PIERCE** lobbying among Indian MPs continued this weekend as Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council, battled to regain his lost majority.

Earlier this week, 11 members of his party — including three Ministers and a deputy Minister — deserted the veteran politician to join an alliance of opposition parties calling itself the People's Party of South Africa.

It is the third time in the turbulent four-year life of the House that Mr Rajbansi's party has lost the majority — but this time it looks permanent.

If he cannot win support for his budget vote on June 4, President Botha will be compelled to call for new elections for the 45-seat House — one of three Chambers of Parliament.

The dramatic break came after an emotional caucus meeting at which, it is understood, Mr Rajbansi clashed with some of his senior Ministers.

Education Minister Kassie Ramduth later claimed he had ditched Mr Rajbansi because of alleged interference by his party leader in his portfolio. He claimed he was no longer in charge of Indian education.

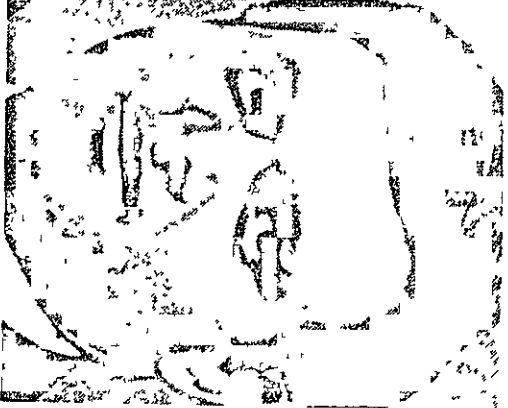
Although Mr Rajbansi made an impassioned plea for party unity at the caucus, his plea fell on deaf ears.

## Clean

Included in the new party are Mr Ismail Kathrada, Minister of Budget, Mr Ramman Bhana, Minister of Health Services and Welfare, and Mr Somaroo Pachai, general affairs deputy Minister of Environment.

Mr Rajbansi has been left with only one Minister, Mr S V Naircker, the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture.

Explaining the move, Mr Kathrada told the House of



BATTLING . Amichand Rajbansi

## AN IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR UNITY GOES UNHEEDED

Delegates there were "no selfish motives" save to bring "clean administration to the House, to enhance its tattered image in the community and to be responsible and accountable to the electorate".

He also said a "working relationship" had been agreed on between the People's Party of South Africa and the 11-member Solidarity Party and they aimed to elect Ministers on the Ministers' Council "who had the confidence of the whole House".

But Mr Rajbansi said he was confident of regaining power. He admitted, however, that if his budget vote was

not approved there would have to be elections.

"But they won't reject the budget because the Ministers who defected would be voting themselves out of a job."

"In any case, they are shivering, because they know many would not be re-elected," Mr Rajbansi said.

The current crisis for Mr Rajbansi resembles his experiences on the very day the new Ministers' Council was announced in 1984. Only hours before President Botha revealed the Ministers' Council, Mr Rajbansi lost the majority when four members deserted to the opposition Solidarity. All subsequently returned.

# Rajjioastisi

# Andre Brink backs ANC violence

By JEREMY BROOKS  
London

AUTHOR Andre Brink has publicly stated his support for the banned ANC and its campaign of violence.

In an interview with the leftwing French newspaper, Liberation, the Rhodes University professor said that since his meeting with the ANC in Dakar he had totally accepted the organisation's goals and methods.

Professor Brink, who is touring Europe, was quoted as saying "For me, it is becoming more important to explain the role of violence. It's difficult because in principle I can't associate myself with violence."

But he said that since Dakar he'd accepted it as he associated himself completely with the ANC's struggle

S. Times  
8/5/88

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Staff Reporter

SECURITY police made a "breakthrough" leading to the arrest of almost the entire Umkhonto we Sizwe network in the Western Cape last year, according to the head of a police unit specialising in tracking down "terrorists".

In an affidavit replying to an application for the release of Mr Amos Jamani Jonas, who is being held in terms of the Internal Security Act, Captain William Liebenberg said the Umkhonto unit was known as the Western Cape Machinery.

In an affidavit in support of the application, the alleged leader of the Western Cape Machinery, Mr Tony Yengeni, said Mr Jonas "was screaming and moaning" after being shot in the hip and thrown into a police car.

Mr Jonas was arrested in Crossroads on September 17 last year.

Last month, his father, Mr Amos Jonas, of NY7, Guguletu, asked the Supreme Court to order his release.

The matter was to be argued on Thursday, but Attorney-General Mr Niel Rossouw informed attorneys for Mr Jonas senior on Monday that his son was being held in protective custody.

Mr Justice Rose-Innes, at Mr Jonas's request, agreed to the application being withdrawn and ruled that the respondents, the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of Police and the Western Cape Divisional Commissioner, pay the costs.

Captain Liebenberg said security police made the breakthrough after arresting Mr Yengeni in September last year.

He told police that Mr Jonas was a member of one of his cells and that he had set up a meeting with Mr Jonas some time before.

Police decided to trap Mr Jonas and two security policemen with Mr Yengeni to the rendezvous on September 17.

Mr Jonas was arrested and handed over to Captain Liebenberg.

"He had been wounded in his left hip. In my opinion, he did not require immediate medical attention," he said.

He questioned Mr Jonas who admitted to being a member of the Western Cape Machinery.

"After his arrest, he pointed out a place where weapons and ammunition of the Western

Cape Machinery were. He also gave information about other members. They were subsequently arrested."

It emerged that Mr Jonas had played a leading role in the Western Cape Machinery and that he was responsible for smuggling arms and ammunition into Cape Town. He had also been involved in planting and exploding limpet mines in the Peninsula between 1986 and 1987.

"All this information was given to me before the person in custody was sent to hospital later that night and before it was decided to detain him under section 29 of the Internal Security Act."

### Bound

In an affidavit in support of the application to free Mr Jonas, Mr Yengeni said he was the first accused in the matter of the State vs Yengeni and others.

On the night of September 17, his hands and feet had been bound and he "was placed in the front passenger seat of a light blue Fiat motor vehicle".

Constable Patrick Siyali sat in the back seat and another policeman whom he called David drove.

They drove towards Athlone and passed Mr Jonas who was going in the opposite direction.

The police vehicle turned around, and drew alongside the other. Both policemen opened fire, Mr Yengeni said.

The car stopped near Crossroads and Mr Jonas, chased by David, fled into the bushes.

### "Screaming"

"A little while later, I saw Mr Jonas being pulled along the ground by his arms. He was screaming and moaning and appeared to me to be in severe pain as a result of a leg wound," Mr Yengeni said.

Police threw him into the blue Fiat, he said.

● Mr Yengeni has been charged with treason with Miss Jennifer Schreiner and nine others. Mr Jonas was to have appeared with them but charges were withdrawn.

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## Protest over honorary degree to Mandela

BOSTON — A three-year campaign which succeeded in getting Northeastern University to award an honorary degree to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has run into objections.

The award of the degree will end efforts by students to change a policy barring honorary degrees for anyone who could not attend the ceremony.

Brink to react  
to SABC's <sup>st-v</sup> 5/5/88  
ANC story

(11A)  
Author Professor André Brink said last night that he would react when he returned to South Africa to a SABC-TV news report which quoted a French magazine as saying that he associated himself with the aims and methods of the ANC.

According to the report, he said in an interview with the magazine *Liberation* that he did not associate himself in principle with violence.

After talks with leaders of the ANC in Dakar last year, he began to accept it.

He said he not only associated himself with the goals of the organisation, but also with its methods, the SABC-TV report said.

# Rebel alliance holds firm against Rajbansi

11A

Arbuis  
9/5/88

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

THE alliance opposing beleaguered Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, appeared to be holding firm today

There is no clear indication of how the newly-formed alliance of rebels, the People's Party of South Africa, and the opposition Solidarity Party, will hold together.

However Solidarity and the new party are to seek an interview with President Botha today to unseat Mr Rajbansi

## UNSATISFACTORY

Mr Yunus Moolaa, chief whip of Solidarity said President Botha's reaction to calls for Mr Rajbansi's dismissal and a call for a committee of inquiry were unsatisfactory

However, spokesman in the President's office, Mr Jack Vivier, said today that there was nothing on Mr Botha's desk "in terms of the constitution".

This was disputed by Mr Moolla who said "The Secretary General of the President's office, Mr Jannie Roux, was given full documentation on Thursday."

Mr Rajbansi has challenged the alliance to move a motion of no confidence "in me personally" There was no rule to prevent this, he said

He claimed that there were moves not only to get rid of him but also Dr J N Reddy leader of Solidarity and shadow chairman of the Minister's Council for the alliance.

## "MASTER PLAN"

"There is a master plan," he said

Mr Rajbansi would not say who was in the group and denied he was inferring it was based on religious grounds

Claims that Muslims were attempting a take over, although denied by Muslim members, are persisting in off-the-record statements

Mr Moolla said meetings would be held today to discuss the next steps to be taken unseat Mr Rajbansi.

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NON-RACIALISM was  
"not one of the criteria"  
for anti-apartheid  
organisations to partici-  
pate in a conference aimed  
at forging an alliance  
against repression, the  
Congress of South  
African Trade Unions said  
this week. *Sowetan*

# Cosatu indaba 'open to all'

11A

Cosatu was correcting  
a statement it had issued  
earlier about resolutions  
taken at the federation's  
special congress last  
weekend

The congress resolved  
to support the call for a  
conference of a broad

range of anti-apartheid  
organisations "to focus  
on opposing apartheid  
repression". This  
conference would work  
on the basis of "disci-  
plined mandates, demo-  
cracy and free and open  
debate"

# A FORGOTTEN PRISONER

A MEETING at which the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity was commemorated in Soweto was told to remember the longest serving South African political prisoner who has been in jail for 25 years.

Mr James Mndaweni, president of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), told a packed hall at Ipelegeng Community Centre on Wednesday night that Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member, Jeff Masemola, was the first political prisoner on Robben Island in recent times.

## Jailed

He was jailed with five other PAC members for attempting to overthrow the Government. They were jailed in June 1963, only a month after the founding of the OAU.

Mr Mndaweni said Mr Masemola had had another distinction that of having been in solitary confinement for nine of the 25 years he has served in jail.

There was a roar of applause when Mr Mndaweni reported that on Sunday, he was in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the OAU meeting is held. He was in Addis Ababa with *Sowetan*

## SOWETAN REPORTER

Assistant Editor Sam Mabe

He said he listened to the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, warning the Minister's Council not to forget Mr Masemola.

He added that on his arrival in South Africa

on Tuesday, he sent a telex to the OAU on behalf of Nactu, congratulating it for the good work it had done in trying to unite Africans.

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, who chaired the meeting, said the Pan Africanist ideals cherished by the founders of the OAU were still alive in the rest of Africa.



JAMES Mndaweni

*Sowetan*  
27/5/88  
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7/5/88

2 Cape Times, 1

# Rajbansi hopes to regain majority

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi was optimistic yesterday of regaining majority support in the House of Delegates after 11 members of his ruling National People's Party, including three ministers, abandoned him and joined a new opposition party.

But the combined opposition in the House of Delegates, which now commands majority support, has said it will block moves by Mr Rajbansi to call for fresh elections to resolve his current numbers crisis.

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday "I fly back to Parliament with one wish in my mind I dare my defectors to move a motion of no confidence in me."

Earlier, Mr Rajbansi was given a standing ovation at a meeting of the National People's Party's Chatsworth regional committee at the Savera Hotel, where a vote of confidence in his leadership was unanimously passed.

Mr Nizam Khan, MP for Isipingo — one of those who walked out, confirmed having talks lasting more than three hours with Mr Rajbansi on Saturday and said he was "under pressure" to reconsider his decision to defect. But he added he had not yet made up his mind.

"At least six other defectors are also having a re-think," he said, declining to disclose their identities "at this stage."

Mr Rajbansi said he wished to advise some of the ministers who broke away, "to take a very strong note of the fact that I have not yet spoken, and they must note that the day I do the talking some people will never be able to face society again."

# 'Raj' to make deal?

carl Tink's 10/5/88

11A

## Political Staff

MR Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council, faces a parliamentary defeat today unless a deal can be struck with members of the new majority alliance in the House of Delegates

The alliance between Solidarity, the official Opposition, and 11 members of the newly-formed Peoples' Party attempted to flex its muscles yesterday by introducing a motion "without notice" to elect its own chairman of committees, but failed

The motion, introduced by the Minister of the Budget, Mr I Kathrada, one of the rebel National Peoples' Party MPs to

break away, will be debated today

Unless Mr Rajbansi can regain an overall majority by this afternoon the alliance — which claims the support of 24 MPs to the NPP's 19 — would have demonstrated its superiority, which it hopes will cause President P W Botha to reconstitute the Ministers' Council

But only a short while after the alliance's motion failed, Mr Rajbansi was confident of staying in power

"The events taking place are in our favour and I challenge the alliance to agree to an election — but I know they won't," he said "Many developments are taking place and there are many options

We are waiting to choose the right option?"

It is understood that some of the NPP rebels have approached Mr Rajbansi to conclude a new agreement and there was speculation yesterday that some of Solidarity's own members are unhappy about the list of Ministers' Council members drawn up by the new alliance. The three NPP ministers who broke away are included, which is said to have angered some of Solidarity's own members who feel they should have been nominated and are now threatening their own split

Another possible solution to the crisis which was being spoken about yesterday, was a possible deal between Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy and Mr Rajbansi

# Brink says he may (1A) leave SA

star 10/15/88

By James Tomlins,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

PARIS — Professor Andre Brink has threatened that if the situation in South Africa worsens, he will go into exile like celebrated German writers who fled the Third Reich. But for the moment he will stay, he has told a French newspaper.

He told the leftist daily *Libération* "It is becoming more and more difficult for me to explain the role of violence to people. It is difficult because, in principle, I cannot support violence."

"But, since the Dakar meeting, I have accepted violence because I am associating myself completely with the ANC struggle, not only the ANC aims but also its methods."

"So, with reluctance, I accept violence in South Africa and I will try to explain it to Afrikaners. That will be the subject of my next book."

Asked whether such views were not risky, Professor Brink replied "I am running a risk, but the situation has become so urgent that it has to be done."

## Step 10515y Time to talk to ANC, says NDM

The changed Russian attitude on southern, and particularly South Africa, provided the opportunity for the Government to be more reasonable about its conditions for negotiation with the ANC, and it should not let the chance slip by, National Democratic Movement (NDM) leader Wynand Malan said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the foreign affairs budget vote, the Member for Randburg said the NDM welcomed the latest talks on the Angolan and Namibian situation and the impression that positive results were being achieved.

"What is clear is that there is not much left of the total onslaught, and there are various indications the Soviet Union is engaged in a re-evaluation of its role and position in southern Africa also.

"In view of the ties between Moscow and the ANC in Lusaka, this re-evaluation must also have an influence on the ANC. It, therefore, creates an ideal opportunity for the Government to come forward with a new initiative," Mr Malan said. — Sapa.

# Soccer star honours Nelson Mandela

ROTTERDAM — Ruud Gullit, voted European Footballer of the Year for 1987, has dedicated his trophy to a jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The brilliant Dutch star who plays for FC Millan in the Italian League, said on Dutch television on Sunday that dedicating the prestigious award to Mr Mandela was done "to draw Europe's attention to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa"

Gullit's widely publicised gesture — it was even on West German, Italian, French, Belgian and Dutch television — is expected to have a strong impression on millions of young fans across Europe, political insiders said

"I believe that everyone has the right to be free, and I know that Nelson Mandela, has — by fighting for freedom — already been punished with 25 years' imprisonment. That's exactly my age and quite unbelievable," Gullit told Dutch television interviewers

He discussed his gesture with Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, in a televised "video-letter" link-up.

Mrs Mandela told

Gullit that "this sort of warm gesture isn't really to our leader himself, this is a great honour for our oppressed people in South Africa, it is a dedication that is directed to the oppressed masses

"I can assure you this on behalf of my people and on behalf of my husband. We are extremely grateful and hopefully, one day, the nation will express its gratitude to you, which is what you deserve," she told Gullit

Asked by Gullit whether her husband, even though in jail, might already know of the event, she replied "I would be surprised if he doesn't know already"

Mrs Mandela, who confessed to being "a great admirer" of football, explained that youths around Soweto had spontaneously renamed a popular soccer club "Mandela United"

She hoped Gullit could appear as a guest star for Mandela United one day "Through gestures such as yours, we hope the day is not far away when we can celebrate our freedom and we can have you coaching our youths," said Mrs Mandela

*Soweto 10/5/88*

*292 (11A)*

## US varsity to honour Mandela

BOSTON — A three-year campaign to persuade Northeastern University to award an honorary degree to Nelson Mandela has raised some objections

Northeastern announced plans to award the degree honouring Mandela on May 13, ending a long effort by students seeking to change a university policy barring honorary degrees for anyone who could not be present at the ceremony.

The degree is to be accepted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Some staff and students, including many blacks, have criticised the planned event, saying no effort was made to include them.

The trustees decided in January that Mandela should get the honorary degree. Students set up a committee to contact Mandela's family to get their approval.

Northeastern had still not received approval from the Mandela family, The Boston Globe reported — Sapa-AP.

# 'Little done to end US sanctions'

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The Government had done little to meet the conditions cited in the 1986 United States Congress sanctions package for the possible future termination of sanctions, Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) said in the House of Assembly yesterday during the foreign affairs budget vote

The relevant Congress clause for terminating sanctions stated that the Government should

- Release all political prisoners including Nel-

son Mandela,

- Repeal the state of emergency and release all detainees
- Unban democratic political parties and permit all South Africans to form political parties and participate in the political process.
- Repeal the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act
- Agree to enter into negotiation with representative members of the black majority without preconditions.

These were the conditions stated nearly two years ago but very few had been complied with, Mr Swart said.

"One asks what is the Minister (of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha) doing in regard to these matters.

"He might perceive that they reflect blatant injustices which exist inside South Africa and which we inside of South Africa ought to be attending to without any outside pressure" — Sapa

## State asks for trial in camera

EAST LONDON — The prosecution has applied for a terrorism trial in the East London Regional Court to be held *in camera* to protect a State witness.

Defence counsel, Mr V E Tshabalala, said he would make an application for the press to be allowed in court on certain conditions.

Evidence has been led during a trial-within-a-trial on the identity of a weapons journal in possession of the two accused.

They were arrested near a bus stop in Bophuthatswana on February 13 last year.

Evidence has also been heard of a document found in the possession of Mr Mgcinemi Mgqatsa on February 16.

On trial are Mr Mgqatsa (53) of Qumbu, Transkei and Mr Thozamile Tiyo (24) of Fort Beaufort, eastern Cape.

They have pleaded not guilty to furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress and of having received terrorist training in Tanzania and Libya — Sapa



# WORLD TO SEE SHOW

So wetan 11/5/88

MANDELA'S  
BIRTHDAY

11A

LOS ANGELES — Fox Broadcasting will telecast an all-star musical tribute from London called *Freedomfest - Nelson Mandela's 70th Birthday Celebration*, Jamie Kellner, president of the network, said on Monday.

The six-hour show on June 11, from London's Wembley Stadium, will commemorate the birthday of the spiritual leader of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement. Mandela has been imprisoned for more than 25 years.

## Satellite

Among those who will participate are Phil Collins, Whitney Houston, George Michael, Dire Straits, Simple Minds, Bryan Adams, The Bee Gees, Eurythmics, Harry Belafonte, Chubby Checker, Joe Cocker, Natalie Cole, Roberta Flack, Whoopi Goldberg, Gregory Hines and Denzel Washington.

The concert will be sent by satellite to countries all over the world — Sapa-AP.



ROBERTA Flack



WHOOPI Goldberg

## Price too high, Pik tells House

# 'Only Marxism can satisfy world'

Star 11/5/88

Political Staff

Nothing short of a black Marxist regime in South Africa would satisfy the international community, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Assembly during debate on his budget vote yesterday, Mr Botha said an ordinary black government would not satisfy South Africa's critics or guarantee that the sanctions threat would be withdrawn.

### Price too high

The Government had taken the sanctions threat seriously and had done everything possible to avoid punitive measures being imposed against this country, said Mr Botha.

"If we had to avoid sanctions the price we will have to pay will be too high," he said, referring to the demands made on South Africa by the outside world.

If South Africa were to respond to demands made by the US it would be destroyed, he said.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha castigates 'arrogant' superpowers.

"While Africa is dying, the US Congress has the arrogance to seek to punish the one country in Africa where there is hope of development and a government which cares about its people," he said.

**SAFE RETURN:** Fishermen from the doomed General Botha on the quay at Saldanha Bay after they were landed by the trawler Harvest Capella.

# Rajbansi's talks with rebels break up after angry clash

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

BELEAGUED Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, has made a desperate attempt in a series of meetings to regain his majority in the House of Delegates.

The first meeting with the 11 rebels who broke away last week to form the People's Party of South Africa, sparking the crisis for Mr Rajbansi, broke up after 45 minutes of acrimony.

Sources in the rebel group at the meeting said Mr Rajbansi threatened to fire all his ministers and particularly Mr Ismail Kathrada, Minister of the Budget, who played a major part in the break, and the Deputy-

Minister of the Environment, Mr Somaroo Pachai.

A source said "It was a desperate, last-minute attempt by Mr Rajbansi to save himself."

Mr Kathrada confirmed today the meeting had taken place but declined to comment on what happened. He said, however, that it must now be obvious to Mr Rajbansi that he could no longer survive.

At the meeting Mr Rajbansi alternatively threatened and pleaded without success. The meeting was held at Mr Rajbansi's request at 9,30pm yesterday.

After the meeting broke up Mr Rajbansi approached a number of people individually,

including the chief whip of Solidarity, Mr Yunus Moolla, and was still attempting to arrange other meetings after midnight.

Meanwhile, Mr Rajbansi is threatening to "expose" his rebel ministers at a Press conference in Durban on Friday.

Yesterday in Parliament Mr Rajbansi avoided a test of strength with the opposition alliance by accepting their candidates for chairman and deputy-chairman of committees.

And the first firm steps to dethrone Mr Rajbansi were taken when notice of a motion calling on President Botha to dismiss Mr Rajbansi as chairman of the Ministers' Council was given.

● Reddy wants Rajbansi sacked, page 7.

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# Call to aid 'war' in SA

Sowetan  
11/5/88

11A

HARARE — Africa must increase its material aid to the armed struggle against white rule in South Africa, a PAC spokesman, Mr Gora Ebrahim, has said here.

The organisation's secretary for foreign Affairs who is attending the 50th session of the OAU Liberation Committee in Harare, called on the OAU to renew its commitment to the intensification of the armed struggle.

Mr Ebrahim called on Western countries to accept the legitimacy of the armed struggle in South Africa and said his party would accept Western aid if it was unconditional.

The week-long liberation committee meeting went into closed session to hear the report of its military commission

**Siamese**

## Betty's Bay area to be 'protected'

THE government had renounced its decision to declare the Rooi Els-Betty's Bay-Kleinmond area a "nature area" but it would become a "protected natural environment" in terms of a draft law, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

One of the reasons for this was that provision had been made in the draft Bill on Environment Conservation, which was published in the Government Gazette last year, for the declaration of "protected natural environments".

"If this concept is accepted, it will result in a better dispensation for private landowners, which is supported."

After the draft bill had been promulgated, the Rooi Els-Betty's Bay-Kleinmond area would be declared as a "protected natural environment", Mr Meyer said.

## Rajbansi forced to support rebels

CAPE TOWN 15/88 Political Staff (11A)

THE power struggle in the Indian House of Delegates continued yesterday with Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council, under increasing pressure to resign but refusing to move.

The new majority alliance between Solidarity and the Peoples' Party showed its muscle yesterday by forcing through its own nominations for two official appointments.

In an obvious bid to avoid it looking like another major setback, Mr Rajbansi supported the nominations and congratulated the newly appointed Chairman of Committees, Mr Muthusami Thayer, one of the breakaway rebels, and the new deputy Chairman of Committees, Mr Palanisamy Devan.

Mr Rajbansi had no other option than to support their nominations in the face of the alliance's 24 votes to the National Peoples' Party's 19.

But, Mr Rajbansi will come under further pressure to resign on May 19 when a motion by Solidarity leader, Mr J N Reddy, calling on the State President to sack him, is discussed along with other motions of no confidence and calls for commissions of inquiry into allegations of corruption and maladministration.

Mr Reddy is the alliance's nomination for the appointment, which can only be made by the President.

Unless Mr Rajbansi resigns, the President, who has said he will handle the situation according to the constitution, will be faced with a minority administration in the HoD.

Mr Botha can dissolve any House if it passes a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet, rejects a money bill, or the Ministers' Council requests him to do so.

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# Police helicopter was Sam-7 missile 'target'

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[Signature]

Argus 12/5/88

The Argus Correspondent

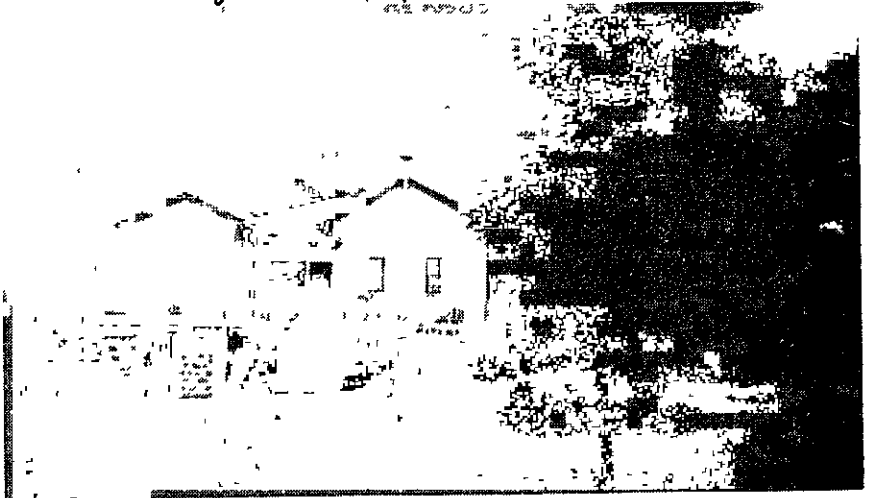
**JOHANNESBURG** — The ANC arms cache found on a smallholding at Broederstroom in the Transvaal is the largest in South Africa so far and includes a Sam-7 missile which was allegedly to have been used to down a police helicopter at the Rand Easter Show.

The surface-to-air missile, which is portable and weighs only 9,2kg, could have been used against aircraft using the scores of airports and airstrips in the Transvaal, recalling the two Rhodesian Air Viscounts shot down in late 1970s with great loss of life by guerrillas armed with Sam-7 missiles.

### BATTERIES

The missiles have a range of nine to 10km and are ideal for terror attacks.

The missile was allegedly to have been used against a police helicopter at the packed Rand Show during a public display, but the plan was shelved by the cell commander — believed to have been a former journalist of the now-defunct Rand Daily Mail — who apparently thought his own personnel would be at risk



**HIDEAWAY:** The house on the smallholding at Broederstroom where the white ANC cell was hiding out.

Sam-7s have been extensively deployed throughout the world and rely on tail-pursuit interception of low-flying aircraft. The missile has proven especially effective against helicopters. It has an infra-red homing device.

The weapon can be used individually by a single operator or can be mounted in batteries on vehicles.

It has seen service with Warsaw Pact nations, Egypt, Syria, Vietnam, Cuba and other countries.

# Arrests: Major divisions in ANC

11/12  
AKCus 12/5/88

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

MAJOR divisions in the ranks of the African National Congress led to the betrayal of the four-member, highly trained white cell caught by police at the weekend.

The divisions are understood to have reached right into the cell, seriously affecting its ability to carry out major operations, including widespread attacks on police and army installations and the assassination of people on a hit-list.

The most important differences are understood to hinge on the ANC commitment to the violent overthrow of the South African Government

There are indications that dissension in the cell and in the ANC generally was not only over the use of violence, but also on the handling of black people by the Government

The divisions of the ANC have been evident for some time and evidence has been given at hearings in the United States of many people being held captive in ANC detention camps in Angola

## Success

In a recent interview in a British newspaper a senior member of the ANC candidly admitted that morale in the ANC was low as a result of differences in the organisation

A police source said today that the divisions were one of the reasons for the success the police were having in solving cases of terror.

He said there was hardly a single act of terror which had not been solved, even though those involved had not all been caught.

It is understood that there was tension in the all-white ANC cell even before it entered South Africa 10 months ago

● See page 3.

pleaded guilty to public indecency, admitting she removed her panties

Char. Times 12/15/88

### Swaziland deports 3

117 202

JOHANNESBURG — Swaziland has declared three South Africans prohibited immigrants. The three, Xolisa Mtoba, Thabo Molefe and Jabulani Mofokeng, are to be deported. Last week, the Swaziland government deported six people known to have links with the ANC.



Africa 12.5.88 (117) 800

# Chief appeals to Tambo for talks

Own Correspondent

**ULUNDI.** — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sent a letter to exiled ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo offering to discuss the South African situation with him.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), that Mr Tambo had received the letter.

He also told Dr Slabbert that United Democratic Front (UDF) president Mr Archie Gumede had a long-standing invitation to talk to him and Inkatha in Ulundi.

However, in his policy speech as KwaZulu Minister of Police — delivered soon after the meeting — Dr Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that it seemed there was nothing to talk to the ANC about

Referring to a written attack on

Inkatha and the KwaZulu police by ANC propagandist Dr Francis Meli, he said: "The way Dr Meli talks confirms the growing perception amongst many around me that we have moved into a situation in which there is at this stage nothing to talk about with the ANC."

"They are committed to a military victory, a victory of violence."

# White ANC cell betrayed

By David Braun, Political Correspondent  
Cape Town

Star # 12/5/68

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11A

Big arms cache at Broedersroorn hideout

The white African National Congress military unit smashed by the police at the weekend was betrayed from within the organisation, Government sources have revealed.

The police swooped on the group's hideout, on a smallholding at Broedersroorn, north of Johannesburg near Pretoria, in the early hours of Sunday after a tip-off.

They arrested three white South African men and a white woman. She is a Swazi who has taken out British citizenship. The names of the four are being withheld.

The largest quantity of arms yet found by the police in South Africa was seized. Among the weapons was a Soviet SAM-7 ground-to-air missile.

More stories and pictures on Page 15.

launcher and one missile — similar projectiles were used to down Air Rhodesia Viscount airliners in the Rhodesian war.

Although police are not saying officially what the intended use of the missile was, it was understood last night that the ANC unit planned to shoot down a police helicopter.

The group apparently considered shooting the police helicopter used at the Rand Show recently, but this plan was abandoned.

The police also found two-way radio equipment used by the unit to receive and send messages to ANC headquarters in Lusaka. Among important documents seized was apparently a hit-list containing the names and addresses of scores of prominent people. The ANC unit had apparently been on the smallholding for several months, remaining undetected despite neighbours' suspicions.

According to a statement yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, the police were investigating the possibility that the group was involved in the explosion in Belem on March 1, in which a bus of the SA Defence Force was damaged, as well as other acts of sabotage.

Mr Vlok said that, among the other equipment taken by the police on Sunday, were devices for the remote detonating of explosive devices.

Apart from the missile system, the police seized impact mines, hand-grenades, AK assault rifles, pistols, machine-guns, demolition charges, mortars and explosives of Russian origin.

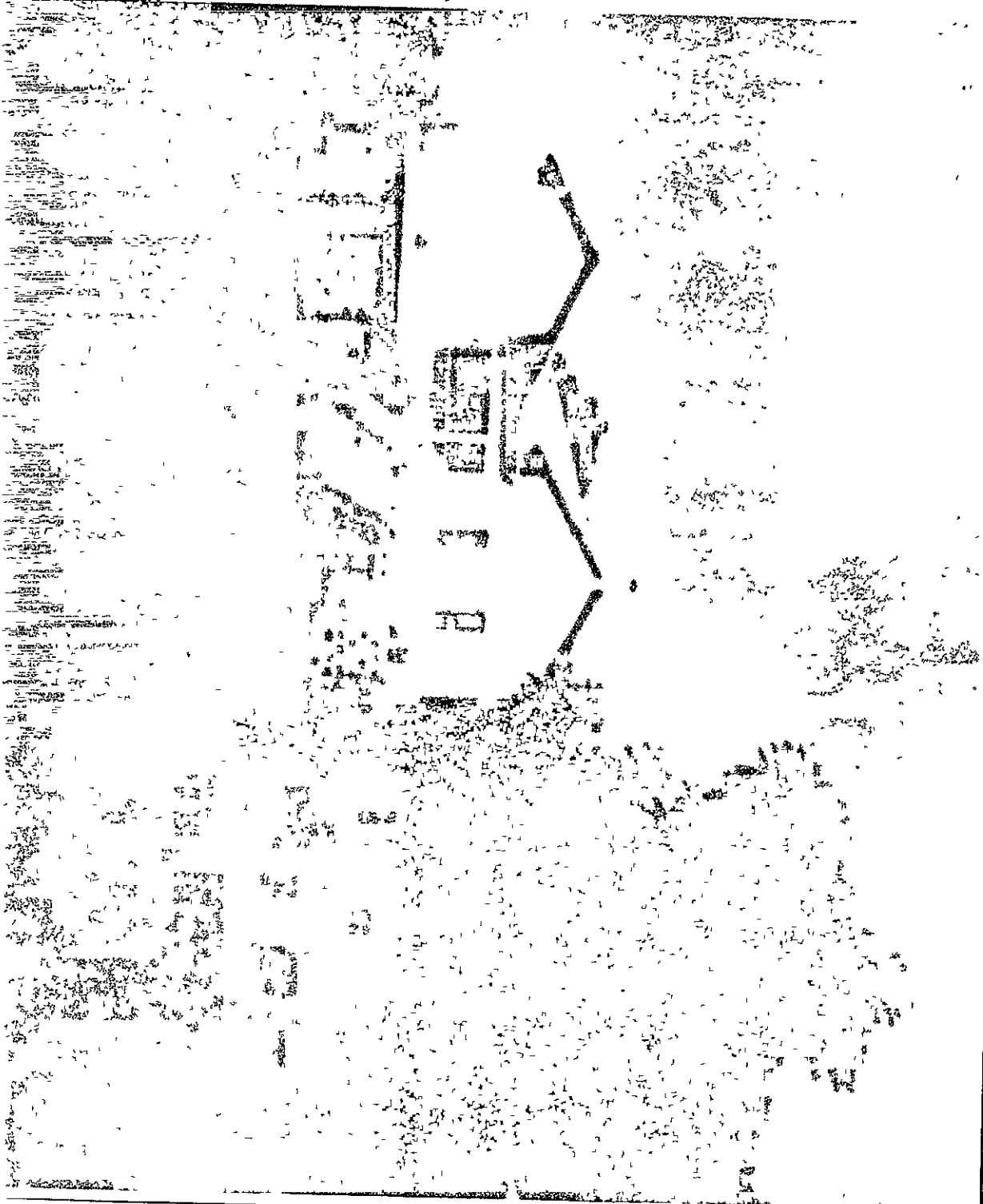
## Enough

## weaponry

## to start a

Mr Vlok said "The four persons, who were members of a highly specialised terror unit, were trained in Moscow, Cuba and Angola. Their ages range from the early 20s to the 30s.

"Three of the terrorists are South African citizens, of which two dodged their



By David Braun  
Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN** — From the outside, the farmhouse near Broederstroom was just like any other country scene early last Sunday morning.

According to sources, dogs and geese were about the white-painted building and all was quiet.

But inside were three members of a highly specialised African National Congress military unit, trained in special centres in Russia, Cuba and Angola to sabotage, kidnap and kill.

With them in the house were enough arms and ammunition to start a small war.

A large security force operation cordoned off the area after a tip-off received from within the ANC.

The crack police special task force quietly penetrated the house from two sides and overpowered the three.

Then followed the discovery of two more arms caches burned away from the smallholding in secret hiding places.

**CAPTURED**

A fourth member of the unit was captured later.

The four formed a special unit of the ANC which was so secret that police believe only a few senior members of the organisation knew of its existence.

Three of them are South African men and the fourth is a woman who holds a British passport.

Two of the men have evaded South African military service. The 27-year-old woman has fair hair and speaks with a heavy South African accent.

The men are bearded. The leader of the group, titled the "commander", is Afrikaans-speaking.

One of the other members was a "political commissar" trained in the operation of SAM-7 ground-to-air missile launchers.

Another received training in Angola as the unit's commander, operating the powerful radio equipment to receive and send messages between the smallholding and ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Various important documents had been found and information of a critical nature had been provided by the four.

Mr Vlok said the police were still investigating the way in which the weapons were smuggled into the country although it had already been established that they came overland via Zimbabwe and Botswana.

**Neighbours warned**

Mr Vlok warned those neighbouring territories which sheltered the ANC, or which allowed the ANC to travel freely through their countries to slip into South Africa, that a time would come when they would have to make a choice.

He called on the public to show restraint and calm and he assured all citizens that the police were doing everything in their power to protect them from the perpetrators of revolutionary violence.

Police said last night that the ANC cell which had been exposed was not connected with their inquiries into the activities of Mr Hen Grossekopf, whom they wish to question in connection with certain recent bomb attacks on the Witwatersrand.

**Locals knew group as 'artists and students'**

By Duncan Guy

Tight-lipped locals in Broederstroom yesterday said they knew the people arrested in a police swoop on an alleged African National Congress cell in the village as "a group of artists and students from Wits University".

According to the local butcher, Mr Augustine Goncalves, they came to the butchery every Saturday morning for about the last three months to collect chops. The four were "very quiet" and did not appear much in public.

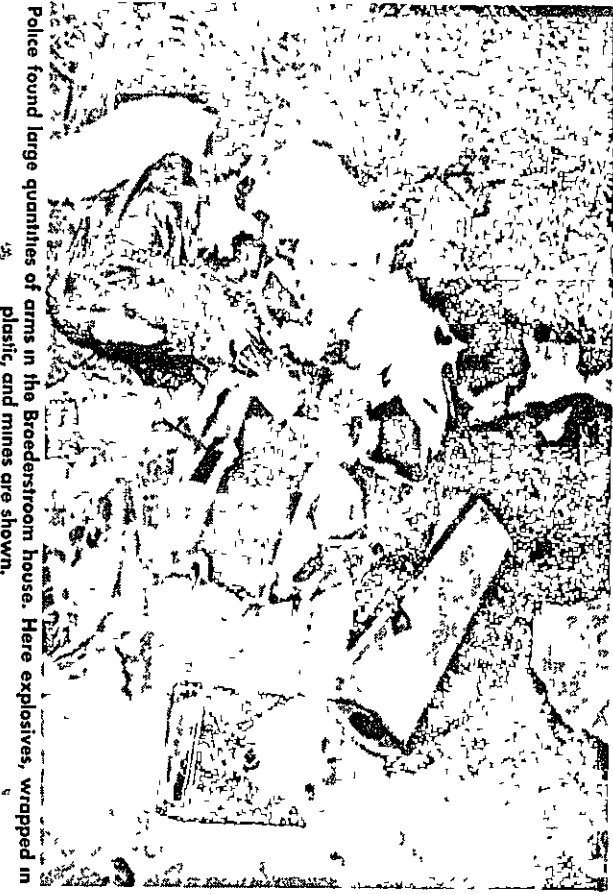
**SHOOTOUT**

Many locals said they heard a shootout on Sunday morning and saw a helicopter hovering above the house, on the edge of the small village.

Some said many different stories were circulating about the three white men and a woman.

The house was under guard by heavily armed police yesterday and a white Bophuthatswana-registered minibus was parked in the yard.

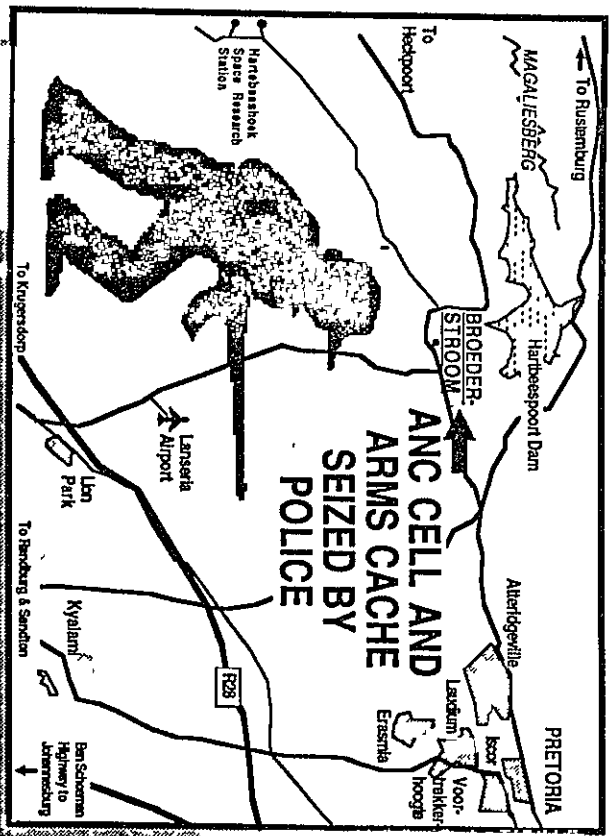
Mr B Botha confirmed that he owned the house in which the alleged terrorists lived, but would not offer further comment.



Police found large quantities of arms in the Broederstroom house. Here explosives, wrapped in plastic, and mines are shown.

In terms of the State of Emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment in this newspaper may be restricted.

This quiet country house north-west of Johannesburg was the headquarters of an ANC military unit. In a swoop on Sunday morning police arrested four people and seized the largest quantity of arms yet found in South Africa.



**ANC 'is recruiting more whites'**

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The African National Congress (ANC) was recruiting more white people into its military ranks, South African ANC experts said yesterday in reaction to news of the police swoop.

Leading ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge said the swoop, the first ever on an all-white cell in the history of the ANC's armed struggle, illustrated "the continuing trend of young, well-educated liberal and left-wing whites who identify themselves with the ANC" and who saw the organisation as "a legitimate and morally admirable political force".

**ACTIVE IN UMKHONTO**

More whites were joining the ANC with the intention of becoming active in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

"The involvement of whites in Umkhonto we Sizwe obviously has a greater impact on the attitudes of white South Africa than the involvement of blacks," said Dr Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In reaction to police claims of finding mortars and rockets at the unit's base, Professor Mike

Mr Wim Booysse, senior researcher of the International Freedom Foundation in South Africa, attributed the growing involvement of whites to the ANC's explicit decision — taken at a conference in Kalwe, Zambia, in 1965 — to recruit whites into its military ranks.

Another reason was the ANC's "propaganda campaign since 1978" to inform more people about the banned organisation's goals.

"White involvement in the ANC is becoming more noticeable. In the past whites held mainly administrative positions."

1960s 12/5/88  
119/822

Quiet scene disguised a lethal war unit

Political Staff

THE farmhouse on the smallholding near Broederstroom was, from the outside, just like any other country scene early last Sunday

Dogs and geese were about the white painted building and all was quiet

Inside, however, were three members of a highly specialised military unit of the African National Congress, trained in Russia, Cuba and Angola to sabotage, kidnap and kill

In the house were enough arms and ammunition to start a small war

Following a tip-off — received from within the ANC — a crack police task force cordoned off the area, then quietly penetrated the house from two sides and overpowered the three

There followed the discovery of two more arms caches, buried away from the smallholding in secret hiding places

A fourth member of the unit was captured later

NAMES WITHHELD

Their names have not been released. Three are South African men and the fourth a 27-year-old woman who holds a foreign passport. She has fair hair and speaks with a heavy South African accent

The men are bearded

The police believe that only a few senior members of the ANC were aware of the unit's existence

The leader of the group, with the title "commander", is Afrikaans-speaking

# White ANC cell was 'betrayed from within'

By DAVID BRAUN  
Political Staff

THE white African National Congress cell smashed by police at the weekend was betrayed from within the organisation, Government sources have revealed

The police swooped on the group's hideout, on a small holding at Broederstroom near Pretoria, early on Sunday after a tip-off

They arrested three white South African men and a Swazi woman who had taken out foreign citizenship. The names of the four are being kept confidential

The police also seized the largest secret arms cache found in South Africa to date

Among the weapons was a Soviet Sam 7 ground-to-air missile launcher and one missile, the projectile used to down two Air Rhodesia Viscounts in the Rhodesian war

Hit-list

The police also found two way radio equipment used to receive and send messages to ANC headquarters in Lusaka

Among important documents seized was a hit-list containing the names and addresses of scores of prominent people, mainly senior officers of the security forces and judges

The ANC cell had apparently been on the smallholding for several months, remaining undetected in spite of neighbours' suspicions

According to a statement yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan

Vlok, police were investigating the possibility that the group was involved in the explosion in Benoni on March 1, in which an SADF bus was damaged, and other sabotage

Mr Vlok said among the other equipment taken by the police on Sunday were devices for the remote detonation of explosive devices

Apart from the missile system, police seized limpet mines, hand grenades, AK assault rifles, pistols, machine-guns, demolition charges, mortars and explosives of Russian origin

Mr Vlok said "The four persons who were members of a highly specialised terror unit, were trained in Moscow, Cuba and Angola

Their ages range from the early 20s to the 30s

Smuggled

Three are South African citizens of which two dodged their national service. One of the group is a former South African journalist

"The citizenship of the fourth person cannot be disclosed at this stage"

Mr Vlok said the police were investigating exactly how the weapons had been smuggled into the country, although it had already been established that they came overland via Zimbabwe and Botswana

"Here is further palpable evidence of the ANC's true nature and character — a violent terror organisation, exactly like the PLO and the IRA. Its goal is just one thing — the death and maiming of innocent people, regardless of race or colour," he said

Mr Vlok warned neighbouring territories that a time would come when they would have to make a choice about the ANC

He called on the public to be calm and said the police were doing everything they could to protect everyone from revolutionary violence

"The co-operation and assistance of the public is of cardinal importance to root this curse out of our country," he said



HIDEAWAY Four alleged ANC members were arrested by police on Sunday at farmhouse on a small holding at Broederstroom near Pretoria. Police say a large cache of weapons was also discovered



ARMS CACHE: Some of the weapons, wrapped in plastic, discovered by police a smallholding near Pretoria. They say the cache is the largest yet found in South Africa and included a SAM-7 ground-to-air missile, mortars and explosives.



From page 1

that the weapons were ferried in overland from Botswana and Zimbabwe. Mr Vlok said "The SAP has also seized various important documents while information of critical importance has also been provided to the police by the terrorists."

He said the latest finding was "further concrete evidence" of the real nature and character of the ANC — "a violent terrorist organization, exactly like the PLO and the IRA."

In a thinly veiled warning to neighbouring states, Mr Vlok said the time had arrived for those countries which afforded sanctuary to "such ANC terrorists" or allowed them unhindered passage through their territories "to make a choice."

"South Africa cannot and will not allow the lives of defenceless citizens to be placed in danger by these murderers without conscience," he said.

Mr Vlok said the ongoing police investigation was also looking into the possibility that this group was involved in the explosion in Benoni in which a SADF bus was damaged on March 1, as well as other deeds of sabotage.

It is understood that the ANC cell entered South Africa about 10 months ago.

LEFT: The house on the farm where four white alleged ANC terrorists were captured on Sunday

RIGHT: Some of the arms found in the house used by the four white alleged ANC terrorists captured by police at the weekend.



# BREITENBAUER

## ANC four arrested on farm hideaway

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE betrayal by an ANC member of his colleagues has led to the uncovering of a highly specialized cell of four white insurgents near Pretoria and the seizure of the largest single consignment of weaponry yet found in South Africa.**

The capture of the highly trained ANC unit in a pre-dawn nuclear research facility on Sunday morning is seen by the police as a major setback for the ANC. It is understood that the police had been following the supply of information about the South Africa's first all-white closed ANC cell by a fellow member following an ideological rift within the group over the use of violence.

The ANC unit — trained in Moscow, Cuba and Angola — comprises three men, all South African citizens and two of them draft-dodgers, and a woman who holds a Western passport. One of the group is Afrikaans-speaking but police said he was not in any way connected with Mr Heinrich Grosskopf, their prime suspect in the recent Krugersdorp bomb blast.

Police yesterday declined to disclose the identity of the four, currently being held under the interrogation clause of the Internal Security Act, but said all were in their early 30s and Jews. However, it is understood that one of the men is a former Rand Daily Mail journalist and the SABC last night linked the cell to convicted ANC bomber Marlon Spang.

Apart from the huge caches of weaponry uncovered on the smallholding near Broederstroom, which included a SAM 7 ground-to-air missile, was a "hit list" with names and addresses of leadership figures in the SADF, the SAP and the government, details of sensitive security installations across the country, and sophisticated radio transmitters used to keep direct contact with the ANC in Lusaka.

It is understood that the SAM 7 heat-seeking missile had been earmarked for the shooting down of the police helicopter used for demonstrations at the last Rand Easter show and not for use on a commercial flight. Logistical problems eventually prevented the use of the missile at the show.

Among the "large quantity of terrorist weaponry" found on the freeholding with its outwardly normal appearance — including free-range ducks — were two-way radio sets capable of tuning in to police and military frequencies, remote-control equipment for the detonation of explosives, limpet mines, hand-grenades, AK assault rifles, pistols, machine guns, demolition charges, mortars and explosives of Soviet origin.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said last night that the police were still investigating the "precise manner" in which the weaponry was smuggled into the country.

However, he said it had already been established

11/12  
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# Arrest of ANC four: were they betrayed?

D/D 12/8/88

11A

Daily Dispatch Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN — Four white alleged ANC infiltrators arrested on a small-holding near Pelindaba are believed to have been betrayed by their own organisation.

The arrest of the highly-trained unit is seen as a stunning body-blow for the ANC, although it is believed the man who heads South Africa's most wanted list, Heinrich Grosskopf, is not among the four and was not connected with the cell

Internal ideological differences within the organisation are believed to have played a key role in the betrayal

The four, three South African men and a woman whose nationality is not known, were arrested and the largest single cache of arms, including a Sam-7 ground-to-air missile, was seized in the dawn operation on Sunday on the farm at Broeders-troom outside Pretoria

It is understood the plan was to use the Sam-7 — a sophisticated heat-seeking missile — against a police helicopter at the Rand Easter Show recently but the plan was scrapped

Also seized was a "hit-list" of senior police, defence force and government personnel, and detailed maps of security installations

The group were found with primed weapons when police swooped but there was no incident

It is not yet known with which acts of terrorism the group are linked, although police

are investigating the possibility that they might have been responsible for an explosion in Benoni on March 1, when an SADF bus was damaged, and other acts

Among the other weaponry seized when police swooped on the peaceful small-holding were limpet-mines and hand-grenades, AK assault rifles, pistols and automatic weapons, demolition charges, mortars and explosives of Russian origin

Also in the house on the small-holding was a short-wave transmitter with which the group communicated with ANC headquarters in Lusaka. A number of important documents which contained information of "critical importance" are now in the hands of the police

Other arms caches were later discovered one, it is understood, near the Tweerivieren camp at the Kalahari Gemsbok Park which is run jointly by South Africa and Botswana

How the weapons were brought into South Africa has not yet been established, but police have reason to believe they were brought by land through Zimbabwe and Botswana

Little is known at present about what the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, described yesterday as a

"highly specialised terrorist unit"

They were trained in Moscow, Cuba and Angola, among other places, and their ages are in the early 20s and 30s

Two of the men left South Africa to avoid undergoing military training and the third is a former journalist who is understood to have worked for the now defunct Rand Daily Mail

It is believed that they are linked to Marion Sparg who was jailed for 25 years in 1986 after being found guilty of treason, arson and attempted arson

In a statement, Mr Vlok said he wished to warn neighbouring states which harboured terrorists or allowed them to infiltrate South Africa from their territories that the time was coming when "they will have to make a choice"

"South Africa cannot and will not allow the lives of innocent citizens to be threatened by these murderers without consciences to go unpunished," he said

Mr Vlok appealed for calm and said the police were doing everything in their power to protect the inhabitants of South Africa against revolutionary acts of violence

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

# Raj plays the baiting game

The reputation of the House of Delegates (HoD) lies in ruins. Only by an act of political genius, or an excoriating investigation, can public faith be restored.

Sadly, both for those HoD members who remain concerned about such things and the community it serves, neither process is likely. Not until P W Botha, the master of political strategies, is prepared to sacrifice his close ally and the constant target of the periodic rebellions in the house, Amichand ("Raj") Rajbansi. (See Leaders)

The intriguing question which lingers is why Botha should allow this situation to continue. He chides the (coloured) House of Representatives for failing to produce acceptable leadership — and yet it is the HoD which clearly deserves such criticism.

"Rajbansi's tactics," muses Professor Mervyn Frost, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Natal, "brings into the open what one must suppose goes on behind the scenes quite a lot."

"If the tricameral system was not already in disrepute before, this brings it into grave disrepute. And if the State President were intent on salvaging some respect for the system, he would have to institute some inquiry, or make a public statement."

"If he doesn't do so, one must assume he is condoning what has happened."

If recent history serves as a guide, the HoD is thus destined during the next few days to stumble from its present "crisis" to yet another humiliating stalemate. This is likely to leave "Raj" nominally in control of the house and more deeply indebted to his

political patron — but at the price of increasing public disillusionment with not only the HoD, but the entire tricameral apparatus.

Already the first cracks have appeared in the shaky coalition established last week among 11 dissidents from Rajbansi's National People's Party (NPP) and the 11-member official opposition, Dr J N Reddy's Solidarity. Threatening their marriage of convenience — struck with the exclusive purpose of unseating Rajbansi — is dissatisfaction about the outcome of the horse-trading that produced their "agreement of coalition."

The agreement was presented by Solidarity in the absence of Botha to Tuynhuys administrator Jannie Roux, as "proof" of their majority and to support an appeal for the State President to reconstitute the Council of Ministers in the HoD.

An evidently unfazed Rajbansi (who has declined to talk to the *FM* until a press conference called for Friday), later crassly enlarged on the prospect of MPs going to the polls. "I have not yet spoken," he told political correspondents, "and the day I do the talking some people will never be able to face society again."

Rajbansi also referred scathingly to "dangling carrots" in his quest to either woo back to his fold sufficient numbers of dissident NPP members, or lure opposition members to his support. It is a technique he has previously applied with success and the coalition knows it stands an odds-on chance of working again. (He denies using the "carrots" phrase, but that is disregarded.)

Responding to the rumours of tension within the coalition, Reddy told the *FM* this week that the positions agreed to could be renegotiated, adding that "at present the gentlemen who came away (from the NPP), are holding their own."

Reddy described as merely a "first test," the outcome of a vote to elect the chairman and deputy chairman of committees. This vote was due as the *FM* went to press. He believed this would show Rajbansi had lost the majority — a prediction which fails to take into account the possibility that Rajbansi might instruct his remaining faithful to vote with the coalition and thus obfuscate the outcome.

In any event, said Reddy, a drawn-out process then loomed, during which the coalition would have to explore its constitutional options. A vote of no confidence in the Ministers' Council looked increasingly unlikely, he suggested, since this might embarrass those new members of the "opposition" who until last week were (and to date remain) ministers.

Cynics suggest such a vote is even less likely, since it could lead to an election. In the meantime, prospects of Rajbansi winning his "baiting game" must be rated very strongly.

□ Notice of two motions calling for Rajbansi's resignation was given in the HoD on Tuesday. Also tabled were motions calling for commissions of inquiry into land allocation and Indian education. All will be debated on May 19.

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FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 13 1988

# No reply to UDF peace request

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

THE United Democratic Front has made formal application to the minister of law and order for permission to participate again in peace talks aimed at ending six months of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area.

"We believe there is no hope of real peace in the region unless the peace process continues," the application said

UDF Natal publicity officer Lechesa Tsenoli said the organisation's participation in the talks, aimed at ending the conflict which has left over 500 people dead, was brought to a halt when the organisation was restricted by the state

The UDF application noted that the Pietermaritzburg Chamber Of Commerce had met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in February and urged him to allow the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to take part in the peace process.

The Chamber informed the UDF that Vlok had agreed to consider such an application.

The UDF said peace talks were interrupted by the "detention of almost the entire UDF delegation in the peace talks on February 10 and 11" and

stressed that while violence had diminished, most of the root causes had not been addressed.

If the peace process was to be restored, the application said, both the UDF and Cosatu needed to consult their membership and affiliates "to seek a mandate and report back"

The application said people in detention "from the other side" who did not have criminal charges pending, should also be released to participate "We believe that the peace process cannot continue unless detained and restricted members participate"

The application expressed hope that the "substantially" increased presence of police and *kitskonstabels* in the area would not be maintained indefinitely

The UDF application attached a list of names, including eight regional and national executive committee members with the application, urging the minister to release and lift the restrictions imposed on them

The minister has not replied to the application and could not be reached for comment.

*W/keil 13-19/5/88*



# 'Police held gun at my husband's head'

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The neighbours of the "Broederstroem ANC cell" arrested this week have described how camouflaged policemen burst into their home, arresting and handcuffing farmer Mr. Bossie Boshoff from her small holding 60m from the house where the police arrested three men and a woman, Mrs. Loraine Boshoff said police later apologised.

She said: "The police kicked down our door, held a gun at my husband's head, put cuffs on him and took him outside. They also told me to sit down outside."

"The children, Riaan, 10, Dawie, 5, and Riana, 9, were told to sit inside by themselves. They were very frightened."

"They held us for about 15 minutes, but later apologised." She said that while the family was being held by police on Sunday morning they heard about five shots fired next door.

Of the police action at her home, Mrs Boshoff said: "They must have just been making sure we were not part of the group next door, because we live so close together."

Mrs Boshoff said there had been nothing suspicious about the behaviour of the four peo-

ple before their arrest and she had assumed they were artists.

The only contact she had with the group was when "the bearded one asked me to lend him some jump leads for his combi".

She described him as Afrikaans-speaking, with light hair and a reddish beard.

"They were very quiet," she said.

The group, she said, had two dogs and geese which they looked after well.

She said that in retrospect it was odd they did not have visitors, did not have a telephone and would stay up late.

The Boshoffs had a clear view of the house from their lounge, which was probably why the group planted trees obscuring their view, Mrs Boshoff said.

Only once did she see three of her neighbours at one time, when they were cleaning out a dam

"We asked Bennie Botha (their landlord) not to let them run the pump for the whole day, because it would affect our water. They seemed quite irritated with us and just gave up on the dam.

"Mostly we saw them work-

ing on their two combis and the silver Passat."

Their landlord, who leased the house for R500 a month, said he was shocked to find his tenants were apparently not what they seemed.

He said: "As far as I knew I was renting the house to two people, Richard Stacey, with blond hair and a beard, and Peter Shaeffer, with black hair."

"I never visited the house, because they were always on time with rent, paid cash and quite frankly, seemed very pleasant."

The man calling himself Stacey had said he was an artist from Cape Town.

Ms 13/5/88 (11A)

# 'ANC' 4 named:

# Trial 'soon'

## 'ANC' 4 named

(Continued from page 11A)  
Ms 13/5/88

He said Susan was a high school teacher who had studied in England

Mr Westcott said "She grew up fairly rightwing but we don't know what happened to her since then"

Mr de Lange was born in Zambia and emigrated to South Africa in 1965. He served in the Navy between 1975 and 1977. According to reports he is a "sharp-shooter"

Mr Robbertson left South Africa in 1978, allegedly also as a draft-dodger

He is alleged to have received special training in Moscow in the operation of SAM-7 ground-to-air missile systems.

Police sources meanwhile today confirmed the security police had eavesdropped on a number of radio transmissions between the four and the ANC in Lusaka. — Staff Reporter, Political Staff and Argus Correspondent.

THE four members of the all-white alleged African National Congress cell arrested at Broederstroom earlier this week have been named.

The authorities are keen to bring them to trial on a variety of charges soon, sources said today.

They are

● The alleged commander of the group, Mr Damian de Lange, a former Rand Daily Mail journalist

● The alleged communicator, Miss Susan Catherine Westcott, 24, who was born in Swaziland and has a British passport

● Mr Hugh Lugg, 30, a former art student

● Mr Ian Hugh Robbertson, 36, the alleged political commissar of the group, who was a Wits student and a member of the National Union of South African Students

Mr Hugh Lugg became politically active and left the country after working on the mines, his father said today

Mr Jack Lugg, artist and principal of the art school at the East London Technikon, was unaware of his son's arrest when approached by The Argus today. He had not been told by police.

Mr Lugg said he could not condemn his son's alleged activities.

"Everybody must do what he must. I believe it's a free country and he had to make up his own mind"

Mr Lugg said he and his wife had last seen their son overseas two years ago. He said his son was "highly intelligent" and a very good artist.

He was educated at Queenstown High and Grens High School and studied art at the Johannesburg Technikon

Mr Lugg said "While he was studying he worked part-time on the mines. I think this persuaded him people were oppressed, and he became very political after that."

He went to England to study at the Goldsmith School of Art where he was head of the student union. He completed a master's degree at London University.

Mr Lugg is alleged to have evaded national service in 1979 by going to London

He has a teaching diploma allegedly financed with an ANC bursary

Mr Lugg was allegedly trained in Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union

Miss Westcott went to London in 1979 to study for a teaching diploma. She married a Briton.

In 1985 she returned to Swaziland. She is understood to have been involved in a relationship with Mr de Lange.

Miss Westcott's father, Mr John Westcott, a primary school headmaster from Mbabane, said yesterday that he and his family had last heard from Susan in January when she telephoned, apparently from Zimbabwe

The family had thought she was now in London

(Turn to page 3, col 7)

# Inkatha's peaceful says Zondi

By KAREN EVANS

In the face of the Pietermaritzburg violence, the Inkatha Youth Brigade has expressed sentiments of conciliation towards the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress.

Musa Zondi, chairman of Inkatha Youth Brigade, was commenting on last month's talks between his organisation and Jeugkrug.

"Our white compatriots in Jeugkrug found it difficult to understand how we were able to condemn the government for the clampdown on 17 organisations, including the UDF and Cosatu, against the background of their

role in the Pietermaritzburg violence." "We pointed out that whatever the UDF, Cosatu and ANC did in Pietermaritzburg against us does not make them less of our brothers.

He also claimed that repeated attempts to meet with the "ANC mission-in-exile" and the UDF and its associates have been rejected. "It is the UDF and its allies who reject Inkatha and spurn its hand of friendship."

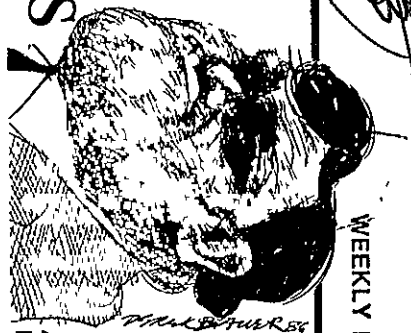
Marthinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of Jeugkrug, told the *Weekly Mail* their organisation's attempts to meet with the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) have received no reply.

*W Mail*

3-17-88  
IA

# A Rajbansi game of dangled carrots and revolving seats

By Weekly Mail Reporter,  
Cape Town



Amichand Rajbansi

THE game of political musical chairs in the House of Delegates will carry on next week when various motions are debated about the position of the beleaguered chairman of the Minister's Council, Amichand Rajbansi.

If the eight ex-Rajbansi supporters do not break rank, or are not enticed back into the fold by "carrots" dangled before them, it seems likely a People's Party/Solidarity alliance will take control of the House of Delegates, with Dr JN Reddy taking over Rajbansi's position.

But for how long will such an alliance hold together?

The track record of the House of Delegates, whose members were elected in 1984 on an effective 16 percent poll, suggests it won't be long before the alliance will be in trouble, particularly with Rajbansi in opposition without the sometimes time-demanding burdens of office. Not to mention the "carrots".

But it may not come to all that. Rajbansi has a trump card: an election.

It is clear no one in the House of Delegates but the ruling National People's Party is in any condition to face the polls, however low they may be

In a number of recent by-elections, the NPP has thrashed Solidarity and other splinter parties, suggesting Rajbansi has control of a party machine which is able to organise. As long as that machine has not been broken by the latest rebellion, he should be able to come back with a comfortable majority — provided more popular movements continue to boycott the trucemeral system.

Certainly, Rajbansi seems very confident about winning an election. On Monday, the first day of debate in the House after the rebellion which resulted in three of his four Min-

ister's Council colleagues deserting him, Rajbansi boldly sported a flow-er rosette and then managed, during the debate on the Justice vote, to say he was wearing it in anticipation of a great NPP victory in the election.

Rajbansi would prefer not to go to the polls and he evidently hopes the threat of an election and the "carrots" of office will bring enough people back to his side to ensure a majority.

But if an election is his last option, Rajbansi will go for it — and if the contestants are limited to the parties currently in the House of Delegates, he will, in all probability, win it comfortably.

The remarkable aspect of the whole comedy, which is not doing the im-

age of the trucemeral system much good, is that, ideologically speaking, there is little political difference between MPs in the House, save two, Pat Poovalingham and Mahmood Rajab of the PFP.

The conflict over power and position between Rajbansi and Reddy goes back to the days of the defunct South African Indian Council. Ever since Rajbansi managed to oust Reddy from office, the Solidarity leader has battled to revenge that defeat.

In some respects, the government would be happy with Reddy, whose urbane, serious nature and very conservative politics — for instance, he publicly rejects one-person-one-vote as unworkable — would make him a

very presentable "leader" of the Indian people.

But Rajbansi has impressed Nationalist leaders by his role within the cabinet. They say there has never been any suggestion of disclosures of confidential information from cabinet discussions and he delivers what he has said he would do. "When Rajbansi commits himself to something, you know it is a commitment," one Nationalist said.

So, although for different reasons, President PW Botha and the government can live with either Rajbansi or Reddy, but they are unlikely to want to perpetuate a situation where the House of Delegates is dominated by personality clashes, coup and counter coup. Botha may feel an election is the only way out, particularly if it results in a clear winner. For both Rajbansi's and Botha's purposes, an election may take place soon.

Although that may produce a result in the short term, it is doubtful whether it will stop the competition for position and power in the House of Delegates. But it may be the only way out.

# Reporter among 'ANC' 4

CAPE TOWN 13/5/88

11A

By CHRIS STEYN

ONE of the four alleged ANC guerillas arrested by police at the site of an arms cache near Pretoria last weekend is a former Rand Daily Mail journalist, Mr Damian de Lange

Police yesterday declined to confirm or deny the identity, and no further details could be obtained on other members of the group

Mr De Lange was previously in the news in 1986 when it emerged during the treason trial of fellow journalist Ms Marion Sparg that they had left South Africa together in 1981

Ms Sparg was arrested on her return, convicted of treason, arson and attempted arson, and sentenced to 25 years in jail in 1986

Mr De Lange was last night described by former colleagues as "a poor misguided creature who had a hell of weak stomach"

Police sources said yesterday a missile attack planned by the group of alleged guerillas was aborted on the orders of Mr De Lange because he feared that their target, a police helicopter, might fall on members of his group or

## 'ANC' group chief used false name to rent house

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — The leader of the alleged white ANC military unit which police arrested last Sunday, moved into Broederstroom — a town 50km north of Johannesburg and five km west of the nuclear research station Pelindaba — three months ago under a false name.

Calling himself Richard Stacey, the man introduced himself to owners of the smallholding Mr Bennie and Mrs Jean Botha after following up their newspaper advertisement for the property's rental.

The Bothas were puzzled that "Stacey" wanted to hire their spacious and relatively expensive house but he told them he was an artist who worked from home and would be moving in with a friend whom he

called Peter Schaffer

"Stacey" also said he had a girlfriend who would spend time at the house which they rented for R500 a month

According to the Bothas, "Stacey" paid the rent in cash at least a week in advance every month and made sure all his accounts were up to date

The group puzzled locals in the closely-knit community, none of whom ever came to know them

The Sunday police operation during which the group was arrested shook the community

Scores of policemen, some on horses, and a helicopter swooped on the place early that morning. Several roadblocks were set up around Broederstroom cutting it off to traffic for several hours

"innocent people"

Former colleagues said, however, that Mr De Lange was "a confused sort of individual, who might have been an easy target for militants"

He was one of a group of journalists — led by Mr Arnold Geyer (now in exile) and Sparg — who hatched a plan to fire-

bomb three PFP offices in Johannesburg because of the party's failure to support the boycott of the 1981 celebrations for the 20th anniversary of the Republic

"Damian was an easy target for somebody like Geyer who had a dominant personality and act-

ed as a Svengali-type character in the newsroom

"He was a benighted individual who needed to be led. Geyer gave him something to believe in," said a former colleague

According to Sparg court documents, Mr De Lange and Sparg fled the country soon after the

fire-bombing. They illegally crossed the border on foot into Botswana in June 1981, and hiked into Gaborone where Sparg was officially recruited into the ranks of the ANC

Three months later, Sparg moved to Lusaka leaving Mr De Lange behind. A year later, she cut all ties with Geyer because he refused to support her action of joining the banned ANC

Nothing was heard of Mr De Lange in the next eight years — until his arrest this week on the smallholding near Pretoria

"Damian was not a strong character. He would only go along in a kind of mass situation. He needed to be swept up in fervour," said a former colleague

"He was not tough. He would not initiate any kind of action"

Another former colleague described him as a "mediocre journalist who was never going to have a great career in journalism"

"He leaned where he could towards the more political kind of stories, but he never got an opportunity to do many of these," said the colleague

SAP operated secret radio

# Four white ANC terror suspects named

Star  
13/5/88

11A

~~Star~~

Staff Reporters

The four members of the all-white ANC cell arrested at Broederstroom earlier this week have been identified.

The authorities are keen to bring them to trial on a variety of charges soon, sources in Cape Town said today.

They are:

- The "commander" of the group, Mr Damian de Lange, who is in his early 30s and is a former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist.
- The "communicator", Miss Susan Catherine Westcott (24), who was born in Swaziland. She was previously married to a British subject named Dannellee and has a British passport by virtue of that marriage.
- Mr Hugh Murdock Lugg (30), a former art student at both the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch.
- Mr Ian Hugh Robertson (36), the "political commissar" of the group, who was a student at the University of the Witwatersrand and a member of Nusas.

## Sharp-shooter

Mr de Lange was born in Zambia and emigrated to South Africa in 1965. He did SA Navy service between 1975 and 1977. According to reports he is a "sharp-shooter".

Miss Westcott went to London in 1979 to study for a teacher's diploma. She married a British subject by the name of Dannellee. In 1985 she returned to Swaziland. She is understood to have been involved in a relationship with Mr de Lange.

Mr Lugg went to school at Queenstown. He studied art at UCT and Maties. In 1979 he was called up for national service, but he evaded this by going to London. He became involved with the youth committee of the ANC a year later.

Mr Lugg has an honours degree in art and a teacher's diploma, apparently obtained by way of a bursary granted by the ANC. He is believed to have been associated with Mr Ronnie Kasrills, a leader of the ANC in Britain.

According to sources, Mr Lugg received training in Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union before being sent back to South Africa.

Mr Robertson left South Africa in 1978, also as a draft dodger. He is alleged to have received special training in Moscow in the operation of SAM-7 ground-to-air missile systems.

Police sources today confirmed the security police had eavesdropped on a number of radio transmissions between the four and the ANC in Lusaka.

They apparently received full co-operation from the four to do this, monitoring lengthy transmissions which were in code.

The radio link would have placed police in an ideal position to "siphon off" highly sensitive information and orders from Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

## Handcuffed

Neighbours of the four have described how camouflaged policemen burst into their home, arresting and handcuffing farmer Mr Bossie Boshoff.

Speaking from her smallholding 60 metres from "cell's" house, Mrs Lorraine Boshoff said: "The police kicked down our door, held a gun at my husband's head and put cuffs on him and took him outside. They also told me to sit down outside. The children, Riaan (10), Dawie (5) and Riana (9), were told to sit inside by themselves. They were very frightened," she said.

"They held us for about fifteen minutes — but later apologised," she said.

While the family were being held by police on Sunday morning, they heard about five shots fired next door.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, said today the police apologised to the neighbours whose home was raided.

● See Page 7

# Passport of Azapo leader withdrawn

5/21/84 By Inga Molzen

The passport of the secretary-general of the now-restricted Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Haroon Patel, has been withdrawn by the Department of Home Affairs.

Members of the Security Branch at John Vorster Square served an order invalidating Mr Patel's passport on Tuesday night.

Mr Patel said yesterday that no reason was given for the withdrawal of his passport.

"No other member of the Azapo Central Committee has a passport. I was the last person with a valid travel document," Mr Patel said.

Last year, Mr Patel travelled to Europe several times to "carry out an international public offensive".

He said he had planned to attend next month's Dakar Conference in Senegal.

Asked about the incident yesterday, a Department of Home Affairs spokesman said: "The Department of Home Affairs never divulges the reasons for the withdrawal or their refusal to grant a passport."

● See Page 11.

# General Cross to bring case with act of passes key test

The Congress of SA Trade Unions has, in the three years since it was formed, grown into South Africa's biggest labour federation, with an impact far beyond the factory floors. Besides establishing itself as a formidable management adversary, Cosatu has proved to be a political thorn in the Government's side. Labour Reporter MIKE SILUMA previews Cosatu's special congress being held this weekend, its most crucial since the union body was formed in Durban in 1985.



SA 131 178 x

The leadership of South Africa's biggest trade union federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, holds a special congress this weekend to formulate a response to unprecedented State pressure on the union groupings.

More than 1,400 delegates, representing nearly a million workers in 13 affiliated unions, are expected to focus particularly on State actions against the federation and other anti-apartheid organisations.

Prominent issues on the agenda will include the Labour Relations Amendment Bill, Government plans to cut off foreign funding, and the "living wage" campaign.

Cosatu, which has been campaigning against the labour Bill, sees it as a threat to the shop-floor rights won by black workers over the last decade. A briefing document released by the federation this week reiterated Cosatu's view that the Bill would "lead to the breakdown of dispute-resolving mechanisms".

The Bill would "attack the right to strike,

introduce minority unionism and empower management to sue unions for damages for loss of production during strikes".

Cosatu sees the Bill as a reaction by employers and the State to the federation's "living wage" campaign, which has over the past year involved thousands of workers in virtually all sectors of the economy.

General secretary Mr. Jay Naidoo says the Bill seeks to reduce black unions to nothing more than "the discredited liaison committees" of the pre-1979 era.

On the political front, Cosatu will discuss restrictions that prevent it from, among other things, campaigning against the October municipal elections, and demanding the release of politi-

cal prisoners and unbanning of outlawed anti-apartheid organisations.

Cosatu sources say members were angered by the political clamps on the federation, and are demanding that the United Democratic Front, to which they also belong, be unbanned.

Another crucial aspect of the congress will be the formation of "a broadest possible alliance of democratic forces" — this in the light of the restriction of Cosatu and the banning of the UDF and 16 other organisations, the sources say.

Cosatu insiders say this could include unions outside the federation that were committed to the formation of a single, "progressive" national body. But they point out that Cosatu is unlikely to abandon the Freedom Charter as the basis of its political direction.



# Passport denial used as weapon against critics

SA 13/5/88

11A

By Inga Molzen

The withdrawal of a passport, or the refusal to grant one to its severest critics, is one of the methods used by the South African Government to limit criticism, according to the secretary-general of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Haroon Patel.

In its latest annual report the Department of Home Affairs states that 247 passport applications were refused during the 18-month period which ended on December 31 1987.

A further 26 passports were refused by the Director of Civic Affairs in Windhoek.

While the report notes that the passports of two people were withdrawn, it was reported during the same period that at least three passports had been seized by the authorities.

This week Mr Patel became the latest victim of the Government's discretionary right to withdraw (or grant) a passport.

Security Branch officials acted as messengers for the Department of Home Affairs when they presented Mr Patel with a notice on Tuesday night informing him that the Minister of Internal Affairs had declared his passport invalid.

Mr Patel said the move was

an attempt to prevent the already restricted Azapo from presenting its views on the conflict in South Africa to an overseas audience.

The denial of freedom of movement — viewed by some as a contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which South Africa is not a signatory — has restricted other anti-apartheid activists from travelling overseas.

Last year, released Robben Island prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki, Detainees Parents' Support Committee member Mrs Audrey Coleman, and Mrs She-

la Sisulu, daughter-in-law of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, were among those who were refused passports.

No reasons were given for any of the refusals.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza, who had been invited to address a conference on African studies in Washington, had his passport application refused for the tenth time in January this year.

Until 1955, the granting of a passport was at the Government's discretion, although it was not an offence to leave South Africa without one.

However, in departing from the Union Regulation Act 34 of 1955 the Government made it a crime to leave the country without a passport.

In 1980, when Bishop Desmond Tutu applied to the Transvaal Supreme Court to have his passport returned to him, Mr Justice Gordon ruled that the Minister of Internal Affairs had an unchallenged right to revoke a passport "without ascribing any reason for his action... and on those grounds alone, the application must be dismissed".

Archbishop Tutu's passport was restored to him in 1984 after he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

# Town tires of media after police 'ANC' raid

Life has returned to normal for the small Broederström community where police this week smashed an alleged white African National Congress unit.

After the flood of publicity, locals appeared tired of the unsolicited media attention and were no longer offering their comments when The Star visited the village yesterday.

On Ascension Day, a local cafe owner was busily selling his wares to travellers passing through Broederström while at least five policemen and other security men were closely guarding the house where four people — three men and a woman — had lived until Sunday.

The cafe owner would not speak to the media, saying he had already done so earlier and had no time.

## SILENCE

Other locals and neighbours also declined to comment. The owner of the local garage, however, said he had missed the excitement and knew nothing about it as he was travelling from Cape Town and had not been home at the weekend.

He said he did not even know if the four arrested people had been his customers and did not know what they looked like. The house where the four were arrested was a heavy police guard.

One of two gates was white shut with red and black plastic tape used at bomb sites to cordon off areas. A few lights blazed from the house. Outside police gathered around a huge fire.

Four heavily armed policemen walked up to the gate and refused access to the property. They also said no pictures could be taken except from the road where the house was hardly visible. The tall buildings of Melindaba could be seen in the distance.

# PAC wants more aid to fight white rule

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Africa must increase its material aid to the armed struggle against white rule in South Africa, a Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) spokesman, Mr Gora Ebrahim, has said in the Zimbabwean capital

The organisation's secretary for foreign affairs, who is attending the 50th session of the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, called on the OAU to renew its commitment to the intensification of the armed struggle.

He called on Western countries to accept the legitimacy of the armed struggle in South Africa and said his party would accept unconditional Western aid

# 'Problems in ANC' led to capture

By Craig Kotze,  
Crime Reporter

Morale problems within the African National Congress (ANC) contributed directly to the betrayal of its alleged all-white Broederstroom cell, apparently by someone in the organisation's hierarchy, highly placed security sources say.

They add that the capture of the cell was a direct result of the low morale and dissension within the ANC and that of its armed wing in particular.

This is borne out by a police statement that the cell, said to be so secret that its existence was known to only a select few in the ANC, was betrayed from within the organisation.

It is understood that the latest success by the police against the ANC has had a devastating effect on the already low morale of the organisation.

It is said that one of the major blows against ANC operations and morale were the recent restrictions on 17 organisations.

This move had virtually led to the betrayal of the Broederstroom cell, said one police source.

In a recent interview in a British newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, a senior ANC member said morale in the organisation was low because of differences within the organisation.

● The Star's Africa News Service reports that the uncovering of the Broederstroom cell has come at an awkward time for the ANC.

It is seeking increased military aid at a Harare meeting of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee which will start today.

UDF's calls on Vlok from Natal . . .

Star 13/5788

# 'Detainees must be free for peace talks'

By Carina le Grange

The Natal branch of the United Democratic Front has applied for authority to continue peace negotiations in Natal Midlands townships.

The application, made to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and dated May 2, was submitted in terms of Section 4(e) of the Restriction Orders. No reply has yet been received.

At least 23 people are named in the application as detained political leaders whose release is necessary for peace negotiations. They include Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skhumbuzo Ngwenya of the UDF as well as restricted people such as Dr Simon Gqu-bule.

The letter to Mr Vlok says that for the peace process to continue, the right to consult members must be observed and this could not be done without leaders' participation.

"Leaders and members must be free to participate in the peace process. We believe that all those who are detained from either side, who do not have criminal charges pending, should be released to participate in the process of achieving peace. We believe the process cannot continue unless restricted members participate," the letter says.

The letter refers to a meeting between the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Mr Vlok in February at which the chamber urged Mr Vlok to con-

tinue with the peace process and says it was understood Mr Vlok offered to sympathetically consider such an application.

Progress towards peace was interrupted by the detention of almost the entire UDF delegation and restrictions placed on the UDF and some key leaders on February 24, the letter says.

#### MORE POLICE

"We are aware that the police presence in the area has been increased substantially and that kitskonstabels have been introduced into the area. We believe this unnatural presence of the security forces cannot be maintained indefinitely and that no effort should be spared to restore peace in the area.

"We ask that you lift the order of those people mentioned and sufficiently relax the restrictions on the UDF to enable it to fully participate in the peace process," the letter to Mr Vlok says.

## Two killed in gun battle: wounded suspect escapes

By Anna Louw,  
East Rand Bureau

One of five alleged robbers wounded yesterday in a gun battle with security guards at a Boksburg North hypermarket escaped from the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital early today.

Two suspects were shot dead and 10 — including the wounded — were arrested after being cornered by at least 10 security guards and their superintendent at a Boksburg North hypermarket yesterday.

Police said the escaped man (32) was from Dobsonville.

The shootout took place at about 7 am yesterday when Mr Gerhardus Cornelius Schanknicht (30), of a Boksburg

security firm, arrived at the hypermarket with about 10 guards.

Mr Schanknicht drove to a building between the hypermarket and the service station, where he saw a kombi parked in front of a furniture store.

#### SHOT FIRED

He stopped in front of the vehicle, preventing it from being driven off, and saw an occupant of the vehicle point a gun at him. A shot was fired, striking the side of his bakkie.

At that stage the guards arrived at the scene and one of them pushed the barrel of his shotgun into the open door. One of the occupants tried to grab the

barrel and Mr Schanknicht then fired a shot with his shotgun through a window.

Another of the occupants drew a gun and pointed it at Mr Schanknicht. One of the guards fired with his shotgun through the kombi's open door.

Mr Schanknicht called the police on his radio and two men jumped out of the kombi and fled.

Another guard was driving past the hypermarket when a Toyota bakkie turned in front of him. He prevented the vehicle from driving off, but two men jumped out and also fled.

Police recovered stolen goods worth about R30 000. Two bodies were found in the kombi.

## SA and Angola ton brace

## ANC criticises ban on South

LUSAKA — The African National Congress yesterday strongly condemned the banning of the newspaper *South* under media regulations (11/9) (S)

A statement released by the ANC in Lusaka said that coming after the banning of the *New Nation* and the threat against other media, the action clearly showed that the Government was completely intolerant of those voices inside South Africa advocating fundamental democratic changes. (S)

The statement said South Africa's rulers hoped it could stop the mass opposition against it by prohibiting the publication of the truth about the country. — Sapa. 84/1315788

Capl. T. M. S. 19/5/88  
Slovo makes  
film on past

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The daughter of an ANC leader has made a film describing her troubled childhood in South Africa

"A World Apart" by Shawn Slovo has caused enormous interest in Europe where it is tipped to win awards at the famous Cannes Film Festival this week

The 38-year-old scriptwriter is the daughter of Joe Slovo, the former leader of Umkonto we Sizwe and executive ANC member.

The film poignantly describes Shawn's relationship with her mother Ruth First, killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1983

"A World Apart" is filmed in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

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P/D 13/5/88

# ANC group puzzled Broederstroom locals

11A  
Scores of policemen, some on horses, and a helicopter swooped on the dorp early on Sunday morning. Several roadblocks were set up around Broederstroom cutting it off to traffic for several hours.

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — The leader of the white ANC military unit, arrested last Sunday by police, moved into Broederstroom — a dorp 50 km north of Johannesburg and 5 km west of the nuclear research station Peindaba — three months ago under a false name.

Calling himself Mr Richard Stacey, the man introduced himself to the owners of the small holding, Bennie and Jean Botha, three months ago, after following up their newspaper advertisement for the property's rental.

The Bothas were puzzled that "Stacey" wanted to hire their spacious and relatively expensive house, but he explained to them that he was an artist who worked from home and would be moving in with a friend whom he called Peter Schaffer.

He also said he had a girlfriend who would spend time at the house.

According to the Bothas, "Stacey" paid the rent, R500 a month, in cash at least a week in advance, and made sure that all his accounts were up to date.

The house the ANC group lived in was only

several hundred metres from the Broederstroom shopping and petrol complex, and was flanked on both sides by homes not more than 50 metres away.

The group puzzled locals in the closely-knit community, none of whom ever came to know them.

A local butcher and neighbour to the ANC group, Mr Augustine Goncalves, said they occasionally shopped at the complex but never spoke to anybody.

The police operation to arrest the group shook the small Broederstroom community

One of the locals who used back roads to get to the cafe described the scene as "something out of Miami Vice".

As armed policemen circled the house, the neighbours were ordered to remain in doors.

One of the neighbours, said her family was alerted to the operation when their front door was kicked down by policemen after they mistook her husband for one of the suspects.

The locals were ordered not to speak to anybody about the operation and a clamp was put on news reports.



The Broederstroom house where the four alleged ANC terrorists were captured



# Alleged terrorist's EL link

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — One of the four alleged ANC terrorists arrested on a small holding near Pelindaba, who has been identified as a former Rand Daily Mail journalist, Mr. Damian de Lange, has East London connections — his parents live in Beacon Bay.

When contacted last night, Mr. De Lange's mother, Mrs. Grace de Lange, said the family "had not heard anything".

"All we know is what we read in the papers," she said.

Mrs. De Lange added that it "was just not good enough" that her son was believed to be one of the four arrested, as the police had not confirmed all their identities.

When asked if she had known of her son's whereabouts for the last seven years, Mrs. De Lange said, "We know nothing of the matter and that is the truth".

# Radio link to

# Lusaka monitored

Daily Dispatch Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG — Four suspected ANC infiltrators now in custody were in regular radio contact with ANC headquarters in Lusaka from Sunday — after their arrests — until Wednesday while SA Police sat by and monitored their conversations

The four people were arrested on a Broederstroom smallholding 60 km north of Johannesburg and about 5 km west of the nuclear research station at Pelindaba but police put a clamp on reports of the arrests until Wednesday, apparently because of the radio link

One of those arrested has been identified as a former Rand Daily Mail reporter, Mr Damian de Lange, whose parents live in Beacon Bay

He left the country seven years ago after allegedly helping fellow

journalist Marion Sparg, a former East Londoner, fire-bomb the PFP offices in Illovo, Johannesburg

Sparg is serving 25 years in jail for treason

The four suspects are being held in Pretoria in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act. They are being interrogated and would, be brought to court as soon as possible, a police spokesman, Brig Leon

Mellet, said (11A) (321) stream three months ago

He said the four had been well trained in "counter-interrogation" and were "dedicated to the cause"

Police said they had not yet released the suspects' names because they were trying to establish whether those given to them were false or not. Two of the four gave false names to owners of the premises they rented in Broeder-

British citizenship

The suspects are three white South African men and a white Swazi woman who has taken out British citizenship

A British embassy spokesman said yesterday the embassy was checking the woman's citizenship. The South African authorities had notified the embassy of the woman's claimed

Mr De Lange was last night described by former colleagues as "a poor misguided creature who had a hell of weak stomach"

Police sources said yesterday that a missile attack planned by the group of alleged guerrillas was aborted on the orders of Mr De Lange because he feared that their target a police helicopter, might fall on members of his group or "innocent people"

He was one of a group of journalists, led by Mr Arnold Geyer (now in exile), and Sparg who hatched a plan to fire-bomb the PFP offices in Johannesburg.

"Damian was an easy target for somebody like Geyer who had a dominant personality and acted as a Svengali-type character in the news-room," a former colleague said

# Former reporter

● From Page 1  
*Sowetan 13/5/88*  
woman — seemed to be getting along well with his employers.  
"He worked for them on a part-time basis and seemed not to be aware that the four were allegedly trained by the ANC," he said.

A white shopkeeper said the four usually came to buy food from his shop.  
"They were very nice guys but the problem is that they were in a wrong job," he said.

Security was very tight yesterday and police refused Press photographers permission to take close-up pictures of the house — which is situated about three kilometres from the Pelindaba Nuclear Research Centre.

The names of the four have been withheld, but it is believed one of them is a former Rand Daily Mail journalist. Police have also seized a large quantity of arms — said to be the largest arms cache the police had confiscated so far.

Among the weapons seized was a Soviet SAM-7 ground-to-air launcher.

THE Broederstroom house where four alleged members of the ANC were arrested in a pre-dawn sloop on Sunday. *Sowetan 13/5/88*

## ANC 4 'nice people'

11A  
251

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

THE four suspected African National Congress guerrillas who were arrested in a pre-dawn raid in a quiet country house north-west of Johannesburg on Sunday were described by workers in neighbouring farms as humble and easy-going people.

By SY MAKARINGE and Sapa

refused to be identified, said they were surprised when the Broederstroom house the four were living in was surrounded by police early on Sunday morning.

"They were very nice people who liked

cracking jokes. It never occurred to us that they could be members of the ANC," one of the workers said.

Another said the gardener who was working for the four — three South African white men and a white

● To Page 2

### Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Four suspected ANC infiltrators were in regular radio contact with ANC headquarters in Lusaka after they were arrested by police, who sat by and monitored their conversations.

This was stated by police sources yesterday. Police declined to say last night what information they had gleaned from the conversations.

The four were arrested on a Broederstroom smallholding near Pretoria on Sunday. Police put a clamp on reports until Wednesday, apparently because of the radio link.

The suspects were said yesterday to have been betrayed by a fifth person who defected from the group. His whereabouts is unknown.

The arms cache found at Broederstroom was among the largest yet seized in SA. It included a Soviet SAM-7 heat-seeking missile, limpet mines, other explosives and firearms.

Numerous documents were found.

Asked about rumours that maps and plans to sabotage the nearby Pelindaba nuclear facility were discovered, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said "We deny that outright. That sort of speculation would cause panic."

### UCT student

One of those arrested has been identified as former Rand Daily Mail reporter Mr Damian de Lange.

He and fellow journalist Marion Sparg left the country seven years ago soon after the bombing of the PFP Illovo offices in Johannesburg. Ms Sparg is serving 25 years in jail for treason.

The four suspects are being held in Pretoria in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Police said the group included a former UCT student who had been a Nusas member. Three are white South African men and the other is a white Swazi woman who has British citizenship.

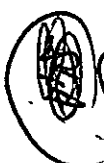
A British Embassy spokesman said yesterday that the embassy was checking the woman's citizenship.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said he could not confirm the existence of an ANC cell at Broederstroom. Nor could he confirm there was radio contact between ANC headquarters and the group in Broederstroom this week. He said he had never heard of Mr De Lange.

They were arrested at first light on Sunday morning.

- ⊗ False name to rent house — Page 3
- ⊗ Reporter among ANC suspects — Page 3

# Cops 'listened in on ANC'



Capl Trm FS  
13/5/88

Journalist Damian de Lange held

# Suspects talk to Lusaka as police listen

11A  
Bldg  
13/5/88

FOUR suspected ANC infiltrators now in custody were in regular radio contact with ANC headquarters in Lusaka from Sunday — after their arrests — until Wednesday, while SA police sat by and monitored their conversations.

Business Day was aware earlier this week the four had been arrested on a Broederstroom smallholding about 5km west of the nuclear research station at Pelindaba. But police put a clamp on reports until Wednesday, apparently because of the two-way radio link.

Police declined to say last night what information they had gleaned from the conversations.

It was learned yesterday the suspects were betrayed by a fifth person who defected from the group. He was described by a police source as "a highly trained ANC terrorist". His present whereabouts are unknown.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT  
Chief Reporter

Police acted on the information within minutes.

The arms cache found at Broederstroom was among the largest yet seized by police in SA. It included a Soviet SAM-7 heat-seeking missile, limpet mines, other explosives and firearms.

Numerous documents, maps and hit-lists were found.

Asked about rumours that maps and plans to sabotage Pelindaba were discovered, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's spokesman Leon Mellet said "We deny that outright. That sort of speculation would cause panic."

One of those arrested has been identified as former Rand Daily Mail reporter Damian de Lange.

He and fellow journalist Marion Sparg

● To Page 2 →

## Suspects talk to Lusaka as police listen

left the country seven years ago soon after the bombing of the PFP Illovo offices in Johannesburg. Sparg is serving 25 years in jail for treason.

The four suspects are being held in Pretoria in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act. They are being interrogated and will be brought to court as soon as possible, Mellet said.

He said the four had been well trained in "counter-interrogation" and were "dedicated to the cause".

Police have confirmed only that the group was led by a former Rand Daily Mail reporter and included a former UCT student who had also been a Nusas member. Three are white South African men and the other a white Swazi woman who has British citizenship.

All four are said to have university qualifications, and foreign degrees through ANC bursaries.

← ● From Page 1

Police described the suspects as a highly specialised group which trained in Russia, Cuba and Angola.

They were arrested at first light on Sunday morning. Police said they were taken by surprise and offered no resistance. Three of them were asleep and the fourth was arrested "nearby", a source said.

However, neighbours said they heard shots at the house twice that morning.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka, approached for comment, said he could not confirm the existence of an ANC cell at Broederstroom. He said the ANC was waiting for official confirmation of the names of those arrested.

● See Page 4  
● Comment — Page 6

# Brink finds SA reports 'distorted'

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Author Andre Brink yesterday said he was surprised, on his return from abroad, to discover many distortions and malicious elements in reporting by the South African media on his recent interviews in Europe, notably with the French magazine Liberation.

SABC TV news reported on its 8pm bulletin last Saturday that Brink had "associated himself with the African National Congress and the organization's methods to achieve its political aims".

The broadcast also reported Brink as saying that although it conflicted with his principles, he accepted violence in South Africa.

"Everything I said abroad I had previously expressed inside South Africa and in writing. So it would seem that at least some of the media are concerned with creating the kind of climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against me by our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime."

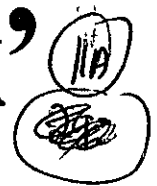
"For the sake of perspective, I should like to emphasize, as I did in my interviews abroad, that I regard violence, in any situation, as an extreme measure with as much destructive effect on those who have recourse to it as on those who fall victim to it; and that as a writer, ie, as one who is committed to the word, to reason and to actions of the mind, I abhor violence of any kind.

"At the same time, I am realistic enough to accept that there are situations where violence has become so deeply entrenched in the system that it is, tragically, no longer possible to break the deadly pattern without at least (some) counter-violence." — Sapa

World TV snaps up Wembley concert

# SA 'kept in dark' over Mandela show

875 1415/08



South African music industry spokesmen claim they have been kept in the dark about the biggest international television event the world has yet seen -- a 10-hour rock concert at London's Wembley Stadium to mark the 70th birthday of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela

While overseas networks haggle over the world-wide screening of the mammoth June 11 concert -- featuring popular bands such as Dire Straits, the Eurythmics and the Pretenders, as well as Whitney Houston and Miriam Makeba -- South African viewers are going to have to take a back seat

Organised in a similar way to the Live Aid concert, the show aims at making Mandela a household name in every country

## PAT DEVEREAUX

in the world

"June 11 will become known as Nelson Mandela Day," says Mr Neville Bolt of the London-based Martial Arts marketing company

Proceeds from the concert, at which 80 000 people are expected, will go to anti-apartheid groupings, say the London organisers

## Local papers

But spokesmen for the local music industry claim to have heard little about the show

Mr Brian Innes of the Association of South African Music Industry, said "All I know about the concert is what I've read in the local newspapers, and there hasn't been much coverage"

Director of marketing for Tusk music company, Mr Benjy Mudie, claimed to know even less about the event. But he believed the concert would not further influence international musicians to sever ties with this country

"International artists linked with our company are already aware of the peculiarities of the South African situation," he said

A spokesman for EMI could not elaborate on rumours that local artist Johnny Clegg, currently on an overseas tour, or other local musicians would be performing at the concert

Artists and Repertoire spokesman Mr Roddy Quinn said: "Naturally this concert is going to have a big effect on the world and will politicise international musicians even more"

CAPC  
Twin  
11/15

# ANC, PAC urged to join forces

HARARE — The outgoing chairman of the Organization of African Unity's Liberation Committee yesterday urged South Africa's two main rival "liberation movements" to unite

Sources said General Ike Nwachukwu, Nigeria's Foreign Minister, made the appeal to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress during the first closed session of a three-day Liberation Committee meeting

The Nigerian was passing the chair-

manship of the 22-member committee to Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, when he surprised delegates with the controversial suggestion

Sources who attended the closed session and spoke on condition of anonymity said the suggestion received a cool response from delegates representing the two movements

The ANC and the PAC have been bitter rivals for nearly three decades

— Sapa



# Alleged ANC cell: another Border link

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D/D1415788  
329  
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Daily Dispatch Reporter

**EAST LONDON** — A third member of the alleged all-white ANC cell cracked by police this week has East London connections.

He is Mr Hugh Murdoch Lugg, 30, son of the head of the art department at the East London Technical College, Mr Jack Lugg

Another of the four members of the cell arrested at Broederstroom near Pretoria was identified earlier as Mr Damian de Lange, a former Rand Daily Mail journalist, whose parents live in Beacon Bay Mr De Lange is reported to have been the "commander" of the group

He and another former East Londoner, Marion Sparg, believed to have been the "communicator" of the group, left the country seven years ago after the bombing of the PFP Illovo offices in Johannesburg Sparg is serving 25 years in jail for treason

Johannesburg news papers yesterday identified the remaining two members of the group arrested at Broederstroom as Swazi born Susan Catherine Westcott, 24, who gained British citizenship through a previous marriage to a British subject named Dannellee, and Ian Hugh Robertson, 36, the

"political commissar" of the group, who was a student at the University of the Witwatersrand and a Nusas member

Mr Jack Lugg could not be contacted for comment last night. His telephone was not answered and there was no reply when a Daily Dispatch reporter called at his Beacon Bay home

However, it was established that his son had studied at the universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch and obtained an honours degree in art as well as a teacher's diploma

He attended school at Beaconhurst Primary School, Hoërskool Grens and Queen's College in Queenstown

A former schoolmate at Hoërskool Grens, where Mr Lugg had been sent in Std 6 to improve his Afrikaans, said he remembered him as an asthma sufferer and captain of one of the junior rugby teams

The headmaster of Beaconhurst Primary, Mr Hannes Coetzer said yesterday he remembered Mr Lugg "very well"

"He was a fantastically artistic young boy and a brilliant student," Mr Coetzer said

"I can still remember some of his art work, which was of a high standard"

Mr Coetzer said he knew that Mr Lugg had not wanted to do military service

According to Johannesburg reports Mr Lugg avoided national service in 1970 by going to London A year later he was said to have become involved with the youth committee of the ANC

He is also believed to have been associated with Mr Ronnie Kasrills, a leader of the ANC in Britain

It was said that Mr Lugg received training in Angola Cuba, and the Soviet Union before being sent back to South Africa

Mr De Lange was born in Zambia and emigrated to South Africa in 1965 He did SA Navy service between 1975 and 1977 According to reports he was a "sharp shooter"

Miss Westcott went to London in 1979 to study for a teacher's diploma She is understood to have been involved in a relationship with Mr De Lange

Mr Robertson left South Africa in 1978 as a draft lodger He is alleged to have received special training in Moscow in the operation of SAM 7 ground-to-air missile systems

The arms cache found at Broederstroom was among the largest yet seized by police in South Africa It included a Soviet SAM-7 heat seeking missile, limpet mines, other explosives and firearms

Numerous documents maps and hit-lists were found

Brigadier Leon Mellet spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the four — whom he described as being "dedicated to the cause" — were being interrogated and would be brought to court as soon as possible

A Daily Dispatch correspondent reports from Cape Town that a fifth member of the Broederstroom group deserted before the other four were caught with their cache of deadly weapons

They were betrayed by a member of the ANC because of internal division in the organisation over its continued use of violence

It is not known exactly when the "fifth man" deserted but it must have been some time before his comrades were caught and he is not suspected of betraying them.

He is reported to have made his own way out of the country, apparently to rejoin the ANC

They were both commenting on a report in the *Athletics*

# Doubt persists over identity of arrested woman

British authorities are still trying to establish the true identity of the woman and alleged member of the betrayed Broederstroom ANC cell now being held by the SAP under the Internal Security Act, her father and the British Foreign Office said yesterday.

No attempt had yet been made to see Ms Susan Westcott (25) but consular access would be sought if her identity were confirmed, said Mr John Westcott of Mbabane, who still maintains the woman being held is not his daughter.

## Passport

Mr Westcott, who maintains that someone obtained his daughter's passport and was using it illegally, said he was still mystified by the wrong description of the detained woman given him earlier in the week.

The description given me is not the person I know. The matter has not been solved and the British High Commissioner in Mbabane is still trying to determine whether the

## CRAIG KOTZE and BRUCE CAMERON

person being held is the one who has been named," said Mr Westcott.

He said earlier that he was told the detained woman was 1,56 m tall, but his daughter was 1,75 m. His daughter also had red hair and did not wear glasses while the description given said the alleged ANC member had mousy hair and wore spectacles.

Ms Westcott was born in Swaziland and gained British citizenship through marriage to a Mr Dominic Donneley.

Ms Westcott was arrested along with three other alleged members of the cell when Pretoria security police swooped on their smallholding on Sunday. She was also said to be the communications expert of the group and to have had specialised training in the Soviet Union, Cuba and Angola.

Also arrested were Mr Damian de Lange, Mr Hugh Murdock Lugg (30), and Mr Ian Hugh Robertson (36).

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# Brink: many distortions of interviews

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D/D 14/5/88

GRAHAMSTOWN — Author André Brink said yesterday that he was surprised, on his return from abroad, to discover many distortions and malicious elements in reporting by the South African media on his recent interviews in Europe, notably with the French magazine, *Liberation*.

SABC-TV news reported last Saturday that Brink had "associated himself with the African National Congress and the organisation's methods to achieve its political aims"

The newscast also quoted Brink as saying that although it con-

flicted with his principles, he accepted violence in South Africa

"Everything I said abroad I had previously expressed inside South Africa and in writing," Brink said

"So it would seem that at least some of the media are concerned with creating the kind of

climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against me by our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime

"For the sake of perspective, I should like to emphasise, as I did in my interviews abroad, that I regard violence, in any situation, as an extreme measure with as much destructive effect on those who have recourse to it as on those who fall victim to it

"As a writer, as one who is committed to the word, to reason and to actions of the mind, I abhor violence of any kind," he added

"At the same time I am realistic enough to accept that there are situations where violence has become so deeply entrenched as part of the system that it is, tragically, no longer possible to break the deadly pattern without at least a measure of counter-violence"

Brink said that he had a reason to believe that the ANC had adopted violence with the sole aim of encouraging the government to the negotiating table

"I am convinced that at the first genuine sign of readiness from the government to negotiate peacefully for a shared future of this country, the ANC will respond with alacrity and generosity," he said

"I believe that even at this late hour there are a few small flickerings of hope on our gloomy stage and I am committed to encouraging and exploring these, in order to minimise violence and accelerate the transition to the kind of equitable majority rule I regard as an historical inevitability and a moral necessity

"For as long as the government persists in obscuring the truth about the ANC philosophy and action and tries to justify its own immoral actions, I shall continue to expose its lies with all the means at my disposal as a writer, as a citizen of the country I love, and as a human being," he added — Sapa

# Alleged SA agent sought by Interpol

LONDON — A "South African agent" is being sought by Interpol in connection with the attempted assassination of a leading ANC representative in Brussels.

A Belgian security service source confirmed yesterday that the Belgian Police, through Interpol, had issued an international arrest warrant for a "South African agent", believed to mean a member of a security service.

It is believed there may be a connection between the case and the March 31 killing of the ANC's Paris representative, Miss Dulcie September.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, said recently that sources had told him that an identikit of the attacker of the ANC representative for Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, Mr Godfrey Motsepe, indicated the person could be the same as the attacker of Miss September.

Mr Motsepe recently told a Dutch newspaper that Belgian Police had told him they were working closely with the French authorities but were having trouble with "highly placed persons in the government who are hampering investigations".

Mr Sebina said Belgian Police had drawn up an identikit of a man after the first attack on Mr Motsepe, in February.

Last month a 20,3 kg bomb was found outside the Brussels office. It was defused by bomb disposal experts—DDC

114

# Path of love led to arrest at YAMBO farm

Weekend Argus Correspondent **JOHANNESBURG** — Miss Susan Westcott allegedly became a revolutionary because of her love for a suspected African National Congress terrorist.

Mr Damian de Lange, who is believed to have been the commander of the cell on the farm at Broederstroom near Pretoria where four people were arrested this week, allegedly persuaded the former pupil of a private girls' school to join the ANC and be trained as a terrorist.

Although she was born in Swaziland, where she attended the prestige school Waterford, Miss Westcott holds a British passport through her marriage to a Briton.

## Taught French

Her father is principal of St Mark's School in Mbabane. After completing her schooling, Miss Westcott studied in London for an education degree and on her return from England she taught French at several schools in Swaziland.

In 1986 she met Mr de Lange and soon they were seen together in Mbabane.

Mr de Lange was in Swaziland reportedly involved in ANC ac-

tivities and he persuaded Miss Westcott to join the organisation. She allegedly trained in Angola and returned to South Africa 10 months ago to join Mr de Lange.

It has been established that Mr de Lange and two men arrested with him, Mr Ian Hugh Robertson and Mr Hugh Lugg, are all from East London.

## Objector

Mr Robertson was born in Johannesburg and went to school in East London. He then studied at the University of the Witwatersrand where he was a member of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

During this period he became a conscientious objector and fled the country. In London he was allegedly active in the ANC and the Committee for South African War Resisters (Cosawr).

Mr Robertson later allegedly left London for training in Russia and Angola before returning to South Africa.

Mr Lugg, also a conscientious objector, fled the country for London where he too was allegedly involved in the ANC and Cosawr. He was allegedly trained in Russia, Cuba and Angola.

He studied at the Goldsmith

School of Art in England, where he was head of the student union. He completed a master's degree at London University.

The South African police found several false passports in the Broederstroom house. It is believed they were used by the three men to travel in and out of the country but that Miss Westcott travelled on her own passport.

## Jumbo 'Baby Huey' dies

Weekend Argus Correspondent **JOHANNESBURG** — Savuti — "Baby Huey" — the most-loved elephant in Botswana, is dead.

The massive tusker, who charmed tourists and won the hearts of Lloyd and June Wilmot at their Savuti game camp in the Chobe National Park over the last six years, was killed by conservation officials when his love affair with man turned sour.

His once-quant requests for oranges and other elephant delicacies finally ended up in his overturning vehicles and trampling tents, said Mr Wil-



They're changing the guard at Buckingham Palace. But Christopher Robin would be in for a bit of a shock if he went on a walk about down the Mall while this lot were around. The Royal Australian Regiment replaced the traditional palace guard last month. They will also mount

guard at Windsor Castle, St James's Palace and the Tower of London. It is the first time in 35 years that the traditional guards have been replaced. So instead of bearskin hats and red tunics there will be (at least for a while) the khaki-clad men in their floppy hats ...

Open 15/5/88

# Coetsee's doubts on Mandela's lawyers

11A

LAWYERS acting for prisoners such as Nelson Mandela should realise that creation of a climate of violence would not further their case for the early release of their clients, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said this week.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he said these lawyers and advisers were clever people.

If they wittingly created an atmosphere in terms of

which no peace could prevail, they should realise they were acting against the interests of their prisoner clients.

He had the impression they did not want the release of their friends, and had more to gain by their continued incarceration than by their release.

Coetsee said the test on which the release of a prisoner was weighed was an objective one.

Among factors that could be taken into account were health, age and renunciation of violence.

Also at stake was the effect a prisoner's release might have on society.

No single factor was decisive in itself and therefore it was policy to review each case.

The release of Govan Mbeki had been bedevilled by certain individuals and organisations using him to create an atmosphere which had all the possibilities of further upheaval.

This was naturally a factor that had to be considered.

It had been said on previous occasions that security prisoners were being kept in jail by themselves and by organisations and individuals who pretended to be interested in their release, but who were creating a climate not conducive to peace. — Sapa

Political comment by K Sibilya and news-bills by ZB Molefe. Headlines and sub-editing by C Fram, all of 204 Eloff Street, Fx1, Johannesburg.

CW/Tip 16/5/88 (11A) (SAPA)

# Businessman's son 'part of alleged cell'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A fifth member of an alleged ANC cell in Broederstroom is the son of a prominent Transvaal businessman, sources claim.

SABC TV, quoting "informed sources", last night named the man as Mr Paul Annegarn, adding that he was allegedly known in ANC circles as Gerald Green

Police arrested four people, claiming they were part of an ANC cell, in a Sunday morning raid on a farmhouse in Broederstroom.

Those arrested were Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott, 24, Ian Robertson, 36, and Hugh Lugg, 30

Mr Annegarn, a South African citizen, became disillusioned with the ANC a few months ago and broke away, the source said

## Detention camp

"He wandered around not knowing what to do and then decided to give himself back to the ANC," the source said. He is apparently being held in an ANC detention camp.

"It is a very hard camp. He will be lucky if he survives. There are many South Africans there, some of whom wanted to leave the ANC. But once they are there they are usually never heard from again."

This is the first time police have

officially released the names of people detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act or given permission for their photographs to be published, Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday.

In terms of Section 29 a person may be detained indefinitely for interrogation.

Early last week police refused permission to publish pictures and prohibited news of the arrest being released before last Wednesday because "they were monitoring radio transmissions between group members and the ANC in Lusaka."

Brigadier Mellet said the names of the group were released on Saturday because of intense public interest.

"The investigation is on-going and we can only release details as our investigation warrants it."

He said it would be "some time" before they appeared in court because of the amount of documentation which had to be completed.

● Mr John Westcott of Swaziland said yesterday that he did not know if the woman arrested in Broederstroom was his daughter, Sapa reports.

Mr Westcott, principal of St Mark's School, Mbabane, said the description did not fit his daughter.

Miss Westcott, who was arrested in Broederstroom, was born in Swaziland and gained British citizenship through marriage to Mr Dominic Donnelly, police said.

ELSABE WESSELS

AFRIKAANS novelist André Brink has reacted to SABC-TV reports that he had associated himself with the ANC and its violent methods by condemning what he said were distortion and malice in reports on his statements on the ANC.

Brink, who was a member of the Afrikaner group that met the ANC in Dakar last year, had been on a working holiday overseas

In a statement released at the weekend after his return, Brink said he was surprised to discover "many distortions and malicious elements" in the SA media concerning interviews given by him in Europe.

"I have reason to believe that the ANC has adopted violence with the

sole aim of encouraging the government to the negotiating table," Brink said.

"I am convinced that at the first genuine sign of readiness from the government to negotiate peacefully for a shared future of this country the ANC will respond with alacrity

and generosity."

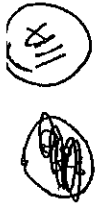
Brink said that for as long as government persisted in obscuring the truth about the ANC, and in trying to justify its own immoral actions, he would continue to expose its lies.

Referring to an article in the

# Brink slams SABC 'distortion'

French magazine Liberation in which he said he accepted violence in SA, although it conflicted with his principles, Brink said that everything he had said abroad he had previously expressed in SA and in writing.

"It would seem that some of the media are concerned with creating the kind of climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against me by our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime."





# Father seeks <sup>Star</sup> help for son 'held by ANC'

By Craig Kotze, Anna Louw <sup>11/17</sup>  
and Duncan Guy

The father of the fifth alleged member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell — now believed to be imprisoned in an ANC punishment camp in Angola after he apparently abandoned his mission and went back to Lusaka — is to appeal directly to the Red Cross and ANC to get his son released

The man being held by the ANC is Mr Paul Colin Annegarn (23), of Benoni, a suspected deserter from the South African Defence Force who fled to London where he is said to have recruited other South African draft-dodgers for the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Sources said he was being held, along with other dissidents, under "extremely bad" conditions at the ANC's Quatra punishment camp in eastern Angola

Mr Annegarn, who spent time in SADF detention barracks and a military psychiatric ward, is the son of wealthy Benoni businessman Mr Joe Annegarn, a past president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries and the Federated Chamber of Industries.

Mr Annegarn (snr) confirmed he had been told his son was being held against his will in an ANC punishment camp

He said he was shocked when he heard his son had links with the ANC

Mr Annegarn told The Star he had not seen or heard of his son for two years but was concerned about his welfare and planned to get in touch with the Security Police to discuss the matter

"I will also approach the Red Cross and the ANC directly to get Paul released"

Mr Annegarn (jun) allegedly joined the ANC after fleeing from South Africa around 1982

His mother, Mrs Joy Annegarn, and two brothers, Stephen and Michael, live in Britain


He is understood to have entered South Africa with the four other alleged members of the Broederstroom cell in June last year, allegedly using a passport under the name of Mr Gerald Green

Sources said he was believed to have been seen in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, last October, a month before he apparently became very disillusioned with the ANC because he thought the organisation was "on the wrong track"

A reliable source described Mr Annegarn as a sensitive person, badly affected by his parents' divorce when he was seven and did not complete his matric

It emerged at the weekend that the Broederstroom cell was almost certainly betrayed by one of its members.

Sources said one of them reported to a Pelindaba security official only hours before police swooped



This picture of Mr Paul Annegarn was taken when he was about 16 years old.

11/R  
B/day  
10/5/88

# The left scuttles once again for liberal cover

KEN OWEN

LESS THAN three years ago the ANC was talking of moving to the stage of struggle quantity known in revolutionary jargon as "people's war," and anybody who questioned the great truths of the Freedom Charter was sneeringly dismissed as a limp-wristed liberal.

To mention a bill of rights to certain lawyers was to risk the judicial equivalent of necklacing. To talk of participating in all white elections was to be damned as an enemy of relevance. Learned men disputed earnestly about the nuances of communist theory, and explained what the local street committee would do to us on behalf of the ANC's politburo when the country had been made nicely ungovernable.

Today, all that has changed. The ANC has modified even the holy writ of the Freedom Charter, and the only person still trying to make the country ungovernable is Archbishop Desmond Tutu, whose reasoning is lost in the Christian mysteries but who seems to want sanctions to do the job.

Today, the choice put forward from the left is not which kind of communism we shall have, but which kind of capitalism — the straight stuff endorsed by Leon Louw and the free marketers, or the wet version, modified by "radical" ideas about people's democracy. The difference between "radical" centralism and plain old Nat pork-barrel politics is as deeply hidden in the mysteries of Marxist dogma as Archbishop Tutu's doctrine of love is hidden in theology, but the change in leftist thinking is unmistakable.

The left has suddenly developed an obsession with the outcome of the municipal elections in October, which is quite inexplicable in terms of last year's election boycott debates. The Five Freedoms Forum, still pursuing freedom from fear as Christians pursue everlasting life, is wooing even the business community for its crusade.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, having perhaps undergone a transforming experience on the road to Mbabane, has come to admire the tactics of the Conservative Party, which he upholds as an example for the wet left.

The most fascinating of all these changes is doubtless the ANC's new creed. I am indebted to the London publication, *Southscan*, for the revelation that the ANC now approaches even the question of nationalising the economy with a degree of caution. Ever since the ANC's heavyweights moved from London to Lusaka — in order to be close to the "front line," remember? — they have been developing doubts about some of the ideas stuffed into their heads by European Marxists.

They have seen the consequences of Zambia's seizure of 51% of the Anglo copper mines, and they are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their social policy. "Can we honestly say," *Southscan* quotes one man, "that on day one we will be able

to replace all the skills, the entire skilled strata, with skilled managers, planners and workers of our own."

In saying things like that, the ANC runs the risk of enraging Archbishop Tutu, who is still on the old tack of trying to reduce the economy by sanctions and drive the skilled strata to Australia. But then, one expects an Archbishop to have more faith in providence than a goddess communist.

The ANC is doing other remarkable things. It promises to guarantee the right to strike, which will please the trade unions but may enrage the communists. It wants to buttress the right of free speech with a "right to know," which will give us access to the secrets of the Kremlin. There is even talk — which Chief Buthelezi will scarcely find credible — of a federal constitution which is being examined by that brilliant intellectual veteran of the hard left, Professor Jack Simons.

These are several explanations for these wondrous events. First and foremost is that perestroika in Moscow has shuffled the old Stalinist hardliners into the Siberian cold, and instructions are coming

these days from a gentler breed in the Kremlin. The ANC's hardline proponents of a universal revolution against capitalism are finding themselves increasingly alone, if you discount the support of the liberation theologians and militant priests, or undergraduates whose empty heads have been stuffed with feeble theories of "accumulation" (which means getting rich).

The second reason is harsher. The "revolution" of 1976-87 has suffered, after a greater time lag and much greater suffering, the same fate as the "revolution" of 1960-64 (which was captured, for a couple of hours, a street in Paarl but failed to take the police station). The revolutionary leadership which rode the wave in the Eighties is being chopped off just as the revolutionary leadership which rode the wave in the Sixties was chopped off.

The "revolution" never had a chance against the "total mobilisation" of Magnus Malan. All it did was tempt moderate blacks into fatal postures, and legitimise in the minds

of whites such rightwing measures as censorship, detention without trial, military and police indemnities, and so forth. The political climate has become lethal for both the hard left and the wet left. Both are now scuttling as fast as they can under the ever-accommodating skirts of the liberals whom, only a year ago, they betrayed and whom, some time in the future, they will betray again.

The liberal opposition to apartheid — liberal in the broad sense of people who believe in a free society under law — has been much reduced. Those who try to hold the middle ground tend to be shot to bits from both sides.

What is left? Wynand Malan and his charismatics are in an African wilderness, and will not survive for long. Denis Worrall is gathering up the old UP remnants, but has no organisational depth. The PFP, driven back into its backland, has been reduced again to being a moral force in our politics. It is picking itself up and dusting off the principles which today as yesterday, are essential to the survival of civilised life in this country. It has a small role to play.

As for the trades unions, which were the best hope of the black people for rapid change, they are too covered now even to fight very seriously against the new restrictive legislation that will further curb their activities and they watch helplessly as Archbishop Tutu's inter-racial campaign for the destruction of the economy wipes out their power base. We are back to the long, slow, plodding business of trying to widen the space of liberty, millimetre by painful millimetre. The ANC and all its hangers-on, having made a thorough mess of things with their silly theories of "colonialism of a special type," with their pointless violence and their Soviet-made visions, are trying desperately to get back into the game by adopting a new liberal camouflage.

The liberals, fools that they are, will probably let them get away with it. Until the next betrayal.

# Pressmen condemn media colleagues

The South African Society of Journalists has condemned certain media coverage of the capture of an alleged ANC cell in Broederstroom last week

At its annual congress held in Cape Town, the society yesterday expressed its concern and disappointment at certain newspapers' "insensitive and unsubstantiated portrayal" of members of the alleged white ANC military unit arrested recently and expressed its "outrage" at similar reports about an alleged ANC operative, Mr Hein Grosskopf

It noted that, in both instances, the word "alleged" was omitted and allegations were therefore presented as fact

## ATTACKED

The congress noted that the personality of a former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist, Mr Damian de Lange, had been attacked by nameless former colleagues through the pages of various newspapers and that the journalist, or the organisation of which he is alleged to be a member, was in no position to respond in the interests of a fair account.

In a separate resolution the SASJ alleged consistent attempts by the Government to "misinform, disinform, deceive or refuse" information to local and foreign newspapers. Through this approach journalists "unwittingly become an instrument of State repression"

Nowhere was this more evident than in the silencing of newspapers that the government did not like, the society said


## SCEPTICISM

It urged all journalists, local and foreign, to bear this in mind when in receipt of statements from Government sources and to treat with appropriate scepticism and a rigorous spirit of inquiry the truth or otherwise contained in the statement — as they would with all other sources of information

# Unita kills seven ANC men in Angola clash

The Star's Africa News Service

(11A)

 HARARE — Seven African National Congress members have been killed and a number wounded in a clash with Unita, it has been revealed in Luanda.

The ANC's involvement in the war in Angola adds a new twist to the continuing peace talks between South Africa, Angola, the United States and Cuba.

One of South Africa's main objections to the Luanda government is its willingness to accommodate ANC and Swapo fighters. *Star 16/5/88*

Wounded ANC members in a clinic near Luanda said at the weekend that their vehicles were ambushed by Unita a few days ago. Seven ANC members were killed and seven injured.

In March nine ANC people were killed in an ambush in Uige province, according to a survivor.

# 5th alleged ANC suspect named

JOHANNESBURG — The fifth member of the all-white alleged ANC cell based at Broederstroom has been identified

He is reported to be Mr Paul Annegarn, the son of a Transvaal businessman and former head of the Transvaal Chamber of Commerce, Mr Joseph Annegarn

When attempts were made to speak to the Annegarn family last night, the receiver was replaced

Police sources allege Mr Annegarn is now in the ANC's Quatra camp in Angola, reported to be a punishment camp for ANC dissidents

Mr Annegarn is said to have left South Africa some time back and returned last July with the Broederstroom group on a forged passport in the name of Gerald Green

He is said to have broken away from the group in November last year and headed back for Lusaka via Botswana

Government sources claim Mr Annegarn had become disillusioned with the ANC and wanted to return to ANC headquarters to discuss the matter

Little is known about his background and he is presumed to be in his late 20s or early 30s

Police sources discounted the possibility that he had been in contact with the South African Police

Contrary to earlier information, it is now being said Mr Annegarn did not provide the tip-off that led to the arrest last week of Mr Damian de Lange, Miss Susan Westcott, 24, Mr Ian Robertson, 36, and Mr Hugh Lugg, 30

It was said yesterday that the group was betrayed by one of the four at Broederstroom

Sunday newspaper reports that a love triangle had caused dissension

in the group were also discounted

A spokesman for the British embassy confirmed yesterday that informal permission had been granted by the South African Government for a representative of the embassy to gain consular access to Miss Westcott, a Swazi-born British subject.

● The news that his son Hugh had been arrested as a member of an alleged ANC cell had come as a "terrible shock", the head of the art department at the East London Technical

College, Mr Jack Lugg, said in an interview with the Daily Dispatch yesterday

Mr Lugg said the first time he and his wife Rosemary had heard the news was when they received a telephone call from a Cape Town newspaper on Friday

"We have not heard anything other than what has been in the papers. The police have not even been here," Mr Lugg said

He expected the police would let him know in due course.

Mr Lugg said the last time he and his wife had seen their son was four years ago when they went to his graduation at London University where he had completed his BA honours in fine art and a teacher's diploma

"Up till then we had always been in touch," Mr Lugg said

He said the trip had been a happy one and their son had accompanied them on a tour of England

After his son had left the country to avoid military service, the

police had informed the family that he was "politically orientated"

"But we never discussed politics," Mr Lugg said

Although they had not heard from their son in a long time the family had kept hoping he would phone

He said the news of his son's arrest was "very tragic"

Mr Lugg said he did not know how the matter would affect his family but people had been very supportive — DDC-DDR



Adding colour to the Anything that Floats competition held at Bonza Bay at the weekend were (from left) Malcolm Kidd, Leon Hattingh, Louis Bester, Dennis Flebiger and Gary Godfrey. More pictures on page 3

as positive, it will be demonstrated to Pretoria that the peace initiative is being taken seriously — and the next round of talks

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# Tutu appeals for donations to refugee scholarship fund

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BOSTON — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, urged people to give donations to his scholarship fund for refugee students from South Africa as a means of striking a blow against apartheid.

“You have come to invest in the young people,” Archbishop Tutu told a reception prior to a \$1 000-a-plate fund-raising dinner at a posh hotel here.

“You can tell your grandchildren — I helped the world get rid of the scourge of apartheid. I helped South Africa become free.”

Under the Bishop Desmond Tutu Southern Africa Refugee Scholarship Fund, colleges and universities provide four-year scholarships, while the fund covers living expenses, transportation, clothing, books, and medical and dental costs.

Organisers said scholarships were pledged by Boston University, North-

eastern University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Emmanuel College, Stonehill College, Regis College and Wesleyan College.

In addition, \$70 000 in cash was raised to provide support for the seven scholarships.

Archbishop Tutu, accompanied by his wife Leah, said it was important for as many young blacks from South Africa as possible to obtain an education in a free country such as the United States.

“Racism should be removed from the face of the earth,” he said.

The Archbishop, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, said it sometimes did not seem enough to thank those who contribute to his scholarship fund.

“I’m overwhelmed and speechless, and there are many at home who would say, how we wish it could be a permanent affliction,” he joked. — Sapa-AP

# Zambia denies aiding ANC infiltration

LUSAKA — Zambia has denied South African accusations that it helped an ANC unit, captured in the Republic last weekend, to infiltrate South Africa

A Zambian Government spokesman said that Pretoria was just seeking an excuse for attacking Zambia and other neighbouring

black-ruled states

"We categorically deny that the alleged infiltration was made possible by Zambia

"South Africa wants to attack Zambia and other frontline states under the false pretext that these countries are assisting so-called terrorists"

The spokesman added

that South Africa wanted to "divert world attention from the problems within South Africa which have been caused by the policies of apartheid"

South African security forces arrested four suspected ANC members at a farmhouse 60km north-west of Johannesburg and seized a huge arms

cache

South Africa said the alleged terrorists, three men and one woman, had crossed into the country via Zambia and Botswana and hinted at taking action against the two states

South Africa has previously raided neighbouring states, including Botswana and

Zambia, saying that it was hitting at ANC targets

The frontline states — deny harbouring members of the South African-banned organisation

The ANC, which has its headquarters in the Zambian capital of Lusaka, has so far declined to comment. Sapa-RNS

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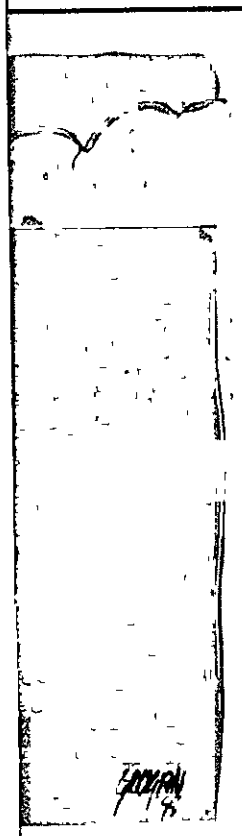
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By KEN OWEN

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# Perestroika permeating to the ANC lower ranks

CML - Times 16/5/88

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a "right to know" which will give us access to the secrets of the Kremlin There is even talk — which Chief Buthelezi will scarcely find credible — of a federal constitution It is being examined by that brilliant intellectual veteran of the hard Left, Professor Jack Simons

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The liberal opposition to apartheid — liberal in the broad sense of people who believe in a free society under law — has been much reduced Those who try to hold the middle ground tend to be shot to bits from both sides

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The liberals, fools that they are, will probably let them get away with it. Until the next betrayal



# World's biggest international television event yet staged.

**MONTREUX —** Contraversial South African musician Johnny Clegg will join the line-up of artists booked for the Mandela concert at London's Wembley Stadium on June 11, expected to be the world's biggest international television event yet staged.

It's reported that Clegg will join South African exiles Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela at the ten-hour concert which will be televised live to almost every country in the world with TV, except South Africa and Bophuthatswana who have shown no interest in buying rights.

Another South African likely to appear on the bill is Jonathan Butler, fast-rising star in the world of rock, who is currently appearing on the supporting bill on superstar Whitney Houston's European tour.

Miss Houston, probably the world's number one female singer at present, is on the bill for the Mandela concert, to mark the jalled ANC leader's 70th birthday, along with Dire Straits and just about anyone who is anybody in the world of rock music.

The organisers, a London-based company called Martial Arts, expects the show to be a sell-out with about 80,000 people paying the R100 each to attend the concert and an audience of one thousand million watching it live on television.

It is being broadcast by BBC 2



**JONATHAN CLEGG**

bwc African National Television

# I SUPPORT ANC - PROF

Sowetan  
16/5/88

11A



PROFESSOR Brink.

## SOWETAN Correspondent

**AUTHOR** and academic Professor Andre Brink is standing by his support of the African National Congress in the face of hostile reaction in South Africa since his return from Europe last week.

He emphasised in an interview that he abhorred violence and that his statements abroad had dealt with "realities".

Speaking from his home in Grahamstown, he said he began receiving abusive telephone calls soon after he got back last week

The callers were apparently reacting to news reports about statements he had made to the French newspaper *Liberation* and over *Radio Moscow*

Professor Brink had been quoted as saying that he supported the aims as well as the methods of the ANC, although he had objections on certain matters of principle.

"Everything I said abroad I had previously expressed inside South Africa and in writing," he said

He was surprised, on his return, to discover distorted versions in South African media reports on his interviews in Europe

Because of this, he had issued a statement to Sapa in which he said at least some of the media appeared to be creating the kind of climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against him by "our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime"

"For the sake of perspective, I should like to emphasise, as I did in my interviews abroad, that I regard violence, in any situation, as an

extreme measure with as much destructive effect on those who have recourse to it as on those who fall victim to it — and that as a writer, that is, one who is committed to the word, to reason and to actions of the mind, I abhor violence of any kind," Professor Brink said.

"At the same time I am realistic enough to accept that there are situations where violence has become so deeply

entrenched as part of the system that it is, tragically, no longer possible to break the deadly pattern without at least a measure of counter-violence"

He said in South Africa the Government remained the primary instigator and perpetrator of violence To react to it passively by purely peaceful means, as the ANC had done for 50 years without effect, meant only the perpetua-

tion of an inhuman system

"I have reason to believe that the ANC has adopted violence with the sole aim of encouraging the Government to the negotiating table I am convinced that at the first genuine sign of readiness from the Government to negotiate peacefully for a shared future of this country, the ANC will respond with alacrity and generosity"

## How to rid SA of apartheid

**BOSTON** — Archbishop Desmond Tutu urged people to donate to his scholarship fund for refugee students from South Africa as a means of striking a blow against apartheid.

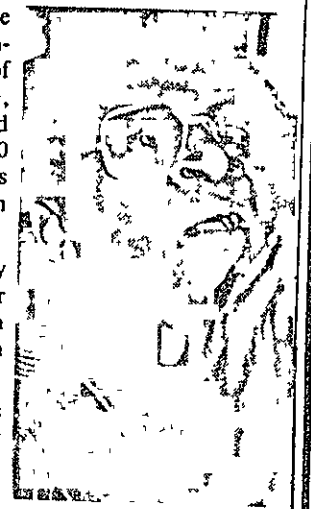
"You have come to invest in the young people," he told a reception prior to a 1000-dollar-a-plate fundraising dinner on Friday night at a posh Boston hotel "You can tell your grandchildren, 'I helped the world get rid of the scourge of apartheid I helped South Africa become free'"

Under the Bishop Desmond Tutu Southern Africa refugee scholarship fund, colleges and universities provide four-year scholarships, while the fund covers living expenses, transportation, clothing, books, medical and dental costs

Organisers said scholarships were pledged by Boston University Northeastern, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Emmanuel College, Stonehill College, Regis College and Wesleyan College In addition, 70 000 dollars (about R140 000) in cash was raised to provide support for the seven scholarships

Archbishop Tutu, accompanied by his wife, Leah, said it was important for as many young blacks from South Africa as possible to get an education in a free country such as the United States

"Only those who have been victims of injustice and oppression will know just how powerful is conditioning," he said to the approximately 200 gathered for the reception — Sapa-AP.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

... 1965  
One of the results of the BER study shows a net 70% of residential contrac-

... (cities, civic structures and homes) for the same month rose only 2.1%, the in-

● To Page 2 →

# Defector 'in ANC camp'

B/day 16/5/88

MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE fifth member of the alleged ANC cell in Broederstroom, a white SA citizen, is the son of a prominent Transvaal businessman, an informed source says.

The other four members — Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott, 24, Ian Robertson, 36, and Hugh Lugg, 30 — were arrested by police last week in a Sunday morning raid on their Broederstroom farmhouse

The fifth man became disillusioned with the ANC a few months ago and broke away from the group, the source said.

"He wandered around not knowing what to do and then decided to give himself back to the ANC," the source said. He is apparently being held in an ANC detention camp.

"It is a very hard camp. He will be lucky if he survives. There are many South Africans there, some of whom wanted to leave the ANC. But once they are there they are usually never heard

● To Page 2 →

## Investigation into ANC cell continues

from again"

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said this case was the first time police had ever released the names of people detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act or given permission for their photographs to be published

In terms of Section 29 a person may be detained indefinitely for interrogation

Mellet said the names of the group were only officially confirmed on Saturday afternoon because of the intense public interest in the story and because the names had already been published

"The investigation is on-going and we can only release details as our investiga-

tion warrants it. We did not want to release the names because we are still busy with a very intensive investigation," he said

He said it would probably take "some time" for the four to appear in court because of the amount of documentation which had to be verified and completed

"We would like them to appear in court as soon as possible but that is not likely to be too soon," he said

Mellet said no other arrests related to the raid had been made. He declined to say where the four were being held

● From Page 1

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11A: B/day 16/5/88

# Unite, OAU tells ANC, PAC

11A  
11B

HARARE — South African “liberation movements”, who have for the past week been criticised for rivalry against each other, were yesterday urged to co-operate their efforts and “guarantee freedom for their people.”

The 50th session of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) “liberation committee” told the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), to co-ordinate their activities in order to defeat apartheid and “minority domination” according to a report received from Ziāna, Zimbabwe’s domestic news agency.

The “two movements” had been politicking against one another at the expense of working out mechanisms to guarantee the freedom of their people, Ziāna said.

Last week, former chairman of the OAU “liberation committee” and Nigerian external affairs minister, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, also advised the ANC and PAC to halt their “bickering”, saying their first priority should be to destroy apartheid.

— Sapa

# Two ANC men in court today

Soweto 17/5/88

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

THE trial of two alleged African National Congress members which was scheduled to start in the Tzaneen Regional Court yesterday was delayed to today.

Court officials said the two accused, Mr Willie Lancelord Madikoto (31) of Bloodriver Village near Pietersburg and Mr Lucas Lesiba Mamakganyane (23), of Sekhukhu-

ne, also near Pietersburg, were being held in Pretoria and were to have been flown to Tzaneen by helicopter yesterday morning.

By 3pm yesterday, however, the two had not arrived.

Exhibits in court included three AK47

rifles, 700 rounds of AK47 ammunition, a Makarov pistol and its loaded magazine and blankets.

The two face seven counts which include terrorism and membership of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The State alleges that Mr Madikoto left South Africa in 1982 and joined the ANC.

He received military training at various camps in Angola and returned to South Africa last year with another guerilla and recruited Mr Mamakganyane into the ANC.

The trial is expected to start today before Mr J G J van de Venter

# Witness tells of rifts in ANC

By Therese Anders  
Highveld Bureau

17/1/85  
BETHAL — Antipathy exists in the ANC between Transvaal and Natal cadres, a former ANC member claimed in the Bethal treason trial yesterday

Originally Mr X2, a secret State witness, told an *in camera* hearing that the division was due to "tribalism", but under cross-examination he admitted it was a regional difference.

He was giving evidence against Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko and Mr Simon Dladla, who are charged with treason and terrorism

Mr X2 said he had sent for Mr Ebrahim to come to his flat in Swaziland in 1986 because

He wished to convey complaints to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka and Mr Ebrahim "did not discriminate".

According to Mr X2 Mr Ebrahim was the chairman of the Regional Political Military Committee (RPMC) in Swaziland

When asked by defence advocate Mr H K Naidu why he had not passed on his complaints to his superior at the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) in Swaziland of which Mr X2 was an employee, he said "Because there is tribalism in the ANC"

He said his superior — who also worked for the ANC — was a Zulu and, because Mr X2 was a Sotho, his complaints would be ignored

However in later

cross-examination Mr X2 said he was a Zulu

Mr X2 said Mr Ebrahim was "not like us".

"He is an Indian and I trusted him to do what I wanted him to do".

When questioned about the complaints he wished Mr Ebrahim to forward, Mr X2 said he wanted ANC headquarters to know "that if I was involved with bomb explosions while infiltrating people it would not be fair if they didn't know about this".

He wanted ANC headquarters to know he was doing other work apart from his Sactu duties

He also wanted to complain about a Sactu car which he was not allowed to use

Another Sactu member "who had been arrested for forging R20

notes" had been allowed the car's use

When asked by Mr Naidu why he was communicating his problems to Mr Ebrahim, Mr X2 said because Mr Ebrahim was head of the RPMC and, according to what he had been told, the RPMC was "now above Sactu" although he had not received this news officially

He said labour reports Sactu wrote were given to ANC messengers to send to Sactu's head office

Mr X2 said Mr Ebrahim came to his residence twice during 1986

However defence counsel Mr Naidu said Mr Ebrahim had not only never been to his flat, but he had "never met him at any stage"

The hearing continues

# Consul: Westcott is being held

STW  
12/5/68 Political Staff

11A

CAPE TOWN — The British Consul in Pretoria has visited captured ANC cell member, Ms Susan Catherine Westcott, and confirmed she is "who she claims to be".

A spokesman for the British Embassy said she was visited yesterday.

No further comment was available.

but it is understood that she was in good health and asked for her parents to be informed that she was being held.

Ms Westcott is alleged to have been the "communicator" in the cell, maintaining highly-sophisticated radio links with the ANC in Lusaka.

She was born in Swaziland and became British through marriage

## Zambia to deport New Zealander

*Star 17/5/86*  
LUSAKA — New Zealander Christopher Martin, jailed in Zambia for attempting to blow up an ANC leader, has completed his sentence and will be deported this week, the prisons commissioner, Mr Thomas Mtwale, said yesterday.

Martin (30), who lived in Johannesburg, was sentenced in 1986 after being found guilty of attempting to assassinate Mr Thabo Mbeki, a leading member of the African National Congress.

He was arrested outside Mr Mbeki's home in Lusaka.

The court heard that police found him trying to assemble explosives to plant in Mr Mbeki's car.



'Impression Methodists support ANC must be denied'

# USE OF VIOLENCE

114

# DIVIDES

*Source  
1/15/88*

# CHURCH

A METHODIST Church row has erupted over a proposal that it declare itself a "peace church", opposed to all forms of violence.

The Reverend Fremont Louw, former moderator of the church, said in a Pretoria congregational newsletter the impression that the church supported the ANC had to be denied.

He said the implication was recently made on SABC-TV with reference to the peace church movement.

The proposal, supported by "a substantial body of opinion within the church," had also created "a great deal

of opposition." Proposals were that the church should

- Specifically reject violence and war,
- Formally declare that its members ought not to participate in violence or military service of any form,
- Not participate in the manufacture of munitions of war, and
- Avoid all activities promoting ill-will or hatred among people or nations

"The proposals contain sentiments to which many Christians will give full support. They also contain suggestions which are highly controversial and likely to be unacceptable to most Christians," Mr Louw said.

A church committee had already rejected the proposals, as had all the congregations in the eastern suburbs of Pretoria and of Mamelodi. Garankuwa, Mabopane and Ateridgeville, he said.

## Change

"The Methodist Church has for many years constantly rejected violence as a means for bringing about political change, which is certainly contrary to ANC policy at the present time," Mr Louw said.

He urged Methodists not to react to media statements without giving the church an opportunity to give them "the full facts" or "to correct what may be a distortion" — Sa<sup>14</sup>.

## 'ANC woman' identified

**The Argus Political Staff reports**

**T**HE British Consul in Pretoria has visited the captured alleged ANC cell member, Ms Susan Catherine Westcott, and confirmed she is "who she claims to be".

A spokesman for the British Embassy said she was visited yesterday

It is understood she was in good health and asked that her parents be told that she was being held.

17/5/88

## ANC centre 'feared punishment camp'

114

**The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports**

**Q**UATRA, the African National Congress "rehabilitation centre" in north-western Angola, is a feared punishment camp, according to South African experts on the banned organisation.

ANC dissidents, disillusioned with the strategies and aims of the ANC, are sent there to be "re-educated". However, it is believed that people who have been held prisoner there are seldom released

Brigadier Herman Stadler of the Security Police branch at the SAP headquarters in Pretoria said the SAP had never captured anyone who had been held at Quatra. But stories told on hearsay by rehabilitated terrorists were hair-raising.

"ANC dissidents, undisciplined members and spies get sent to Quatra. Many people are petrified of the camp and the shocking conditions. It is believed that many people never return.

"The ANC calls it a rehabilitation camp, but it is not known if any rehabilitation work is done there or how it is done," he says.

Mr Wim Boooyse, researcher of the International Freedom Foundation in South Africa, said the punishment camp could accommodate about 150 people. However, up to 300 had been held there at one stage. Brigadier Stadler confirmed that figure.

Mr Boooyse said the ANC's security department was in control of the camp.

"It is run similarly to the Nazi prisoner camps. Prisoners are confined to small cells and are often kept in isolation. They only receive food rations and are physically and emotionally tortured. It is believed that at least two Cuban psychologists politically re-educate the prisoners.

"The aim is to break them down psychologically and to re-educate them.

"However, the people who are sent there are never trusted again by the ANC leadership or their comrades. After rehabilitation their operational roles are limited.

"In fact, many of them never return. My latest count is that 33 prisoners have never returned from Quatra."

## Reports are bid to vilify us — group

**The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka**

**T**HE African National Congress (ANC) has denied having detention camps for dissidents of the organisation, a spokesman for the organisation in Lusaka has said.

He was responding to claims in South Africa that Mr Paul Annegarn, named as the fifth member of an all-white ANC cell in Broederstroom, was being held by the organisation after becoming disillusioned with its policies.

The spokesman said he did not know whether Mr Annegarn was an ANC member or not, and said he had initiated inquiries through the London

offices of the organisation to clarify this.

According to the claims, Mr Annegarn is being held at Quatra camp in Angola.

Describing the allegations as an attempt to vilify the ANC, the spokesman said "Whoever and whatever this Annegarn is, he can't be in the so-called detention camp of the ANC because the ANC has no such facilities."

The spokesman said no government would allow such a camp to be operated in its country and the ANC had no intention of establishing such facilities.

"If the ANC had such a

camp anywhere in Africa or elsewhere, there would have been a furore by now from international organisations such as the Red Cross," the spokesman said.

The allegations about an ANC detention camp were part of a propaganda campaign against the four alleged ANC members who were detained.

"The South African authorities are clearly trying to put up a case against the four alleged ANC members who were arrested or are building up a vilification campaign against the ANC," the spokesman said.

# Bid to kill Mbeki: man completes term

D (D 17/5/88

1/19

LUSAKA — New Zealander Christopher Martin, jailed in Zambia for attempting to blow up an ANC official, has completed his sentence and will be deported this week, the prisons commissioner, Mr Thomas Mtwale, said yesterday.

Martin, 30, was sen-

tenced in 1986 after being found guilty of attempting to assassinate Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The New Zealander, who lives in Johannesburg, was arrested outside Mbeki's home in Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

testimony, police found Martin trying to assemble explosives to plant in Mbeki's car.

Police said he had an electronic detonator, plastic explosives, insulating tape and two electronic timers.

"Christopher Martin is to be deported as soon

as the Minister of Home (Interior) Affairs signs his papers," Mr Mtwala said.

The Australian High Commission, which looks after New Zealand's interests in Zambia, said Martin would be released soon but gave no date. — Sapa-RNS

D101715186  
Lawyers  
in split  
IIA

UMTATA — Four executive members of the newly-formed National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), including its Transkei president, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, have resigned in an argument over representation.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Ntsebeza said he, the Natal vice-president, Mr Donald Kali, the assistant secretary, Mr Imrann Moosa, and the assistant treasurer, Mr Justice Poswa, had resigned because they felt they were unable to "pursue this struggle with those who violate all democratic principles in order to build puny fiefdoms".

The status of Nadel's annual meeting had been one of the issues.

Some had held that the meeting should be of the general council only instead of the whole membership. — DDR

DL 1715/88

# OAU meeting: angry exchanges reported

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

HARARE — The fiftieth session of the liberation committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) concluded here yesterday with outspoken appeals to the ANC and PAC to stop "politicking at the expense of working out a way to destroy apartheid"

Conference sources said angry exchanges marred much of the deliberations in the plenary meetings.

Diplomats behind the session's tightly closed doors report that there was disagreement between ANC and PAC over who is doing most to confront the South African authorities

The conference has met against a background of unpaid dues by 39 OAU states, who now owe R34 million, while only four countries sent ministerial representatives to the meeting

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the chairman of the PAC, Mr Johnson Mlambo, attended

The strictest security was enforced because of the meeting's proximity to South Africa and following recent attacks on South African exiles abroad

During the meeting, ANC leaders, voiced their disquiet about the possibility of Angola's government being "out-

manoevred" by South Africa in current talks aimed at ending the civil war

The ANC fears Pretoria will exclude Swapo and the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe from Angola and Namibia

A final communique urged support for sanctions, appealing specifically to the US, Britain and West Germany "to subordinate economic, commercial and strategic interests in favour of human dignity"

It called for a total embargo on the importation of gold products and on the supply of oil and bank facilities to SA

# Whites fulfil new role in ANC policy

Latest trend is confirmed by the arrest of Broederström quartet

(114)

Whites have long occupied pivotal positions in South Africa's outlawed African National Congress but their role has undergone an important change in recent years. The new development first became evident in 1986 with the arrest and conviction of two young white recruits Eric Pelser, a draft dodger, and Marion Sparg, a former journalist. Pelser was jailed for seven years, Sparg for 25.

Both had received training in military camps run by the ANC in Angola. They were the first known white recruits to the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The new trend has now, of course, been reaffirmed by the arrest last week of four whites — Mr. Damman de Lange, Mr. Hugh Lugg, Mr. Ian Robertson and Mrs. Susan Westcott — on suspicion of having been recruited as Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters.

Before that, in March, another white, Mr. Hein Grosskopf, was named by the police as the suspected ANC terror bomber in the Krugersdorp blast, which claimed three lives.

There has been a continual white presence in the ANC from the time it went underground in 1961, a move which precipitated the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, to the latest arrest of the suspected ANC quartet on a smallholding in Broederström, near Pretoria.

The seven men who were jailed for life in 1984 with ANC leader Nelson Mandela included a white man, Dennis Goldberg. At least two more white men, Mr. Arthur Goldreich and Mr. Harold Wolpe, might have been jailed with them had they not escaped from police custody.

Whites who have served in one capacity or another include Mr. Joe Slovo, former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe and now general secretary of the South African Communist Party, and Mr. Ronnie Kasrils who according to the security police, plays a key role in the recruitment of ANC agents.

But, agrees a highly placed intelligence officer, the emergence of young white Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters is a new

By Patrick Laurence



Mr. Hein Grosskopf wanted in connection with blast

development Umkhonto recruits are known as MKs. Until 1986 MKs were assumed to be black. That assumption can no longer be made.

Whites are very important to the ANC, says the intelligence officer. They are necessary to give credence to its self-proclaimed image as a non-racial organisation committed to a non-racial society, he adds, noting that the ANC opened its national executive committee to whites for the first time at its July 1985 conference in Kabwe, Zambia.

### Divide community

But, the intelligence officer continues, whites are important for two additional reasons they are vital to the ANC objective of dividing the white community against itself and for undertaking missions which are less easily fulfilled by black recruits.

White MKs are valuable to the ANC for yet another reason reckons the intelligence officer. They are generally better educated than their black counterparts and are thus better able to handle the planning of sophisticated attacks.

White recruits to the ANC are drawn from a small social base, notes Dr. Tom Lodge, who has given evidence for the defence in scores of ANC trials.



Mr. Joe Slovo former head of ANC's military wing

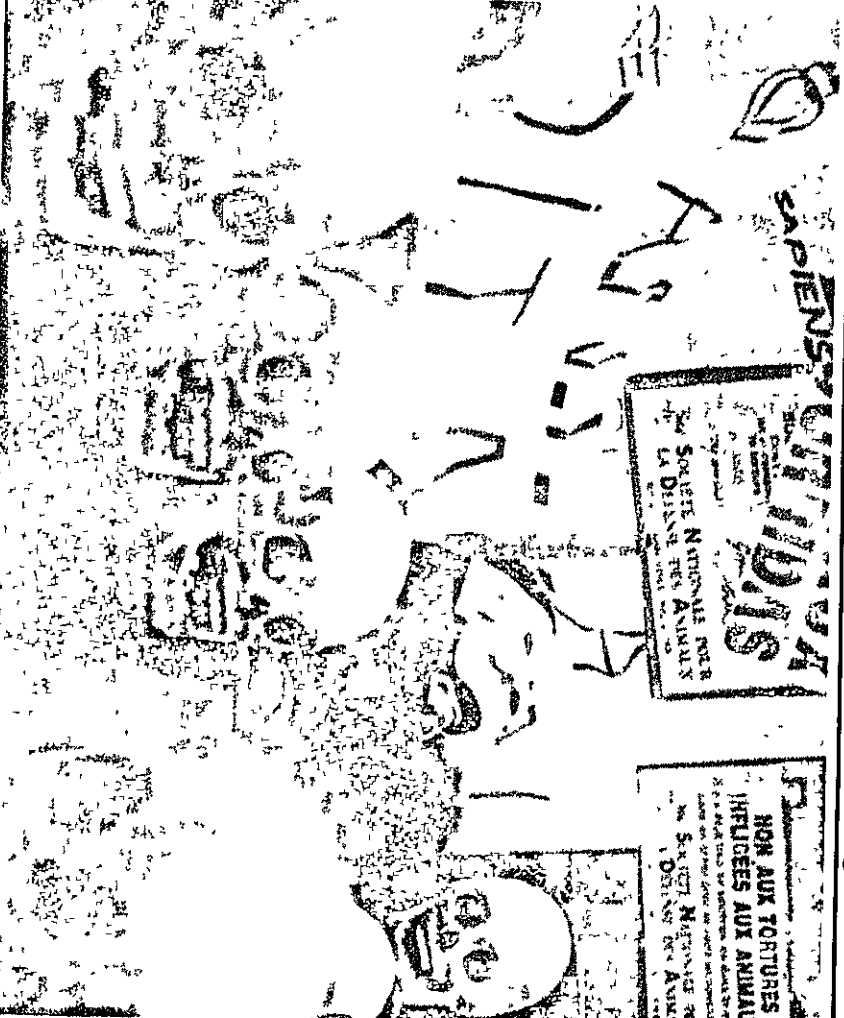
Most come from middle-class homes, adds Dr. Lodge, who teaches political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Several white recruits have been journalists, Anthony Holland, who was jailed for six years in 1976 for producing ANC pamphlets and for recruiting on behalf of the ANC, Sparg, who was convicted of treason and of planting jumpet mines at three police stations and, the police believe, Mr. de Lange, who was a contemporary of Sparg.

White ANC recruits and suspected recruits have another common element, several have been draft dodgers. For some young men the choice seems to be conscription into the SADF or joining Umkhonto.

Pelser, in a statement to the court, told how, repelled by the thought of service in the SADF, he fled the country and eventually joined Umkhonto.

Professor Andrew Prior of the University of Cape Town, offers a different perspective. He says that the recruitment of white recruits into a different environment when they file, one in which the South African State appears about to collapse and, influenced by that view, they join Umkhonto we Sizwe in the belief that they can contribute to the "one last push" needed to bring the apartheid order to a final end.



Death in the afternoon. Bullfighting can cause extreme emotions, for and against. Anticardiacs regard it as one of the supreme art forms while detractors look on it as blatant animal cruelty. In a town near Bordeaux, France, where a bullfight was held on Sunday, 500 people, wearing masks and waving banners, turned out to protest. The bull was on their side but, alas

'SA cannot afford bad management'

Staff Reporter  
South Africa could not afford the 'jinx' of weak management for ideological motives as had happened in the division between general and own

Powerful Angolan adviser at peace talks

By Joao Santa Rita

One of the members of the Angolan delegation who attended last week's Brazzaville peace talks with South Africa is one of the most powerful men in the Lusanda government.

He is Colonel Jose Maria who was officially described as an adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

In fact, Colonel Maria is head of the top secret Military Counter Intelligence services (CMI) and is one of the closest confidants of President dos Santos.

When President dos Santos visited Portugal last year, Colonel Maria was the only member of the Angolan delegation who was present at the peace talks held with Portuguese Prime Minister Mr. Cavaco Silva.

The CIM services are independent from the Angolan government's security police, and its officers are said to be trained at a special school in Viana on the outskirts of Landa Ocha on officers are reported to run the school.

CIM works closely with all the branches of the Angolan armed forces, and CIM officers are said to be assigned to each of the Angolan army's brigades to keep a close watch on the activities of the officers.

Very little is known about the political background of Colonel Maria who, because of his position, is understood to wield considerable influence over President dos Santos.

GOODWEAR TAKES HOME ANOTHER WINNER!



to we sizwe fighters is a new experience in scores of ANC trials apartheid of def to a final end

# Quatra camp 'is feared by even hardened terrorists'

1119  
5/10  
17/1/58

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Quatra, the ANC "rehabilitation centre" in north-western Angola, is a punishment camp feared by even the most seasoned and hardened terrorist, according to Brigadier Herman Stadler of the South African Security Police

His view is endorsed by Mr Wim Boooyse, researcher of the International Freedom Foundation in South Africa, who says that Mr Paul Colin Annegarn, the alleged fifth member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell uncovered by the police last week, was the first white man — to his knowledge — who had been sent there

Brigadier Stadler says the SAP has never captured anybody who had been held at Quatra.

ANC dissidents, disillusioned with the strategies and aims of the organisation, are sent there to be "re-educated" But it is believed that people held prisoner there are seldom released

Stories told by rehabilitated terrorists are hair-raising

The brigadier says "ANC dissidents, undisciplined members, and spies get sent to Quatra. Many people are petrified of the camp and the shocking conditions

"The ANC calls it a rehabilitation camp, but it

is not known if any rehabilitation work is done there, or how it is done"

Sources revealed this week that Mr Annegarn, a suspected deserter from the SADF who had been involved with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London before being sent to South Africa on an ANC mission, had deserted his mission and left South Africa via Botswana. On arrival in Lusaka he was arrested by the ANC and sent to Quatra

Mr Boooyse says the ANC's security department, similar to the feared Nazi SS, is in control of the camp "It is run similarly to the Nazi prisoner camps. Prisoners are confined to small cells and are often kept in isolation. They receive only food rations and are physically and emotionally tortured

"It is believed that at least two Cuban psychologists politically re-educate the prisoners

"The aim is to break them down psychologically and to re-educate them

"In fact, many of them never return. My latest count is that 33 prisoners have never returned from Quatra"

One ANC expert, who does not want to be quoted, says it is believed that many Quatra prisoners are executed by firing squad

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# Row erupts in church over peace proposal

11-B

PRETORIA — A Methodist Church row has erupted over a proposal that it declare itself a "Peace Church", opposed to all forms of violence

The Reverend Fremont Louw, a former president of the church, said in a Pretoria congregational newsletter that the impression that the church supported the ANC had to be denied

He said the implication was made recently on SABC-TV

The proposal, supported by "a substantial body of opinion within the church", had also created "a great deal of opposition"

Proposals were that

the church should

- Specifically reject violence and war,
- Formally declare that its members ought not to participate in violence or military service of any form,
- Not participate in the manufacture of munitions of war, and
- Avoid all activities promoting ill-will or hatred among people or nations.

"The proposals contain sentiments to which many Christians will give full support. They also contain suggestions which are highly controversial and likely to be unacceptable to most Christians," Mr Louw said

A church committee had already rejected the proposals, as had all the congregations in the eastern suburbs of Pretoria and of Mamelodi, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane and Atteridgeville

"The Methodist Church has for many years constantly rejected violence as a means for bringing about political change, which is certainly contrary to ANC policy at the present time," Mr Louw said

He urged Methodists to not react to media statements without giving the church an opportunity to give them "the full facts" or "to correct what may be a distortion" — Sapa



11A

Cape Times, Tuesday, May 17, 1988 3

# 'ANC saboteur' extradited

Court Reporter

A WYNBERG magistrate yesterday found that an alleged senior African National Congress member could be surrendered to Transkeian authorities after an assurance that he would not be given the death sentence on charges of terrorism or sabotage.

Mr Mzwandile Vena, 32, is a Transkeian citizen wanted by police in connection with three bomb blasts which crippled Umtata in June 1985.

Mr C Vivier, for the State, yesterday handed to the court the assurance from the Transkeian Military Council that Mr Vena would not hang.

Earlier Mr L Rose-Innes, for Mr Vena, said the court could refuse the extradition on the grounds that in the Transkei the maximum penalty for sabotage was death, whereas in South Africa it was 20 years' imprisonment.

The court heard Mr Vena allegedly received training overseas and returned to South Africa last year to "take command of the Western Cape military machinery of the ANC as a replacement for Lizo Ngqunwana, who had been arrested". He allegedly lived with Ms Jenny Schreiner, who fetched him from Botswana, until his arrest in September.

# Bishop tells of funeral 'tradition'

5/1/87  
18/5/87 By Claire Robertson  
Pretoria Bureau

Much of crowd behaviour at so-called political funerals had roots in African and Christian tradition, the SA Council of Churches president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said at the Vaal Triangle treason trial in Pretoria yesterday.

Dr Buthelezi, testifying in the trial of 19 men accused of treason and murder, was asked by defence counsel Mr Geroge Bizos, SC, about singing, slogans, banners and flags, and hoisting coffins shoulder high at funerals.

Songs such as "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" (God Bless Africa) and the colours green, gold and black were "not exclusive to the African National Congress," he said.

The colours were also those of Inkatha and numerous other organisations.

Dr Buthelezi said he had heard "the national anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika', sung alongside 'God Save the King'

at school"

Even songs which mentioned Nelson Mandela did so because the imprisoned ANC leader was "a hero" in the townships.

Earlier, the more than two-year-long trial had heard a recording of a song which included the words

"The Supreme Court is burning/ The boys hit Sasol/ We will catch the boers and their children"

To evaluate the importance and place of a song, one had to bring to bear the traditional understanding of songs in African culture, he said.

With no written history, songs had been used by generations of Africans as "one of the instruments of documentation"

In Zulu culture there existed *izimbongi* — community poets or praise singers, Dr Buthelezi explained.

The hoisting of coffins shoulder high had roots in Hebrew, Christian and African traditions, he said.

The hearing continues

# Howe urges talks for ANC, govt

CARL T. T. 18/5/88  
11A  
285

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday strongly urged the South African government and the African National Congress to begin negotiations and presented a forceful case against sanctions

In a major foreign policy speech here, Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to take the lead and step up the pace of change, condemned the use of violence by both the government and anti-government opposition forces and launched a scathing attack on the South African right wing

In an extensive and carefully thought-out speech at a lunch for the Royal Commonwealth Society, Sir Geoffrey presented an agenda for reform and a "message" to black and white alike

He stressed that change was "inevitable"

"Avoid intellectual and political strait-jackets. Be ready to think the unthinkable. Negotiation, when it comes, will not take place to rigid pre-set formulae. Catch phrases such as 'transfer of power' and coded language such as 'group rights' will have to be set aside. Compromise means give as well as take."

In a message to white South Africans, the British diplomat

said "No change is simply not an option. Change is coming, and the sooner the white community as a whole can face that fact the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met." He added that he accepted that change may be a long time coming but "the South African government has to take the lead. Dialogue cannot take place against a backdrop of violence and repression"

## Widening rift

In clear conflict with a statement made by Mrs Margaret Thatcher in which she denounced the IRA, the PLO and the ANC as terrorist organizations during the Commonwealth's heads-of-government conference in Vancouver, Sir Geoffrey said the British government would continue talking to opposition groups — including the ANC

His speech comes amid a widening rift with Mrs Thatcher over foreign office policy, and particularly on South Africa. Last week the Foreign Secretary sided with Chancellor Nigel Lawson in an increasingly bitter debate over the issue of exchange rate controls, and speculation is mounting that he may soon be out of the cabinet altogether

In his speech, Sir Geoffrey returned constantly to the sanc-

tions issue and Britain's attitude that they are counter-productive, would create economic stagnation and most hurt the frontline states and South African blacks

He said opposition to sanctions does not mean support for apartheid. In a clearly intended barb, he said this was a myth "fostered, I regret to say, by some elements in the South African government".

The agenda for reform he presented includes

- Lifting the state of emergency and press censorship,
- Revoking the February banning of 17 anti-apartheid organizations,
- Releasing Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners,
- Unbanning the ANC and other political parties and allowing for resumption of normal political activity,
- Ending the destabilization of neighbouring states, and

● Dismantling apartheid legislation, beginning with the Group Areas Act

Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to negotiate with "genuine" black leaders, otherwise "they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable to them"

He also pleaded with the ANC and black South Africans to forswear violence

# Not guilty plea

18/5/88  
Sowetan

TWO alleged members of the African National Congress yesterday pleaded not guilty to seven counts including terrorism when they appeared in the Tzaneen Regional Court

Mr Willie Lancelot Madikoto (31), of Blood River Village near Pietersburg, and Mr Lesiba Lucas Mamakganyane (23) of Appel in Sekhukhuneland, appeared before Mr G J J van de Venter charged with membership of the outlawed organisation and possession of arms and ammunition

The State alleges that Mr Madikoto left South Africa in 1982 and received military training at ANC camps in Angola where, it is further alleged, he also became an instructor. It is also

## SOWETAN Reporter

alleged that Mr Madikoto and a Tebogo recruited Mr Mamakganyane into the organisation

A police witness, Lt J A van der Westhuizen of the security police in Pietersburg, testified and told the court that he was

an expert on the ANC. He said the late former president of the United Democratic Front in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, had been a member of the ANC

Lt van der Westhuizen said Mr Nchabeleng's son, Alex, was being detained for ANC activities

# Bethal trial witness tells of men shot for desertion

## Highveld Bureau

**BETHAL** — The fate of those who leave the ANC came under the spotlight at the Bethal treason trial yesterday.

A secret State witness, former ANC member "X2", said those who left the organisation were either killed or arrested and sent to the ANC's

Quatro prison camp in Angola

Defence counsel Mr H K Naidu put it to X2 that only those intent on betrayal had anything to fear when they left the ANC. The witness denied this

X2 was giving evidence against Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko and Mr Simon Dladla, who are charged with treason and

terrorism

Asked by Mr Justice H Daniels if members were told they could terminate their membership "such as with three months' written notice, or six weeks' or whatever", X2 replied. "There is no such practice in the ANC. If you leave, they will kill you or arrest you"

X2 said he knew of two people who had left the ANC and been shot

"One — I don't know if he was in Soweto or Durban — was shot in bed with his wife. "He was shot by ANC people because he became a policeman."

The other person was shot in a Mozambican restaurant following allegations that he was a betrayer

Later Mr Naidu put it to another secret witness, former ANC commander "X1", that his own uncle had left the ANC and was now the principal of a school in Canada.

"My instructions are that he has never been harmed or hurt," said Mr Naidu

A second man, "Zakes", who was known to X1, had also left the organisation two years ago and was living in Swaziland, said Mr Naidu.

X1 replied "We are grateful for him."

Earlier X2 said he had "tired" of the ANC before his capture by the police in South Africa earlier this year.

## Handcuffed

X2 said the moment he decided to leave the ANC was when he was being handcuffed by the police.

Under cross-examination he said he believed that if he had not cooperated with the police he would have gone to jail.

He said he was not kept in detention after his arrest

He helped police when

they asked him about people he knew in Swaziland, and he told them about their work

When asked by Mr Justice Daniels what happened to a person who gave evidence against the ANC in a trial "like this", X2 replied "Such a person is killed"

The hearing continues

# Senators invite Mbeki

Former Robben Island detainee Mr Govan Mbeki has been invited to meet members of the United States Congress.

A letter from Senators Edward Kennedy and Nancy Kassebaum, released yesterday by Mr Mbeki's attorney Ms Priscilla Jana, invited Mr Mbeki because of his "personal involvement in, and unusual perspective on, the crisis in your country".

## GREAT INTEREST

The senators said they had invited Mr Mbeki to the United States as the situation in South Africa had been a matter of great interest and concern to the American people for many years.

"Over the past three years Congress has been engaged in continuing debate and discussion about ways the United States can best use its leadership and influence to assist in ending apartheid in your country.

"We would welcome the opportunity to hear your views on these and other matters." — Sapa

Democrats held at U.C.I. where

CME Times 18/5/88

## ANC kills 11A deserters — ex-member

BETHAL. — African National Congress deserters are killed if found by the organization, a former ANC member said in the Circuit Court here yesterday.

The witness, who may be identified only as Mr X2, was giving evidence at the trial of Mr Acton Mandla Maseku, Mr Simon Diadla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, who face charges including high treason and terrorism. They have pleaded not guilty.

Questioned by Mr Justice H Daniels about what happened to a person who leaves the ANC and is later found by the organization, Mr X2 said: "Such a person is killed. Shot dead."

The judge then asked him: "What happens to a person who gives evidence against the ANC in a trial and they know about it?"

"Such a person is killed," the witness said.

He said that once a person joined the ANC, he was not allowed to leave.

Mr X2 said he knew of an ANC member who was shot dead because the ANC believed he was a traitor. — Sapa

CME Times 18/5/88

## Bomb defused

WINDHOEK. — Police defused a powerful time bomb with only 42 seconds to spare at Walvis Bay Post office on Monday. Police said the activated bomb was in a plastic bag. — Sapa

Parliament

114  
ANC Times 19/5/88  
**Swapo,**

**ANC not  
guerillas**

**- Malan**

Political Staff

IT was time there was greater clarity about the definition of "guerilla" and "terrorist", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Defence Budget in the House of Assembly, General Malan said sections of the media still referred too often to the ANC and Swapo as "insurgents" and "guerillas".

"Our media and the public should realize that the ANC and Swapo use international terrorist tactics, that they are terrorist organizations," he said.

"While guerillas pit themselves against far superior combatants, terrorists choose to attack weak and defenceless civilians."

On South Africa's involvement in south-east Angola, he said the SADF had had two choices — to get involved or face the possibility of Unita being destroyed.

The second option would have opened the way for ANC and Swapo infiltration of Namibia.

Sapa reports that General Malan also said South Africa found itself in an undeclared war for the thoughts of its citizens.

He said the nature of the conflict had been simplified as being between supporters and opponents of apartheid.

The marketing of a people's democracy was the starting point of the conflict situation, he said.

A people's democracy referred to a power clique which would manipulate the masses.



# Sir Geoffrey urges SA to begin negotiating with the ANC

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday urged the South African Government and the African National Congress to begin negotiations and at the same time presented a forceful case against sanctions.

In a major foreign policy speech, Sir Geoffrey urged the South African Government to take the lead and step up the pace of change, condemned the use of violence by both it and the anti-government opposition and launched a scathing attack on the South African right wingers.

"Avoid intellectual and political straitjackets," he urged.

"Be ready to think the unthinkable. Negotiation, when it comes, will not take place to rigid preset formulae. Catch phrases such as 'transfer of power' and coded language such as 'group rights' will have to be set aside. Compromise means give as well as take."

In a message to white South Africans, Sir Geoffrey said that "change is coming, and the sooner the white community as a whole can face that fact the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met."

He accepted that change may be a long time coming but "the South African Government has to take the lead. Dialogue cannot take place against a backdrop of violence and repression."

In clear conflict with a statement made by his prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in which she denounced the IRA, the PLO and the ANC as terrorist organisations during the Commonwealth heads of government conference in Vancouver, Sir Geoffrey said the British Government would continue talking to opposition groups, including the ANC.

His speech comes amidst a widening rift with Mrs Thatcher over foreign policy, and particularly South Africa. Last week he sided with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, in an increasingly bitter debate over exchange rate policy.

Sir Geoffrey returned constantly to the sanctions issue and Britain's attitude that they are counter-productive, would create economic stagnation and most hurt the frontline states and South Africa's black population.

He said opposition to sanctions does not mean support for apartheid. In a clearly phrased barb, he said that this was a myth "fostered I regret to

say, by some elements in the South African Government."

Sir Geoffrey urged the government to negotiate with "genuine" black South African leaders otherwise "they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable to them."

He also pleaded with the ANC and black South Africans to forewear violence and urged opposition groups to "formulate sensible and viable economic and social programmes" which would be more acceptable to white South Africans "if they are to be convinced that a non-racial South African Government would avoid the marxist muddles which are taking so long to rectify elsewhere in Africa."

"When black frustrations spill over into violence, it 'strengthens the opponents of change', it strengthens the likes of Eugene Terre-Blanche and the AWB." "Crucially, without an end to apartheid, the South African economy can never hope to attract the foreign investment which is required if it is to achieve the growth rate needed to keep pace with population growth," Sir Geoffrey added.

# Howe: SA must step up change

CAPC Trunk 10/5/88 (11A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday strongly urged the South African government and the African National Congress to begin negotiations and presented a forceful case against sanctions in a major foreign policy speech here.

Sir Geoffrey urged the SA government to take the lead and step up the pace of change, condemned the use of violence by both the SA government and anti-government opposition forces and launched a scathing attack on the SA right wing.

His speech comes amidst a widening rift with Mrs Margaret Thatcher over Foreign Office policy, and particularly South Africa.

Last week Sir Geoffrey sided with Chancellor Nigel Lawson in an in-

creasingly bitter debate over the issue of exchange rate controls and speculation is mounting that Sir Geoffrey may soon be out of the cabinet altogether.

In his speech he returned constantly to the sanctions issue and Britain's attitude that they are counter-productive, would create economic stagnation and most hurt the frontline states and South African blacks.

He said opposition to sanctions did not mean support for apartheid. In a clearly intended barb, he said this was a myth "fostered I regret to say, by some elements in the South African government".

He said sanctions were one means that some elements had thought up to achieve change. "Whatever they are, they are not a litmus test of virtue."

● SA must accept need for negotiation  
— Page 7

Cape Times  
18/5/88 JIA

# Helms calls for probe into ANC camp

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — A senior Republican on the Senate Africa subcommittee has called for a foreign relations hearing into alleged brutality at Quatra, the ANC detention camp in northern Angola.

The call by right-wing senator Mr Jesse Helms follows reports that the alleged fifth ANC man from the Broederstroom farm, Mr Paul Annegarn, is being held in the detention camp after he escaped prior to the police raid in which four people were arrested.

The Quatra camp was publicized earlier this year in a State Department report on ANC detention camps which was mandated by an amendment Mr Helms had attached to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act last year.

It noted that "the majority of detainees are suspected of being South African agents or ANC defectors who become politically dissatisfied".

The camp was also referred to at the Bethal treason trial of Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, Mr Acton Madla Maseko and Mr Simon Dladla.

● Asked about the camps, ANC expert Dr Tom Lodge, a senior political science lecturer at Wits University, said they did exist since the leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe was strong and treated those who diverged from the ANC's disciplinary code "harshly". He was addressing more than 200 people at a meeting organized by the Cape Democrats held at UCT.

Cape Times 18/5/88

## Call to oppose Labour Bill

SA 19/7/58  
The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The Labour Relations Bill would strip the labour movement of almost all its few remaining rights, including the right to strike, says the ANC.

In a pamphlet issued in Lusaka, it called on workers to oppose and stop the Bill.

The ANC also called on all South Africans who opposed apartheid to unite into a mighty movement of struggle for freedom, justice and equality.

It said those in the homelands, including chiefs, should intensify the offensive against the apartheid institutions.

# UK will keep links with ANC

LONDON — The British Foreign Office says it is in tune with Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher about continuing contacts with the African National Congress (ANC)

A Foreign Office source said a speech on Tuesday by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was standard British policy on the South African issue and did not run counter to Mrs Thatcher's view

## 'KEEP OPEN'

At the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver last year, Mrs Thatcher hit the headlines when she likened the ANC to other "terrorist organisations"

Britain has stressed its opposition to violence from any party, including the ANC, involved in the South African issue

In his speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, Sir Geoffrey said: "We shall equally keep open our channels of communications with all the representative black opposition organisations"

"The ANC is one of those organisations we acknowledge its role in any negotiations and we shall maintain contact with it," he said — Sapa

month ago. — UFI  
*careless 1/15/88*  
**Ex-spy was  
ANC target**

**JOHANNESBURG** — President's Council member Mr Craig Williamson, a former major in security intelligence who penetrated the ANC as a spy, has confirmed that he has been advised by police that he was followed and photographed by members of the squad of white alleged ANC insurgents arrested near Pelindaba

Mr Williamson was approached yesterday after it was disclosed that the group compiled a substantial list of people.

He said "They apparently followed and photographed me. They managed to track down my home by driving around Houghton after a photograph of the house was published" — Sapa

ANC <sup>ONE TIME'S</sup> speech <sup>1975/88</sup> 'reflects'  
Thatcher's policy

LONDON — The British Foreign Office says it agrees with Mrs Margaret Thatcher regarding the question of continuing contacts with the African National Congress (ANC)

A Foreign Office source said a speech on Tuesday by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was standard British policy on the South African issue, and did not run counter to Mrs Thatcher's view

At the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver last year, Mrs Thatcher hit the headlines when she likened the ANC to other "terrorist organizations" Britain has stressed its opposition to violence from any party

● In Tzaneen yesterday, Mr Willie Lancelot Madikoko, 31, of Blood River near Pietersberg, and Mr Lesiba Lucas Mamakganyane, 23, of Appel in Sekukuneland, appeared before Mr G J J van der Venter charged with membership of the outlawed organization. They both pleaded not guilty — Sapa

# Stoffel Botha lashes out at 'resistance art' in SA

Resistance art in South Africa — in the form of plays, popular theatre, recitals and music — was aimed at fostering a spirit of revolt, Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking in the budget debate on his vote, he said people, under the

banner of art and literary merits, wanted to bypass the Publications Act.

This was an attack on the interests which the Act was intended to protect, namely the morality, religion and dignity of South Africans and the safety of the State.

In certain communities, spontaneous theatre

was used to agitate the audience.

He said: "When the show ends, the audience is so emotionally charged that they will not calm down before everything in the vicinity, from buildings to cars and even other people, have been attacked."

It was impossible to control this form of theatre.

Mr Botha added: "It should never be doubted that it is a matter of great importance for the State to protect the spiritual and moral welfare of the community, and to maintain the necessary equilibrium between the freedom of the individual and the interests of the community."

He said the State would not interfere with the moral function of parents, educationists and the Church — but it would defend and protect proper Christian norms acknowledged by all population and religious groups. — Sapa.



# ANC claims more whites are signing up

Star Africa News Service  
star 1915/88 (119)

LUSAKA — A growing number of white South Africans are joining the African National Congress (ANC), the banned organisation said yesterday.

In a statement the ANC said more and more whites were identifying themselves with the armed struggle. "The number of whites joining the ANC is growing and this is reflected in the organisation's white membership," the statement said.

It gave no figures for its white membership. The statement followed the arrest of four whites, who are alleged to be ANC members, in Broedersdroom last week.

In a previous statement the ANC said it accepted members regardless of race.

# Sachs feared the SA attack

Sowetan 19/5/88



**SOWETAN Foreign Service**  
NEW YORK — Albie Sachs, generally regarded as the most durable of South Africa's exiled dissidents, who was recently maimed in a car bomb explosion in Mozambique, is receiving treatment in secret in an unnamed hospital in London.

## Paper claims exile is treated in UK

His whereabouts have been unknown since the car bomb attempt on his life in Maputo on April 7

Mr Sachs, the son of Mr Solly-Sachs, a named communist who was prominent in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa in the 50s and 60s, was shown in a photograph in the *New York Times* yesterday propped up in a hospital bed learning to write with his left hand, the stump of his right hand swathed in bandages and his chest, scalp and legs punctured shrapnel wounds



comment on the attack, but Mr Sachs and his associates attribute the bomb that blew up his car to roving assassins intent on a growing pattern of "soft target" state terror "on behalf of South Africa"

Mr Sachs is known to have been fearing attack by these agents ever since the 1982 letter-bomb killing of Ruth First, an ANC official, in Maputo where Mr Sachs, now 53, has lived for 10 years, serving as research director of the Mozambican Government's legal affairs

Every morning, Mr Sachs would leave his car door open to allow a bomb burst to be deflected "It was a morning ritual of dread, then relief," his friends report

### Outspoken

The *New York Times* is believed to be the only newspaper to have gained access to Mr Sachs. It published a lengthy account by its London correspondent, Mr Francis X Clines, of Mr Sachs' 25-year long opposition to the South African Government as an outspoken lawyer and supporter of the African National Congress — and of his painful efforts to learn to write the word "dog" with his remaining left hand

His recovery is expected to be a nine-month process under an assumed name, with friends hoping that the assassin dare not be so brazen as to search him out in Britain

His associates believe that a new policy has been evolved in which right-wing assassins operating either independently or on behalf of South Africa are selecting "soft targets," like intellectuals and thinkers "It's a kind of desperation, an acknowledgement that they are so alienated from the rest of the world that they feel they have nothing to lose," says the *Times* report

### Maimed

He has no memory of the blast that maimed him, other than a "great tugging resistance" But a passing friend had hailed him as he was opening the car door and doctors say he turned aside enough to avoid being killed

His first memory of survival was finding himself checking for vital parts, stem to stern, and concluding that he was alive His friends say he felt a "surge of triumph" at surviving the assassination attempt

Mr Sachs went into



JOE Slovo . . . wife killed in Mozambique

exile in 1967, four years after first being detained without trial under the security laws So far from being a firebrand while living in exile, he has lived a largely intellectual life, first studying and

teaching human rights in Britain for 11 years, then in moving to Mozambique in 1978 to research constitutional law and, say his associates, "regain the texture of his beloved Africa"

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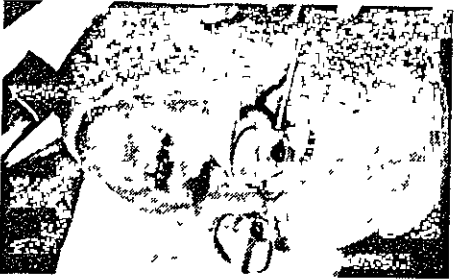
# US to probe claims of brutality at ANC camp

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Hearings on alleged brutality at Quatra, an ANC detention camp in northern Angola, are being considered by a United States senator, Mr Jesse Helms, the senior Republican on the senate Africa sub-committee

Potential witnesses are understood to include a woman who will describe how she was repeatedly raped and beaten at the camp, known as "the west", to which she was sent because she was a member of the black consciousness movement

The hearings will also investigate allegations that the United Nations high commission on refugees, which receives much of its funding from the US, has subsidised the transport of ANC detainees



MR HELMS

to Quatra from exile camps in Zambia and Tanzania

Mr Helms was outraged by a state department report of ANC detention camps, which was mandated by an amendment he had attached to the Foreign Relations Authorisation Act last year

The four-paragraph report was extremely thin on detail, appeared to contain no new research, and, according to his staff, may have been left deliberately vague to avoid offending Angola at a delicate stage in negotiations on Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence

It noted that "the majority of detainees are suspected of being South African agents or infiltrators — the South African Government attaches high importance to infiltrating and disrupting

ANC operations outside South Africa"

"ANC defectors who become politically dissatisfied (and therefore suspect) or who refuse military training may also be detained, according to defectors"

Mr Helms' staff believes the many Quatra inmates are young, urban blacks who grew disenchanted with the extremely primitive conditions they encountered at ANC camps like Morogoro which is set of the rural wilds of Tanzania

"There is an element of racism in the state department human rights bureau's attitude to these exiles. White exiles get flown out to Europe and the US and get . . . all kinds of special treatment. These kids are stripped of their identities by the ANC and if they don't like it, are sent to 'the west'"

# Foreign office backs

# Thatcher on ANC

D/D 19/578

(114)

(15)

LONDON — The British Foreign Office says it is in tune with the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, over the question of continuing contacts with the African National Congress.

A Foreign Office source said a speech made yesterday by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was standard British policy on the South African issue and did not run counter to Mrs Thatcher's view.

At the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver last year, Mrs Thatcher hit the headlines when she likened the ANC to other "terrorist organisations". But the Foreign Office has kept "channels of communication" with the ANC open, saying there has been no change in British Government policy towards the organisation.

Britain has stressed its opposition to violence from any party involved in the South African issue,

including the ANC.

In his speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, Sir Geoffrey said:

"We shall equally keep open our channels of communications with all the representative black opposition organisations.

"The ANC are one of those organisations. We acknowledge their role in any negotiation and we shall maintain contact with them."

Sir Geoffrey urged the ANC to follow the doctrine of the late American civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, and to overcome "oppression and violence" without resorting to them itself.

The Foreign Office source said: "The speech was seen by Downing Street, there is nothing in this which can cause any heartburn. There are many strands to the ANC, including terrorist ones." — Sapa

D18 175788

# Tutu asks US ministers to pray for "freedom fighters"

ATLANTA — Archbishop Desmond Tutu asked ministers here to "pray like crazy" for the safety of "black freedom fighters" in his country

Archbishop Tutu and his wife met with black church leaders at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) headquarters when they were in Atlanta for Emory University's commencement, where the archbishop gave a speech and received an honorary degree

The SCLC is a black civil rights organisation, founded by the slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr

Archbishop Tutu urged the ministers to carry on supporting economic sanctions against the South African Government as a way of ending apartheid

"Don't let anybody kid you that sanctions don't make a difference. They are important to the victims of apartheid as well as the perpetrators

"Part of the reason for sanctions is to make a statement. And I think people are sometimes unfair in wanting to assess the impact of sanctions after such a limited period of time," he said

The meeting was hosted by the president of the SCLC, Mr Joseph Lowery, who apologised

to Archbishop Tutu for not attending a memorial service in Cape Town in honour of King

Mr Lowery said the South African Government had denied him a traveller's visa, and Archbishop Tutu replied "That was a nice feather in your cap"

Asked if he was concerned about his safety while speaking out against apartheid, the archbishop said "No one is exempt from the



**ARCHBISHOP TUTU**

machinations of those you oppose. There are going to be casualties in any struggle. But it's up to people like yourselves to pray like crazy on their behalf"

● Last week, Archbishop Tutu was confronted from an unusual corner during a private meeting with senators and the Democratic presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, on Capitol Hill

The candidate's wife, Kitty, famous for her in-

dependent mind, challenged the archbishop on anti-semitic statements recently attributed to him by sanctions opponents

Her husband, whom the archbishop later publicly endorsed for president, is said to have swiftly changed the subject

Mrs Dukakis, who is Jewish, was apparently referring to questions raised by the Free Africa Coalition, an anti-sanctions group which staged a small protest during Archbishop Tutu's address to the National Press Club

The coalition distributed flyers asking members of the audience to confront the archbishop with a speech he reportedly gave in 1984

Archbishop Tutu is alleged to have declared, "in terms of the new testament, the Jews must suffer" "Therefore, we will put it into practice if we are in charge—there will be no sympathy for Jews when the blacks take over"

When asked for the source of this charge, a spokesman for the coalition replied that the story — had originally been published by the Jewish Times in Boston, Mr Dukakis' home town

Archbishop Tutu appears to be worried by such accusations — Sapa-AP



Mr Rajbansi

# I will not resign, <sup>MCUS</sup> vows <sup>20/5/88</sup> embattled Rajbansi <sup>114</sup>

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

A DEFIANT but embattled Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, said today he would not resign in spite of almost assured success of a motion to dethrone him.

The day of reckoning for Mr Rajbansi has finally arrived, as later today he faces a vote on a motion in the House of Delegates calling on him to resign.

A special meeting of party whips and the chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, was held today after an amazing succession of events yesterday, in which Mr Rajbansi attempted to use every technicality to avoid a vote.

The new rules of Parliament had caused considerable confusion and at one stage it appeared that Mr Rajbansi would talk through the night to avoid a vote being taken on the motion.

## DECISION

Mr Yunus Moolla, MP, chief whip of the alliance, said today's whips' meeting had decided that Mr Rajbansi would no longer be able to try "to talk out the debate" to avoid a vote or to buy time.

"It has been agreed that the NPP will get one hour, the two alliance parties 30 minutes each and the PFP 10 minutes. After that there will be a vote.

"A decision will definitely be taken today."

If the opposition alliance holds together there is hardly any possibility that Mr Rajbansi, who is putting up a desperate last minute fight, can survive.

## 'STILL THE LEADER'

But Mr Rajbansi said today "I will not resign. They cannot force me to. I am still the leader of the majority party."

"If they want to talk about morality the Ministers who have crossed the floor must resign."

Against this Mr J N Reddy, leader of the opposition alliance, said that if the motion was carried Mr Rajbansi would have to resign or President P W Botha would have to reconstitute the Ministers Council.

Mr Reddy said he would approach Mr Botha if Mr Rajbansi did not resign.

## DESPERATE

The opposition alliance of Solidarity and the rebel People's Party of South Africa, which broke away from Mr Rajbansi two weeks ago, was however apparently desperate to avoid an election.

A special joint caucus meeting of the alliance was held over lunchtime yesterday, with the rebels demanding that the original motion of no confidence in Mr Rajbansi be toned down to avoid an election.

According to sources the rebels felt a motion of no confidence would force President Botha to call an election in terms of the Constitution.

Mr Ismail Kathrada, Minister of the Budget, one of the leaders of the rebellion, however denied they were trying to avoid an election, saying "We are altering tactics."

When the motion of no confidence was raised in mid-afternoon the National People's Party attempted to avoid a debate using Parliamentary technicalities.

But the 24 opponents of the NPP held firm and got their way.

However the debate was delayed for the police vote to be debated.

# Labour applause for Bill that curbs labour

THE Labour Party, in a powerful position to block the contentious Labour Relations Amendment Bill, has instead come out in open support of it.

Archie Poole, Labour MP for Belhar, said in the House of Delegates that the Bill, tabled this week, was one of South Africa's best pieces of legislation.

Les Abraham, MP for Diamant, said only those who planned to use trade unions for purposes other than improving work conditions would be opposed to it.

**The contentious Labour Relations Amendment Bill is tabled with some changes. The unions remain opposed — but not the Labour Party.**

**EDDIE KOCH reports**

organise lunchtime demonstrations against the Bill every Tuesday in organised factories and mines would go ahead

Proshaw Camuy, secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions, said changes to the draft law before parliament made no difference to the Bill's intention to deprive militant unions of the gains they have made in the past decade.

Nactu has also resolved to hold demonstrations against the Bill and is likely to be invited to the special conference of anti-apartheid organisations that Cosatu is planning to convene. Changes to the country's labour laws are likely to feature prominently at the conference.

The Labour Party recently discussed the possibility of blocking the Bill by refusing to pass it in the House of Representatives, where they are in the majority.

If they were to do so, the government would only be able to push the Bill through by referring it to the

Unions (Cosatu), told the *Weekly Mail* changes in the Bill before parliament would not alter the decision, made at the federation's weekend congress, to oppose the Bill.

"Cosatu members will not quietly accept the draconian measures contained in the Bill which seeks to further crush the rights of South Africa's exploited workers," said Mentjies.

Cosatu has called on the International Labour Organisation to set up an investigation into the Bill.

A wide range of unions, labour lawyers and consultants have criticised the Bill for the restrictions it will impose on unions' right to strike or stage sympathy action without being sued for losses caused by illegal strikes.

The Bill includes clauses that

- Make it an unfair labour practice to hold a strike for the "same or similar" thing within 12 months of a strike over the same issue
- Open unions to being sued by employers for damages caused during wildcat and illegal strikes. The Bill assumes any union member who instigates an illegal strike is acting with the authority of the union, unless this can be proved to be untrue
- Make staydowns illegal and allow unions to be charged if they call for such action
- Entrench the ability of employers to negotiate with minority unions and undermine the principle that unions with a majority of 50 percent plus one talk for the whole work force in any plant.
- Allow employers to retrench workers more easily. Companies wishing to retrench will no longer have to adhere to the principal of "last in first out"
- Give the manpower minister the right to nominate anyone of his choice to the industrial court. Currently only experts in labour law can be president or deputy president of the court
- Set up a new labour court, with the same powers as the supreme court, to hear appeals from the industrial court. Some labour lawyers say this will undermine the ability of the industrial court to resolve disputes swiftly

Most of the provisions that caused an outcry from organised labour when the Bill was published last year remain untouched in the version now before parliament.

However a key alteration has been made to the clause stating that an inspector of the Manpower Department can extend the operation of a conciliation board at the request of one party. The clause was amended to make this possible only by mutual consent.

Most labour lawyers, consultants and academics have agreed the new draft of the Bill makes little difference to the overall impact it will have.

See PAGE 7

THE MEDIA

**Brinkmanship**

Acting on legal advice, rebel Afrikaans writer André Brink had to look overseas for the publication of his latest novel, *States of Emergency*. For in it, certain quotes are attributed to banned persons such as jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The relationship between the writer and the ANC — and by implication, that of Afrikaner dissidents generally with the organisation — is a tricky issue. Back in SA, Brink says he has been quoted out of context by the SABC and certain Afrikaans newspapers on his views on the ANC as published by the French magazine *Liberation* (see page 63). He was said to have associated himself with the aims and methods of violence.

However, says Brink. "What they neglected to do was to mention the qualifications I had stipulated with my views. I have strong principles against violence, and most Afrikaans newspapers have chosen to ignore my explanation, which was issued after my return."

SABC TV news reported that Brink had "associated himself with the African National Congress and the organisation's methods to achieve its political aims." The broadcast also reported Brink as saying that although it conflicted with his principles, he accepted violence in SA.

"I stand by what I said. But it has to be read in the context of my known anti-violence stand," the writer says. "Everything I said abroad I had previously expressed inside SA and in writing. So it would seem that at least some of the media are concerned with creating the kind of climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against me by our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime."

"For the sake of perspective, I should like to emphasise, as I did in my interviews abroad, that I regard violence, in any situation, as an extreme measure with as much destructive effect on those who have recourse to it as on those who fall victim to it and that as a writer — that is, as one who is committed to the word, to reason and to actions of the mind — I abhor violence of any kind."

"At the same time I am realistic enough to

accept that there are situations where violence has become so deeply entrenched as part of the system that it is, tragically, no longer possible to break the deadly pattern without at least a measure of counter-violence."

Brink's latest remarks about the ANC could spell the end of his position as literary editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*. Already the long-standing relationship between the acclaimed author and the newspaper has suffered badly because of the decision by the majority of *Rapport's* board members not to award this year's prestigious R20 000 *Rapport* prize for Afrikaans literature to up-and-coming writer Koos Prinsloo (a staff member of the newspaper) for his novel *Die Hemel Help Ons*. The decision was taken because of certain remarks in the novel aimed at the State President.

After the board's decision, Brink informed editor Bob van Walsem that he would not be doing any more book reviews until the *Rapport* prize dispute had been resolved satisfactorily. But after his latest statements on the ANC he may not have to wait for such a decision. Government pressure on Van Walsem and the board could spell a permanent end to the relationship.

Brink tells the *FM* that he has so far not had any contact with *Rapport's* cultural editor, Coenie Slabber, overseas at the moment. Slabber and some of his colleagues have a high regard for Brink's work. Seven signed a letter to Van Walsem to distance themselves from a statement which appeared in *Rapport* explaining why the prize would not be awarded. Brink's departure may aggravate the situation.

A break in the often stormy relations between Brink and the paper may come as a relief to Tuynhuys — and also to top men in the Afrikaans press hierarchy. ■



~~SECRET~~ IIA

## White power cells

The uncovering last week of the alleged ANC cell at Broederstroom and the arrest of four whites, offers an interesting insight into the fortunes of that organisation. For some time now reports emanating from Lusaka have cited morale problems in an organisation which, as recently as two years ago, thought it could topple the State.

Craig Williamson, former security police spy and current member of the President's Council, notes "The 1984-1986 euphoria has been followed by deep depression and Broederstroom is a serious setback in terms of morale."

Although many have found the fact that the cell was all-white noteworthy, Williamson downplays this aspect. He observes that whites have been involved in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, since it was founded and speculates that there is a lower proportion of whites in Umkhonto now than during the Sixties. While not denying this fact, there are obviously reasons why whites are important within the ranks of Umkhonto. They can undertake certain missions more easily than their black counterparts, and it is important for Umkhonto, in terms of the ANC's non-racial principles, that it have white cells.

Political scientist Prof Mike Hough says "Whites are important to the ANC from the political point of view because it tends to emphasise the divisions, to which the ANC attaches importance, within the white community." Hough acknowledges that the ANC is trying to recruit more whites, but believes their involvement to be limited at this stage.

Various explanations have been put forward as to why whites might want to join the ANC. Obviously an ideological aversion to the status quo is the most common cause. Another increasingly powerful factor is refusal to do National Service, although this in itself does not explain why a person should end up a member of Umkhonto. One explanation that has been put forward is that people in exile lose their sense of perspective as to the country's vulnerability and are moved to join Umkhonto in the naive belief that one more push is all that is needed to topple the government.

Williamson believes the most interesting aspect of Broederstroom to be the fact that the cell was both an operational cell as well as an intelligence and reconnaissance cell — unique in his experience. He further believes, Umkhonto have been looking for some more dramatic type of success, along the lines of the Koeberg and Sasol blasts, which did considerable physical damage, achieved

much political mileage, and were technically difficult. Williamson explains Broederstroom as "an attempt to show that despite all the setbacks, particularly since the State of Emergency, the ANC's high-level military capability had not been damaged." This was evident from the sophisticated weaponry found there. The arrests do, however, cast doubts on their efficiency.

As Williamson observes, the intelligence gain from Broederstroom is that the "ANC, at this time, is neither a military threat or a political threat to the State. It will lead a lot of people to question the armed struggle as the sole means of achieving liberation." ■

# Malan: elections a prime target for SACP-ANC alliance

DID 20/5/68

11A

**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — The alliance between the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress was "trying to sow suspicion" about the October municipal elections and regarded them as a prime target for disruption and intimidation

During the debate on his budget vote, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told the House of Delegates that while the alliance was trying to force a one-party dictatorship by a "ruling elitist clique" on the people of South Africa, the government was taking steps to broaden democracy

General Malan said that it was his duty to ensure that the municipal elections were a success because they represented another major step on the road towards a peaceful post-apartheid South Africa

It should be noted, he said, that the SACP-ANC alliance "planned a continuation of terrorist violence while at the same

time placing new emphasis on political manoeuvring"

He raised the question of what could be expected from the SACP-ANC alliance in 1988



GENERAL MALAN

As the junior partner of the SACP, Gen Malan said that it was unlikely that the ANC would be allowed to abandon its marxist motives or its terrorist tactics

Without violence the ANC was nothing and would now, together with violence, try to mislead and confuse people

through "political manoeuvring as part of the second front of its anti-democratic offensive"

He said that as part of this dual approach the ANC would try to give the impression that it was "moderating" its image without renouncing its total commitment to violence

"This disinformation is intended chiefly to mislead the West and business leaders. The intention is to promote sanctions," he added

Gen Malan said there were even plans for the ANC to give the impression that it no longer demanded immediate nationalisation as envisaged in the Freedom Charter

All in all, he said, a major objective of the ANC was to create an image of the organisation as "reasonable" "moderate" and "legitimate" which enjoyed the support of the business community, and could be accepted as an "alternative government" by the West

"A so-called government-in-waiting," General Malan added

# Rajbansi 'fighting for survival'

Political Staff

MR Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, was fighting for his political survival late last night as a motion calling for his resignation was still being debated.

But, as the House adjourned for a late supper break, there appeared to be little chance of his surviving a vote on the floor.

But there was also no sign that he would resign, despite impassioned pleas to "go gracefully" and recognize the majority held by the alliance between the Solidarity and Peoples' Party opposition.

The tense debate began with the alliance's "heir apparent" and leader of Solidarity, Mr J N Reddy, saying that his original motion was to be amended.

The original called on the State President to dismiss Mr Rajbansi while the amendment called on Mr Rajbansi to resign.

This was seen as an attempt to avoid forcing the State President into having to call an election in the House.

However, observers believed that as the amended motion amounted to a vote of no confidence in the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, it was also tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the council. According to the constitution, this is ground enough for the State President to call a general election for the House of Delegates.

The two members of the PFP, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said the only way to restore credibility was through an election.

Mr Rajbansi and NPP Chief Whip Mr Mahomed Baig attempted to block the debate in terms of the constitution but the Chairman of the House, Mr Salam Abram Mayet, ruled it in order and allowed amendments.

# 'Only talks can break KTC block'

Cape Times 20/5/88

114

Staff Reporter

UPGRADING at the KTC squatter camp would take place only once the ruling Masincedane Committee had approached the Cape Town Town Committee for talks, two top local government officials said yesterday

Mr Koos Theron, MEC in charge of community development, and Mr Sam Mjoli, Mayor of the Cape Town Town Committee, yesterday took a hard line on what has been a stubborn three-year-long refusal by the rebel committee to negotiate

Mr Theron said an approach to the Town Committee by Masincedane was the "bottom line" for breaking the impasse

The two were responding to questions on official plans for the area, which until a few months ago was the Peninsula's most strife-torn squatter camp

A phased site-and-service KTC development plan, approved by the government and estimated to cost R15,2 million, has been on the drawing boards for nine months

The money was not included in this year's CPA budget allocation, and Cape Administrator Mr Eugene Louw said he was negotiating with the government "independently" Mr Louw said that should this fail, he had an alternative plan in which he had already "provisionally identified" approved local projects from which to siphon funds for KTC upgrading

Mr Theron and Mr Mjoli said yesterday that building to accommodate 68 of the 150 KTC refugee families living on a plot of land alongside KTC had been scheduled to start this week

Mr Mjoli said it was hoped homes at the NY111 plot would be provided "before the June rains"

He added that in contrast to the Masincedane Committee the refugees — part of the original KTC settlers under murdered councillor Mr L Siquaza — had been negotiating with the Town Committee for several months

"I haven't been to NY111 lately so I can't say if they've started building yet," Mr Mjoli said

Mr Koos Theron

Mr Sam Mjoli

8 JAN 20 1988

# Tutu returns to hostile reaction from protesters

(11A)  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu received a hostile reception from demonstrators on his return to South Africa yesterday after a tour of Britain and the United States where he again called for disinvestment.

He slipped quietly into the country at 5 am and declined to make a press statement or answer questions from reporters.

Archbishop Tutu is to be installed tonight as chancellor of the University of the Western Cape.

When he left Johannesburg for Cape Town yesterday, an Inkatha affiliate, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), organised a demonstration by placard-carrying unemployed blacks at Jan Smuts Airport.

On his arrival at DF Malan Airport, Archbishop Tutu was confronted by about 20 placard-waving students from the National Students Federation (NSF). — Sapa-  
Reuter and Staff Reporters

# State asks for terror trial to be secret

Northern Transvaal  
Bureau

TZANEEN — The hearing in the trial of two alleged terrorists was conducted *in camera* in the Tzaneen Regional Court yesterday

Prosecutor Mr D J Fouche placed evidence before magistrate Mr G J J van Deventer to support his claim that the testimony of certain witnesses should be heard behind closed doors for their protection.

The magistrate will give a ruling when the hearing resumes on October 3.

Mr Willy Lanslord Madikoto (31) of Pietersburg and Mr Lukas Lesiba Maganyane (23) of Sekhukhune are facing seven charges of terrorism, allegations that they promoted the aims of the ANC, and arms and ammunitions charges.

## HIDDEN WEAPONS

The State alleges that Mr Madikoto received ANC training outside South Africa, and re-entered the country with another insurgent in 1987 carrying automatic rifles, pistols, 900 rounds of ammunition, a limpet mine, a hand grenade and explosives, which were all hidden near the Limpopo River.

Mr Madikoto then allegedly enlisted Mr Maganyane as an ANC member. He was also trained outside South Africa.

The State has said the three men were arrested last August 21 after returning to South Africa.

# Alleged 'spies for SA' in court again

STW 20/5/86

HARARE — Two Britons, a Canadian, an Irishman and two Zimbabweans who have been detained as alleged South African spies appeared in court this week. They were remanded in custody to June 20.

The prosecutor said the State needed more time to complete investigations.

The six accused face charges under the Official Secrets Act and, if convicted, could face a sentence of up to 25 years' jail.

They were detained under emergency regulations in September after Mr Ivor Harding (55), a Zimbabwean, was allegedly found at Beitbridge border post with information on Zimbabwe-based officials of the ANC.

The six allegedly carried out surveillance on the homes and vehicles of ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress officials and South African exiles in Zimbabwe for South African security services.

Several ANC officials have been killed in sabotage attacks allegedly mounted by South Africa in Zimbabwe and other black-ruled states during the past two years.

Among those detained are Mr Jack Lewis-Walker (54), a senior public servant and provost-marshal in the Rhodesian Air Force before independence in 1980, Briton Ms Patricia Brown (53), Canadian Mr Dick Laban (50); Zimbabwe-born Mr Jeffrey Mee (45), who holds an Irish passport, and Mr Ivor Harding and his son Clive (25).

They previously appeared in court on April 20.

They were denied bail. — Sapa-AP



**Parliament '88**

*Star 20/5/88*  
**ANC wants  
'total power'**

The African National Congress (ANC) demonstrated its utter contempt for Parliament as a democratic institution by placing the recent bomb close to the building, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

The mini-limpet mine damaged the door of a nearby building. (11)

General Malan said the ANC was not interested in democracy, but only in seizing total power and transforming the country into a Marxist, one-party state or what it called a "people's democracy".





Mr Rajbansi

## I will not resign, vows embattled Rajbansi

By BRUCE CAMERON,  
Political Staff

A DEFIANT but embattled Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Minister's Council, said today he would not resign despite the almost assured success of a motion to dethrone him

In an amazing succession of events yesterday, Mr Rajbansi attempted to use every technicality to avoid a final reckoning, while the opposition alliance altered its tactics to avoid an election of the House of Delegates.

The issue is expected to come to a head later today as the opposition alliance pushes for a vote on an amended motion calling on Mr Rajbansi to resign

If a vote is taken there is very little possibility that Mr Rajbansi, who is putting up a desperate fight, can survive.

But Mr Rajbansi said today "I will not resign. They cannot force me to. I am still the leader of the majority party."

"If they want to talk about morality, the Ministers who have crossed the floor must resign."

### ELECTION

Against this Mr J N Reddy, leader of the opposition alliance, said that if the motion was carried, Mr Rajbansi would have to resign or President P W Botha would have to reconstitute the Ministers Council

The opposition alliance of Solidarity and the rebel People's Party of South Africa, which broke away from Mr Rajbansi two weeks ago, was, however, desperately attempting to avoid an election

A special joint caucus meeting of the alliance was held at lunchtime yesterday, with the rebels demanding that the original motion of no confidence in Mr Rajbansi be toned down to avoid an election

Mr Ismail Kathrada, Minister of the Budget, one of the leaders of the rebellion, however denied they were trying to avoid an election, saying "We are altering tactics"

When the motion of no confidence was raised in mid-afternoon, the National People's Party attempted to avoid a debate using Parliamentary technicalities.

But the 24 opponents of the NPP held firm and got their way.

### DELAYED

However the debate was delayed for the police vote to be debated

One of Mr Rajbansi's supporters, Mr Ranji Nowbath (NPP, nominated) moved another amendment to the motion in a clear attempt to force the hand of the opposition alliance.

He called for a vote of no confidence that would result in an election.

The new rules of Parliament caused considerable confusion, and at one stage it appeared Mr Rajbansi would talk through the night to avoid a vote being taken on the motion

Battle is to be joined again today but there are differing interpretations of whether the debate can continue or whether consideration of budget votes take precedence.

Mr Yunus Moolla MP, chief whip of the alliance, is to consult the chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, to establish whether a time limit could be placed on the debate, and whether a vote can be forced. If a time limit is placed on the debate, Mr Rajbansi could talk through to the end and avoid a vote.

Mr Rajbansi was confident that no vote would be taken and he would regain his majority

# Voteless Tutu: apartheid 250 the problem not sanctions 1/17

D[D 2015/158  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night he was tired of whites shedding “crocodile tears” about blacks suffering in South Africa as a result of his calls for international sanctions against the Republic.

Speaking on the occasion of his installation as the new chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, Archbishop Tutu said he would rejoice if apartheid could be destroyed without sanctions.

“I am a little tired of the spurious white altruism about black suffering.

“What have these altruists done to stop the rape of District Six? What did they do to help the Noordhoek squatters? What are they doing to stop the agony of the people of La-waakamp in George?

“We are talking about blacks suffering now — in ghettos created by apartheid as at Crossroads and in the impoverished Bantustan homelands.

“Let them spare us their crocodile tears,” he said.

Archbishop Tutu said that when he supported sanctions “as our last non-violent strategy” he did so in his personal capacity and pointed out that he had opted for sanctions before he became Archbishop of Cape Town.

However, he emphasised that the problem facing South Africa was not sanctions but apartheid.

He said that even if he were to be “liquidated”, what he said about apartheid would remain true:

“It is filthy, it is vile, it is immoral, it is violent, it is evil, it is unchristian.

“Even if I am not there, even if I can be shown to be a scoundrel of the first water, it won’t help to change the nature of apartheid.”

If he had no constituency or credibility as the critics argued, Archbishop Tutu asked: “Precisely why

are they scared of puny little me and I don’t even have the vote, noga? Makes you think.”

Earlier, Archbishop Tutu said he found it paradoxical that given his opposition to working “within the system” he had now become “the titular head of what apartheid had spawned as that monstrosity — a bush ethnic college.”

However, it was a “truly remarkable achievement” that the rector of the UWC, Professor Richard van der Ross, his colleagues and students had “turned the tables so completely that an apartheid institution should become the most potent academic institutional dissident”.

Archbishop Tutu said a university should have a social conscience and take seriously the issues that affected the community it served, adding that “our community is concerned about liberation as its first priority”.

However, while students had brought various issues to the fore through boycotts and demonstrations, a university required the kind of environment that was conducive to the pursuit of truth, learning, skill and expertise.

“We will fail and be left behind by others against whom we must compete if our university will constantly be disrupted by boycotts at the drop of a hat.”

He said students were surely aware that they had a “sympathetic” rector, administration and staff, adding: “Surely there must be other less disruptive ways of making your point.”

Archbishop Tutu said: “If we are not restrained and disciplined we will give delight to the enemies of our struggle who will gloat and gleefully point to our university, which has dedicated itself to our struggle, as degenerating into a third-rate institution where you don’t know from one day to the next what the students are going to do.”



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

# Chief Buthelezi to address EI business forum

EAST LONDON — The Chief Minister of Kwa-zulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will address an East London Chamber of Commerce lunch-time business forum here next Friday

Chief Buthelezi is to speak on the role which black extra-parliamentary organisations can play in the negotiation process for a constitution, and to what extent they subscribe to the free market system

His remarks are expected to be directed

largely at the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)

Chief Buthelezi has consistently accused the UDF of following tactics and strategies which have failed in the past, and of "playing into the hands of the minority regime"

An opponent of sanctions and a supporter of the free enterprise system, Chief Buthelezi has frequently attacked Cosatu's socialist leanings — DDR

D10 29/1/88

11A

SECRET

# Sanctions protest

BLACK opponents of Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday joined an increasingly strident chorus of protest against his campaign for tougher sanctions against Pretoria. Sowetans 20/5/88

Archbishop Tutu slipped quietly back into South Africa yesterday morning after a month-long overseas trip.

When the Nobel Prize laureate later left for Cape Town, a conservative black trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa, organised a demonstration by about 35 placard-carrying unemployed blacks at Jan Smuts Airport.

# ANC suspects followed former spy — SAP

DID 20/5/88

**JOHANNESBURG** — A member of the President's Council and former major in security intelligence, Mr Craig Williamson, who once penetrated the ANC as a spy, has confirmed that police have told him that he was followed and photographed by members of the squad of alleged ANC terrorists arrested near Pellindaba.

Mr Williamson was approached after it was disclosed that the group had compiled a substantial list of people, including police and army officers, journalists and members of the legal profession. Mr Williamson was also named in the list.

"They apparently followed and photographed me. They managed to track down my home by driving around Houghton after a photograph of the house was published," he said.

He said he was in no doubt that he was an intended ANC target.

Mr Williamson said he knew three of the suspects well.

Mr Williamson said he had been informed that the suspected terror squad had located his offices and home in Houghton as a result of certain reports concerning him and his employer which appeared in a local newspaper.

"It was I who informed the then management of the Rand Daily Mail of the suspected activities of the Arnold Geyer group in the early 1980s," he said.

One member of the group, Marion Sparg, was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment after being convicted on charges arising from a series of limpet mine attacks on police stations, as well as the burning down of PFP offices in Johannesburg, before the group fled to Botswana.

As a senior member of the security intelligence, who worked in London and Europe, two members of the Broedersroom group were well-known to Mr Williamson as activists.

One of them allegedly held a senior position in the South African Communist Party.

Mr Williamson said that, in view of the recent limpet mine explosion near parliament and the police revelations, the government should take note of the possibility of ANC attacks on politicians. — Sapa

9 — DAILY DISPATCH, FRIDAY, MAY 20, 1988

TELEPHONE EAST LONDON 26141

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## SA must talk with black groups — official

(2) (11)

BONN — South Africa's racial conflict can be solved only if white authorities legalise and negotiate with black nationalist groups, including the ANC, a top West German official said yesterday.

"The condition for a sensible dialogue in South Africa remains the release of all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela," the state secretary in the foreign ministry, Mr Helmut Schaefer, said in a two-hour parliamentary debate

"It is also imperative to repeal the ban on organisations of the black majority, including the ANC.

"The racist regime in South Africa is not an outpost of the free world, but rather a challenge to freedom," Mr Schaefer said

During the debate, the opposition Social Democrats said parliamentary committees would soon examine possible sanctions against South Africa

These included withdrawal of airline landing rights, a visa rule for South African visitors, a recall of Bonn's ambassador and a reduction of staff at its embassy in South Africa

Several members of the Federal Democratic Party, junior partners in Bonn's governing centre-right coalition, signaled they would approve the visa rule and cuts in embassy staff

The West German Government has ruled out economic sanctions on the ground they would hurt South Africa's blacks most, but has stepped up its criticism of South Africa — Sapa-RNS



ON PATROL ... A police patrol passes a local resident of Edenvale, a township near Maritzburg where some of the Inkatha-UDF fighting has been

heaviest  
Picture REUTERS

*Can't find 20/5/88*

## UDF, Inkatha violence spills into rural village

*11A* Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Political violence between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front appears to have spilled into the rural village of Shongweni, near Pinetown, where three people were slain this week.

The police unrest bulletin reported that three people were stabbed to death in the area on Monday morning by a group of youths.

Last week, police reported that a woman was injured in the face when she was attacked by a group of youths in Shongweni.

The youths forced her car doors open, dragged two occupants out and drove off. The vehicle was later found at the trading store near Shongweni.

Residents said this week that fighting between "amaqabane" (comrades) — as UDF youths are usually called — and Inkatha had become serious in the past two weeks.

In the past month, four people have been killed and many had left the area, according to reports.

# Rajbansi crisis in PW's hands

9/15/88  
Political Staff 114

PRESIDENT P W Botha is considering what to do about the crisis in the House of Delegates and the defiant stand by embattled Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Mr Rajbansi, chairman of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council and a member of the central cabinet, is holding on in spite of a motion by the new Solidarity-Peoples' Party alliance calling on him to resign being passed by 24 votes to 17 after a marathon two-day debate

Various motions of confidence and no confidence were passed and rejected which raise a maze of constitutional problems.

One interpretation is that Mr Botha has no choice but to dissolve the House and call a general election for the House of Delegates. Another is that he could simply reconstitute the Ministers' Council and appoint Mr J N Reddy, the Solidarity leader, as the new chairman

A spokesman in the President's Office said: "The State President will react to the decision of the House after he has had the opportunity to consider the matter in terms of the Constitution Act."

Mr Reddy, asked what the next step would be, said "That depends on the State President. He knows what has happened, now it is up to him"

At a press conference after the debate, Mr Rajbansi said. "I am not going to resign I have no obligation to resign. The numbers game in the House of Delegates has become a joke."



UMTATA — A call to allow the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to resolve the Tembu paramourty dispute has been made by a Tembu chief from Baziya near here

said that in the absence of senior people in the Tembu tribe to solve such problems, Mr Mandela, who was a descendant in the birth chain of the tribe and an elder in the Nubenguka house, was the most relevant person to solve the matter

The dispute for the paramourty is between the former commander of the Transkei Defence Force, Major-General Zondwa Mirara, and Mr Buyelekaya Dalindyebo

Gen Mirara's father was the late Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mirara who took over the paramourty in 1980 following a Transkei Government decision to depose Mr Dalindyebo's father, Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who later died in exile in Lusaka in 1986

Mr Dalindyebo is still in Lusaka. Chief Joyi said tribal elders had failed to ease the tension

“What is happening among the Tembus today has never happened before. Our forefathers, although not educated, had the ability and skill to rule our people and never boasted of living according to Western customs,” he said —

D 10 21/5/78  
Mandela to resolve Tembu issue?

11/11

# ANC's morale is at low ebb, claims Vlok

Star 21/5/68

11A

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress had recently suffered heavy losses and the conviction that its struggle was futile was spreading among its members, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Mr Vlok said a number of ANC members had recently broken ties with the organisation and joined the SA Police, which had offered them a new future.

For the first time in the ANC's history, leaders like Mr Thabo Mbeki were prepared to acknowledge the organisation's morale had reached a low point, he said in debate on his Budget Vote.

"Last year, security forces eliminated 490 terrorists, of which 44 were shot dead.

"From the beginning of this year to the end of April, 79 terrorists were arrested and 10 were shot dead.

"A number of ANC terrorist cells have been uncovered and the latest arrests of

four highly trained white terrorists emphasises once again the futility of the organisation's efforts," Mr Vlok said.

Information was being regularly received about ANC members who were disillusioned

"The ANC's punishment camp, Quatro, is the fate of many a misled and disillusioned terrorist."

Those who wanted to join the ANC had to be realistic.

"They are heading for a disaster which eventually means death, long imprisonment or torture in the ANC's Quatro camp

"Terrorists who are sent to the Republic are going on suicide missions, because confrontation with the security forces means either certain death or a long period of imprisonment."

Mr Vlok said he wanted to warn people not to be misled by the ANC. — Sapa.

# I 'operated on' ANC suspect — Williamson

SARA MARTIN

Major Craig Williamson, National Party member of the President's Council and a spy whose exploits have proved a troublesome thorn in the flesh of the African National Congress, leading to several prosecutions, this week admitted that until 1985 he had been "operating on" one of the alleged ANC members arrested last week.

He denied, however, having been instrumental in the arrest of the alleged ANC cell trapped at Broederstroom a week ago.

But, yes, he admitted, he had been operating on one of them — Ian Hugh Robertson — who with Damian de Lange, Hugh Lugg and Susan Westcott were arrested in a police swoop on a Broederstroom farmhouse.

The former police spy said he had Robertson under surveillance until 1985 when he left the service, opted for a career in business and accepted a position with the President's Council. He is presently running an investment company in Bryanston.

In a telephone interview from Cape Town he told the



FORMER SPY: Craig Williamson.

Saturday Star he had been a member of Nusas at the University of the Witwatersrand with Robertson from 1972 until 1975.

"Ian and I were close colleagues and I monitored his activities very closely," he said.

"He was very committed to the struggle and came from a background of involvement with the radical left. His mother, Mrs Emd Robertson, is a dedicated member of Black Sash.

"His uncle was the late Professor Eddie Roux who was listed as a 'communist' in the 1950s and was prohibited from teaching at the botany department of Wits.

"Iain was involved at the time in doing political research in intelligence activity.

"I met him again in 1977 in Lusaka at several ANC bases."

The former security police major said when he returned to South Africa in 1980, his surveillance of Robertson continued. "It continued even after I left the security police."

Commenting on allegations this week that he has become a prime ANC target, Mr Williamson said he had "taken the necessary precautions."

"That's why I am still alive after 20 years," he said.



Relatives of the policemen killed in the car bomb blast last year lay wreaths at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court plaque yesterday.

● Picture by Sean Woods.

Star 21/5/84  
11A

## Court bomb blast remembered

Every atrocity committed by the ANC strengthened the conviction of moderates that the ANC was not the authentic voice of South Africa, the Reverend Isaac Mokoena of the Reformed Independent Church said yesterday at a ceremony to commemorate the victims of the car bomb blast in Johannesburg last year.

The ceremony, held on the spot where four policemen were killed outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on May 20 last year, was organised by Victims Against Terrorism.

A plaque, unveiled by Johannesburg

mayor Mr Jan van Blerk, paid tribute to the dead policemen, constables Weyers Botha, Andre Duvenhage, Christoffel Botha and Kobus Wilkens.

Family members of the four dead men, some weeping, laid wreaths around the plaque.

Wreaths were also laid by mayors from Pretoria and a number of west and east rand towns, as well as representatives of various organisations.

Yesterday was also exactly five years to the day when the Pretoria bomb blast killed 19 people.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu received a hostile reception at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport.

STV 21/5/77 11A

## Give us an alternative to sanctions, challenges Tutu

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night South Africa's main problem was apartheid, not sanctions.

Installed as Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, he said he wanted apartheid destroyed.

"The onus is on those who oppose sanctions to provide us with a non-violent alternative," he said.

The Anglican prelate returned on Thursday from an overseas tour during which he reiterated his call for punitive measures against South Africa. He was given a hostile reception from demonstrators with placards opposing sanctions.

Hundreds of University of the Western Cape students gathered outside the main hall on campus last night with placards supporting the Archbishop.

# ANC's morale at low — Vlok

11A  
257

21/5/88

Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN — ANC leaders openly acknowledged that morale in the organisation was at its lowest ebb ever, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.**

The police had arrested 525 ANC terrorists and killed 54 ANC members over the last 16 months, he said

Mr Vlok also said he had received a shocking report about the terrible conditions in the Quatro punishment camp in Angola, where about 80 people were currently in detention, and revealed that "several ANC terrorists" had recently joined the South African Police

Mr Vlok made these disclosures during the debate on his budget vote in the House of Assembly

He said the ANC had recently suffered heavy losses "and the conviction that the ANC is busy with a futile struggle has already developed strongly among its membership"

"For the first time in the history of the ANC, their leaders, such as Mr

Thabo Mbeki, are prepared to acknowledge openly that the ANC's morale has reached a low point

A number of ANC cells had been exposed and the recent arrest of four highly trained white ANC terrorists had emphasised again the futility of the ANC's efforts

Information about terrorists who had become disillusioned with the ANC's insensitive and inhuman plans and refused to associate further with them was being received continually

"The ANC's punishment camp, Quatro, is the forefront of several misled and disillusioned terrorists

"According to the terrorists who did service as guards at this camp, the conditions in Quatro are terrible. Detainees are treated in an inhu-

man manner and many people have died in detention

"There are at present about 80 people in detention, of which the majority are exiled South Africans

The time had arrived for terrorists and people who wanted to join the ANC to look at the reality in their eyes.

"Terrorists who are sent to South Africa expose themselves to a suicide mission, because confrontation with the South African security forces mean for them either a certain death or a long period of imprisonment."

Mr Vlok warned people to consider the position thoroughly and not to let themselves be misled by the ANC which offered no future

To people already in the ANC, he wanted to say. "Give up before it is too late. Come back to your country before your hands are stained with blood and there will be no future for you"

Mr Vlok said a number of ANC terrorists had recently broken ties with the ANC and joined the South African Police where a new future had been offered to them

"They now fight side-by-side with the police to stop terrorism and anarchy and have already made a major contribution in our systematic destruction of the ANC," he said.

— A woman armed with at least two handguns opened fire in a primary school yesterday, killing one child and critically wounding five others. She then fled to a nearby home and shot a seventh person, police said

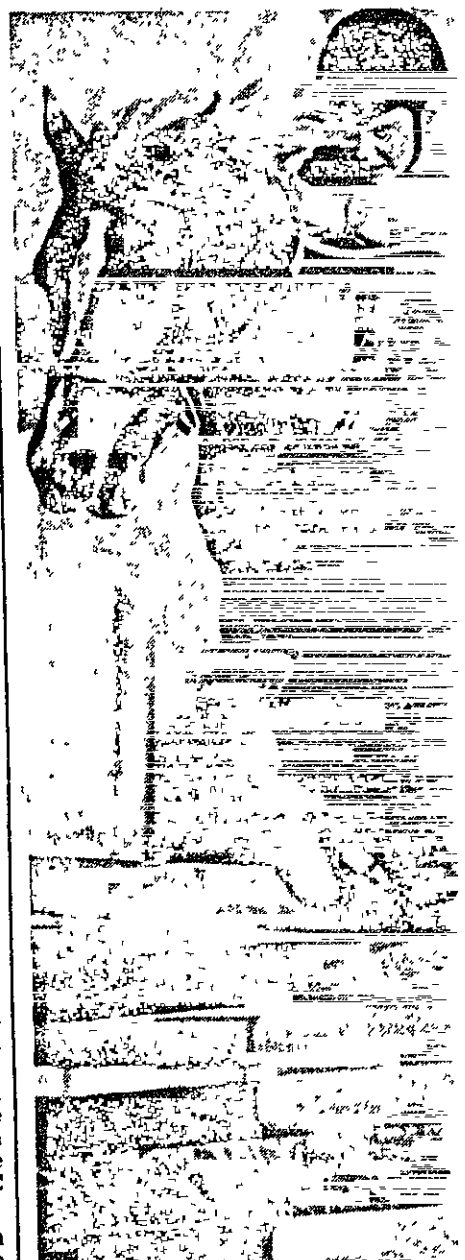
More than five hours after the initial shooting, the woman still remained barricaded inside the home

Armed police encircled the house, but

the hostage team on the not established with the woman

Police woman had a mother where she housekeeper

A mother children basement dry at the



Steven Suttie clears a jump on Cape yesterday. Report, ...

## 5 hurt in explosion

CAPE TOWN — Five people, including four children, were injured last night when a grenade launcher picked up by children exploded in a Mitchells Plain street

Three of the injured were taken to Grootte Schuur Hospital with lacerations caused by flying shrapnel — DDC.

## EL in

Daily Cape 10 who uncle was days with have his

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**KEEP WARM WITH WINTER WEAR FROM OUR GENT'S DEPT**

# FOGUS BEGINS HERE

## THE

# ANC

## AN EXPERT'S ANALYSIS



DR TOM LODGE

■ THERE have been reports, particularly in the wake of the alleged betrayal of colleagues by a member of the "white ANC cell" at Broederstrroom, that the organisation is wracked by deep divisions. To what extent is this true?

■ SUGGESTING that there is muddle and confusion in ANC ranks is perhaps a bit harsh. It must be borne in mind that talk of "deep divisions" comes largely from people who are vociferous opponents of the organisation. It is an argument they have pushed for some time if divisions existed to the extent they claim, we would hear much more about them. It cannot be disputed that the ANC is going through a difficult phase, there is considerable disagreement within its ranks on strategic matters. Of course, vigorous debates do not automatically imply tension. Apparently there is a certain amount of dissent, mutiny and restlessness in ANC camps at times of setback but again this does not point satisfactorily to an organisation wracked by internal tensions.

■ THERE were also suggestions in some circles that the slaying of ANC activist Dulcie September in Paris was the work of a "rival faction" within the ANC. Do you consider that possible? NO. Whatever the internal differences, they would not

culminate in that sort of action. Besides, she was not a sufficiently senior person in the organisation to become some kind of target.

■ THE matter of ANC punishment camps was also raised after allegations that an additional member of the "Broederstrroom cell" abandoned the mission and is now being held in such a camp in Angola. Does the ANC have such camps? YES, punishment and detention camps do exist. Any organisation of its size and nature would have some form of discipline and Umkhonto we Sizwe is run like any military structure. Discipline is fairly rigid and dissenters can be treated harshly, but general conditions in these camps are conjecture.

■ WHAT, in your opinion, is the ANC's attitude at present to a negotiated settlement in South Africa? AT the moment, conditions for a negotiated settlement do not exist. Both the major protagonists in South Africa's political conflict claim to favour a negotiated constitutional settlement. Both, however, have rather different conceptions of what should be negotiable and which conditions have to be met before any useful discussions can begin.

ANC Leaders have ex-

DR TOM LODGE, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been described as the country's leading academic expert on the African National Congress. He spoke on various aspects of the outlawed organisation at a packed Cape Democrats meeting at UCT this week and was interviewed by Weekend Argus Reporter ROBERT HOUWING.

pressed their willingness to negotiate a political dispensation for the last couple of decades. The organisation repeatedly repeated its commitment to "seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict". The ANC will participate in any genuine negotiations provided that they are aimed at turning the country into a "united and non-racial democracy".

Certain preconditions would be indispensable and negotiations would have to be open rather than secret and completed within a specified period. ANC leaders are wary of becoming entrapped in

prolonged negotiations which merely function as a ploy to distract, demobilise and divide the state's opponents. For the time being, the ANC publicly favours a negotiated settlement. Delegates at Da-Andre Brink, a "passionate commitment of the ANC to reach the negotiation table."

■ TO what extent does the ANC recognise the need for compromises and concessions to white fears? IN recent years, ANC spokesmen have shown considerable sensitivity on the issue. In various statements, key personalities have suggested that, under an ANC administration, nationalisation of the

economy would be limited, that South Africa's economy would be a mixed one and that certain property rights would be respected. Even Communists within the organisation find sound theoretical reasons for perpetuating certain types and degrees of private ownership. The ANC recently went as far as to suggest the adoption of a Bill of Rights. This was a significant development, until recently black leaders have been opposed to white liberal advocacy of a Bill of Rights. Some ANC people have gone further — the Sunday Star was told in 1986 that the ANC would even consider temporary protection of ma-

norty rights on the pattern of the Lancaster House settlement if this could shorten the conflict. Of course, one should not read too much into the often cryptic utterances of ANC personalities responding to journalists. There can be a variety of interpretations.

■ WHAT are the ANC's prospects of seizing power by conventional military means? THE notion of armed struggle is the main source of inspiration and hope for ANC members and supporters. To be sure, however, it is unlikely that the ANC will ever be able to do more than wage a war of attrition. It is quite conceivable, though, that in time low-level guerrilla warfare, economic stagnation and external pressure could erode while morale to the point at which negotiations become feasible.

For negotiations between the Government and the ANC to take place, both sides would have to be under a considerable amount of compulsion. The Government would have to be convinced that its own capacity to rule effectively was under threat, and the ANC would have to recognise the limits of what could be achieved through guerrilla warfare and popular mobilisation.

■ WHAT is the level of white support for the ANC? ON the whole there is not an active degree of support — it is more popular among a minority of whites and a small one at that. What can be said is that more whites have re-

acted that the ANC is an inevitable fact of life, but this is obviously not the same thing as support. ■ THE ANC is repeatedly accused of taking its orders from Moscow. How strong is Soviet influence in ANC policy-making? THE ANC is more independent and diversified from the Soviets than is often thought. Soviet experts do not seem that well informed on the ANC. In fact, they often show remarkable ignorance which rather dispels the thought in certain circles that the organisation is controlled by wooden-faced commissars in Moscow. Soviet experts in Africa are, on the whole, generally in favour of negotiations and a reformist dispensation. But the ANC won't be driven to the negotiating table by Soviet patrons.

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# End of the Raj after quit call?

W/L ARGUS 21/5/88

11A

by BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

**MR Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, was clinging to power by his fingernails with only President Botha standing between him and final defeat.**

After the 24-17 vote calling for Mr Rajbansi's resignation yesterday, a spokesman for the President's office, Mr Jack Viviers, said the President would react to the House decision "after he has had the opportunity to consider it in terms of the constitution"

Dr J N Reddy, leader of the opposition alliance, said the President should ask Mr Rajbansi to resign. He would ask to see the President on Wednesday.

Mr Rajbansi was still resorting last night to what he has considered his strongest threat — that of an early election.

He said he would be asking his Ministers' Council next week to approve a request to the President for elections.

For the first time after weeks of hints, Mr Rajbansi's National People's Party claimed that religious differences were behind the move, with Mr Abdulla Khan MP (NPP Brickfield) claiming he had been asked to support a Muslim plot.

## Amazing scenes

This was strongly denied by the alliance members, who said the membership of the alliance gave this the lie.

The vote came after two days of amazing scenes and unprecedented confusion.

At one stage Mr Rajbansi's NPP had two contradictory amending motions before the House, one calling for a vote of confidence in the Ministers' Council and another calling for a vote of no confidence.

Both were thrown out in favour of the motion calling on him to resign.

And Mr Rajbansi voted in favour of one of his party's motions and with his political enemies on the other.

At a Press conference immediately after the vote Mr Rajbansi said "It is business as usual. If I wanted to I could have won the vote."

Minutes before the vote Mr Rajbansi made an appeal to Mr Reddy as leader of Solidarity and Mr Samaroo Pacha, chairman of the aligned rebel People's Party of South Africa which broke away to wreck Mr Rajbansi's majority, not to force the issue to a vote.

## "Anything possible"

Mr Rajbansi told the Press conference there was no moral obligation on him to resign because the members of the House did not respect values or conventions.

He made a prediction that anything was possible in the House of Delegates.

However, his opponents were saying "It is the last days of the Raj."



D10 21/5/88

# Vlok accuses Van Eck of slander

**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — Organisations and people, like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who were encouraging the residents of the Lawaai-kamp squatter area in George not to move were playing with "fire", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday

He also named the Black Sash, the United

Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) ~~(Nusas)~~

He accused Mr Van Eck of slandering the police behind the privilege of parliament without listening to the other side ~~(Nusas)~~ ~~(Nusas)~~

Attempts to improve the living conditions of people in Lawaai-kamp, a squatter camp in which people lived in terrible circumstances,

were being thwarted by malicious organisations who were trying to incite them not to move

They were doing this while the authorities were making a determined effort to give them decent living conditions at Sandkraal

Organisations such as the Black Sash, UDF and Nusas were trying to stir up the people in Lawaai-kamp and disrupt law and order.

JOHANNESBURG

Jomo Sono, the South African soccer star, will not be playing in Sunday's second Kick-Aids fund-raising soccer match in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Sono will now not be playing in the star-studded and lucrative game, plus other games scheduled for Europe and the United States, following an International Federation of Football Associations (Fifa) directive.

~~SONO~~ (119) ~~SONO~~

# Sono gets the boot for Zimbabwe

## fund-raiser game

And, according to the African News Organisation, the ANC and the PAC support the Sono ban. The ANC has nothing against Sono, but in terms of the intended total isolation of South Africa from the internat-

ional sports arena, it does not matter that Sono is black, an ANC spokesman said.

The participation of individuals like Sono in international competition has to be condemned, said a PAC

spokesman.

The Zimbabwe ban on Sono follows another Fifa ban, on three Zambian soccer players — John Butcher Mwanza, Albert Bwala and Philemon Mulala — for playing in South Africa.

Mwanza and Mulala are reported to have played for Kaiser Chiefs, and Bwala, who played for a Swazi club, allegedly played a game in South Africa under an assumed name. — Sapa

DID . 211 5788

# Motlana in Israel to express opposition to its ties with SA

JERUSALEM — An anti-apartheid activist from Soweto arrived in Israel yesterday for a six-day visit and said he planned to express opposition to Israel's economic ties with South Africa.

Israeli radio reported that the South African Embassy tried to block the visit by the Soweto leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, who was invited by the Israeli foreign ministry and trade union leaders.

The press officer for the South African Embassy, Mr Tom Markram, said yesterday that the embassy had not tried to prevent Dr Motlana's visit and had in fact had "no knowledge" of the trip.

An Israeli foreign ministry spokesman said the South Africans were informed of the invitation, but "we received no approach whatsoever to prevent his (Dr Motlana's) trip".

"We place importance on this visit. Dr Motlana

is one of the major black political leaders in South Africa and we think it is important to have an exchange of views," he said. (IA)

Dr Motlana, a member of a Soweto committee that works for black rights in the Johannesburg, fought for more than 25 years before he was granted a passport by South African officials in 1986. During that time, he was forced to turn down dozens of invitations to travel and speak abroad.

He is to meet with President Chaim Herzog, trade union leaders and foreign ministry officials. He said on arrival that he plans to express the opposition of black South Africans to continuing Israeli economic ties with South Africa.

Dr Motlana also said that he was anxious to get a first-hand look at the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories. — Sapa-AP

**SEVERAL African National Congress "terrorists" had recently joined the SA Police and were helping in the "systematic destruction" of the ANC, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.**

Speaking during the debate on his vote in the House of Assembly, the minister said in the past 18 months the police had arrested 525 ANC insurgents and killed another 54.

"For the first time in the history of the ANC, their leaders, such as Thabo Mbeki, are prepared to acknowledge openly that the ANC's morale had reached a low point," Mr Vlok said.

He also said he had received a "shocking" report about conditions in the ANC's Quatra punishment camp in Angola, where about 30 people, mostly exiled South Africans, were in detention.

The ANC had recently suffered heavy losses and the conviction that the organization was engaged in a "futile struggle" had become widespread among its members, he claimed.

"Last year the security forces eliminated 490 terrorists, of whom 44 were shot dead. Between the period January 1 and the end of April 1988, 79 terrorists have already been arrested and 10 shot dead," Mr Vlok said.

A number of ANC cells had been exposed and the recent arrest of four highly trained white ANC members had emphasized again the futility of the ANC's efforts.

Mr Vlok said that to be sent to the ANC's punishment camp, Quatra, north of Luanda, was the fate of disillusioned members.

The time had arrived for members and those who wanted to join the ANC to look reality in the face.

"They are heading for a disaster... terrorists who are sent to South Africa expose themselves to a suicide mission because confrontation with the South African security forces means either a certain death or a long period of imprisonment."

To those already in the ANC, he said "Give up, before it is too late."

"A number of ANC terrorists have recently broken ties with the ANC and joined the South African Police where a new future has been offered to them."

"They now fight side by side with the police to stop terrorism and anarchy and have already made a major contribution in our systematic destruction of the ANC," Mr Vlok said.

An ANC spokesman denied from Lusaka last night that 579 ANC insurgents had been killed or captured in the last 18 months, saying the South African government "always exaggerates".

On claims that ANC insurgents had turned and were now working with the SA Police, he said: "Perhaps they have captured one or two who have given information under torture, but the rest is not true" — Political Staff and Sapa.

ANC, collapse

ANC Times 21/5/88  
(11A)



Adriaan Vlok

# UDF in peace call to Vlok

By S'BU MNGADI

IN a renewed effort to end the ongoing violence in the Maritzburg region, the UDF has applied to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to release and lift restrictions on 30 key activists

The application is in compliance with Section 4 (e) of the restriction orders imposed on the UDF and 18 other organisations in February this year

The UDF, most of whose national officer bearers are either detained or restricted, said the 30 could play an important role in ending the violence that has claimed the lives of more than 600 people and left about 60 000 people homeless

Among those affected by the bannings were UDF co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, national treasurer Azhar Cachalia, Natal midlands president, chairman and co-secretaries, Dr Simon Gqubule, AS Chetty, S'khumbuzo Ngwenya and Martin Wittenburg, and national executive member, Zola Malindi

Gumede, Sisulu, Cachalia and Malindi were to have taken part in peace talks between the warring factions at the request of the Inkatha leadership. The meeting was initiated by Natal clergymen and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce and backed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu

"This peace process was interrupted by the detention of almost the entire UDF delegation in the peace talks on February 10 and 11 and by the restrictions placed on the UDF and some key leaders on February 24," said the UDF

"Although the violence has diminished in the short-term, most of the issues which sparked the violence have not been addressed. We believe there is no hope of real peace in the region unless the peace process continues"

The UDF reminded Vlok that the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce had urged him at a meeting on February 27 to allow UDF and Cosatu to continue with the peace process. The organisation said it was subsequently informed by the chamber that Vlok had offered to "sympathetically consider such an application"

The UDF said "Leaders and members must be free to participate in the peace process. We believe that all those who are detained from either side, who do not have criminal charges pending, should be released to participate in the process of achieving peace. We believe that the peace process cannot continue unless detained and restricted members participate"

The UDF said the strong security force presence in the area was unnatural and could not be maintained indefinitely. No effort should be spared to restore peace to the area

The UDF also asked Vlok to relax the restrictions placed on it, to enable it to participate fully in the peace process

Meanwhile, Azapo's challenge against the restrictions imposed on it and 18 other organisations is still pending in the Durban Supreme Court

*Handwritten notes:*  
N/A  
C/press  
22/1/82

**PRESIDENT BOTHA** this weekend stood confronted by yet another constitutional crisis in the faction-riven House of Delegates

Startling personal attacks were made this week as the majority of members of the Indian chamber of Parliament sought to unseat Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the wily chairman of the Ministers Council. In a bruising debate on Friday the House voted 24-17 that Mr Rajbansi did not have the support of the House. But Mr Rajbansi is simply refusing to go.

Top-level meetings involving President Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis and parties in the House were scheduled for early this week.

President Botha is confronted by two choices

● Concede to the wishes of the majority in the House and reconstitute a new Ministers Council without Mr Rajbansi



AMICHAND RAJBANSI



PRESIDENT PW BOTHA

## President faced by two choices as Indian MPs rebel

● Dissolve the House and call for new elections

A spokesman for the State President's Office said yesterday that Mr Botha would react to the new development in the Indian House of the tricameral Parliament "after he has had an oppor-

tunity to consider it in terms of the constitution"

It is understood, however, that President Botha, wary of the constant bickering and shifting of support, will wait to see if there are any further developments

Meanwhile, members of

the House seem keen that Mr Rajbansi should go, but less keen about returning to the electorate to stabilise the situation

This is the second time President Botha has been drawn directly into a dispute concerning one of the ministers in the two other chambers of Parliament

Earlier this year he was asked to sack Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture, following demands from the Labour Party, majority party in the House of Representatives

### Amended

Yesterday Mr Rajbansi said he had no intention of resigning, whether convention demanded it or not. The House had never had any respect for conventions in the past, anyway, he said

On Friday, after a long and involved debate, the House voted on an amended motion introduced by the Deputy Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, and also Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Samaroo Pachai (Natal Midlands) that, since Mr Rajbansi no longer enjoyed the support of the majority of members in the House, he must resign "forthwith"

### Faithful

The decision came after a bitter battle of words across the floor between the newly formed, 22-member Alliance party comprising the official Opposition, Solidarity Party of Dr J N Reddy and the breakaway group of 11 MPs who defected from Mr Rajbansi's ruling National People's Party to form the People's Party of SA (PP), which is led by the MP for Actonville, Mr A L Lambat.

Those who defected and voted against Mr Rajbansi and 16 other MPs, were, apart from Mr Pachai, Ministers Ismail Kathrada (Budget), Raman Bhana (Health Services and Welfare), Kassipershad Ramduth (Education and Culture).

The only Minister faithful to Mr Rajbansi to the end was the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr S V Naicker

# Rajbansi crisis for PW

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

(11A)

22/9/88

St James

(11A)

...the central message of makers also feared that en... by the relative lack of resis... eral key actors also con-

# Cape BC groups discuss strategy

CP Correspondent

THE Port Elizabeth branch of the newly formed black consciousness organisation - the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee - and the local Azanian Students Movement branch held a public meeting last week to discuss their role and to popularise their activities.

The organisation was formed after the ban on Azapo and its youth wing, the Azanian Youth Organisation

The meeting was held at St Barnabas church, KwaZakele

Newly elected secretary, Ngcobo Nguna - who had been publicity secretary of the banned Azapo in the Eastern Cape - said the organisation was gearing itself to popularise its structures and to take resolutions on issues like the October municipal elections

Nguna said the new organisation fully endorsed the "isolation campaign" - a black consciousness strategy to "eliminate the enemy - the whites" This campaign had been adopted by Azapo a long time ago, he said

"We want to teach the community how to fight racism in this country," he said

Some of the resolutions taken by the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee are to

- Call on all sports bodies to discuss their role in the "isolation campaign"
- Form a temporary structure to identify groups in the community who are most likely to vote in the forthcoming municipal elections
- To hold seminars to discuss the new Labour Relations Bill



# I am no white man - Clegg

MONTREUX — "I don't want to be a white man," British-born South African musician Johnny Clegg told viewers at the Golden Rose of Montreux television festival here this week as he dedicated his video *Shadow Man* to "all those who have died fighting for a non-racial South Africa and for those of us who have spent half our lives in jail" *Sowetan 23/5/85*

But Clegg, whose French-produced feature was an entry in the independent section of this year's competition, also says "Mine is not social or protest music I don't preach, we just make a record like a photograph — it's up to you to decide"

Clegg and his group Savuka are big in the European pop world, particularly in France. Currently, his *Asimbonanga* is No. 35 on the European top 100 which puts him ahead of stars like Eddy Grant, Tiffany, Boy George, Johnny Hallyday, Whitney Houston and Depeche Mode

## Admires

Clegg takes his French interviewer on a tour of Johannesburg's hostels — "a jail where you pay for your room" — as he tells how he was arrested at 15, the first of many arrests, for visiting the hostels to be with the Zulu people he admires

"They are surrounded by a special barbed wire — it's the best in the world and even other governments buy it from South Africa"

In between songs, like *Third World Child* and *Scatterlings of Africa*, Clegg says "There is a great deal of contradiction here. On the surface there's lots of change, reforms, but there's lots of repression underneath. The security police have clamped down and there are 20000 people in detention, including 500 children"

## Mixing

His mother also tells of how he got into trouble and the difficulty he had mixing with the Zulus. "You walked miles and miles to be with them because you could not use their buses and you did not have a car," she recalls at one point

Clegg describes South Africa as a place where "first world culture has been pushed down on a third world culture" and says "we are going through a dark corridor in our history"

*Shadow Man* was one of 41 entries in the independent section at the *Golden Rose*, the first year non-national broadcasters have had their own category. The programme aroused some interest among buyers at the festival but did not win a prize.



11A

# Calls for ANC, PAC to unite

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia. — African states are taking a public verbal bashing for not giving enough money and support to liberation movements, while behind the scenes some are criticizing the guerilla movements for lack of unity.

"We are going to embarrass them into paying up," one Southern African delegate said yesterday

He was referring to the \$12 million (R24m) in arrears owed by the 50-member Organization of African Unity (OAU) to its liberation committee, some of the debts going back 22 years to the founding of the committee

Delegates at the four-day OAU foreign ministers' meeting were debating a progress report on the fight to bring independence to South Africa and Namibia.

"We urge that the firepower of the liberation movements, as well as their diplomatic and organizational efforts, should be directed at the enemy — the apartheid regime," said the Zimbabwe Foreign Minister, Mr Nathan

Shamuyarira, newly elected chairman of the 22-member liberation committee

## Pan-Africanist Congress

Conference sources said Mr Shamuyarira was repeating a controversial call for a rapprochement between the African National Congress, the largest group fighting South Africa, and the rival Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

The PAC was part of the 76-year-old ANC till 1959, when some followers broke away from the parent organization in a disagreement over the role of whites in the fight against Apartheid

The PAC also objects to the ANC's close links with the Communist Party of South Africa

The ANC has its headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, and the PAC's base is in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Some African countries, led by Nigeria, have demanded that the two movements put aside their differences and reunite

"Inter-movement rivalry or individual rivalry should have no place at this point in time," the

Nigerian Foreign Minister, General Ike Nwachukwu, said in an interview

"There is a crying need for the ANC, the PAC and all the liberation movements to come together for the final push for victory"

Nigeria is a member of the liberation committee and one of its major financial backers

But General Nwachukwu said his government would not use arm-twisting tactics against the liberation movements

"We will reason out with them the need for a united front"

Mr Gora Ebrahim, the PAC foreign secretary, said his organization was ready to discuss a united front with the ANC But he said it would have to be based on fundamental principles to which he did not believe the ANC would agree

"If you want to realize a democratic state, which the ANC says it does, then you have to recognize that there are other political forces in South Africa," Mr Ebrahim said in an interview

The ANC insists that it is working hard for a united struggle — Sapa-AP

# Rajbansi fiasco — Botha to act?

Own Correspondent

IN

Ad

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to act soon over a power struggle in the House of Delegates where the leader of the ruling National Peoples Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is defiantly clinging to power

JO

Ad

or

This was said yesterday by the leader of a newly-formed opposition alliance Dr J N Reddy — who has been tipped to take over as Chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council

President Botha told Dr Reddy in a letter at the weekend that although he had not yet received a formal request to dissolve the House of Delegates, he still had certain powers to act in terms of the Constitution

"I wish to point out that I have, both in and outside Parliament, repeatedly and unequivocally expressed my commitment to honest administration and that I view any indication to the contrary in a serious light," President Botha said

"Thus far, I have not received any formal request from the House of Delegates to appoint a commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities. In the event of such a substantiated request, I would naturally consider the matter," President Botha said

Dr Reddy, who had earlier

## 'He's at the bottom of the dumps'

DURBAN. — A survey conducted by the locally-based Institute of Black Research has found that Mr Amichand Rajbansi is disliked by most Indians — contrary to his own claims about his popularity.

At a recent press conference the leader of the House of Delegates said he believed he and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela enjoyed equal popularity in the Indian community

But the Institute's spokesman, Dr Fatima Meer, said the survey, which had the names of 37 Indians listed as leaders of the Indian community, had shown Mr Rajbansi to be the most unpopular personality

"In fact, he is at the bottom of the dumps," Dr Meer, a respected sociologist and Research Director of the Institute, said yesterday. — Sapa

asked President Botha to appoint a commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption, told a Durban newspaper, The Mercury, yesterday that it had been demonstrated beyond any doubt on Friday that Mr Rajbansi no longer had the support of the majority in the House

"This is the first time it was openly demonstrated and it is now up to President Botha to act which, we no doubt believe, he will do shortly"

Dr Reddy said elections for the House should be held once a judicial commission of inquiry into alleged corruption had been held

The combined opposition would ask President Botha to ap-

point a commission as soon as possible

Until allegations were publicly tested and proved, an election would not be advisable, he said

Mr Rajbansi, who was back at his Arena Park home in Chatsworth at the weekend, said "A political analyst should find out why Dr Reddy's notice of motion was not accepted. The motion said as I no longer command the majority support in the House of Delegates, the State President should relieve me and appoint another person

"Why was a watered-down amendment, which called on me to resign, accepted, shifting the onus from the State President to me?" he said

# 'Surprise' at police ANC figures

CAF  
Tink's  
23/5/88  
114

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

STATEMENTS by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, about the number of ANC members killed and arrested over the past 16 months and about conditions in the Quatra detention camp in Angola may have some foundation, Dr Tom Lodge said yesterday

But he was surprised at the high number of ANC "terrorists" Mr Vlok said had been eliminated last year — 490 of whom 44 were killed — because these differed from earlier police figures which estimated that about 160 ANC members had been eliminated in 1987

Dr Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and a leading academic expert on the ANC, said there had been no confirmation by the ANC of the existence of the Quatra detention camp.

He said that last year Mr Vlok had given a list of about 30 people who had died in ANC detention camps and there had been several statements suggesting that the Quatra camp existed, but there had been no independent confirmation of this

"However, it is quite likely that it does exist. Presumably the ANC has some form of sanction over its members

"In the circumstances, I would imagine that conditions would be quite bad, but beyond that there is not much once can say."

## Limited problem

If there were 80 people in the detention camp, this would not be exceptional and indicated that discipline within the organization was a fairly limited problem

In the absence of further evidence, it was impossible to assess Mr Vlok's statement that a number of ANC members had recently joined the police, but as recent trials had shown there was no question that there had been defectors and double-agents.

He also did not doubt that casualties had been high.

"Everything he says, given exaggeration and given his nuances, may have some foundation"

Dr Lodge had not seen the statement by Mr Thabo Mbeki that morale in the ANC was at a low point, but similar claims were made when the Nkomati Accord was signed and there was a mutiny in 1984, but the ANC was "able to come bouncing back after that".

Dr Lodge said he was not able to account for "the serious discrepancy" between Mr Vlok's figures of ANC members arrested and killed last year and earlier police figures and perhaps the police were counting differently by including all people involved in security trials, but the earlier figures made "more sense"

Mr Vlok's figures of 79 people arrested and ten killed during the first four months of 1988 were consistent with the earlier police figures for last year.

# More hard-hitting than any political statement

1109

23/5788

Liberary

In spite of the title of this book, the writings of Lawrence Tutu (unlike the more provocative remarks by his cousin, Archbishop Desmond Tutu) are not particularly political. Yet the forthright honesty with which he writes makes his articles more hard-hitting than any political statement. Most have been published before, in *Probe* magazine between 1979 and 1986.

Few would fail to be touched by Mr Tutu's description of the little four-roomed houses in which the majority of black South Africans live. Their smallness, he says, forces the children to play in the streets where they are vulnerable to accidents and evil influences.

The mushrooming of shacks in the backyards, aggravated by the accommodation crisis, adds to the problems where as many as five to 10 families live in a backyard sharing a toilet and a tap.

## PROBLEMS MULTIPLY

"In these houses", he writes, "where there are communal toilets and no bathrooms, problems multiply. Those who designed them did not expect tenants to answer nature's various calls at night. The bucket system inside the house is effective, but if there is no disinfectant — which is too expensive for some families — the whole house gets perfumed with the unwelcome smell."

He is particularly eloquent when he writes about black education in his area. At the time of writing, he says, teachers were viewing children as computers who had to be beaten or assaulted into understanding lessons. They were being



Lawrence Tutu (left), a columnist from *Duncan Village*, East London, whose articles were first published by *Probe* magazine and the *Daily Dispatch*, gives a vivid insight into a black man's world in *TWILIGHT OF THE STRUGGLE* (Lovedale Press R15,80), reviewed by Winnie Graham.

ruthlessly programmed and were going home shattered.

He describes the lot of the child who wakes up to find both parents have already left for work. Often there was "not a crumb" for the child to eat before he went to school and if he arrived late, the teacher rained blows on him with a stick.

"He is hungry. He is cold. He spends the next two hours or so on a concrete floor and on an empty stomach. He is expected to absorb lessons in this condition," Mr Tutu writes. "I believe a biscuit before classes is far better for a child than five lashes on the palm of his hand or on his head. This approach could also solve the lateness problem."

Mr Tutu says parents complained that teachers had a tendency to demand money from them and their children for which there was no explanation. If the children did not pay, they were either beaten or sent away from the school. Some teachers even took

the children's pocket money. He believed the problem stemmed from the totally inadequate salaries paid to black teachers.

Mr Tutu's anger is not directed at the government only, however, and he is very critical of certain black capitalists who are "ruthless, selfish, hardened".

"The corruption of white society is a good excuse for these blacks to exploit very ruthlessly their own people," he writes. Biblical quotations are scattered

throughout the book but, says Mr Tutu, Christianity is declining in South African townships and Christians are responsible for the apparent loss of interest and trust in religion.

The youth, specially the educated, spent their weekends drinking in shebeens or playing sport because the Christian church did not offer an acceptable or relevant alternative, only "a promise of a place in the sun in the hereafter".

"Churches have become weeping places for mothers who pour out their frustration before a strange God who has no respect or sympathy for part of His creation," Mr Tutu writes.

"Black ministers are having a tough time explaining and defending a religion that has come to be regarded as a political philosophy designed for the survival of one race group only."

He describes poverty as the disease that destroys the noble fibre of the morality in man and his community. In many cases, he says, the evil of poverty has forced honest men and women into "a

moral and spiritual cul-de-sac," pressuring them and throwing them over "the cliff of dishonesty."

"Starve any man and he will degenerate faster than you anticipate," he says. "But the poor should not deceive themselves into thinking poverty is an acceptable excuse for being corrupt."

"It does not help to say you worked hard for your wealth so why should you share it with the poor. It is a great risk to be greedy, stingy and selfish as you may lose all in the end. Take care of the Lazarus at your gate and you will find favour with Almighty God."

He explains by telling a simple story why people in the townships hated the administration boards. "A senior official employed in local government saw a black businessman driving a beautiful American car. I was standing next to him when he said, 'I wonder how many bags of dagga it took that bugger to sell to buy that car'."

# White ANC group was 'planning a spectacular strike to recoup prestige'

By Patrick Laurence

The Broederstroem quartet of alleged African National Congress guerrillas were planning a spectacular strike to recoup prestige for it, according to Mr Craig Williamson, a former police agent who once penetrated the upper echelons of the organisation.

Mr Williamson, now a member of the President's Council, and whose name is said to have been on a list found in possession of the quartet, claimed the alleged insurgents were a "special operations unit" on a major mission requiring detailed planning and high technical skill.

He said the ANC had not carried out a major, high-profile sabotage attack since the raid on the Koeberg nuclear plant in 1982 and the alleged special operations unit had been sent to South Africa to carry out an attack of that magnitude.

Mr Williamson made two further points: white ANC recruits were generally better educated than their black comrades; the racial composition of the Broederstroem quartet, all white, was thus consistent with that of a special operations unit.

The ANC guerrilla campaign had two prongs, urban and rural, Mr Williamson said, noting: "I have never heard of white recruits being used in rural units."

As an undercover agent Mr Williamson had an opportunity to observe, talk to and assess white ANC agents.

Invited to offer an assessment of what motivated whites to join the ANC, he said: "Most are committed Marxists. They do not see themselves as traitors. They believe they are fulfilling their class role.

"But some operate from a moral-liberal point of view. They believe the Government is so illegitimate that it must be overthrown."

What of the view that whites who joined the ANC were maladjusted, that they were, in Trotsky's contemptuous phrase, bourgeois adventurists?

Mr Williamson replied that one of the quartet was maladjusted and that he might easily have done the ANC's cause immense harm by ill-considered and rash action calculated to cause shivers of horror through Western capitals.

But, he added, another of the quartet was a "sophisticated Marxist" who would have objected to action using the SAM-7 missile to shoot down a civilian aircraft, which would have harmed the ANC politically.

Mr Williamson believed there was tension between the two members — the "commander" and the "commissar" — a tension which, he asserted, was reflected on a larger scale between the military and political wings in the ANC itself.

(11R)

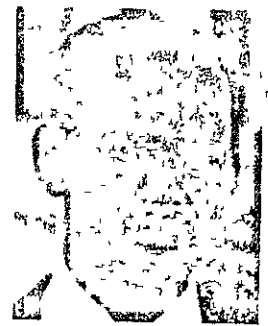


Stas #23 23/5/88

Q1-727/1-X

Politician received death threats, says widow

# MP gunned down by masked killer



Mr Pieter Jacobs shot and killed by a man wearing a balaclava

Staff Reporters

Several death threats had been made to Mr Pieter Sam Jacobs, the Labour Party MP for Alra Park who was shot and killed at Edenpark, Alberton, last night

This was revealed today by his widow, Louise Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said today that a seasoned team of detectives worked through the night last night on the case Mrs Jacobs said the first threat came before a member of the Edenpark management committee, Mr Frans Dunster was killed at his home on March 6 1986

"Both my husband and Mr Dunster had worked to expose corruption on the management committee, especially in the allocation of housing," she said "My husband had received many threats since then"

## Soweto weekend 10 killed, 22 raped

Twelve people were murdered in Soweto at the weekend, a police spokesman said today

Three attempted murders, 22 rapes and 10 armed robberies were reported

Four people have been arrested in connection with four murders and police have arrested seven others in connection with rape, Major Noel Hartwell, police spokesman for Soweto said

Nine people have been arrested in connection with robbery

Theft rated high on the crime list and seven people were arrested in connection with seven out of 33 cases of theft that took place between Friday morning and this morning

Seventeen vehicles were stolen, while 12 stolen vehicles were recovered

Five people were arrested in connection with three cases of housebreaking and theft out of a total of 22 cases reported

The Liquor Squad arrested 10 men and seven women in liquor raids

Twelve men were held for alleged drug dealing

## Ex-mayor tells of bomb attack that killed two

Former Soweto mayor and Sofasonke Party leader, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, described today how a Soweto political meeting turned into a bloodbath when explosive devices were hurled into the crowd yesterday, killing two people and injuring 40

Mr Tshabalala narrowly escaped injury He had arrived at his party's meeting in Orlando West shortly before the attack, he said

"I was about to address the meeting and then we heard the AK-47 It was coming from the direction of a shop"

Three grenades were lobbed into the crowd, he said People standing close to him had been injured, one fatally

No arrests had been made by this morning, said Soweto police spokesman Major Noel Hartwell Earlier, he said the origins of the explosive devices had not been determined

A Baragwanath Hospital spokesman said 11 people were admitted and 29 were treated in the casualty department and discharged One person was dead on arrival and another died in the resuscitation room

### CRITICAL

One person, with head injuries, was in a critical condition, seven were stable and three had undergone surgery

Estimates of the size of the crowd vary widely Some reports put the crowd at 100, while Mr Tshabalala said it was Sofasonke's biggest meeting with nearly 8 000 people

Mr Tshabalala had no doubt the assailants were people who criticised Sofasonke members as being "puppets" of the Government

Three people in Baragwanath Hospital had confessed to the attack, said Mr Tshabalala They claimed to be associated with a prominent anti apartheid figure, he said

But Major Hartwell, stating clearly that there had been no arrests so far, declined to comment today on Mr Tshabalala's claims that there had been shooting with an AK-47 and that people had confessed their organisational links - Staff Reporters, Own Correspondent and Sapa

Three people who witnessed the killing of Mr Jacobs (43), MP for Nigel in the House of Representatives, are being questioned by the police

Three shots were fired into his car, one of them fatally wounding him

A police spokesman today said Mr Jacobs was on his way home from a church council meeting at the Edenpark Methodist Church at 8 40 pm

An unknown man, wearing a balaclava, smashed the driver's window of Mr Jacobs's vehicle

Three shots were fired with a 9 mm pistol One of them struck Mr Jacobs in the heart, police said

### Fled

The gunman fled and disappeared between nearby houses

Mrs Jacobs (43) said she accompanied her husband to church, but left early to prepare his clothes for a meeting between MPs and MPPs today in Pretoria Mr Jacobs stayed later to attend a meeting of deacons

"Today's meeting was important to my husband, as he was to concentrate on housing conditions in Tamboekiesfontein, but I don't think it was connected with his murder," she said

Three deacons, two men and a woman, were in the car at the time of the shooting

No arrest has been made in connection with the incident

Mr Jacobs is survived by his wife and four children

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the murder of Mr Jacobs had come as a great shock

Mr Hendrickse said today it was with sadness that he recorded his personal and his party's appreciation and dedication for Mr Jacobs's loyalty to the party and its leadership

### Reasons

He expressed his and the Labour Party's condolences to Mr Jacobs's family

Mr Jacobs was a member of the up-and-coming younger group of MPs which is extremely dedicated to the community and the programme for its upliftment

"This could be one of the reasons why he was shot," he said

Mr Hendrickse said he did not think this meant Mr Jacobs might have been shot for political motives

He believed there might be a link with the shooting a year or so ago of the mayor of Edenpark There were suggestions then and possibly now of bribery and corruption in the local situation, he said

Mr Vlok also expressed his condolences to the family He said "It was with shock and revulsion that I learned of the cold blooded murder"

Mr Jacobs's murder follows a series of attacks on Labour Party politicians in recent years



Beaming Miss Elena Hourides (18) was crowned 'Miss Greece' on Saturday at a function by the Johannesburg Greek Community's Iphaca Youth Club Elena, a full-time dancer, won a ticket to Greece

## Heavy toll in Cape storms

CAPE TOWN - The Cape of Storms lived up to its name at the weekend with one man drowned, five missing and 21 rescued in six separate incidents

The skipper and four crewmen of a Sea Link supply vessel, the Sea Service, are feared drowned after it capsized in heavy seas off Mouille Point yesterday

In other incidents a tunny boat, the Jomay, sank off Sandy Bay after it struck a reef early yesterday morning and a leaking boat, the St Valentine, had to be beached at Hout Bay after being battered in heavy swells A search was also conducted for a two-man catamaran in False Bay

The body of Mr Charles Craig (38) of Ocean View was recovered after the Sea Service sank

A spokesman for Sealink identified the missing crew members as the skipper, Mr Steward Leo (55) of Lotus River, Mr Samuel le Fleur (48) of Mitchell's Plain, Mr Sidney Felix (56) of Mitchell's Plain and Mr Bernard Abra-

The Sea Service capsized soon after she left port at about 3 pm Mr Craig's body was recovered by the NSRI, which said he had not been wearing a life jacket

The Pentow Marine Salvage tug Causeway Adventurer is expected to continue the search today

Early yesterday morning, the owner-skipper of the 18 m wooden trawler Jomay and 16 crew were taken to safety in Hout Bay by the NSRI's Rescue Vessel 1 after the trawler hit a reef and sank

On Saturday afternoon the Kalk Bay-based wooden trawler St Valentine sprang one of her hull planks in heavy seas off the Slangkop lighthouse and was beached at Hout Bay

Two men were rescued from a catamaran in False Bay after an extensive search

The St Elmos Fire piloted by Mr Hans Kilian and co piloted by Mr Miles Boock was in fourth position in the 110 km False Bay off shore powerboat race, but was not seen at the end of the race

## 'Olympic bomb'

TORONTO newspaper terday the gence ager vered a N plot to be around the courage a spectators ing the Seon The To quoting v sources in tary and th telligence ported th called for to begin against a TWA, Brit and Air Fra The terr involved "small bom craft and au

# Slain MP: <sup>AKGUS 23/5/88</sup> Wife tells of <sup>(11A)</sup> death threats

By DAVID BRAUN Political Staff

Labour MP Mr Peter Jacobs, who was gunned down by an unknown killer after attending church last night, had received several death threats, according to his wife

Three people who saw the killing are being questioned by the police

His death has shocked and upset fellow MPs.

Mr Jacobs, 43, a church deacon, was shot dead outside the Methodist church in Edenpark, Alberton, by a man in a balaclava. He was in his car with three other deacons when the man approached the car.

The man smashed the driver's window and fired three shots from a 9mm pistol at Mr Jacobs, killing him instantly.

Mrs Louise Jacobs, 43, said she had accompanied her husband to church, but left early to prepare his clothes for a meeting between MPs and MPCs today in Pretoria. Mr Jacobs stayed on to attend a meeting of deacons.

**Peter Jacobs**

"Today's meeting was important to my husband, as he was to concentrate on housing conditions in Tamboekiesfontein, but I don't think it was connected with his murder," she said.

"Peter was always the last to leave on such occasions, as he loved to sit and chat."

She said her husband, MP for Alra Park and a former Labour Party whip, had received several death threats, the first just before a member of the Edenpark management committee, Mr Frans Dunster, was killed at his home in March 1986.

"Both my husband and Mr Dunster had worked to expose corruption on the management committee, especially in the allocation of housing," she said. "My husband had received many threats since then."

Mr Jacobs, who was born in Uitenhage, leaves his wife and four children.

His murder followed a series of attacks on

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

## MLGUS 23/5/88 NA Death threats for slain MP

(Continued from page 1)

Labour Party politicians in recent years, including the bombing of the home of the Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Luwellyn Landers.

The killing cast a shadow over the first joint debate of Parliament today.

The Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, said he had known Mr Jacobs to be a man of great loyalty to his community, who had had the community's interests at heart.

Mr Jacobs had also worked hard to make the tricameral system of Parliament work.

### SECURITY

He said: "Our sympathy goes out to the House of Representatives in this dark hour. This senseless deed will not intimidate or threaten you. If instead it encourages you to proceed with greater dedication, then Peter Jacobs will not have died for nothing."

The Labour leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said Mr Jacobs's death had come as a great shock.

He said he hoped the murder was not politically motivated.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said he had learnt of Mr Jacobs's murder "with shock and revulsion". All leads would be followed in the effort to arrest his killer.

# Assault by police claim: youths to sue Minister,

Star 23/5/88

(11A) ~~By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau~~

Two members of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) have claimed they were assaulted, sprayed with teargas and threatened with death by about 10 black and white members of the Security Police because they refused to become informers.

Mr George Mochoele (20) and Mr Louis Theko (23), both of Mamelodi East, said they intended to sue the Minister of Law and Order for damages, injuries and medical expenses.

The Public Relations Division of the South African Police in Pretoria declined to comment on the allegations because the two complainants had not laid charges and were planning to sue the Minister of Law and Order.

Police said in a telex message to The Star: "Any person who has a legitimate complaint against any member of the force should report the matter to the SAP through any existing channels, in order that their allegations can be investigated."



ADDIS ABABA — African states are taking a public tongue-lashing for not giving enough money and support to "liberation" movements while, behind the scenes, some are criticising the movements for lack of unity.

"We are going to embarrass them into paying up," a southern African delegate said yesterday. He was referring to the R24 million in arrears owed by the 50-member Organisation of African Unity to its liberation committee. Some of the debts go back 22 years to the founding of the committee.

Delegates at the OAU foreign ministers' meeting here were debating a progress report on the fight to bring independence to South Africa and Namibia.

"Your liberation committee has called on the liberation movements to close their ranks so as to achieve unity of purpose in the protracted confronta-

## Black states slated for weak 'liberation' fight support

tion with Pretoria," Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, newly elected chairman of the 22-member liberation committee, told delegates when he presented his report at a closed session on Saturday.

"We urged that the firepower of the liberation movements as well as their diplomatic and organisational efforts should be directed at the enemy — the apartheid regime."

Confidence sources said Mr Shamuyarira was repeating a controversial call for a rapprochement between the African National Congress, the largest group fighting the Pretoria gov-

ernment, and the rival Pan-Africanist Congress. Some African countries, led by Nigeria, have demanded that the two movements put aside their differences and reunite.

"Inter-movement rivalry or individual rivalry should have no place at this point in time," Nigerian Foreign Minister General Ike Nwachukwu said in an interview. "There is a crying need for the ANC, the PAC and all the liberation movements to come together for the final push for victory."

Nigeria is a member of the liberation committee and one of its major financial backers, but General Nwa-

chukwu said his government would not use arm-twisting tactics.

ANC and PAC representatives in Addis Ababa, who have observer status at the OAU, ruled out an immediate unification.

Mr Gora Ebrahim, PAC foreign secretary, said his organisation was ready to discuss a united front with the ANC, but it would have to be based on fundamental principles to which he did not believe the ANC would agree.

For a long time, the PAC has fought ANC efforts to be recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the people of South Africa.

He contends it is false to say the ANC is the biggest or most effective of the liberation movements. In the past year, he said, the PAC had won growing recognition, including being approached for its opinions by Washington and London — Sapa-AP

# Explosives at Soweto rally: 2 die, 40 hurt

CAL Times

23/5/88

11R

JOHANNESBURG — Two people died and about 40 were wounded when "explosive devices" were lobbed at a political rally in Soweto yesterday.

The attack came amid an upsurge of violence at the weekend, in which five people were killed in the on-going political feud in Natal.

Eye-witnesses at the rally said two "explosive devices" were thrown from behind a house into a crowd of more than 100 people at an open-air rally for the conservative Soweto political party called "Sofasonke", a Zulu word meaning "we will die together".

Police spokesman Major Noel Hartwell said the attack happened about 1pm, but could not identify the "explosive device".

The injured were taken to Baragwanath Hospital where one person was reported by a hospital spokesman to be in a critical condition. Ten people were hospitalized and a further 29 people were treated and discharged.

The motive for the attack was not known, but the leader of the Sofasonke Party and former mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, has often been branded a "sell-out" by radical opponents for "participating in the system" of local government.

Meanwhile, feuding has erupted again in Natal — claiming five lives.

The police, in their weekend unrest reports, said three people were stabbed to death and two others shot dead by gunmen on Saturday.

A man and a woman were shot dead in Henley. A man was stabbed to death at Taylor's Halt, while a woman was stabbed to death at Mpumalanga. At KwaDengeze township the body of a man who had apparently been stabbed to death was found.

At least 13 people have died in the area in the past week, one of the worst since last January when police reinforcements were drafted into townships around Maritzburg.

Church groups estimate that more than 500 people have been killed since 1987 when the bitter power struggle between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha started.

Mr Radley Keys, a Progressive Federal Party (PFP) official, said last week that the heavy security reinforcements had restored a measure of calm to the Maritzburg townships.

In other incidents of unrest two men were injured when a number of shots were fired at them by unidentified people at Chesterville. — Sapa-Reuter

# Woman stabbed

From Page 1

head, United Democratic Front (UDF) and the more conservative Zulu Inkatha movement.

In the latest fighting, a black man was shot dead by a gunman in Henley, near Pietermaritzburg, the police said.

A black woman was killed and another wounded in another shooting incident in the same township.

A man was stabbed to death by fellow blacks at Taylor's Halt and a black woman was stabbed to death and her house stoned by black assailants at nearby Mpumalanga.

At KwaDengeze township, police said they found the body of a black man who had apparently been stabbed to death.

Two black men were injured by gun shots in Chesterville.

Padley Keys, a local official of the liberal Progressive Federal Party, said last week that the heavy security reinforcements had restored a measure of calm to the Pietermaritzburg townships, which spread across rolling hills.

"The violence has been held down for a while but it seems to be rearing its head again," he said.

Desperate living conditions and a criminal element had exacerbated the unrest, Keys said — Sapa-Reuter.

# 5 killed as violence hits Natal

BLACK-against-black feuding has erupted again in South Africa's worst trouble spot, Natal Province, claiming five lives, police said yesterday.

Three people were stabbed to death and two others shot dead by gunmen on Saturday in Natal townships, the police said in a bulletin on political unrest.

At least 13 people have died in the area in the past week, one of the

worst since last January when police reinforcements were drafted into townships around the Natal capital of Pietermaritzburg, scene of the most savage fighting.

Church groups estimate that more than 500 people have been killed since the fighting among blacks broke out at the start of 1987.

A bitter power struggle is being waged in the area between the anti-apart-

To Page 2

11A

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23/5/88

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8/8

# OAU states criticised for lack of support

And ANC, PAC for lack of unity

**ADDIS ABABA —** African states are taking a public verbal bashing for not giving enough money and support to liberation movements, while behind the scenes some are criticising guerilla movements for lack of unity.

One delegate said: "We are going to embarrass them into paying up"

He was referring to the \$12 million owed by the 50-member Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to its Liberation Committee, some of which goes back to the founding of the committee 22 years ago.

Delegates at the four-day OAU meeting for foreign ministers were debating a progress report on the struggle for freedom in South Africa and Namibia.

The foreign minister of Zimbabwe and new chairman of the liberation committee, Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, said to delegates that the committee had called for liberation movements to join ranks in the confrontation with Pretoria

Conference sources said Mr Shamuyarira was repeating the call for a unification between the ANC and their rivals, the PAC

The PAC was part of the 76-year-old ANC until 1959 when some followers broke away from the parent organisation in a disruption over the

role of whites in the liberation struggle

The ANC is multi-racial The PAC is exclusively black African and reject white participation in the liberation struggle

The PAC also objects to the ANC's close links with the Communist Party of South Africa.

Some African countries, led by Nigeria, have demanded that the two movements put aside their differences and reunite.

The Nigerian Foreign Minister, General Ike Nwachukwu, said in an interview "There is a crying need for the ANC, the PAC and all the liberation movements to come together for the final push for victory"

The Nigerian recalled a similar alliance of Zimbabwe's rival guerilla movements during the seven-year war in Rhodesia

The foreign secretary for the PAC, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said his organisation was ready to discuss a united front with the ANC But he said it would have to be based on fundamental principles which he did

not believe the ANC would agree to

The PAC has fought ANC efforts to be recognised as the sole legitimate representative of the people of South Africa

"If you want to realise a democratic state, which the ANC says it does, then you have to recognise that there are other political forces in South Africa," Mr Ebrahim said.

He contends it is false to say the ANC is the biggest or more effective of the liberation movements In the past year, he said, PAC has won growing recognition, including being approached for its opinions by Washington and London

"They used to write us off, even many African countries," he said

The ANC insists that it is working hard for a united struggle

"A number of people are obviously aware of the ANC's efforts since its inception towards maximum unity of the oppressed people," the ANC's foreign secretary, Mr Johnny Makatini, said

"They are aware of our efforts culminating in the formation of the United Democratic Front and in the Congress of South African Trade Unions"

Those efforts have not included the PAC because, Mr Makatini said, "the PAC is so divided in itself".

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has said African leaders who divert foreign aid funds to their own pockets have brought shame to Africa

He said such practices would have to change if Africa was to be respected

"Some leaders have bank accounts in foreign countries which bulge at the seams while people they lead live in poverty," President Kaunda said

Government officials said President Kaunda, one of the OAU's older statesmen, is likely to express the same views in Addis Ababa next week.

They say he will relinquish the OAU chairmanship next week despite pressure that he be re-elected — Sapa-RNS-AP

DID 23/5788

238 11A

# Crossroads victims remembered

119  
118  
CROSSROADS 24/5/88  
Staff Reporter

CROSSROADS squatters ended their commemoration of the deaths of more than 30 people who were killed in "witdoek" vigilante violence two years ago with a prayer service on Sunday in Nyanga East.

Mr Christopher Toise, leader of the Portlands Cement satellite camp, yesterday said the three satellite communities routed in the violence of May 17 to 21, 1986, held prayer services last Tuesday and on Sunday to "remember the sisters and brothers who died at the hands of witdoeke"

"The more than 500 people who attended the last meeting — including members of the PFP Unrest Monitoring Committee, the Masincendane, Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portlands Cement committees — extended a special word of thanks to all the churches who opened their doors to the many thousands of refugees," he said.

CAPE TIMES 24/5/88 (110)

## Soweto blast: Youth questioned

JOHANNESBURG. — A 19-YEAR-OLD youth is being held for questioning in connection with the attack in Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday that left two people dead and scores injured — many of them seriously.

The attackers opened fire with AK 47 rifles and hand grenades on a crowd of people at a rent meeting about lunch time.

Among several people who narrowly escaped death was Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, president of the Sofasonke Party and former mayor of Soweto.

Mr Tshabalala was addressing about 300 party members on the continuing rent boycott when a group of unknown assailants hurled two explosive devices into the crowd killing two and injuring 38.

# Bethal witness tells why he left ANC

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11A

By Therese Anders  
Highveld Bureau

**BETHAL** — A former ANC member told the Bethal treason trial yesterday how he broke out of a Swazi police station, jumped the South African border and handed himself over to security police at Piet Retief police station.

Earlier the secret State witness, who is known only as X3, said he still believed in the principles of the Freedom Charter, even years after leaving the outlawed organisation.

X3 was giving evidence against Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, Mr Acton

Mandla Maseko and Mr Simon Dladla, who are charged with treason and terrorism.

He said he decided to leave the ANC after an incident which took place between ANC people and Swazi police.

"As a result of that incident I decided within myself that it is now over with the ANC ... I even closed my file."

The event was a shooting incident in which a Swazi police officer died and another man was shot.

X3 said he and three ANC members were arrested and kept in a Swazi police station.

On the same day the ANC men planned their escape, "there was agreement among us that we would leave the ANC".

The men "violently grabbed" and overpowered a policeman and then fled.

They ran through the bush and then hitched a lift on a truck.

After slipping over the border into South Africa they eventually arrived at Piet Retief police station.

At the charge office X3 asked to see a security policeman as he had something "of great importance that I would like to make known to them".

## MERCENARIES

Earlier X3 said ANC "mercenaries" had fought with Mr Joshua Nkomo's forces during the Rhodesian war.

In more recent times ANC men based in Angola had found themselves "involved in battles with Unita", he added.

The hearing continues.

APL Tuis 24/5/88

# Jacobs was second LP member killed

114

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Labour Party MP for Alra Park Mr Peter Sam Jacobs, 43, was the second party member to be shot dead in Eden Park on the East Rand.

On April 6, 1986, LP Transvaal secretary and Eden Park management committee member Mr Frans Dunster, 28, was killed in his home by an unknown assailant

Both men were probing alleged official corruption among housing department officials in Edenpark when they were killed

Mr Jacobs was shot in his car outside the Eden Park Methodist Church by a balaclava-clad gunman on Sunday

Members of the Eden Park Labour Party Action Committee yesterday said they believed

there was a link between the killings

Since Mr Dunster's death, Mr Jacobs had received numerous death threats and his car was burnt to a shell last August

One member said "Police were posted at Mr Jacobs's home whenever he was up from Cape Town"

An East Rand police spokesman last night said there had been no arrests

Detectives were investigating a murder and not a "political killing"

Mr Jacobs's wife Louise said he had been threatened with death during his private investigations into alleged corruption among officials

She said she was not with her husband when he was shot, contradicting earlier reports she was in the car but was unhurt in the attack.

Mr Jacobs and Mr Dunster

launched the corruption probe at Eden Park more than two years ago, she said

Eden Park Management Committee chairman Mr David Oranje yesterday acknowledged there was animosity between the committee and Mr Jacobs

Mr Oranje, a former leader for the LP in Eden Park said "Mr Jacobs was not popular with members of the Management Committee. We stopped communicating with him after he kicked me and three other committee members out of the LP in 1986 for not allowing an Indian doctor to practice in the area

● Every effort would be made to find the "cowardly" assassin of Mr Jacobs, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday

"The police have no reason at this stage to believe that the murder was committed for political considerations"



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DVD 24/5/88

# Negative images and modern revolutions

11/4

KEN OWEN: JOHANNESBURG

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, the only member of the Cabinet who is known positively to read books, says newspapers publish a mass of information which promotes violent revolution I must agree

True, I did sign the petition to Learned Stof-  
fel to spare the Weekly Mail, but I did so out of cowardice I did not wish to be seen as the only English Editor who thought it a pitiful waste of time to try to convince so well-read a man as the Minister of the role of a free Press He knows

Anyway, our newspapers abound with examples of information that — to use the Minister's words — "promotes violent revolution"

One is tempted to say that publication of the salaries of public civil servants might provoke a certain class of taxpayer to murder — that is why government hides the salary scales — but this not a time for flippancy The days when excessive taxes, unjust laws, overweening public civil servants, arrogant rulers and corrupt administrations caused revolutions are thank-fully long past Modern revolutions are caused by negative images

Among the serious examples of revolutionary publication which Learned Stoffel cites is to mention that Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Con-

gress, is honoured on certain occasions

Sis' say I It is quite obvious that when people pin medals to Tambo's chest it is likely to drive our State President to tear up the trica-mental constitution in a fit of revolutionary pi-que It could drive him to chew the carpet of the Winter Palace, Not even Riaan Eksteen or Allan Hendrickse has dared so to go so far in taunting the Great Man

Similarly, it is dangerous, as Learned Stoffel explained, for newspapers to publish reports which evoke sympathy for ANC detainees or prisoners Everybody who felt sympathy for Steve Biko or Neil Aggett should examine his conscience, he may have cause to feel guilty.

The Minister put his finger precisely on the solution to the problem when he said "The facts are that the ANC, and the SACP, and other revolutionary organisations have been ordered by law to cease to exist. But these organisations are now being kept 'alive' by means of one-sided positive publicity"

It is an awesome thought that when two scruffy little fringe publications were ordered to cease existence, the idea that SA had a free Press also ceased to exist Since then we have known that we can say what we like so long as it

does not enrage the Great Man too much Some newspapers have survived by lying low, some by adopting codes of conduct, some by inventing councils to police them, and some by firing their verligie editors and concentrating on publishing girly pictures and stories of murders But some have wilfully sought their own destruction by mentioning the honours showered on Oliver Tambo or publishing dirty words like "a lufa continua," or "Umlhonto we Sizwe"

John Vorster knew how to deal with that sort of thing "Let there be dark," he said when he became Minister of Justice, and darkness fell It lasted until 1985, when the Weekly Mail suddenly appeared, full of youthful idealism and good English, and crammed with one-sided positive publicity

Apparently its appearance breathed new life into the ANC, the PAC and Oliver Tambo So far it has not been able to breathe fresh life into Steve Biko or Neil Aggett, but who knows? That one-sided

positive publicity is powerful stuff It may even overcome cease-to-exist orders

Still, there is a puzzling gap in the historical record Between the disappearance of Con-tact and the appearance of Weekly Mail, the SACP and the ANC — according to the theory of Learned Stoffel — obediently ceased to exist

By 1976, according to books which Learned Stoffel has surely read, the ANC was almost forgotten There was indeed a small, seedy organisation in London to which young black people "escaped" along a route which was virtually managed by Craig Williamson, a policeman

Nobody wrote about the ANC, nobody even thought much about it Hence it ceased to exist. Meanwhile, young men and women banded together in SA to form the Black Consciousness movement, and AZAPO and GUSA and SASO and the Black People's Convention They did not think much of the ANC They began an entirely new revolutionary movement of their own This revolutionary im-pudence shocked the

non-existent ANC back to life in miraculous fashion

ANC leaders, according to other books which Learned Stoffel has surely read, were frantic with anxiety when it seemed their long-awaited revolution was starting without them They must have felt like Moses at Jordan, in sight of the Promised Land, but forbidden entry So they all shifted to the front line, and have been pestering Learned Stoffel ever since

Wonderously, it all happened without the help of the Weekly Mail, or of Saamstaan, or New Nation or South First

Then, I am sure, he will issue a cease-to-exist order against the Conservative Party which is a far, far greater threat to the National Party, and to Learned Stoffel, and to democracy, than any person so far ordered to cease to exist Then we shall all be free

D/10.24/5/88

# Van Zyl Slabbert appeals to world not to isolate SA

CAPE TOWN — The former leader of the opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, appealed to the world yesterday not to isolate South Africa because of apartheid but to get involved in practical programmes to help the black majority.

In an interview, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said the sanctions debate in the United States was becoming hysterical as the campaign for November's presidential election developed.

"There's a very simplistic assumption that economic consequences can be translated into desirable political objectives. There's no evidence to support that," he said.

Dr Slabbert heads an

anti-apartheid think-tank, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Privileged whites would be the last to suffer the impact of legislation such as the almost total ban on trade with South Africa now being considered by the US Congress, he said.

Sanctions are intended to force Pretoria to scrap apartheid race discrimination, but South Africa says they will harm the black majority most.

Asked what the West should do, Dr Slabbert replied: "Get involved. Help blacks broaden their skills-base.

"Just teaching one kid to become literate is an alternative that is pref-

erable (to sanctions)," he said.

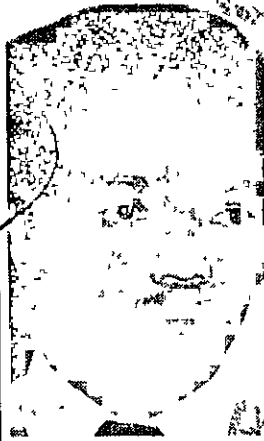
He added that the West should draw a distinction between isolating the white-led government and isolating the country.

Dr Slabbert, who led a delegation of white South Africans in talks with leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Senegal last year, said he detected a pragmatic shift in the ANC policy.

The ANC would now be prepared for negotiations with the government if it showed firm evidence of goodwill. It also was more amenable to a multi-party democracy and was no longer intent on nationalising all industry if it gained power. — Sapa-RNS



**INTERNATIONAL**



The Rev Jesse Jackson

## Cut aid to Unita, support ANC — Jackson

By NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus  
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The Rev Jesse Jackson is asking the Democratic party to cut all American aid to Unita, support the African National Congress, impose a complete ban on trade with South Africa and provide military assistance to the Front-line states.

He is also calling for a summit between South Africa's black neighbours, the United States and European countries to co-ordinate a policy of lessening the region's economic dependence on South Africa and defending itself against South African aggression.

"We can no longer afford to ignore the needs of 550 million Africans in favour of a few million Afrikaners," he said yesterday.

### Powerful

The black leader, whose campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination has made him a powerful figure in the party, outlined his foreign policy programme in Los Angeles — symbolically near the South African consulate.

A key political question in the United States now is the extent of his political power and the influence it will have at the party's presidential convention in Georgia in July.

Mr Jackson is likely to lose to Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts but, because of his grip on the loyalty of black voters, he could demand to be the candidate for vice president.

He could also demand that aspects of his programmes — such as his policy toward southern Africa — become party policy.

Calling for an end to American aid to the Angolan rebels, he said "We have joined forces with South Africa and Unita in attempting to overthrow the government of Angola by military force."

But informed analysts note that Mr Jackson has misinterpreted American policy in Angola.

Claiming that his policy was in the national interest, Mr Jackson said Americans must support negotiations for a transition to democracy in South Africa.

"We support who the majority of South Africans choose as their principal negotiator for freedom — the ANC."

### Cut access

"We recognise that the only way to bring South Africa to the bargaining table is to cut off its access to long-term trade, investment and capital. Current sanctions have been too easily circumvented."

Mr Jackson did not make it clear whether he also wanted a ban on South Africa's strategic minerals — which the United States depends on, especially in the car and defence industries.

Many of Mr Jackson's proposals are already contained in new legislation that is likely to be approved by the House of Representatives next month. The legislation has also been introduced in the Senate but its fate there is less predictable.

Reagan administration officials have warned that a new round of sanctions would cause South Africa to walk out of the current peace moves in the Angola-Namibia conflict.

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## Intimidation verdict on Khayelitsha men set aside

### Court Reporter

**EIGHT** Khayelitsha men found guilty by a Mitchell's Plain magistrate of intimidation have had their convictions set aside by two Supreme Court judges.

They are: Mr Thomas Ngwane, 35, Mr William Moleleki, 38, Mr Ndakusiva Bokova, 31, Mr Bonsile Jonga, 52, Mr Shadrack Nontaza, 34, Mr Nelson Konana, 41, Mr Jackson Jack, 49, and Mr Dickson Maremene, 45.

They were found guilty of intimidating three Khayelitsha women by threatening to

assault and necklace them if they refused to denounce a Crossroads leader who had moved to Khayelitsha.

Two others, Mr James Dumeli, 42, and Mr Alfred Matunzi, 43, were acquitted.

The case was referred by regional court magistrate Mr F Botes to the Supreme Court for review.

This week Mr Botes told the eight men and their representatives, Miss S Chetty and Mr Joel Krige, that Mr Justice Fagan and Mr Justice Tebbutt had set their conviction aside.

# VISION TO ANC

CHC  
T/1/15  
J/S/S/18

**JOHANNESBURG. —**  
Leading members of Idasa and Mr Wynand Malan's NDM plan to fly to Lusaka this week to discuss with exile groups, the ANC and PAC, the question of participation in parliamentary politics.

Earlier Mr Malan confirmed that he plans to go to Lusaka "soon" for discussions with the ANC. He has been in regular contact with Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of Idasa, over the past months on the need for participation. According to reliable sources, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert may accompany him.

A blueprint setting out a new strategy has been in circulation among local extra-parliamentary groups for some time. The blueprint is said to be mainly Dr Slabbert's work, but he could not be contacted to confirm this last night.

He was quoted on Monday as confirming he had been talking to various groups but that it was "over the top" to suggest he was trying to rally the left to return to Parliament.

## Conditions

However, sources within Idasa and NDM said both he and Mr Malan had come to the conclusion that the cycle of violence, ungovernability, sanctions and boycotts have been counter-productive.

Sources said yesterday Dr Slabbert's return to parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, PAC, black consciousness groups, trade unions and the UDF.

He was quoted as saying he would not return to Parliament under conditions similar to those which caused him to walk out little more than two years ago.

However, the new strategy would require the abandonment of the ANC's policy of boycotting "apartheid structures". The thrust of ANC policy has been to condemn participation for fear that the black opposition would be "co-opted".

# Boesak for Mandela

## rally in UK

GLASGOW — Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is to speak at the Free Nelson Mandela rally of the anti-apartheid movement's Scottish committee here on Sunday June 12

A spokesman for the movement's "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" campaign said this was "splendid news"

Also expected to be present are the movement's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the secretary-general of Swapo, Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo. The Star's Foreign News Service

Star 25/5/88

# Threat to quit

AK 648 JS/S 119

Parliamentary Staff

**MARITZBURG.** — The leader of the opposition alliance in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, has threatened to pull out of the tricameral system unless reasonable consideration is given to the problems of the Indian and coloured communities.

Speaking in the extended committee of Parliament on provincial affairs, Dr Reddy cited the case of the industrial area of Prospecton, which had been left in the white town of Amanzimtoti and not transferred to Isipingo.

Prospecton had been developed by the Tongaat group and "handed to Amanzimtoti on a platter".

Another issue was the controversial proposed second access road to Chatsworth, which the residents wanted but which had been delayed because of the conflict of interest.



# Prepare for future, Zulus told

25/5/80  
11A

PORT SHEPSTONE — Young people would see blacks in Parliament under a black State President in their lifetime, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a youth rally.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was addressing the Umzambe-Umzinto Youth Rally at the Othuthwini Sports Ground near here.

He urged his audience to prepare now for a future in which they would inevitably be free before the law and the constitution, and in which there would be no distinction among races.

## DIVIDED

But he warned if blacks allowed themselves to be divided in the struggle for victory over apartheid, they would remain divided after such victory. People should beware of false prophets who urged them to destroy the country's assets.

This was what the Xhosa "prophetess" Nongqause had done in the last century, leading to the starvation of tens of thousands.

"There are those in black communities who urge young people to day to destroy their schools," Dr Buthelezi said.

"There is nothing more important in the whole world to young people today than to prepare themselves for a new South Africa in which they will be free."

He knew there were many who were educated but still could not find work, but their day would come.

More than any other country on the continent, South Africa was blessed with vast mineral wealth and great mines and factories had been raised by the people's endeavours.

"Do not destroy that which we now have because we want something more," he said.

Sapa

118  
Blom 25/5/82

# Left-wings groups 'lukewarm' on participation

RENEWED speculation that extra-parliamentary organisations are rethinking their election boycott strategy has drawn a lukewarm response from spokesmen for these groups.

Sources within the extra-parliamentary left stress that the UDF holds the key to a change in the approach to participation in official structures.

The debate came into the open in July last year when UDF Natal president Archie Gunede since silenced by a government restriction

order suggested the UDF debate the advantages of taking part in parliamentary elections scheduled for 1989. He was slapped down by fellow executive members.

The ferocity of the put-down showed how sensitive the issue of participation is for the UDF. It has consistently campaigned against participation since it was formed to oppose the tricameral Parliament in 1983.

Not only would participation represent a major turnaround for the UDF, but states action against the body has left it organisationally incapable of reversing this stance, the sources say.

Apart from UDF sanction for participation, two broad sets of conditions would have to be satisfied before the extra-parliamentary movement as a whole changed its strategy.

Firstly, participation would have to improve the material conditions of the constituency to which the left

addresses itself and it would have to widen the space within which organisations could campaign legally.

Natal Indian Congress executive member Yunnis Carrim speaking in his personal capacity, said "there is no intense discussion on participation taking place within the NIC or the UDF".

The ANC, meanwhile, remains committed to boycotting official structures. But a spokesman said yesterday if the issue had to be debated such a debate should be conducted by organisations within SA.

# Regina

# Mundi

# hosts

# OAU

# service

Sowetan 25/5/88  
11A

**SOWETAN**  
Reporter

THE 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity will be celebrated at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, at 6pm tonight.

The meeting has been organised by the African Women's Organisation (AWO), Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and the Sobukwe National Day Co-ordinating Committee.

Among the speakers will be representatives from Azanyu, Mafube Arts Commune, African Women's Organisation, Sobukwe National Day Co-ordinating Committee and Nactu.

## Support

A spokesman for the convenors of the meeting said it was significant that people of Soweto should celebrate the founding of the OAU because of the moral and physical support the organisation has given to efforts to Pan African unity, as envisaged by Kwame Nkrumah and Mangaliso Sobukwe.

The spokesman said "The OAU serves as a beacon of hope to the people of Africa who have not attained independence and national self-determination from colonial and settler colonialism."

He added that in spite of the weak economies of some African states they have withstood the onslaught on their economies and have defended the African heritage.

# Winnie ordered to stop abuse

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — An urgent interim interdict restraining Mrs Winnie Mandela, and a friend, Mrs Joyce Leballo, from threatening, abusing, harassing or injuring a 'Soweto' businessman was granted yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone issued a *rule nisi* to operate as an interim interdict pending the outcome of the application.

In a supporting affidavit the businessman, Mr Joseph Billy Leballo, said Mrs Mandela had ordered a gang of comrade youths to evict him and keep him from his home and to "do him harm" if he returned.

The interdict also prohibited Mrs Mandela and Mrs Leballo from removing or damaging property belonging to Mr Leballo, and to pay the costs of the application.

Mr Leballo said his wife, Joyce had been friends with Mrs Mandela since about June 1976. The friendship developed into a political involvement and, in June 1987 Mrs Leballo was detained under the emergency regulations.

A divorce action had been stalled because of his wife's detention, he said.

"Since I left the common home Mandela put comrades in the home with what seemed to be the support and consent of my wife."

He said he had been threatened and intimidated by these people.

## Backing wanted for new strategy

# Idasa, NDM to have talks with ANC

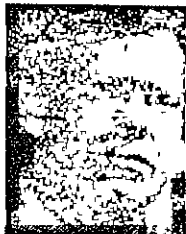
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25/5/88

LEADING Idasa and NDM members plan to fly to Lusaka later this week to seek approval of black exile groups — the ANC, PAC and black consciousness supporters — for a new strategy of participation in parliamentary politics.

NDM leader Wynand Malan has confirmed he planned to have discussions "soon" with the ANC. He has had regular discussions with Van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of Idasa, during the past few months on the question of participation. Sources said Slabbert could accompany him abroad.



● MALAN



● SLABBERT

A blueprint setting out a new strategy has been in circulation among local extra-parliamentary groups for some time. It is said to be mainly Slabbert's work, but he could not be reached to confirm this.

Slabbert was quoted on Monday as confirming he had been talking to various groups but he said it was "over the top" to suggest he was trying to rally the left in order to return to Parliament.

However, Idasa and NDM sources said yesterday Slabbert and Malan had come to the conclusion that the cycle of

ELSABE WESELS

violence, sanctions and boycotts had been counter-productive.

They said Slabbert's return to parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, PAC, black consciousness groups, trade unions and the UDF.

The sources quoted him as saying he would not return to Parliament under conditions similar to those which caused him to walk out a little more than two years ago.

Supporting a new strategy of participation would require the ANC to abandon its long-standing policy of boycotting all "apartheid structures". The thrust of ANC policy has been to condemn participation for fear that the black opposition would be "co-opted".

While the ANC and black consciousness groups have consistently voiced opposition to participation in government structures, discussions aimed at the development of a new strategy have been taking place within extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF and the Five Freedoms Forum.

Spokesmen said they were looking at the potential development of a "broader democratic structure" and the possible "non-direct" backing of parliamentary groups left of government.

● See Page 3

# Bid to 'set Mandela free'

11h

GLASGOW — The Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is to speak at the Free Nelson Mandela Rally of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Scottish Committee in Glasgow on Sunday June 12.

Dr Boesak is flying from South Africa to Britain to take part in the launch of the movement's Nelson Mandela: Freedom at 70 Campaign.

The chairman, Mr Brian Filling, said: "It is splendid news that Dr Boesak can be with us in Scotland along with the Anti-Apartheid's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, plus the African National Congress president Oliver Tambo and the South West African People's Organisation secretary-general Andimba Toivo

Ja Toivo and others. "We are planning a widespread campaign to set Mandela free before his 70th birthday on July 18. Already the campaign is winning wide support throughout the world."

Dr Boesak's visit to Glasgow has also been welcomed by church leaders.

Sunday June 12 sees the start in Glasgow of

the Nelson Mandela 1000km Freedom March to London when 25 marchers, one for each year of Mandela's imprisonment, will be given a send-off by sympathisers.

The Glasgow send-off, demonstration and rally marks the start of five week' intense activity by the Anti-Apartheid

Movement, culminating in London on July 18, Mandela's birthday.

Other speakers at the rally at Glasgow Green will be Major-General Joseph Garba, chairman of the United Nations' Special Committee Against Apartheid and former Nigerian Foreign Minister, and Jim Kerr, of the Simple Minds rock band.



From 25 May to 4 June  
**HA RDWARE  
 & WHOLESALE**



**SPECIALS**

# British court told of plot to kidnap ANC member

SEP 26/5788  
LONDON — Details of a plot to kidnap an ANC member with the promise that he would become police chief in the Seychelles have emerged in a court case, *The Guardian* reported yesterday. The newspaper said that Mr. Peter Ferrari was to be shipped secretly from Britain to South Africa in a plot to win South African support for a counter-revolution by exiled members of the Seychelles Democratic Party against the governing Marxists. The plot was uncovered, but charges against Mr. Ferrari, a hells and his co-plotters were dropped on orders of the Attorney-General — Sapa

# Tutu to speak at Free Mandela rally

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address a "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" rally in London's Hyde Park on July 17, according to a statement by the organisers.

Archbishop Tutu will be joined on the platform by a leading South West African People's Organisation official, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and British film director Sir Richard Attenborough. *Star 26/5/88*

The statement said the Hyde Park rally would be preceded by a march through London.

The event would also mark the end of a 950 km Glasgow to London "Nelson Mandela Freedom March" by 25 people.

The organisers of the Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 campaign say

Archbishop Tutu to speak in Hyde Park.

they have received messages of support from Mrs Winnie Mandela, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo, United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Pérez de Cuellar, Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and several British opposition politicians, church leaders and trade unionists — Sapa



# 600 pay tribute to slain MP

By Duncan Guy 26/5/88

About 600 people packed the Eden Park Community Hall last night for the memorial service for Mr Pieter Jacobs, the House of Representatives Labour Party MP for Alra Park who was gunned down in the township after a church service on Sunday night.

A high percentage of the congregation was middle-aged.

Among those present were House of Representative MPs Mr Tony Reeves (Klipspruit West), Mr Jannie Douw (Klerksdorp) and Mr S K Louw (Western Transvaal), who offered condolences to the community and the Jacobs family on behalf of the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

They said Mr Jacobs' battle against bribery and corruption, which he was investigating last week, would not end with his death.

The congregation heard Mr Jacobs was a community-orientated man. "That is why this hall is so packed."

Among his achievements mentioned was his fight to have better houses built for Eden Park residents.

# NDM, ANC to have talks in Germany

By Patrick Laurence

The leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Mr Wynand Malan, and key members of his party left for Europe last night for confidential talks with the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Peter Gastrow of the NDM told *The Star* last night.

Mr Malan, who broke away from the National Party last year, was accompanied by Mr Pierre Cronje MP; Dr Esther Lategan; Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr of the NDM leadership committee, professors Gerritt Erasmus and Andre van der Walt of Stellenbosch University, and Dr Johan van Zyl, who is acting as a consultant for the NDM.

The talks with the ANC are integral to the NDM strategy of holding discussions "over a broad front with all relevant political groupings in South Africa", Mr Gastrow said.

"A further statement will be made before the weekend," he added, hinting that the talks would be over by then.

## SECRECY

The discussions are understood to have been organised secretly by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) at the NDM's request.

They were arranged in high secrecy to meet ANC demands for maximum security following the assassination in March of its representative in France, Ms Dulcie September, and an earlier attack on the ANC delegate in Brussels.

Frankfurt was named as the venue for the talks, which are expected to begin today.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-founder of Idasa and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, yesterday repudiated reports that he or Idasa officials were planning to seek the approval from exiled politicians, particularly leaders of the ANC, to participate in Government-sanctioned political structures.

"We are not a prescriptive organisation"

He said while Idasa was not prescribing strategies, it had not objection to organising the talks.

# MP's murder: police arrest man

Star  
26/5/88  
By Anna Louw,  
East Rand Bureau

An intensive investigation led to the arrest yesterday of a 48-year-old Eden Park man in connection with the killing of Labour Party MP Mr Peter Sam Jacobs on Sunday.

Several other people have been detained for questioning and more arrests are expected to be made soon, a police spokesman said.

Mr Jacobs was gunned down at close range in his car in front of the Eden Park Methodist Church at 8.40 pm on Sunday. The gunman, wearing a balaclava, fired three shots with a 9 mm pistol into the car after first smashing

the driver's window. (11A) (88)

It is believed that one of the bullets fatally wounded Mr Jacobs in the chest.

Three deacons from the church, two men and a woman, were sitting in the car at the time of the shooting. They were questioned by police shortly afterwards.

A massive hunt for the killer, who disappeared among nearby houses, was launched by detectives from the East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit.

The team, led by Captain Dirk Kilian, worked around the clock following up several clues.

A man is expected to appear in the Alberton Magistrate's Court today.

# Botha acts in power struggle

Political Staff

THE dispute in the House of Delegates is expected to be resolved tomorrow when President Botha holds separate meetings with the beleaguered Mr Rajbansi and his Ministers' Council and the leader of the new majority, Dr P J N Reddy

President Botha has not indicated how he will deal with the deadlock in the House.

The new majority alliance gave notice today that it would not back off its demands for Mr Rajbansi to resign

Mr Botha has asked Mr Rajbansi and his Ministers' Council, including the three rebel Ministers who sparked the crisis when they broke away, to meet him at 9am tomorrow

Mr Reddy has been called to the President's, Tuynhuys offices at 10am tomorrow.

It is doubtful whether Mr Botha will attempt a reconciliation following a message from Mr Reddy earlier this week that he would not agree to a coalition with Mr Rajbansi

Mr Reddy said today that the rift was too deep to permit a working arrangement.

## THREE CHOICES

Mr Botha has three basic choices:

- He can dissolve the House of Delegates and call an election

- He could reconstitute the Ministers' Council under the leadership of Mr Reddy, or

- He could decide to let Mr Rajbansi cling to power on the basis that his National People's Party is the largest single party in the House of Delegates with the new majority being an alliance of two parties

In this case he would probably fire the three rebel Ministers, which would allow Mr Rajbansi to attract some people back by offering them office.

## CARROTS

So far, however, Mr Botha has stood firm in not allowing Mr Rajbansi to get rid of his rebel Ministers and use the posts as "carrots" to regain a majority

Mr Rajbansi was not available for comment but had earlier stated that he would appeal for an election.

The Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismail Kathrada, has said that he and his two rebel colleagues would not endorse an appeal for an election

Mr Kathrada said in an interview today that the three had no intention of changing their stance that Mr Rajbansi resign and that a new Ministers' Council be appointed.

Don't worry about a 'future vision' ...

~~1/1A~~  
1/1A  
~~1/1A~~

# Deal with 'monster' of apartheid — Ramaphosa

Star 26/5/88

By Adele Baleta

Address the "monster of apartheid" today instead of constantly worrying about a "vision for the future", the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, told a conference of 150 business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

He had been asked to speak on "My Vision for Tomorrow" by the Human Resources Contact Group at a two-day conference which ended yesterday.

"Both myself and others do not have a today. We need to deal with the reality of the situation now. We need to eradicate the monster of apartheid which has devoured our people."

"The regime has destroyed the economy, laid waste education, health and welfare services. Townships are filled with homeless and despairing people. Hardship for both young and old in the rural areas has been intensified and over 5 million people are unemployed," he said.

Bosses, who were hunting for solutions, had introduced share ownership schemes. However, these kinds of solutions "smack of blackmail", he said.

## Starting point

Mr Ramaphosa was concerned that the way of visualising the future was by securing sectional guarantees instead of dismantling apartheid.

Replying to questions about what business could do now, Mr Ramaphosa said the Labour Relations Amendment Bill was a starting point.

"Business has participated in drafting the Bill. During recognition negotiations, we heard management talking about the possibility of restricting strikes and suing unions for loss of production."

In time, these "possibilities" were ensured in the amendment Bill and many companies were waiting in anticipation for the Bill to be passed so they could begin dealing more "constructively" with the unions, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa pointed out that union proposals to get the Government to pass a Bill drafted with the concensus of labour and management had been rejected.

At the outset of his speech, the NUM general secretary said he was unable to talk on his assigned topic — "My Vision of Tomorrow" — as he could not separate himself from the millions of dispossessed, disenfranchised South Africans whose vision for the future society was enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

"I have no personal vision of a tomorrow."

The vision Mr Ramaphosa said he would like to put forward was that of a future non-racial democracy as set out in the Charter.

## UDF may conditionally take part in polls

Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front and other restricted organisations will be allowed to take part in the municipal elections in October, according to Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information in the President's office.

But only if they indicate they are genuinely committed to peaceful participation in the democratic process, he added.

He said elections on October 26 for coloured, Indian, black and white local authorities were open to all.

Only the usual impediments applicable to candidates (such as insanity, insolvency and a recent criminal record) would be applicable, the Minister said.

The UDF and other organisations were at present under restrictions which would make

it impossible for them to take part and these would remain until they indicated a genuine desire to do so on a democratic basis — and they undertook not to use the opportunity to stimulate revolution.

Asked what the Government's view would be on a possible UDF campaign based on participation so as to destroy the system, Dr van der Merwe replied it would make no sense to allow that because the Government wanted to build democratic institutions.

Earlier in the conference Dr van der Merwe said the Government had no percentage poll target in mind for black voters.

The Government regarded it as its duty to create structures for participation and to establish circumstances under which people could participate as fairly as possible.

NR6US 26/5/88

# Malan, Slabbert fly to ANC talks

FRANKFURT (West Germany). — Leading white anti-apartheid South Africans arrived here today for talks with the banned African National Congress.

Mr Wynand Malan MP, the National Democratic Movement leader who is leading the group of politicians, journalists and academics, said on arrival at Frankfurt Airport that the talks were part of a continuing process

Others in the delegation are Dr Esther Lategan, Professors Andries van der Walt and Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch, Mr Pierre Cronje MP, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, Mr Harald Pakendorf and adviser Dr Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industry.

Mr Malan told journalists "I don't expect any detailed results from this meeting. These talks are part of a continued process of confidential contacts with all relevant groups of South African society."

The delegation will fly back to South Africa on Thursday after the meeting "There will be no big statements," Mr Malan said.

He declined to disclose the time or place of the talks

Mr Malan said he did not expect to resolve all differences between his NDM and the ANC. They would discuss whether to boycott racially-segregated elections totally or to use them to fight apartheid "from within".

## Secret meetings

Mr Malan said he had talked with the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, who arrived from Johannesburg on the same flight

Dr Slabbert, who led the Dakar talks with the ANC last year, has held six secret meetings with the organisation this year. He is due to meet ANC members in Bonn on Friday

"I met him on the plane. It was a big talk," Mr Malan said

The ANC has rejected participation in elections, saying racially-based apartheid cannot be reformed from inside and must be overthrown

But some opponents of apartheid, including Mr Malan, argue that the opposition should switch tactics and take advantage of Mr Botha's limited extension of voting rights to take over local and central government — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter.

## Protect the protected tenants, says Andrew

TO drive protected tenants from their homes permanently landlords often claimed they needed to make essential repairs and renovations, said Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens).

Speaking in the Assembly yesterday, he said that when a pensioner received the obligatory six months' notice he had the choice of complying or contesting the eviction in court.

Faced with the expense of moving twice, furniture storage and possibly a higher rent, many tenants accepted eviction.

The Minister, Mr Amie Venter, should try to ensure that tenants were properly protected. — Sapa

PW 'summons'  
Rajbansi (11A)  
Cape Times 24/5/88  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President P W Botha has summoned the chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and members of his council for urgent talks tomorrow.

This was disclosed by Mr Nizam Khan, one of the MPs who broke from Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples Party.

Mr Rajbansi said he could not comment. A spokesman for the President's office also declined to comment.

### MP's murder: Man, 48, held

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have arrested a 48-year-old man in connection with the murder of House of Representatives MP Mr Pieter Jacobs. Mr Jacobs was shot dead on Sunday.

The man will appear in the court today. — Sapa

# Plan to fight flight delays

Cape Times 26/5/88

By CHRIS BATEMAN and PETER DENNEHY

AIR travellers to and from Cape Town will benefit from SAA's major domestic service timetable shake-up, scheduled to come into effect on June 12.

The re-scheduling of the flights will not involve any new aircraft and the airline's overall domestic capacity will not be affected by SAA's bid to "match capacity to demand", said SAA spokeswoman Mrs Alet van Jaarsveld yesterday.

According to Mr Albert Schuitmaker, transport spokesman for the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce — which has consulted with SAA to improve the airline's Cape Town service — the changed timetable means far more flights to and from D F Malan Airport.

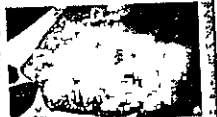
"We had sight of the draft timetable, which showed a remarkable increase in the number of flights from Cape Town.

"We are pleased, because it will help business people to fly when they want to," he said.

"Businessmen have been complaining, particularly about the Bloemfontein route," Mrs Van Jaarsveld said. "If there is a demand early in the morning, we will try to supply it. We will also try to satisfy the needs of all our passengers at peak times."

She confirmed that the re-scheduling would not be accompanied by any tariff increase. The Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw, announced in Parliament recently that there would be no air fare increases this year.





Dr Slabbert



Mr Malan MIP

# Slabbert, Malan Off to see ANC

CHR Tinkis  
26/1/88

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and  
ELISABE WESSELS

**THE leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert left for Frankfurt yesterday for sensitive high-level talks with the ANC which could eventually change the face of South Africa politics.**

They are leading a party of 10 on a two-day mission to canvass ANC support for participation in Parliament and other official political structures. Among the documents on the table will be a strategy blueprint which has already been circulated to opposition groups in South Africa.

The party is scheduled to meet top ANC leaders, including Mr. Oliver Tambo and Mr. Thabo Mbeki. It is understood that Mr Malan insisted that a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should not only be present at the talks but also be a member of the political wing.

NDM leadership committee chairman Mr Pieter Gastrow last night confirmed that the delegation consisted of Mr Malan and NDM executive members Mrs Esther Lategan, Mr Pierre Cronje MP, Mr Har- and Pakendorf and Dr Janne Houtmyer.

Mr Gastrow also released the names of Stellenbosch academics professors Gerhard Sasmanus and Andries van der Walt. He said Dr. Japie van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industries, was accompanying the group in an advisory capacity.

Johannesburg businessman Mr Christo Nel is not part of the NDM delegation but will join in the talks.

### Vision for future

The talks are geared toward getting the ANC's agreement on participation which might eventually pave the way for extra-parliamentary groups like the UDF changing their beyond of government structures.

However sources close to the talks emphasized that they should be seen as "exploratory". An NDM source said that during today's discussions at which Dr Slabbert would not be present, Mr Malan planned explain to the movement's leaders and its vision for the future to the ANC. Discussion during Friday's session will be led by Dr Slabbert with his plans for participation by all forces in formal structures apparently top of the agenda.

The NDM favours a broad alliance to which various groups can be affiliated, whereas Dr Slabbert is keen on the formation of a new party. The party flew out last night after departure Dr Slabbert that he would be accompanying the NDM for talks with the ANC in Lusaka. According to reporters at Jan Smuts Airport, Dr Slabbert was not on the same flight and he flew out of Cape Town yesterday morning and a spokesman at his home told Sapa last night he is in Europe.

### Men, dog in suicide pact

**JOHANNESBURG** — A doctor and his friend were found dead at their home in Klerksfontein yesterday. A Klerksfontein was also found dead in the room.

Police said the bodies of Mice Frans Olywa de Beir, 56, and Dr Graham Beir, 58, were found at 7am. A pipe connected to a bedroom window. The curtains were drawn and the men were lying embraced on the bed. — Sapa

### Boost for Nkomati

**MAPUTO** — The Nkomati pact between South Africa and Mozambique attracted a major boost yesterday after talks between two top officials of the delegations agreed to reconvene "as soon as possible". The Joint Security Commission (JSC) which collapsed in 1985 as relations between the two countries deteriorated.

A letter of goodwill from President P. W. Botha to President Joaquim Chissano was handed over after the talks.

The South African delegation was led by the director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

The Mozambican delegation was led by the chief of the army Lt. Gen Tobias Dai — Sapa  
● Attr: les and MNR



FESTIVAL FROLICS . . . Getting ready for the Hout Bay Festival, which opens on Saturday, are three of the town's fishin' characters (from left) Welcome Ndoda, "Houtie" Delme and Eric Zuma

Picture: GLENN SHEPARDT

NRGUS 26/5/88

# Malan, Slabbert fly to ANC talks

FRANKFURT (West Germany) — Leading white anti-apartheid South Africans arrived here today for talks with the banned African National Congress.

Mr Wynand Malan MP, the National Democratic Movement leader who is leading the group of politicians, journalists and academics, said on arrival at Frankfurt Airport that the talks were part of a continuing process

Others in the delegation are Dr Esther Lategan, Professors Andries van der Walt and Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch, Mr Pierre Cronje MP, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, Mr Harald Pakendorf and adviser Dr Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industry

Mr Malan told journalists "I don't expect any detailed results from this meeting. These talks are part of a continued process of confidential contacts with all relevant groups of South African society."

The delegation will fly back to South Africa on Thursday after the meeting. "There will be no big statements," Mr Malan said.

He declined to disclose the time or place of the talks.

Mr Malan said he did not expect to resolve all differences between his NDM and the ANC. They would discuss whether to boycott racially-segregated elections totally or to use them to fight apartheid "from within".

## Secret meetings

Mr Malan said he had talked with the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, who arrived from Johannesburg on the same flight.

Dr Slabbert, who led the Dakar talks with the ANC last year, has held six secret meetings with the organisation this year. He is due to meet ANC members in Bonn on Friday.

"I met him on the plane. It was a big talk," Mr Malan said.

The ANC has rejected participation in elections, saying racially-based apartheid cannot be reformed from inside and must be overthrown.

But some opponents of apartheid, including Mr Malan, argue that the opposition should switch tactics and take advantage of Mr Botha's limited extension of voting rights to take over local and central government. — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Réuter

# State mum on UDF's court challenge

NO date has been set yet for the hearing of an application by the United Democratic Front (UDF) to declare the banning of their organisation invalid.

The UDF is taking legal action against State President P W Botha, the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and the Government of the Republic of South Africa on the implementation of Regulation 6 which effectively disallows the organisation from functioning.

## Prohibit

The regulation allows the UDF to "keep its books up to date, take legal advice and perform activities which the Minister of Law and Order accepts. It also allows the Minister the power to prohibit the UDF from performing any acts or activities whatsoever.

Attorneys Krish

By ALI MPHAKI

Naidoo and Company, who are representing the UDF, have challenged the right of the State President to surrender to the Minister of Law and Order his powers to restrict organisations.

In their argument they state that it is not permissible as "the emergency regulations are of such importance that Parliament conferred power to the State President only."

They further argue that the banning of the UDF at this stage is questionable as the organisation was regarded by the respondents as a threat since inception.

Slabbert is set to join in later

# NDM, ANC talk today in Frankfurt

AN NDM delegation, led by Wynand Malan, will meet ANC leaders in Frankfurt today.

They left from Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert and a number of Idasa associates are expected to join the talks, scheduled for today and tomorrow.

The discussions were set up in great secrecy for security reasons and follow Malan's meeting with ANC information director Thabo Mbeki in Harare in March.

Slabbert, who has had close contact with the ANC, was said by sources to have acted as an intermediary in preparation for the talks.

NDM leadership committee chairman Peter Gastrow last night confirmed the NDM delegation comprised Malan and executive members Esther Lategan, MP Pierre Cronjé, Harald Pakendorf and Jannie Hofmeyr.

Stellenbosch academics Gerhard Erasmus and Andries van der Walt were also in the group, along with Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industries, who was accompanying them in an advisory capacity. Johannesburg businessman Christo



● LATEGAN

● CRONJE

ELSABÉ WESSELS

Nel was not part of the NDM delegation but would join in the talks.

Cronjé, Erasmus and Nel were in the group of Afrikaners which met the ANC in Dakar last year under Slabbert's leadership.

Top ANC leaders, including Oliver Tambo and Mbeki, are expected to attend the Frankfurt meeting.

Gastrow said the talks were "a necessary part of the NDM's strategy to have discussions over a broad field with all relevant groupings in SA". Another statement would be made before the weekend.

Sources said the agenda was determined by the NDM and that a new strategy for parliamentary participation would be discussed. The NDM's opposition to violence and its strong stand on security would also be stressed.

An NDM source said the first talks would be between the NDM delegation and the ANC. Slabbert would join them later. He added "Slabbert is not the kingpin of the talks."

Slabbert yesterday denied a Business Day report that he was joining an NDM delegation to Lusaka.

He said "It is not true that I or Idasa officials are going to Lusaka with the NDM this week, next week or in the foreseeable future."

Slabbert said he was going to Vancouver, Canada, to receive an honorary doctorate from Simon Fraser University on June 2 and would be out of the country for at least three weeks.

TOKYO — The African National Congress yesterday opened an office in Tokyo with the encouragement of the Japanese foreign ministry and financed by a Japanese Communist Party front group.

The office will be staffed by a single ANC member, Mr J Masila (35), who arrived on Sunday under the sponsorship of the Japan-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organisation (Jala)

He was previously the chief ANC official in Sweden

Mr Masila, who fled South Africa in 1976 and is described by diplomatic sources here as a

# ANC opens new office

*Sowetan 26/5/88*

*11A*

“hard-liner”, will hold a Press conference later this week to announce the goals of the new ANC office

Diplomatic sources said the South African Government has warned the Japanese government that “providing a haven” for a terrorist organisation.

Since Japan was identified as South Africa’s largest trading partner earlier this year, African nations have criticised Tokyo for

supporting the apartheid policies of the South African Government

The Japanese foreign ministry has responded by inviting figures such as the ANC chief, Mr Oliver Tambo, the head of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, and Archbishop Tutu to Japan

The foreign ministry apparently encouraged the opening of the ANC office as a means to salve black African opinion



OLIVER Tambo . . invited.



NTHATO Motlana . . invited.

# ANC opens Tokyo office 11A

88/12/96  
Brow  
TOKYO — The ANC opened an office in Tokyo yesterday with a call to Japan's government and corporations to sever trade ties with SA.

A Foreign Ministry official said the Japanese government had told ANC officials it would not block the opening of a Tokyo office, but it would have no official diplomatic status.

Jerry Matsila, chief representative of the group's Tokyo office, said: "We will call on the Japanese government and big companies to reconsider (their position on) apartheid."

He said the ANC hoped the government and business community would take a firm stance against SA.

Japan last year overtook the US as

SA's top trading partner, a source of embarrassment for the Japanese government.

The ANC office is supported by an anti-apartheid group, the Japan, Asia, Africa and Latin America Solidarity Committee, which raised 7m yen (\$56 000) for operating expenses — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

## Support fight for power

11/10/88  
Somelam  
02/05/88

BLACK liquor traders have been called upon to support trade union federation and community-based organisations in their fight against apartheid in order to gain economic liberation in South Africa.

In his address to the Ukhamba Liquor Association conference the managing director of co-ordinated marketing, Mr Ruel Khoza, said apartheid was essentially politics of suppression, oppression and denial of power to blacks.

He said by joining the ranks of these organisations, the black liquor traders would gain power to throttle big corporations that have monopolised the business. They must participate in action taken by these organisations.

### Apartheid

The three-day conference, which took place at Sun City, Bophuthatswana, debated several issues that deprived blacks participation in the mainstream of the South African economy. The main target was apartheid.

Speakers from different business forums emphasised the need for concerted action for blacks to remain united in their fight for social, political and economic liberation.

### Exclusion

Mr Khoza said apartheid was economics of exclusion.

"As blacks we have been very effectively marginalised from the mainstream economy. We have no credible representation in any of the major economic factors such as mining, agriculture, manufacturing, financial institutions or even retail which we could in some measure, claim to be our forte.

"There is a need to move off the business side lines and to plunge into the mainstream of the South African economy and work out strategies not just for survival but for prosperity.

The conference resolved to

- Call for more training of black traders,
- To insist on purchasing all sorghum beer breweries and to buy remaining liquor outlets.

# 'Powerless' MPs urged to quit

(1/A) By Esmare van der Merwe

Actstop, an organisation opposed to the Group Areas Act, has called on coloured and Indian MPs to resign because they will be powerless to veto new legislation expected to tighten control on trespassers

Important amendments to the Group Areas Act are expected to be put before Parliament soon

An Actstop spokesman

says the proposals demonstrate the bankruptcies of the tricameral Parliament

The opposition of the Labour Party and the National People's Party to the proposed amendments is futile and falls short of demands for scrapping the Act, the spokesman says

Their opposition cannot stop the NP from forcing the amendments through Parliament by way of the President's Council

"This must show those in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives the futility of their participation. The vast majority of the people again demand their resignation from (President) Botha's Parliament"

The organisation, claiming to represent about 50 000 blacks in Johannesburg's "grey" areas, says it will fight every case of eviction resulting from the proposed amendments



CAPE TIMES 27/5/88

# Coloured <sup>11A</sup> councils plan consolidation

## Municipal Reporter

PLANS to consolidate the six coloured management committees in the Cape Town municipal area into a single body — perhaps a coloured city council — are well advanced

The Cape Town City Council approved of these moves yesterday, after first re-stating its "firm belief that the only acceptable and workable form of local government for the City of Cape Town is direct representation of all its citizens on the City Council, irrespective of race"

According to a report from the executive committee (exco), Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, had asked Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, to investigate consolidating the six management committees into one

This unified committee would then be divided into "a number of wards" prior to the 1988 general municipal elections.

Comments have been called for and should be submitted by June 10, and then a Demarcation Board will consider the matter on June 14 and report on it to the administrator, Mr Gene Louw

Exco noted that in 1974 and 1976, the

council resolved to ask the authorities to amalgamate the management committees in the council area into a single committee with wards.

Merging the six management committees into one would lighten the administrative burden, exco said. The council's "bureaucracy" would have to deal with the council and one management committee instead of with the council and eventually as many as 10 other bodies.

The six which exist at present are Athlone and District, Kensington, Wynberg/Wittebome, Retreat, Woodstock/Walmer Estate, and Schotsche Kloof

Consolidation would limit the numbers of management committee members to well below 70, the report said (there are 34 city councillors). It suggested each ward should have just one member "to ensure a committee of a reasonable size".

There should be an equal number of voters in each ward, exco recommended. It also tentatively suggested that there should be "a possible relationship between the number of management committee members and rateable value"

The council resolved to support the consolidation of management committees "as a step towards achieving a unified local government structure for Cape Town"



**TALKS:** Mr Wynand Malan MP, leader of the National Democratic Movement, watches as high-ranking ANC official Mr Thabo Mbeki makes a point at a press conference.

## ANC, Malan group discuss future SA

FRANKFURT — African National Congress leaders and prominent anti-apartheid Afrikaners led by Mr Wynand Malan MP have found common ground on a future South Africa after talks here, but admitted there were important differences in their strategies for achieving that future.

All South Africans should be included "in the process by which we develop a just and prosperous future", the ANC and an eight-member National Democratic Movement delegation said in a joint statement after yesterday's meeting.

But according to Mr Malan, they disagreed on the issue of violence and the ANC's boycott of elections.

### LEVERAGE

The four-person ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, a prominent figure in the organisation.

The main area of discussion is understood to have concerned the possibility of the ANC lifting its blanket boycott of all elections in South Africa.

The NDM is keen to exploit what political leverage there is from electoral opportunities, even under a segregated system. But the ANC is afraid that accepting any aspect of the political system based on apartheid could be a slippery slope.

Mr Malan said he opposed the armed struggle but understood the ANC's explanation for it.

The statement issued after the meeting said:

"Common ground was found in relation to the kind of South Africa we would like to see. This included protection of language, culture and religion, and protection of individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

"However, there were important differences with respect to some aspects of the strategies through which this could be achieved."

Today the four-man ANC delegation will meet Dr van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, for informal talks. — The Independent News Service

11A

Mbeki 27/5/88

*[Handwritten signature]*

CAN. TIMES 5/15/88 (110)

## MP murder: Man in court

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Ivan Wilfred Ballakistan, 48, vice-chairman of the Eden Park management committee, appeared in the Alberton Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with murdering Labour Party MP Mr Peter Jacobs

He was not asked to plead and the case was remanded until June 2

Mr Ballakistan was arrested by East Rand Murder and Robbery detectives on Tuesday

Mr Jacobs was shot dead by a man wearing a balaclava outside the Eden Park Methodist Church on Sunday night after attending a church service

His widow, Mrs Sally Jacobs, was not in court yesterday as she was attending his funeral in Uitenhage — Sapa

# Murdered MP <sup>w/ Mail</sup> wrote to Vlok for help with probe <sup>11A</sup>

27/9-2/6/88

PETER JACOBS, the MP killed on Sunday, was threatened last July with death if he continued probing corruption among senior members of the Eden Park Coloured Management Committee (CMC)

Fearing he would be killed, Jacobs, the Alra Park, Transvaal MP in the House of Representatives, wrote to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok urging him to investigate the activities of CMC member Ivan Ballakistan, according to a document in the possession of the *Weekly Mail*.

Ballakistan yesterday appeared in Alberton Magistrates Court in connection with Jacobs' murder. He was not asked to plead and the case has been postponed to June 2 for further investigation.

Jacobs survived a number of incidents, including burglaries and the fire-bombing of his car, after an anonymous informant told him last year about alleged widespread corruption in the Eden Park CMC housing section.

At the time he was probing Ballakistan's alleged illegal possession of at least eight properties in Eden Park, with the help of CMC member Frans Danster, who was murdered on April 6 last year

Shortly before his death he told the *Weekly Mail* he found it hard to believe that neither the CMC nor the Alberton municipality knew Ballakistan was subletting properties.

"The moment a tenant moves out, the CMC knows about it," he said "The late Danster suspected bribes in the allocation of houses

"With all this information we approached the town clerk, who nearly fell out of his chair when he saw our documents (showing ownership or control of a number of houses)

**His car was fire-bombed, his assistant was shot dead in the garden, his house was burgled. KOBIE FOURIE reports on the death of MP Peter Jacobs**

"The town clerk, Mr Prinsloo, asked Giepie van Rensburg, (a municipal official) who was controlling Eden Park, what the hell was going on. Van Rensburg, who looked at our documents, also could not believe it.

"By now everybody was shaken and worried. The town clerk and Van Rensburg personally went to Eden Park and after removing the revelant files, promised to contact us again

"The next morning it was a totally different town clerk and a total different story. Danster and I were made out to be the culprits. We decided then to take this matter to the House of Representatives and eventually to the minister of law and order.

"Not satisfied with the lack of action, we took the matter to the administrator of the Transvaal, who told us if the town clerk did not find anything wrong with the actions of Ivan Ballakistan, neither could he

"We persisted and on April 7, 1987 the administrator wrote to me stating that two houses of Ballakistan had been 'ill-gained' and that those two houses would be taken back and sold at auction

"On April 6 Frans Danster was shot dead in his garden."

In the months that followed, Jacobs' house was burgled on two occasions and goods and most of his documents stolen. His car was fire-bombed

Finally he was killed on Sunday, leaving church for home.

27/5  
2/6/88 W/maul

# A 'queer election'

## turns the meek into the militant



EARLY in April 1948, president of the African National Congress Dr AB Xuma expressed disinterest in the results of the "queer general election" for white South Africa which would take place the following month.

He did condemn the opposition National Party's new slogan "apartheid", but reserved most of his invective for the segregationist policies of General Jan Smuts

Xuma, it seemed, did not seriously entertain the prospect of a Nationalist victory "The apartheid policy is nothing new," he said, "and should not be surprising to any serious student of colour relations. It is a mere elaboration, a natural and logical growth of the Union Native Policy"

Two months after Dr DF Malan moved into Smuts's office, the consequences of protracted NP rule were still not widely recognised within the ANC. Cape president Rev JA Calata told his followers "Africans need not fear. Just go about your work as usual as if nothing had happened and you shan't notice any difference except the usual pinpricks"

In fact the watershed of white politics was to have a profound effect on the development of organised black resistance. The harshness of the first years of formalised apartheid speeded a process of growing militancy within the ANC. It also drew many converts, few of whom would have guessed that their cause would not be won four decades on.

This has been the experience of Christmas Tinto, born on December 25 1925 in the Mqandule district of Transkei. On May 28 1948, the day of the Nationalist victory, he was one of many thousands of young Africans in Cape Town more concerned about finding employment than rarefied political developments. He knew little of the policy differences between the white political parties and "knew nothing about the ANC".

Now, at 63, he is a Western Cape leader of the restricted United Democratic Front. He has served two separate sentences on Robben Island for ANC-related activity, has been detained several times and is restricted from addressing public meetings.

The coming of the Nationalists, he says, had much to do with his transformation from out-of-work miner to lifelong political activist.

"I was not aware of the ANC in 1948 but the viciousness of Nationalist rule made us political and pushed the militancy of the ANC. So 1948

*Black South Africa paid little attention to the election which brought the National Party to power 40 years ago this week. But the rude shock of Nationalist rule galvanised the cautious ANC and transformed it into the militant party of today.* SHAUN JOHNSON and CRAIG TYSON talk to black activist Christmas Tinto whose political career spans all four decades

**'We have shaken apartheid's granite wall' — Christmas Tinto has been an activist throughout the 40 years of National Party rule** Picture RASHID LOMBARD

was important for white politics, but was equally important for resistance politics, because people began to speak of a liberation struggle.

"I attended my first ANC rally at the Grand Parade in Cape Town. The speakers that day were Dr James Njongwe of the Youth League, Moses Kotane, and Alex La Guma. It was then I joined the Youth League."

Formed in 1944, the Youth League had regorganised the ANC. "Young Turks" like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo had by the end of the decade risen to positions in the national leadership. In contrast to earlier muted requests for "better treatment", the organisation now campaigned for votes for all.

"After the Nationalists came to power, the ANC itself became more powerful. It was more militant than before. It had been formed by church leaders and chiefs in rural areas, but took a qualitative turn now."

Tinto and his colleagues believed united action by black South Africans would "send a message to the rulers". He was a prominent participant in the Defiance Campaign, and was

was a government that had no intention of negotiating at all."

The banning of the ANC was a major blow, coming at a time when the organisation was starting to secure a mass following. "In the 1960s ANC members were sent to Robben Island in large numbers. Everyone could see it would take time to revive. I went to the Island for sabotage.

"There was a popular song we used to sing to show we were not beaten. *The road we are walking is long and rocky! We are dealing with a madman! Yet he believes in God! Let us be patient and vigilant! We will not all reach the top of the mountain! Some are going to fall towards the rock! But we must be sure of our victory.*"

After a political lull township militancy resurfaced in the Soweto uprising of 1976, which Tinto saw as confirmation of ongoing commitment against apartheid. He was sent to Robben Island in 1977, this time for recruiting for Umkhonto weSizwe. After a successful appeal he was released in 1979.

"I set about reviving the youth in my area," he says. Moves toward the launch of the UDF were under way, and he detected a revival of resistance politics. He was detained in 1985. While in prison he received reports of widespread political activity in the townships, but was disturbed to hear of violence — notably "necklacings".

"What discipline was this?" he asked, "and when leaders were released we stamped it out once and for all. It was revolution with no politics, no understanding — only anger."

Tinto believes the state clampdown of June 1986 has not removed the anger from black communities, but that it has offered an opportunity for "properly politicising our youth".

The last 40 years may not have brought the "liberation" sought by Tinto, but he believes resistance has "shaken the granite wall of apartheid. It can't last another 40 years. Not even 20."

"PW Botha is like someone with many babies — some are pulling him this way, some are pulling him that. He is having yet more elections this year, 40 years later. They are a waste of time."

# ANC refuse to comment

The Star's Africa (11A)  
News Service

A spokesman for the African National Congress in Lusaka has refused to comment on yesterday's Pretoria bomb blasts — neither accepting nor denying responsibility.

The spokesman pointed out that the organisation had not accepted responsibility for previous bomb blasts, nor commented on them.

When questioned on whether the blasts represented a departure from the ANC's official policy of not attacking "soft" targets, he said that such questions were academic as the organisation had not claimed responsibility for the bombs.

# Ramaphosa: Forget the future, tackle apartheid monster now

Tackle the "monster of apartheid" today instead of constantly worrying about a "vision for the future", Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, told a conference of 150 business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday

He had been asked to speak on "My vision for tomorrow" by the Human Resources Contact Group at a two-day conference which ended yesterday.

Mr Ramaphosa said he was unable to talk on his assigned topic because he could not separate himself from the millions of dispossessed, disenfranchised South Africans whose vision for the future society was enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

"I have no personal vision of a tomorrow. Both myself and others do not have a today. We need to deal with the reality of the situation now. We need to eradicate the monster of apartheid which has devoured our people

"The regime has destroyed the economy and laid waste education, health and welfare services Townships are filled with homeless and despairing people Hardship for both young and old in the rural areas has been intensified and over 5 million people are unemployed," he said

Bosses hunting for solutions had introduced share-ownership schemes But these kinds

By Adele Baleta

of solutions "smack of blackmail", he said.

Replying to questions about what business could do now, Mr Ramaphosa said the Labour Relations Amendment Bill was a starting point.

"Business has participated in drafting the Bill During recognition negotiations we heard management talking about the possibility of restricting strikes and suing unions for loss of production."

These "possibilities" were ensured in the amendment Bill and many companies were waiting in anticipation for the Bill to be passed so they could begin dealing more "constructively" with the unions, he said

Mr Ramaphosa pointed out that union proposals to get the Government to pass a Bill embodying the concerns of both labour and management had been rejected

The vision Mr Ramaphosa said he would like to put forward was that of a future, non-racial democracy as set out in the Freedom Charter.

This is shorthand for telling

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# PW could rule by decree says study

(1A)  
27/5/85

By Michael Morris  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — President Botha could take the extreme step of suspending the Constitution and ruling by decree if pressures from the left and right become unbearable, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies

The institute's newly published strategic survey portrays Mr Botha as a politically embattled leader, partly distrusted within his own community, pressed from other quarters to attract the ANC into discussion, conscious of the power of black trade unions, and keenly aware of the need to generate a higher growth rate to finance the country's expanding and costlier security services and reforms

"The indications," it says, "of a continuing movement of Afrikaner support to political groupings on the right and left of the NP are of more than academic importance to future political developments in South Africa

"Botha would like to press ahead with his own plans for reform which are less a blueprint for the future than groping attempts to co-opt blacks into various bodies established by the Government"

But he faces a dilemma, says the survey

His hopes of avoiding elections until 1992, and also of evading the Rev Allan Hendrickse's demand for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, confront him with "a political and constitutional dilemma".

## ELECTORATE

The institute says "To repeal the Act would cause a haemorrhage of NP support to the CP. Botha's other option would be recess Parliament, suspend the Constitution and rule by decree until ready to face the electorate. This course would be extreme, but not beyond possibility

At the same time, the report says, South Africa recognises that the political future must involve the ANC

"The problem for the Government has been to find a way to square the circle of attracting the ANC into discussion without being seen to back down from its own long-standing position that the ANC must renounce violence before talks can occur"

But the institute notes an apparent flexibility in both Government and ANC positions — the Government suggesting it might be possible to legalise the ANC if it suspended violence and the ANC calling for a united, rather than the traditional unitary, South Africa

But the survey says the Government's reaction to ANC veteran Govan Mbeki's freedom does not augur well for the release of Nelson Mandela — a precondition for negotiations.

The institute believes, however that "critics and supporters alike agree that the Government appears to have broken the back of the largely spontaneous uprising in the black townships after nearly 2½ years"

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during talks with the African National Congress within the next few days

In Cape Town this week, an NDM spokesperson confirmed Malan's plans for talks with the ANC, but would not say when or where they will be held or what will be discussed. She denied that the meeting will be in Lusaka or that former Progressive Federal Party leader, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, now a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), will accompany Malan. She said the talks will be "an NDM action". It is understood that the meeting will be somewhere in Europe.

Slabbert, who was due to leave for a month-long visit to Europe and North America this week, could not be contacted before the *FM* went to press.

It is understood, however, that he will be part of an Idasa delegation which will have talks with ANC representatives in Europe next month. It is not clear whether there is a direct link between Malan's planned meeting with the organisation and the Idasa initiative.

Slabbert confirmed this week that he is playing a facilitating role in formulating strategies that may lead to the participation in parliament and other structures by groups which have boycotted such institutions up to now. But he has denied reports that he intends returning to active parliamentary politics either as an MP or as the leader of a new party.

Weekend reports of Slabbert's involvement in the formulation of "participation strategies" by extra-parliamentary groups have highlighted behind-the-scenes activities in recent months concerning the issue.

However, the UDF and Cosatu (which has become a key component of the "broad democratic movement" since the clampdown on the UDF), seem unlikely to reverse their boycott stance towards the tricameral parliament and other State-created bodies, such as township community councils.

This is despite the severe restrictions placed on their "legal space" in which to mobilise supporters and oppose government policy. Part of the rationale for participation would be to achieve at least some "institutional protection," or political room to move.

Although it is thought unlikely that Malan will get the ANC's all-important imprimatur for his new strategy to take off in the anti-government camp, this remains to be seen.

In Slabbert's canvassing of Malan's idea among those UDF leaders still in circulation, it emerges that Malan would like to form a non-racial political party to field candidates in the three houses. Part of the aim of

participation in official structures would also be to try to organise whites more effectively.

However, key UDF affiliates such as the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses rule out participation — even though some admit to toying idly with the idea of sweeping the House of Delegates, for example. But that would only be to make a point later by walking out in protest at the system. In any event, with their comrades in the townships totally opposed to the community council system, it would be out of kilter to fight ethnic elections at whatever level.

Instead, the "broad democratic movement" plans to hold a congress of like-minded people within the next two months to define a "concerted programme of action" against apartheid and a range of issues, such as the October local elections and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill. This was announced at Cosatu's special conference earlier this month (*Current affairs* May 20).

So even though the boycott is not a UDF principle, but rather a tactic, the "broad democratic movement" cannot at this stage bring itself to participate. The cycle of protest and repression will, it seems, continue. ■

## POLITICS

### The boycott stays

National Democratic Movement (NDM) leader, Wynand Malan, is expected to seek backing for a new strategy of widespread "participation" by extra-parliamentary groups in government-created structures

FM 27/5/88

# Forget this talk of a new opposition: The UDF won't budge

By ANTON HARBER and  
Weekly Mail Correspondent,  
Cape Town

SUGGESTIONS that extra-parliamentary groups are rethinking boycott strategies are wildly exaggerated — and discussions which are taking place have probably been set back by this week's blaze of publicity.

Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday introduced a new element into the speculation by hinting that the restrictions on the United Democratic Front (UDF) could be more easily lifted if it agreed to participate in the October elections "on a democratic basis".

He told a press briefing in Cape Town that restrictions on the UDF would remain until such time.

But anyone could participate in the October 26 municipal elections, either as a voter or as a candidate, he said.

Apart from normal restrictions, such as the prohibition on people with criminal records standing as candidates, "there are no restrictions on who can participate", Van der Merwe said

"Obviously if the UDF would ask for the restrictions on them to be lifted, they would have to agree that they would participate peacefully and in a democratic manner and would not stir up revolution.

"I doubt if they would come forward because their official policy is to destroy the system," he said.

Claims that a rethink of boycott tactics was under way were fuelled by news that MP Wynand Malan, six members of his National Democratic Movement (NDM), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and others were meeting a senior delegation of the African National Congress (ANC) in Europe yesterday.

NDM representative Peter Gastrow confirmed yesterday that the participation/boycott debate would be discussed at the meeting in Frankfurt, West Germany, but said it was only "one of many items" on the agenda.

He said it was "unfortunate" that reports had been so "sensationalised", giving the impression that discussions were at an advanced stage.

"In fact, discussion about additional strategies have only started taking place within various groupings

"We in the NDM have purposely

# That 'Slabbert party' talk: a little premature

●From PAGE 1

been quiet about these discussions because we know how sensitive the issue is. These reports are counter-productive and harmful," he said

UDF representatives cannot easily discuss the issue because of Emergency restrictions on both the organisation and individual leaders. But it is clear from sources close to the UDF and its affiliates that it would be incorrect to expect a major change of the boycott strategy.

It has been confirmed that Slabbert has been floating ideas about alliances between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings — and even the possibility of a joint political party — that would make use of official platforms such as the tricameral parliament.

He has discussed these ideas with a wide range of individuals and organisations, including the UDF. However, individuals he has spoken to say he has been careful to raise it only as a tentative suggestion and there has been little more than an initial discussion of the idea.

Reports suggesting that Slabbert is about to return to parliament or that he is at the centre of a grand new initiative are exaggerated. Slabbert is due to move to Johannesburg soon to start lecturing at the University of the Witwatersrand's business school. He is playing the role of an interface between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups, being one of the few people who can communicate ideas between the two groups.

His idea runs along these lines. extra-parliamentary groups need a fundamental rethink of strategy to cope with the setbacks they have suffered as a result of the Emergency and the limitation of both international pressure and the "armed struggle".

Parliamentary groups are extremely limited in their scope, in Slabbert's view. Anti-apartheid groups that identify with the "democratic movement" have no presence in the houses of delegates and representatives and only a limited potential for gaining seats in the house of assembly.

A party like the NDM, which currently has three white MPs, needs to look elsewhere if it is to expand its

## ANC to talk again, says Wynand

Weekly Mail Reporter  
WYNAND MALAN, leader of the National Democratic Movement, emerged from his meeting with the African National Congress last night saying the two parties had agreed to further talks but had sharply disagreed over the use of violence.

Malan, who led an eight-member delegation, met with four senior ANC members in Frankfurt. They were Thabo Mbeki, Tony Seedat, Aziz Pahad and Jacob Zuma.

In a joint statement afterwards, they said. "Common ground was found in relation to the kind of South Africa we would like to see.

"However, there were important differences with respect to some aspects of the strategy through which this could be achieved."

Earlier in the day, Malan issued a statement condemning "violence and terrorism" after two bombs exploded in Pretoria.

constituency. The Progressive Federal Party is also floundering.

Therefore, the suggestion is the formation of an alliance involving both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

However, the key player in such a move would be the UDF — and this organisation is far from ready to change its strategy of non-participation in government structures.

There have always been elements of the UDF that have argued for selec-

There are strong elements in the UDF who want a participation strategy to receive serious consideration, but restrictions make rigorous discussion extremely difficult.

Sources close to the UDF say it would be impossible under Emergency conditions for the organisation to conduct the necessary discussions and consultations for any major change of strategy.

Any debate over such change would be gradual and long-term — and wouldn't affect attitudes to the October municipal elections.

# Charge against Alex 5 'cannot be sustained'

By Bruce Anderson

Defence argument in an application for the discharge of Mr Moses Mayekiso and four other men on charges of treason and sedition was "novel and interesting", a Rand Supreme Court judge said yesterday.

Shortly after Mr Chris Human, SC, who appears for the State, had begun replying to the defence application, Mr Justice P J van der Walt put the defence argument to him.

The judge said that defence advocate Mr D H Soggot, SC, had argued that violence was a necessary component in a charge of treason and, since violence was not alleged in the indictment, the charge could not be sustained.

The five men, Mr Mayekiso (38), Mr Paul Tshabalala (38), Mr Richard Mda-kane (29), Mr Obed Dapela (28) and Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso (22) have all pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively sedition, alternative-

ly subversion.

They were all executive Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) members.

Mr Justice van der Walt said it was possible to raise objections to alleged deficiencies in an indictment at the end of the State's case.

It was also possible, he said, for the State to cure alleged deficiencies in the indictment by evidence.

Mr Human suggested that a State application to amend the indictment might be a second way of rectifying any alleged deficiencies in the document.

Mr Justice van der Walt told Mr Human that Mr Soggot had submitted that it was not sufficient for the State to just allege a conspiracy between the AAC and the ANC. Instead, Mr Soggot had submitted, that "somewhere in the list of allegations the element of violence must come forward".

The case was postponed until June 2.



NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and ANC executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki during their talks in Frankfurt yesterday. Inset: Mr Paul Annegarn, who is allegedly being held by the ANC in Lusaka.

CAPE TOWN — The National Democratic Movement (NDM) delegation to the Frankfurt talks with the ANC planned to raise the issue of violence and the double bomb blast in Pretoria at yesterday's discussion

According to a NDM spokesman, the movement's leader Mr Wynand Malan had been kept informed of local events and had issued a statement that the NDM would "actively challenge" the ANC on violence

Mr Malan said the NDM rejected violence and acts of terror as a means to bring about po-

## Wynand Malan to ask ANC about blasts

litical change in South Africa. "One of the reasons for our meeting with the ANC is to actively challenge them on this issue," he said

● The father of the suspected fifth member of the alleged Broedersroom ANC cell, Mr Joe Annegarn, has pleaded with Mr Malan to intervene on his son's behalf during the Frankfurt talks

The ANC confirmed two days ago that Mr Paul Annegarn "is with

us" following a week of uncertainty for his parents about his whereabouts

Mr Malan left for Frankfurt on Wednesday night with a group of academics and politicians for a meeting at a secret venue with the ANC.

Although the ANC indicated to Mr Joe Annegarn that they "would keep the communication channels open", Mr Malan's intervention could be his last hope of

negotiations with the ANC for Paul's release

It is understood the International Red Cross is barred from any contact with detainees in Quatro camp, where his son is believed to be

Mr Annegarn said the ANC would not confirm that his son was in the organisation's discipline camp in Angola

Quatro is said to be situated west of Luanda, and according to intelligence sources, Quatro detainees are held without trial. The camp is reportedly similar to Russian hard labour camps — Sapa, Own Correspondent

# Govt under AWB fire over talks with ANC

Star 27/1/88 By Esmaré van der Merwe  
11A  
The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terreblanche, accused the Government last night of breaking its word by not introducing laws to prohibit South Africans from having talks with the outlawed ANC.

He referred to leaders of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) as "weak liberals" who "run overseas to collaborate with the ANC".

The leader of the NDM, Mr Wynand Malan, who

had had talks with the ANC in West Germany this week, had indicated that he wanted to set up a meeting with the AWB, Mr Terreblanche said.

He said he would not meet Mr Malan "I only want to speak with Afrikaners, my people".

Mr Terreblanche addressed an 800-strong crowd in Kempton Park at a meeting marking the National Party's 40-year rule.

He said right-wing organisations should unite to win the next general election and then establish a volkstaat, consisting of the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal.

# ANC, NDM disagree on violence

Star 27/5/88  
11A

FRANKFURT — Members of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the ANC sharply disagreed here yesterday on the use of violence to bring about change.

As four members of the ANC, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, the groups's spokesman here, met an eight-member NDM delegation, two bombs exploded in Pretoria, injuring four people.

Mr Wynand Malan, the leader of the NDM, said although he could understand the position of violence from the ANC's perspective, he was opposed to it.

He said he wanted to hold more talks with the ANC.

In a joint statement, the ANC and the NDM said common ground was reached over what kind of South Africa they would like to see, but disagreed over strategies to achieve this.

Mr Malan told reporters when he arrived here that Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who was on the same flight, "has his own agenda and won't be taking part in the meeting with the ANC".

Dr Slabbert could not be reached, but an associate of his, speaking on condition of anonymity, said he was in Bonn.

Both the associate and the ANC declined to say whether Dr Slabbert planned to meet the ANC privately. — Associated Press.

# Mandela - 'free at 70'

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address a "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" rally in London's Hyde Park on July 17, according to a statement by the organisers.

The statement said the rally was expected to be the largest ever anti-apartheid event staged in the British capital.

South Africa 27/5/88  
**Swapo**

Archbishop Tutu will be joined on the platform by a leading South West Africa People's Organisation official, Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and British film director Sir Richard Attenborough, who portrayed the Steve Biko story in *City Freedom*.

The statement said the Hyde Park rally would be preceded by a march through London.

The event would also mark the end of a 590-mile Glasgow to London "Nelson Mandela Freedom March" by 25 people — Sapa



**SADF in R245 000 claims case**  
CME Times 27/5/88

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — Civil claims amounting to R245 000 were brought against the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, by 50 Wits students and two security guards in the Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The claims were lodged against the minister for discomfort and other ailments caused by two tear gas incidents in Soweto on May 1, 1986.

In papers before the magistrate Mr M Prinsloo, the students allege that after attending a meeting at Orlando Stadium, members of the SADF stopped their bus and ordered them out between 4.15 and 4.45pm.

They allege that an unknown SADF member then lobbed a tear gas cannister amongst passengers on the bus. Soon after, a second one was lobbed in the immediate area of the bus and amongst passengers who vacated the bus.

Students' claims vary from R4 000 — R5 000 plus 15% form day of judgment.

The case continues

# NDM, ANC agree on vision for SA

CME Times 27/5/88 114

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — Delegations from the National Democratic Movement and the ANC ended a day of formal talks in Frankfurt yesterday by issuing a statement saying they agreed on the kind of post-apartheid SA they wanted but had important differences on strategies to achieve change.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan told the BBC that there had been fundamental differences over the ANC's commitment to armed struggle.

"We voiced our opposition and difference to that strategy. We also got an explanation from them on the origin of the armed struggle. We can understand what they are saying but from our position we are still fundamentally in disagreement to it."

The ANC reiterated its position that it would only consider abandoning armed struggle if the conditions which forced it to adopt the strategy were changed.

Mr Malan said also that the meeting provided an opportunity to discuss in a structured way "a number of issues, some of which we fundamentally differ on, or understand or at least are getting to understand". There was a commitment to continue discussions "with the intention of finding some common future".

The ANC members said they regarded the NDM as an important political force. It represented an important view coming from the Afrikaner people, in particular, that apartheid

had to go and that South Africa must become a democratic country.

The NDM delegation was led by Mr Malan who was accompanied amongst others by Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, Mrs Esther Latégan, Mr Harald Parkendorf and academic Mr Jannie Hofmeyr.

The ANC delegation consisted of central executive committee members — Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Aziz Pahad, and Mr Jacob Zuma, as well as its Bonn representative Tony Seedat.

The authorized statement said that both delegations agreed that the sectarian environment in SA at the moment made it impossible to achieve a resolution to the problems in the country.

It said common ground had been found in relation to the kind of South Africa the delegations would like to see.

This included the protection of language, culture and individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

"However there were important differences with respect to some aspects of the strategy through which this could be achieved."

The statement said it was agreed further discussions would be held to discuss these differences and other issues.

An ANC member said some of the NDM members were staying on to discuss a broad range of issues relating to the "crisis in the country and how to go forward".

# A FORGOTTEN PRISONER

A MEETING at which the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity was commemorated in Soweto was told to remember the longest serving South African political prisoner who has been in jail for 25 years.

Mr James Mndaweni, president of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), told a packed hall at Ipelegeng Community Centre on Wednesday night that Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member, Jeff Masemola, was the first political prisoner on Robben Island in recent times.

## Jailed

He was jailed with five other PAC members for attempting to overthrow the Government. They were jailed in June 1963, only a month after the founding of the OAU.

Mr Mndaweni said Mr Masemola had had another distinction that of having been in solitary confinement for nine of the 25 years he has served in jail.

There was a roar of applause when Mr Mndaweni reported that on Sunday, he was in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the OAU meeting is held. He was in Addis Ababa with *Sowetan*

## SOWETAN REPORTER

Assistant Editor Sam Mabe

He said he listened to the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, warning the Minister's Council not to forget Mr Masemola.

He added that on his arrival in South Africa

on Tuesday, he sent a telex to the OAU on behalf of Nactu, congratulating it for the good work it had done in trying to unite Africans.

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, who chaired the meeting, said the Pan Africanist ideals cherished by the founders of the OAU were still alive in the rest of Africa.



JAMES Mndaweni

*Sowetan*  
27/5/88  
119

# Govt blames ANC for Pretoria blasts

GOVERNMENT blamed the ANC for yesterday's bomb blasts in Pretoria and said it was incomprehensible that people like Van Zyl Slabbert and Wynand Malan were prepared to talk with "this unscrupulous terrorist organisation".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said that there was no doubt that the explosions, which occurred in busy streets, were the work of ANC terrorists.

It was incomprehensible that despite these despicable deeds there were still people like Van Zyl Slabbert, Wynand Malan, academ-

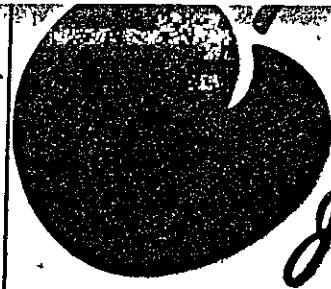
Political Staff

ics and other politicians who wanted to conduct talks with the ANC. Malan said yesterday the NDM rejected all violence and acts of terrorism as a means to bring about political change.

He said there could be no lasting peace and security in SA unless a new political system was worked out by the people of the country.

Malan said the NDM was discussing political strategies with the ANC to find alternatives to destruction and violence in SA.

11A  
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27/5/88



IN MAY  
**25%**  
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merchandise  
*John Orr's*  
SANDTON CITY

LONDON — Delegations from the NDM and ANC ended a day of formal talks in Frankfurt yesterday by issuing a statement saying they agreed on what kind of post apartheid SA they wanted, but had important differences on strategies to achieve change.

The delegations slapped what one ANC member called a "three-line whip" on revealing the contents of the discussions except for an agreed brief joint statement.

The ANC delegation comprised Thabo Mbeki, head of information and publicity, Tony Seedat, the ANC's chief representative in West Germany, and members Aziz Pahad and Jacob Zuma.

Points of agreement included the pro-

## NDM and ANC split on strategy

MIKE ROBERTSON

tection of language, culture and individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

However, NDM leader Wynand Malan told the BBC there had been fundamental differences over the ANC's commitment to armed struggle

"We voiced our opposition and difference to that strategy. We also got an

(119) Blday 27/5/88 To Page 2 → 27/5/88

## ANC won't give up its armed struggle

explanation from them on the origin of the armed struggle. We can understand what they are saying, but from our position we are still fundamentally in disagreement with it."

The ANC reiterated that it would only consider abandoning armed struggle if the conditions which forced it to adopt the strategy were changed.

Malan said the meeting provided an opportunity to discuss in a structured way "a number of issues, some of which we fundamentally differ on, or understand or at least are getting to understand" There was a commitment to continue discussions "with the intention of finding some common ground somewhere in the future"

(119) Blday 27/5/88 ← From Page 1

Malan was due to leave Frankfurt last night

ELSABÉ WESELS reports that threatened action by the State President to prevent South Africans from having talks with the ANC was not a consideration for the NDM in setting up talks with the ANC in Frankfurt this week, NDM leadership committee chairman Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

Gastrow said the threats were not a consideration as the NDM operated constitutionally from within Parliament with a clear mandate from its congress

"The one action we do expect is a sustained smear campaign."

AZAYO president Mr Thabo Mafihla (left) and political commissar Mr Tsepo Sebusi mobilising the youth for a socialist Azania

THE Azanian Youth Organisation was to celebrate its first anniversary today

Instead, members will silently remember it as one of the most short-lived, intensely active overt political groupings in the country

Azayo, which was inaugurated as the youth wing of the Black Consciousness Movement on May 27 last year, was effectively banned by the Government on February 24 less than nine months after its launch in Durban

Azayo was one of 17 extra-parliamentary organisations virtually closed down by the Government which imposed severe restrictions on their activities

### Surprised

The ban means that the 17 organisations may not engage in any activities of resistance without Government approval

However, the organisations may carry out administrative functions such as maintaining an office and keeping records

In its short existence, Azayo had a momentum

# Youths with a vision for SA



By MIKE TISSONG

that surprised even its mother body, the Azanian's People's Organisation (Azapo)

Azapo was formed after an Azapo resolution to mobilise the youth into an organisation which would cater specifically for the needs of the youth

### Nationalism

The momentum started before the launch when organisers travelled throughout the country with proposals

for a youth organisation within the Black Consciousness fold which would stress a socialist alternative for the country

Azayo was to be different from the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) which stressed African nationalism as its political philosophy

Azayo was also meant to be different to the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) which catered for school and university students within the Black Consciousness fold. Azayo catered for the youth in general

It was also to be different from the then-proposed South African Youth Congress (Sayco) which supported the Freedom Charter before Sayco was also banned

### Links

The State took notice of Azayo's rapid growth and, at one stage, the entire interim committee was detained in terms of the state of emergency

Others involved in Azayo took over the organisation when at the time of the launch, interim president, Mr

Sam Seema and his team were behind bars

Mr Thabo Mafihla was elected president and he and several members of the new executive have been detained many times since then

On release they said they were questioned about the growth of Azayo and that the police were investigating links between Azayo and the armed wing of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla)

Azapo's deputy president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, was also detained at Protea police station in Soweto where he was asked about his brother's role in Azanla

Azayo members also said they were questioned about the six campaigns Azayo was involved in

### Death

One of the campaigns decided at the inaugural congress was the "anti-KwaNdebele independence campaign"

Members from the KwaNdebele branch were involved in community action against the independence proposals

One of the projects Azayo sabotaged was the music and soccer festival in the KwaNdebele bantustan. The festival was going to be used by officials to sell independence proposals to the masses.

Azayo members asked Jomo Sono of Jomo

Cosmos and Pine Chabeli of Moroka Swallows not to field their teams and asked the musicians involved not to take part. They pulled out

Azayo members were also involved in commemorating the 10th anniversary of Steve Biko's death in detention in September

### Biko

Seema, who was at that time released from prison, died in a car accident while distributing Biko stickers in Soweto on the evening of September 11 last year

The *Sowetan* reported that about 3000 people attended his funeral in Marapyane in the Western Transvaal

Azayo members from the Maritzburg townships tried to resolve the issue of violence in November, but the problem was too big for the fledgling organisation

Two Azayo members were killed in November

• To page 11

27/5-2/6/88 (11A) w/Mark

# Laudable, but bannable

"MANY or at least some of the activities or acts of the United Democratic Front and affiliates are not only perfectly legal but even laudable," said the minister of law and order in response to an application by the UDF to declare the banning of their organisation invalid.

The UDF is taking legal action against State President PW Botha, the government of the Republic of South Africa, and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok on the implementation of Regulation 6 which effectively precludes the organisation from functioning.

The regulation allows the minister the power to prohibit the UDF from "performing any acts or activities whatsoever". It allows the UDF to keep its books up to date, take legal advice and perform activities "which the minister consents to".

In response to the minister's statement that certain activities of the UDF are legal and laudable, attorneys Krish Naidoo and Company argue it is incomprehensible that the UDF is precluded from performing such activities, underlining "the unreasonable nature of the restriction".

The applicants have challenged the right of the state president to surrender to the minister his powers to restrict organisations. The applicant argues it is not permissible as "the

**Some of the activities of the UDF are 'laudable' says the state. But the ban remains. By KAREN EVANS**

Emergency regulations are of such importance that parliament conferred the power to the state president only"

In their argument, the respondents outlined a history of the African National Congress and its policies, the dimensions of the revolution, the history of the UDF and the execution of its policies.

Excerpts from ANC president Oliver Tambo's New Year speeches over the last three years were used as evidence of the existence of a link between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the UDF.

The applicants, in an answering affidavit, argued that the respondent failed to confirm the validity of the Emergency, but filed "lengthy affidavits, the apparent purpose of which is to endeavour to discredit the applicants and paint a distorted picture".

The applicant denied links with the ANC and SACP and dismissed the idea that the UDF is a "single coherent movement with a conspiracy to overthrow the state by violent means".

"Such smears are unsubstantiated,

unfounded and vague in the extreme"

The applicant denied associating itself with aims and methods of the ANC and SACP or having had any part in the formation of the organisation.

In his responding affidavit, the state president argued that he had taken into account "all relevant information concerning the security situation in the country and having so considered such information I declared the State of Emergency".

The state president further considered it necessary to implement Regulation 6A.

"In my opinion the activities of certain organisations have reached such widespread proportions and increased the revolutionary climate to such an extent that it is necessary to act immediately and decisively in order to protect the safety of the public, to maintain public order and restore peace, calm and tranquillity in the country to the extent that the State of Emergency can be lifted."

The applicants argued that the UDF's banning at this stage is questionable as the organisation was regarded by the respondents as a threat since its inception.

No date has been set for a hearing

11A

# Father told of missing son

THE ANC has confirmed to NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan that it is holding Mr Paul Annegarn, 23, allegedly the fifth member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell.

The other four alleged members of the cell were captured with a huge arms cache on a small holding near Pretoria on May 8.

Mr Annegarn — son of leading Johannesburg businessman Mr Joe Annegarn and a defector from the SADF — apparently broke ranks with the other members of the cell late last year and returned to Lusaka.

He subsequently disappeared from public sight. According to recent allegations, Mr Annegarn is being held in Quatra, the ANC's punishment camp in Angola.

Although the issue of Mr Annegarn's whereabouts was not on the agenda of the Frankfurt meeting between the NDM and the ANC, Mr Malan held private discussions with Mr Thabo Mbeki, the organization's information secretary, in which it was confirmed that Mr Annegarn was being held by the ANC.

It was the first confirmation by the organization that it was holding the missing man.

"Mr Mbeki told me that he was well," Mr Malan told the Cape Times last night.

Speaking on his return yesterday from Frankfurt where he headed the eight-member NDM delegation which met a high-ranking ANC group, including four national executive committee members, Mr Malan said the next round of talks between the two groups would focus on "alternative strategies that could break the spiral of violence."

There was common ground on the kind of SA they would like to see, including protection of language, culture and religion, as well as individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

Meanwhile, Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, yesterday also met with the ANC delegation in Frankfurt.

Although no concrete agreements on achieving reforms had been reached, the "frank and open" discussions had included the ANC's use of violence.

While there was sharp disagreement on the use of violence to bring about change, Dr Van zyl Slabbert said he had not tried to persuade the ANC to "change strategies" and try to become involved in SA's internal politics — Political Correspondent, Staff Reporter with Sapa-AP-Reuter.

Cape Times  
20/5/89

FRANKFURT  
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AP 7.1.75 28/5/88

# Tutu, Pik trade barbs in heated TV debate

NEW YORK. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, traded criticisms in an occasionally-heated American television interview on Thursday

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Botha were interviewed separately on ABC-TV's "Nightline", in contrast to a programme three years earlier in which they appeared together

Archbishop Tutu criticized the United States for failing to take tougher steps against South Africa to induce the government to abandon apartheid

"We are saying 'Look, in South Africa, many of the things that you hold dear are being treated with considerable disdain. Why don't you do something that will indicate to the South African government and to the victims that you actually do mean what you say?"

"Political power still remains very firmly in the hands of the white minority, and until we deal with that problem, we are playing marbles."

Mr Botha argued that economic sanctions and the withdrawal of some industries "mean robbing our black people of jobs, of sending their families into starvation".

He said a poll had shown that 75% of blacks opposed sanctions. When asked why the government would not allow blacks to express such views by allowing them to vote, Mr Botha denied that blacks are being denied political power — Sapa-AP



*Ch. 11/15 28/1/78*

# Rajbansi crisis *11A*

## Political Staff

A CONSTITUTIONAL crisis is developing between President P.W. Botha and the opposition majority alliance in the House of Delegates.

Incensed at the president's interpretation of the constitutional situation prompted by recent ructions in the House, members of Solidarity and the breakaway Peoples' Party are threatening not to co-operate with him or to block legislation unless they have their way.

The alliance believes Mr Botha is trying to "buy time" for the embattled chairman of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

# Flak from Vlok for liberals who talked to ANC in West Germany

11A  
[Handwritten scribbles]

Star 28/5/88



WYNAND MALAN:  
leader of the NDM.

BONN — SA liberals yesterday met ANC leaders and tried to persuade the movement to lay down arms and join in a ballot-box fight against apartheid.

Defying Government threats to confiscate passports of whites meeting the ANC, the South African group and four ANC leaders held a second day of talks in a Frankfurt hotel.

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, analysed Pretoria's crackdown on dissent with Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC information secretary, and three other members of the exiled group's executive committee.

Their talks followed discussions on Thursday by the ANC and eight members of MP Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

NDM member Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, said the white liberals wanted the ANC to join the political process.

"We disagree about violence, about the ANC's strategy of boycotting elections. They say they won't participate, we want them to participate," he said.

Bomb attacks in Pretoria during the talks severely embarrassed the liberal Afrikaners. Mr Malan, who returned to South Africa on an overnight flight, was immediately attacked by the Government for meeting the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok coupled condemnation of the bombs with an attack on Mr Malan and fellow liberals, saying it was incomprehensible that they wanted to talk with the ANC.

Mr Vlok's views were echoed by *The Citizen*, which brushed aside Mr Malan's statement that the NDM opposed violence and armed struggle.

"We can tell Malan and Co that their fellow South Africans are filled with revulsion at the thought that there were people who were chatting to the ANC in Frankfurt while the ANC endangered the lives of people in Pretoria with a double bomb attack," the paper said.

The Frankfurt talks, part of a series of meetings abroad between liberals and the ANC that began three years ago, showed common ground on long-term goals, both sides said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Extra-parliamentary forces take stock

Star 28/1/88

The talks in West Germany between dissident political leaders from South Africa — notably Mr Wyand Malan and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — and their exiled compatriots from the outlawed African National Congress have re-focused attention on a dispute which has been hotly debated for generations.

It is, simply, whether anti-apartheid forces should participate in, or totally boycott, government-established political institutions.

Protagonists of participation believe that the institutions can be used to destroy apartheid from within; their opponents contend that they lead almost inevitably to co-optation and collaboration.

During the black township rebellion of 1984-86 the mood was strongly against participation in extra-parliamentary movements. It was the one point on which the rival ideologies of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation converged.

Dr Slabbert added to the anti-participation forces by resigning from Parliament in February 1986, referring scathingly to many of his fellow MPs as "sinecured cowards" on a "safe-route to a retirement gratuity and a pension". His decision



**PATRICK LAURENCE**

was hailed by the ANC and the UDF, with the ANC labelling him a "new Voortrekker".

Since then, however, the rebellion of 1984-86 has been largely crushed by what Professor Andrew Prior, of the University of Cape Town, has called the "counter-revolution of 1987".

The exultant perception that a new order was imminent has given way to a sombre sense of the old order's strength. The situation is being assessed again and discarded options are being reconsidered.

Mr Malan's fledgling National Democratic Movement (NDM) hopes to reconcile participation in institutional structures with extra-institutional opposition forces and, more ambitiously, to build a bridging alliance between them. To do that, he needs the understanding, if not the blessing, of the ANC and its ideological sympathisers in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert recognises that the situation has changed drastically since his resignation, that politics of mass mobilisation and protest rallies have led, temporarily at least, into a cul de sac.

A reappraisal is necessary, he told the Saturday Star shortly before leaving for Europe. "I have no prob-

lem with the principle of participation. I resigned for strategic considerations".

Little has emerged from the talks between Mr Malan and the ANC, apart from a bland statement about agreement on the kind of post-apartheid society they would like to see and predictable differences over the use of violence to bring a new non-racial order into existence.

But, in the long history of debate over participation in apartheid structures, the ANC has usually adopted a more flexible line than its rivals in Pan-Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and, above all, the fiercely anti-colonialist Non-European Unity Movement.

The debate has heaved back and forth as competing political heavyweights cast their influence on one side or another.

The charismatic young black consciousness leader Steve Biko was an implacable opponent of participation, seeing specially created racial and tribal institutions as a device designed by the apartheid state to divide blacks against one another.

In a vivid analogy he compared the attempt to destroy apartheid from an apartheid platform with challenging a man to a duel while having to accept the unloaded of his two pistols.

Against Mr Biko's view is the advice of the astute Inkatha leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: blacks need not be victims of the regime's stratagems, they can paralyse institutions and turn them into "chariots" in the fight against apartheid.

But amid the debate and uncertainty, one prediction can be made fairly safely: as long as the restrictions on the extra-parliamentary organisations remain in force, as long as they are denied freedom to organise and mobilise, they will have no option but to pursue the time-honoured strategy of boycott.

In these circumstances they can only reply by delivering a resounding rebuttal to attempts to co-opt them individually or to lure them into battle against government proxies on a terrain where the odds are stacked against them.

## Saturday prayer

Give me a quiet acceptance Lord  
 If things I cannot change.  
 My prayer for this will bring to me  
 a peace that's rare and strange.  
 Thus calm God promised to us  
 Passes comprehension, and,  
 I find through grace I can accept  
 What I don't understand.

— Joy Anderson

1988

BS

# Indian MPs threaten to bring down House

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT Botha is facing a serious revolt in the Indian House of Delegates which could lead to the collapse of the chamber's "own affairs" administration.

Striking back, members of the House have threatened to render the administration in there "ungovernable"

The protest came in the wake of President P W Botha's refusal to heed a call from the majority of MPs to fire his controversial Cabinet colleague and Chairman of the Ministers's Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

In frank discussions this week President Botha shocked Indian MPs by threatening to fire all the Ministers — whether pro or anti-Rajbansi — or call completely new elections

He told the delegations from various factions that he had received hundreds of letters and telegrams from members of the Indian community expressing disgust at the antics of the parliamentarians

But angry MPs and former

## PW threatens to fire all Ministers



AMICHAND RAJBANSI  
Making last-ditch stand

Ministers who left Mr Rajbansi's Cabinet out of protest against his alleged "dictatorship" are gathering this weekend to discuss strategy to counter the President's threat.

Such strategy may include

● The formation of a new majority party of 22, comprising the 11-member official Opposition Solidarity Party of Dr J N Reddy and the break-away 11-member newly-established People's Party of South Africa (PPSA)

which includes the four rebel Ministers

● They would request Mr Botha to recognise the leader of the 22-member merged party, in terms of the Constitution, as the man who enjoys majority support in the House and demand he be appointed Chairman of the new Ministers' Council in terms of the Constitution.

● The testing of the validity of Mr Botha's interpretation of the particular clause in the Constitution he relied on to refuse their request in a court of law

● Making Indian own affairs "ungovernable" by using the 22-member majority party with the assured backing of two PFP MPs, Mr Mahmoud Rajab and Mr Pat Poovalingam and one or two Independents, to block all further legislation in the House

At a special meeting called by Mr Botha on Friday in Cape Town to try to resolve the deadlock in the House, he shocked the four rebel mem-

bers of the Rajbansi "mini-Cabinet" when he told them he would have no hesitation in firing all of them, including Mr Rajbansi and the one loyal Minister, Mr S V Naicker, and then reconstitute the Ministers Council with totally new Ministers

Alternatively, he told them he may decide to dissolve the whole Indian House and call for elections

They should go and think over the matter for a week but he would announce his decision, either way, next Thursday

The meeting was called to discuss the "hung" status of the House following the defection of four Ministers from the ruling National People's Party (NPP) to form a new party, the People's Party of South Africa (PPSA).

## Shock

In an attempt to oust Mr Rajbansi as chairman of the Ministers' Council, the alliance, by a 24 to 17 vote last week, passed a motion of no confidence in him as chairman of the Ministers' Council and called upon him to resign "forthwith"

Mr Reddy said he was "shocked" by Mr Botha's attitude.

He said Mr Botha clearly wanted to force an election on the Indian House, shielding Mr Rajbansi from the possible harmful conclusions of a commission of enquiry into allegations of bribery and corruption in the administration of the House before an election

The spokesman for the PPSA, Deputy Minister Somaroo Pachai, said:

"The PPSA is stunned by the State President's attitude. We are in a serious fix and will support Solidarity in seeking legal advice"

The National Chairman of Solidarity and member of the President's Council, Durban attorney Ismail Omar, said "In my opinion, Mr Botha acted beyond his powers"

## MP in polling day punch-up

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

MP Peter Marais — small in stature but big on spunk — is back in the news for rough-housing

Fellow parliamentarian Mr Enver Essop has laid a charge against him for allegedly splitting his lip with a well-aimed upper-cut during a squabble in a Maritzburg polling station last week.

"If I had retaliated, I could have broken his neck," said Mr Essop.

Mr Marais said his opponent had only himself to blame for the incident — and laid a counter-charge against Mr Essop

"He provoked me by pushing his finger in my face in a threatening manner," he said

"I am much older than he and I think his behaviour was very disrespectful."

This is the third time Mr Marais has been involved in a punch-up

Recently he was on the receiving end of Mr Douglas Josephs' fist.

Mr Josephs, Labour Party MP for Riversdale, later apologised to the Speaker for having hit Mr Marais in anger.

During the 1984 elections for the House of Representatives, Mr Marais was charged with flooring a UDF heckler who was trying to disrupt a political meeting. He was acquitted.

The latest incident occurred last Monday morning at a polling booth in Maritzburg during a House of Representatives by-election battle

Mr Marais, who is national chairman of the United Democratic Party (UDP),



PETER MARAIS  
"I was provoked"

yesterday said he punched Mr Essop, Party MP for Riversdale, after Mr Essop had aggressive

Mr Essop said he had "fed-up" with the Marais porters

"The UDP girls with the by-election kept sling those of us from Labour Party with for remarks"

# NDM group heads for ANC talks

A NATIONAL Democratic Movement delegation, headed by Wynand Malan, as well as Es-ther Lategau, Jannie Hofmeyer, MP, Pierre Cronje, Harold Parkendorf, Stellenbosch University's Prof Gerrit Erasmus and Prof Andries van der Walt will attend the talks, an NDM statement said.

According to reporters at Jan Smuts Airport, Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was not on the same flight. But he flew out of Cape Town in the morning. A spokesman at his home said was in Europe.

The meeting was described by NDM MP Peter Gastrow as "a necessary task of the NDM's strategy to have discussions over a broad front with all relevant political groupings in South Africa." Leader of the

Johan van Zyl, former executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, will act as a consultant.

Slabbert, Cronje, Hofmeyer and Erasmus were involved in the "Dakar Safari" to meet the ANC last year. - Sapa

## UK plot to kidnap ANC man

DETAILS of a plot in which a former British army officer was recruited to kidnap an ANC member with the promise that he would become police chief in the Seychelles, have emerged in a court case, the London *Guardian* reported this week.

The newspaper said Winchester Crown Court was told that Peter Ferrari was to be secretly shipped from Britain to South Africa in a plot to win South African support for a counter-revolution by exiled members of the Seychelles Democratic Party against the governing Marxists.

The plot was uncovered, but charges against Ferrari, a native of the Indian Ocean island group and his co-plotters, were dropped on orders from the Attorney-General.

During the three-week trial, Ferrari said his dishonest activities in the mortgage market were inspired by a South African agent sent to Britain to set him up. — Sapa

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# ANC suspect leased house under a false name

THE LEADER of the alleged white ANC military unit which police arrested last Sunday moved into Broederstr-oom — a dorp 50km north of Johannesburg and about five km west of the nuclear research station, Pelindaba — three months ago under a false name.

Calling himself Richard Stacey, the man introduced himself to owners of the smallholding Benmie and Jean. Botha three months ago after following up their newspaper advertisement for the property's rental.

The Bothas were puzzled that "Stacey" wanted to hire their spacious and relatively expensive house but said he explained he was an artist who worked

from home and would be moving in with a friend whom he called Peter Schaffer.

"Stacey" also said he had a girlfriend who would spend time at the house which they rented for R500 a month.

The Bothas said "Stacey" paid the rent in cash at least a week in advance every month and made sure all his accounts were up to date.

The house the group lived in was only several hundred metres from the Broederstr-oom shopping and petrol complex, and flanked on both sides by

## DOMINIQUE GILBERT

homes not more than 100m away

The group puzzled locals in the community, none of whom ever came to know them. Local butcher and neighbour Augustine Gonzalez said they occasionally shopped at the complex but never spoke to anybody.

The Sunday police operation during which members of the group were arrested shook the community.

Scores of policemen, some on horses, and a helicopter swooped on the place early Sunday morning. Several road-blocks were set up around Broederstr-oom cutting it off to traffic for several hours.

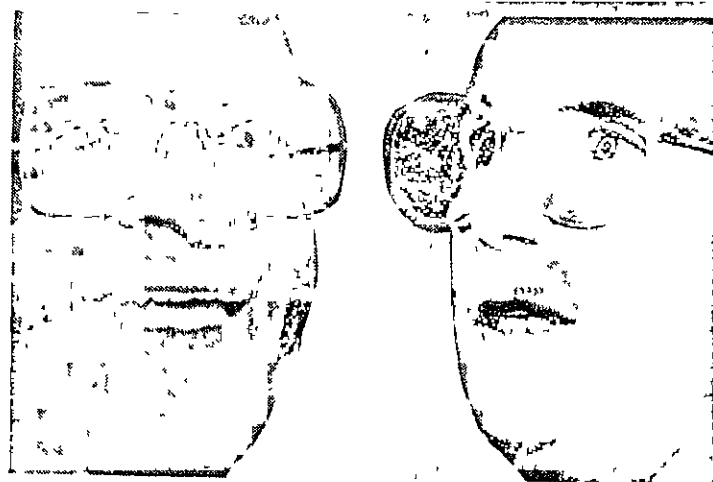
One of the locals who used back roads to get to the local cafe described the scene as "something out of Miami Vice".

As armed policemen circled the house, neighbours on both sides were ordered to remain indoors.

A neighbour said her family was alerted to the police operation when their front door was kicked down by policemen after they mistook her husband for one of the men in the group.

It was understood shooting took place twice at the house first at about 9pm and then again at about 11pm.

Police maintained a high-profile guard around the house for several days after the arrests — apparently to finger print weapons recovered in the arms caches on the property.



# Economic muscle is the ONLY weapon for blacks, 29/5/88 Archbishop! Stines

AT his enthronement in Cape Town in September, 1986, Archbishop Desmond Tutu stated that "the onus is on those who do not want sanctions, to provide us with a viable, non-violent strategy to force the dismantling of apartheid".

He has repeated his challenge several times since then.

While disagreeing with the underlying premise of this remark, i.e. that sanctions do provide such a strategy, he is certainly justified in asking what is the alternative, and the question is particularly relevant when it comes from a man who does not have the vote, despite the fact, as he has often pointed out, that he is a South African by birth, the head of the Anglican Church in southern Africa and a Nobel Laureate.

Short of getting rid of this Government and replacing it with a non-racial democracy, the sad truth of the matter is that there is no instant solution which will transform the South African scene

There are, in fact, only the long-term effects of economic expansion within the country itself, that is, the same factors responsible for those non-cosmetic changes that have already taken place

The repeal of job reservation was a result of the increased demand for skilled labour to conform with the growing requirements of the economy.

## **Need**

The recognition of black trade unions came about as a result of "wild-cat" strikes, having no-one with whom to negotiate, and the need therefore to bring the emerging black labour movement within the purview of the industrial conciliation machinery

The acceptance, at long last, of the permanence of blacks in the urban areas came about because economic forces motivated by the "push factor" of poverty in the black rural areas and the "pull factor" of job opportunities in the "white urban areas"

This irresistible force led finally to the impossibility of effectively implementing the hated Pass Laws and Influx Control, and to their repeal two years ago

None of these changes, however, has heralded the removal of such fundamental cornerstones of apartheid as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. Nor has the crux issue of political rights for blacks been addressed

But given the obduracy and military strength of the present Government, it must be conceded

## **Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton**

*responds to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's challenge for those opposed to sanctions to spell out their alternative*

that any prospect of a transfer of power by the National Party Government is just not on the agenda in the foreseeable future, sanctions notwithstanding

Survival is the issue and a siege economy is preferable, according to National Party thinking

In the unfounded hope, therefore, of the rapid demise of the apartheid regime, it is surely senseless to blunt the only weapon with which blacks can improve their position at the workplace, and beyond the workplace, through their economic muscle, mobility in trade union structures and their consumer power in the market

Restriction of the economy through sanctions must inevitably result in a decrease in the demand for labour and widespread unemployment

## **Power**

Why then are sanctions and disinvestment advocated by people who are working for black advancement, thereby undermining the major power base that blacks can obtain?

Some, like the Archbishop, sincerely believe that they will expedite the dismantling of apartheid. Others hope they will bring down the capitalist system which they identify with apartheid

The Archbishop encourages disinvestment as well as sanctions, as evidenced by his refusal recently to accept an honorary degree at Tulane University in New Orleans, because the trustees of

the university had not divested of stocks in companies operating in South Africa

Surely foreign firms should instead be encouraged to continue with their very extensive programmes to help lay the foundation for a stable post-apartheid society?

## **Training**

In the last eight years United States corporations in South Africa, for example, spent more than R420-million on education, training and housing of their black employees and their families, on health facilities and on legal aid

Withdrawal of these firms has inevitably meant reduction or even curtailment of these programmes, to the detriment of future black leadership and its participation in the post-apartheid era

And, once gone, the influence such firms exercised on the local scene goes with them

Power takes many forms and, in South Africa today, blacks are slowly but surely accumulating economic power, not only in ever increasing numbers, but at rising levels of skills

Economic muscle can be used, as has been shown in all industrialised countries, to redress imbalances in wealth, privilege and power

I do not believe that South Africa will be the exception, though the solution offered is long-term and there is no doubt

that blacks are impatient, as one can well understand, for change — fundamental change — now.

The Archbishop has stated that if certain demands are met, he will call for the withdrawal of sanctions and presumably of disinvestment

However, once sanctions have been imposed and once established enterprises have withdrawn, it will take more than the green light from the Archbishop to restore normal trade and industrial activity, as the Rhodesian/Zimbabwean example demonstrated

Few firms returned after liberation

Moreover, if the United Nations imposes mandatory sanctions against South Africa, one veto at the Security Council will prevent those sanctions from being lifted.

An expanded economy is the mechanism that creates jobs and wealth in which all must share. Contact and a diplomatic presence within South Africa exercise significant influence

Isolation and a wrecked economy may give moral satisfaction to all those who oppose apartheid, but this course of action should surely be weighed against the unintended consequences that are likely to result





# Bid to cut Rajbansi's salary to just R1

Cape Times  
30/5/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The opposition majority alliance in the House of Delegates is threatening to use its might to cut cabinet minister Mr Amichand Rajbansi's salary to R1 and his ministerial privileges as a show of protest against his defiant refusal to quit.

Mr Rajbansi was not available for comment yesterday.

A spokesman for the alliance — made up of Solidarity MPs and the 11 rebel MPs who broke away from Mr Rajbansi's ruling National People's Party — said members of the alliance were angry at Mr Rajbansi's refusal to resign and were planning a fresh confrontation with him which could leave him without a salary and ministerial privileges.

Mr Ismail Omar, chairman of Solidarity, said the house could express its disapproval of a minister's conduct or competence and refuse to pay him his ministerial salary and remove his ministerial privileges by a taking a vote.

"This is traditionally an opposition motion, but for the first time an opposition is in a position to carry that motion by virtue of its majority.

"Should this happen, this motion will expose the absurdity of the Botha government's refusal to recognize the majority and to continue to believe in the fictions that the National Party and National People's Party alliance is still in power," he said.

## Majority decision

Meanwhile, the alliance is to meet in Cape Town tomorrow to consider various options following President P. W. Botha's temporary reprieve for Mr Rajbansi.

Dr J. N. Reddy, leader of Solidarity, said one of the options was the possibility of legal action if Mr Botha refuses to accept a majority decision of the House to have Mr Rajbansi removed as Chairman of the Ministers' Council.

Some Rajbansi supporters said yesterday the "crisis" could be resolved by rescinding the decision which called on Mr Rajbansi to resign.

However, Mr Somaroo Pachai, Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and a leading member of the rebel group, said members — including the three ministers — were still united and would not defect to the NPP to save Mr Rajbansi.

"The sooner Mr Rajbansi realizes that he will not be able to regain majority support and quits, the better."

Last week's talks between white South Africans and the African National Congress could have helped to demolish the Government-created myth that it is possible to solve the country's problems without negotiating with the outlawed movement, says business consultant Mr Christo Nel, who attended the meeting as an observer.

He dismissed reports that the purpose of the meeting between the ANC and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement had been to secure the movement's "approval" of participation in parliamentary politics.

"The meeting was an exploratory one, to explore ways and means of breaking the logjam in South Africa. The principle of parliamentary participation was debated, but it was certainly not a case of the NDM going cap in hand to the ANC to ask if this was okay."

Mr Nel dismissed reports that Dr Frederik

van Zyl Slabbert would shortly be returning to parliamentary politics.

He described Mr Malan's decision to meet the ANC as "very courageous" — particularly in the light of the massive Government propaganda campaign after last year's meeting between the ANC and Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Idasa movement in Dakar, Senegal.

Mr Nel, who also attended the Senegal meeting, is not a member of the NDM but promotes communication between business leaders and black organisations. He said his motivation for attending the meeting in Frankfurt was because "the ANC exists".

"You cannot wish the ANC away. They are a major representative. The Government itself has defined and acknowledged the importance of the ANC by positioning the ANC as the so-called total threat."

He said Mr Malan's meeting with the ANC would help break down the perception created by the Government that the organisation was so far removed from whites that it was impos-

sible to talk to them. He said it was inevitable that the Government would eventually have to talk to the ANC in spite of its present rhetoric.

"Over the last five years the Government has been very successful in branding anybody who does not agree with them on whatever grounds as being radical and unpatriotic. That is a very unfortunate perception but today dictates the thoughts and notions of the vast majority of whites."

"The Government has positioned the ANC as the ultimate in polarisation. That perception of polarisation will only be broken by people who have the courage to take the lead, not into the ANC, but into communicating openly with the ANC. People like Wynand Malan and others have to show whites that this is possible."

Mr Nel said a "creative minority" was beginning to emerge in white politics, of people who understood the need for rapid change. "One mistake that people who are hoping for

change make — especially in the white community — is of placing hope in the laps of mass organisations, structures in white politics such as the National Party or the Progressive Federal Party.

"The necessity of talking to the ANC and other black groups has been emphasised more than ever by the Government's banning of the UDF and forbidding Cosatu to enter into the political process."

**OPENING THE WAY**

"What the Government has done is to finalise the polarisation. It has stated in clearly defined terms that only those people that they like to talk to will get spoken to. The polarisation is there and so you won't get a resurgence of the ordinary white Left countering government strategy."

"That opens up the way for tight units of people, including people like Wynand Malan, who move with enough integrity and courage to explore ways out of the logjam."

# 1 000 attend funeral of slain MP

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The slain Labour Party MP, Mr Sam Jacobs, was buried in Uitenhage, his home town, on Saturday.

The service, attended by more than 1 000 mourners, was held at the Allanridge Hall and was led by the leader of the Labour Party, Reverend Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Jacobs, MP for Alra Park

on the Reef, was shot dead after attending a church service in Eden Park on Sunday last week.

He was approached by a man wearing a balaclava soon after getting into his car. The man broke the window of the car and shot Mr Jacobs through the head.

The LP Transvaal secretary and a member of the Eden Park management committee, Mr

Frans Danster, was shot and killed in his Eden Park home on April 6, 1986.

It was reported yesterday that Mr Jacobs had warned in Parliament that he was on a hit list.

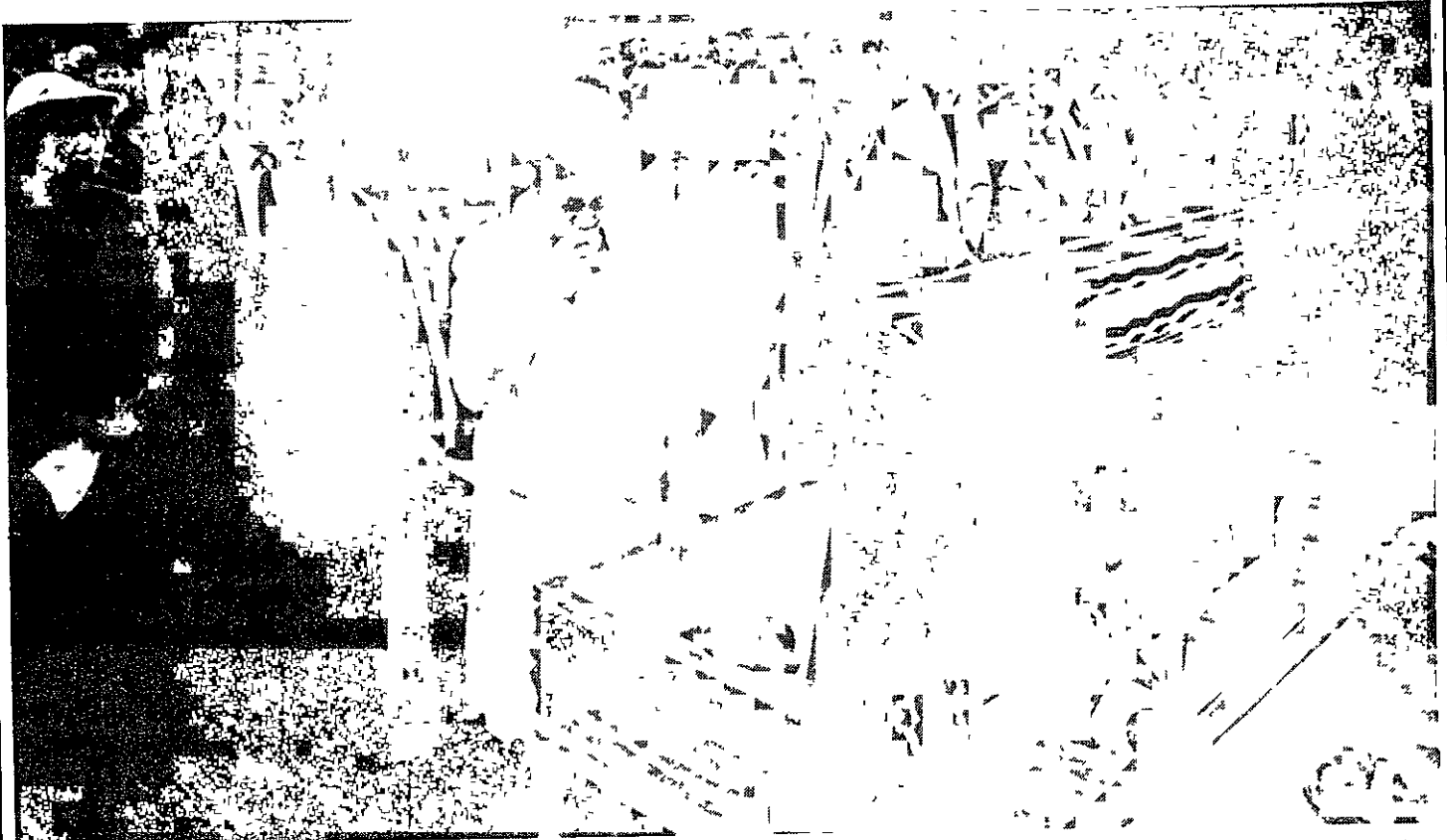
According to Hansard Mr Jacobs appealed for action to be taken against a man before the man killed him.

Mr Jacobs said witnesses had been traced who claimed that a

man had asked another to kill a colleague on the management committee because the colleague had helped investigate a charge of fraud. The person who had been asked refused.

● Last Thursday Mr Ivan Wilfred Ballakistan, 48, the deputy chairman of the Eden Park management committee, appeared in court charged with Mr Jacobs' murder.

He was remanded and will appear again on June 2.



**WIDOW CONSOLED . .** The leader of the Labour Party, Reverend Allan Hendrickse, consoles Mrs Louise Jacobs at the funeral of her husband, Mr Sam Jacobs, MP for Alra Park, who was shot dead in his car last Sunday evening.

SAP sends  
'ANC film'  
to Thatcher

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A South African Police film of a raid on alleged white ANC terrorists has been sent to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

It was sent in an attempt to persuade the Prime Minister to clamp down on the ANC's London base, says a report in the *Mail on Sunday*.

The film shows a security operation that netted an arsenal of weapons and allegedly revealed a white ANC command structure leading back to London.

The report adds: "The South Africans have bypassed the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is at odds with the Prime Minister because of his determination to maintain contact with the terrorists."

"Many top ANC men ... use London as a base and the organisation has offices in the capital."

# BLACK UNITY GREATLY

## NEEDED

### — CHIEF

Somebody  
3/15/89  
1119



CHIEF Buthelezi

**KWAZULU** Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday black South Africans would struggle "until apartheid was totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a prayer meeting in Durban for black unity during which he spoke on the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

He said in South Africa, where blacks "were conquered in the hand of their birth . . . history demands that we struggle for justice and total equality for all South Africans . . ."

"I tell the world that black South Africa will never ever rest until apartheid is totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi said South Africa was passing through a very difficult phase and that the situation was "very dangerous."

He said sanctions was not the only alternative left and was not the last thing that could be done before "violence overtakes us all to destroy everything."

He told the crowd

"Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence."

### Spokesmen

He told the crowd the issue that confounded the whole black struggle for liberation was that black spokesmen who "represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody, posture as your savours and speak on your behalf."

### Companies

He mentioned Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Rev Frank Chikane, SACC secretary general and Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi.

"They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said blacks "would invariably be the first to feel the pinch" of economic measures against South Africa.

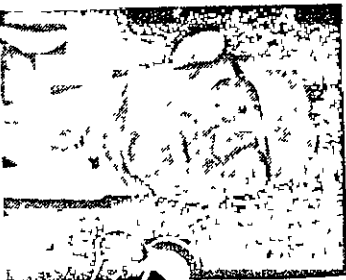
"The Government which does not represent us, but which represents white interests, would immediately cut down on black services. They would be stung on funds for education facilities for education facilities. They would be stung on money for health facilities. We would not have money set aside for black housing."

Chief Buthelezi said black unity was "desperately" needed in the country.

He said the South African Government was constitutionally on the run, but "most certainly not on the run from revolutionary attack."



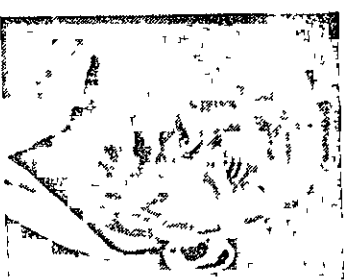
ARCHBISHOP Tutu



ALLAN Boesak



REV Chikane



ELIJAH Barayi

(11R)

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, May 30 1988

# NDM and ANC reached common ground

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — NDM leader Wynand Malan said he was more than happy about talks with the ANC in Frankfurt last week, despite the lack of any breakthrough on the issue of approval of participation in government-sponsored structures.

Malan said the talks had gone well beyond merely re-stating the parties' positions on key issues and the ANC had approached the talks with a real seriousness and openness which he found heartening.

The main theme of the next round of talks between the two groups would focus

on "alternative strategies that could break the spiral of violence" in SA. Malan described this development as major.

"Although the ANC still rejects participation within the status quo, they remain prepared to talk about alternatives to breaking the deadlock."

Malan said the ANC did not believe government would allow participation in structures in SA even if the organisation renounced violence, citing the effective banning of 17 organisations in February and the restriction on Cosatu.

However, he believed the issue of selective participation might be reconsidered. Malan said the NDM and ANC had achieved common ground on the kind of SA

they would like to see. This included protection of language, culture and religion, and protection of individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

Malan said government's linking of the NDM-ANC talks with the bomb blast in Pretoria last week reflected a warped state of mind. The linking of bomb blasts on the 40th anniversary of NP rule with the Frankfurt talks was sickening.



● MALAN

**EMERGENCY UPDATE**

*AKGw 30/8/88*  
**Man killed  
two hurt in  
faction fight** *(114)*

PRETORIA. — Two men have died in unrest-related incidents, police said in their overnight unrest report.

A municipal policeman was stabbed to death at Enhlalakahle near Greytown and a 45-year-old man was killed and two others seriously injured when two factions clashed at Inanda, near Durban.

The police report said they used an assortment of weapons ranging from sticks to knives.

At Mpumuza, Edendale, police arrested two men after a group stoned a bus.

At Henley, Edendale, two men were arrested after another bus stoning incident.

At Fredville, Inchanga, a child was injured and a house badly damaged when a petrol-bomb was hurled at the dwelling. — Sapa.

~~M645 30/5/88~~  
SA sends film  
of ANC raid to  
Maggie claim

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A South African police film of a raid on white ANC terrorists has been sent to Mrs Thatcher, it is claimed here.

It was sent in an attempt to persuade the Prime Minister to clamp down on the ANC's London base, says a report in the Mail on Sunday.

The film shows a security operation that netted an arsenal of weapons and allegedly revealed a white ANC command structure leading back to London.

The report adds: "The South Africans have by-passed the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is at odds with the Prime Minister because of his determination to maintain contact with the terrorists."



# Rajbansi makes new bid to win over MPs

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The embattled Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday he was extending his hand of friendship to his rebel MPs in a new bid to stave off a general election

Speaking on the eve of today's crucial meeting of the opposition majority alliance in Cape Town, he said: "My doors are open. I will not be stubborn and rash as my defectors have been. The pendulum has now swung to the other side because of their own doings"

Mr Rajbansi, who stunned MPs by his defiant refusal to resign as chairman of the Indian Minister's Council, is still determined to cling to power, though he lost his majority

He said the general feeling among members was to avoid an election because there were municipal elections in October and it was not appropriate to have two parliamentary elections within 12 months

"The NPP is not scared of elections. When I advised these people to look at the motion from a legal point of view they did not believe me," he said, referring to a motion by the majority alliance which called on him to resign.

# Bomb blasts raise questions on ANC policy

Argus Africa News Service

The nature of many of the recent bomb attacks in South Africa suggests either that the ANC has changed its policy on the use of bombs or has little control over those who use bombs it provides.

The policy change, if there has been one, would have been to ease almost to the point of abandonment its official policy of not attacking civilians.

Not only has there been a sharp increase recently in the number of bomb attacks but many have occurred at places with little or no military or police connection and in circumstances making it likely that civilians rather than police or military personnel would be hurt or killed.

While the ANC has not openly claimed responsibility for the attacks, it is believed to be the only organisation involved in distributing bombs, hand grenades and small arms on a relatively large scale.

An official at ANC headquarters in Lusaka last week refused to comment on what were, at that time, the latest bomb blasts — the two in Pretoria.

He said the organisation had not accepted responsibility for previous bomb blasts and therefore the question of whether it had departed from its policy of avoiding "soft" targets was academic.

Since then, a bomb has exploded at the Johannesburg station, injuring a civilian, and another went off in a restaurant. Known observers believe the ANC may be reluctant to accept responsibility for bomb blasts

because it cannot be sure that any particular bomb attack was carried out by its operatives or by someone else who had got his hands on explosives provided by the ANC.

### STILL FOLLOWING ITS POLICY

Officially, the ANC still follows the policy of attacking only police, military and associated targets that was endorsed at its last "consultative" conference in 1985 at Kabwe, Zambia. This policy was subsequently amended with an announcement that the organisation intended stepping up its insurgency and therefore a greater number of civilians would inevitably get hurt.

The implication was that the official policy remained one of avoiding injuries to civilians as far as possible. However, a large proportion of the recent attacks appear either to have been aimed at civilians or carried out without regard for their safety.

The two bombs detonated in Pretoria on May 26 were set off in streets crowded with lunchtime pedestrians. One went off outside a block of flats in which police personnel live and the other about 40 m away from an office block housing military and civilian offices.

While both may arguably be said to have been aimed at police and military targets, the placement and timing of the blasts seems more likely to have made them hit civilians than uninformed personnel.

If there has been no change in the official policy of not attacking "soft" targets, the high risk to civilians in many of the recent bomb blasts would suggest that the bombs were being placed by persons who either have no regard for the official policy or are inept.

Some analysts have speculated that the ANC has stepped up its violence as a response to the damage done to its image of effectiveness by the state of emergency and heightened security force action.

However, the rising civilian casualty rate must, at the same time, harm the organisation's effort to win the support of white South Africans and widen its international acceptance.

# Convicted ANC assassin sentenced to hang

DURBAN — An African National Congress terrorist who shot dead a man thought to be a police informer has been sentenced to death in the Zululand District Circuit of the Supreme Court in Stanger. (11A)

The man, who said he had been trapped into joining the ANC, was also sentenced to eight years' jail for terrorism. (22)

Mandla Mngomezulu (25) of Ingavuma, who told the court that he was arrested in Swaziland, said he had killed his victim on the instructions of the ANC in May last year.

The body was hidden and found only in August.

Mngomezulu said that if he had refused to carry out the killing it might have endangered his own life

He said that when he was recruited he thought he was joining the Swazi army and was trapped into joining the ANC.

Mngomezulu told the court that in 1986, after he was tricked into joining the ANC, he underwent military training in Angola

He returned to the Ingwavuma area with instructions to recruit people to the ANC and to undergo similar training

He admitted recruiting people and, with the help of a man named Jabulani, hiding AK47 rifles near his and Mr Jabulani's respective homes.

Mngomezulu has applied for leave to appeal against the decision that there were no extenuating circumstances

Star 31/5/88

# Why black students rebel

By Dr MAURICE HOMMEL, a political scientist and head of the Department of Public Administration at the University of the Western Cape.

**L**OGIC, of course, is in a point view. And so it is said that dissent, and not conformity, is the essence of the true university spirit.

In South Africa, on the ethnically contrived black campuses, this has been the prevailing climate for some time now

And in the official academic-political complex there is suddenly much agonising and even more consternation over the frequency of student boycotts of classes and other related matters

But to pontificate on the consequences of such student actions without first posing the pivotal question "Why do black students rebel?" is to indulge themselves in a form of intellectual cretinism that begs the all-important question

To seek meaningful answers the plight of these seemingly contumacious students must first be placed in proper historical or social-scientific perspective

In South Africa the educational system from the kindergarten up to the university has long been characterised by the perversity, the illogicality and the injustice of a racially stratified society

Black students do not like the injustice and ugliness of what they see and, therefore, they protest vigorously, albeit not always as befits the objective situation that confronts them. And they search for ways to change what is intolerable

## Status quo

Among some of the major factors that have spawned the spate of black student campus boycotts are the following

● Afrikaans-speaking universities such as Stellenbosch, Rand Afrikaans, Potchefstroom and Pretoria have traditionally been cradles of pro-Government orthodoxy. A sizeable number of instructors on black campuses come from such institutions

Black students often see these instructors as giving subliminal support to the status quo in the country. Consequently, a non-verbal psychological feud is frequently prevalent between student and instructor

In this sense black students feel that for such instructors to establish their classroom and campus bona fides a form of moral and intellectual reparation must first be made

To clear the air, such instructors must acknowledge some measure of academic culpability for the past. They must not be allowed to sneak away from the enormous misconduct of a time which still weighs heavily on the present — a time when their own classrooms and student residences were the exclusive preserve of white students

White instructors from the so-called liberal English-speaking campuses are not automatically exempt from similar appraisal

Such a repudiation of the past can take many forms. A declaration of sorts, an apology, a recantation of the past, individually or collectively, and publicly, would go a long way to removing the unspoken hostility that still exists in many a black campus classroom under white supervision

To assume, as many of these instructors do, that by having insinuated themselves into the consciousness of black students by a sudden disavowal of apartheid and that by participating in so-called progressive groups on campus a reconciliation and atonement for the past has been made, is to err monumentally

● In South Africa the structure of the whole system of education is such that instructor-participants, no matter at what level — professor, rector, lecturer — are, at best, quasi public servants tied to the state apparatus by a monthly pay cheque and a host of stifling regulations

This economic condition, especially, determines the actual political distance such participants are prepared to travel on the road to a truly non-racial democratic system of education. As such they can never be leaders of an educatory-political movement. Because of their inherent vulnerability they can do no more than become part of a larger collective leadership

## Resolving a crisis

It is axiomatic that a profession in a given context cannot survive without adjustment to that context. In this sense, the twin concepts of academic freedom and open university in the South African context remain not only synthetic but also mythical

As a consequence black student politics has moved from the periphery to the political centre. Student boycotts must be seen, therefore, as but one kind of attempt, nonetheless a very significant one, to resolve a crisis in South African society

As such student boycotts are heavily freighted with profound and far-reaching political implications. In a political system where the state exercises a monopoly of power, the boycott, as a weapon of struggle, becomes central to the political arsenal of the politics of protest

As a form of potent political communication it is the key weapon fashioned out of the theory of resistance against all separate, racist institutions — a theory which had its origins in the black protest movements of the 1930s

Pertinent also to the whole debate is the fact that these rebellious black students are not monolithic. A few are socialists. Most are democratic idealists. This emerges clearly from the public utterances of student groups and careful scrutiny of the numerous poster parades that adorn campuses

Boycotts provide students with a shared political education. The campus itself has an extraordinary cohesion. The young are there together, in an overwhelming majority, instead of being diffused as one more disadvantaged group through society at large

Ideas spread and meetings and demonstrations may be organised with corresponding ease and speed. And the consequent sense of collective identity reacts against the counter-attacks of authority, especially if coming from outside

Informing all of this is the peculiar experience of the political system that the university itself affords, also the perception that the institution supinely accepts its subservience to a repugnant social order. And student hostility to this subservience is all the more fervent for possessing an element of disillusionment

Black students have come to understand that in South Africa the battle to democratise their universities is organically linked with the struggle for liberation in the wider concept of society — and if students are the conscience of a nation, their boycotts as a form of protest on black campuses are going to be around for a long time to come