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MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

This is the last issue of Azania Press Cuttings. The Azania Committee had great difficulty in taking the decision to concentrate its efforts on the national level, henceforth continuing a Dutch publication, approaching the organisations in Holland, campaigning for the Upington 14, mediating for the Azanian tendency at the Dutch administration etc., therewith putting an end to the publication of Azania Press Cuttings. In the light of political and personal circumstances it has become an unavoidable decision. The burden of duties has increased over the years while the committee recognized to fall short of financial and practical support.

Having no paid officials and limited resources only and with less than 35% of paying subscribers we have always balanced on the limits of our possibilities.

For those who always waited for the next issue this will come as no surprise, knowing that many of our editions carried a double number to meet the obligation of 10 issues a year. We admit that some issues consequently covered a period of months, which as such might not have been a comfort to those of you who live in the frontline for liberation and solidarity.

The Sowetan has always been our main source of information. It stopped reaching us somehow since the end of July as you will see going through this issue. The Sowetan is undoubtedly very much in touch with the situation in the townships and speaks without bias and prejudice. For a subscription we refer you unreservedly to the address underneath:

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P.O. Box 38256, Booyseens 2016, Transvaal,
South Africa

VIDEO PRESS CENTRE AND THE PANAFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

present

THE RUVU/MASAGURU — SETTLEMENT

A video-film on the PAC refugee settlement in Tanzania, produced by Video Pers Centrum (Holland) and the PAC of Azania in cooperation with the Azania Committee (Holland) and with the support of Anti Imperialist League (Belgium), Third World Voice (Denmark) and Support Democratic Forces (Holland).

The film starts with a short history of the PAC, which was founded in 1959. The current situation in occupied Azania (South Africa) has burdened the PAC with a large refugee population.

In 1982 the PAC was given land by the Tanzania government for a settlement, where these refugees can find a home and a place for education and training. The video shows the efforts made to improve life conditions in the settlement. The project is based on self-reliance and is financially and technically supported by the United Nations and friendly countries, amongst which Norway, Nigeria, the Netherlands and others.

A lot remains to be done. The PAC appeals to organisations and individuals to donate funds and materials in order to facilitate the construction of the settlement and the life of its inhabitants.

The video is English spoken and available on all systems. Distribution and information by:

CINECLUB VRIJHEIDSFILMS
p.o. box 1626
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Tel.: (0)20-250045

VRIJHEIDSJOURNAAL

presents

IZWE LETHU

A videofilm about Johnson Mlambo, the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, produced by Vrijheidsjournaal (Holland) in cooperation with the Azania Committee (Holland).

The programme contains recent material about the struggle for freedom in Azania and about Sharpeville 1960. Mlambo was filmed during a successful solidarity tour in Germany, february 1987. He tells about the recent uprisings, about his 20 year imprisonment on Robben Island, about the objectives of the PAC, the role of the imperialist countries, the history of the freedom-struggle in Azania and the perspectives for the future.

Authentic Azanian songs are sung in the film. The video is English spoken with a length of 20 minutes. It is available on all systems and with subtitles in most languages. Distribution and information by:

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AZANIAN ALTERNATIVE PUBLICATIONS

AZANIA NEWS, official organ of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), p.o. box 2412, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

AZANIA COMBAT, official organ of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), p.o. box 2412, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania

FREE AZANIA, p.o. box 49, Southfield 7800, South Africa

SOLIDARITY, voice of the Cape Action League, p.o. box 491, Salt River 7925, South Africa

ARISE VUKANI, magazine of Action Youth, p.o. box 31409, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa

AZANIAN REVIEW, Newsletter of Azanian Coordinating Committee, p.o. box 440, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa

Wherever Azania Press Cuttings uses "Daily", it refers to South Africa's biggest black daily, the SOWETAN.

THE AFRICAN DAWN

A videofilm showing The African Dawn. Their programme is a combination of music, poetry and drama. On the film they perform:

1. Calls too - about Grenada and the revolution
2. Africa must be free - "Africa must unite, total liberation for the continent now..."
3. Azania - "I am Azania... Don't call me South Africa..."

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, a leading African novelist and critic, wrote on their album Conversation:

"The work of The African Dawn is significant. Their Pan-Africanist basis is obvious; they have brought together artists from Senegal, Kenya, Ghana and Zimbabwe... This Pan-Africanism is based on the struggles of workers and peasants and it is from this perspective that they view the world. For them art at its vibrant best is inseparable from politics. In the process they have affirmed a positive element in the public performance of African poetry. They have restored poetry to its origins in drama and music. It is one of their striking qualities..."

The videofilm is available on all systems. Distribution and information:

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FARM HANDS WHO END UP AS ENSLAVED WORKERS

MATHATHA TSEDU

SOWETAN 20/7/89

NTSHINGIDZENI Wilson Muhanelwa does not know how old he is. Neither does he know when he started working. A father of four, none of his children attend school. Not that he does not want them to be educated. He fears it. He just cannot afford it.

Muhanelwa is a farm labourer at Levubu. His employer is Decimus Venter who bit the headlines two years ago when he was charged with the murder of a labourer.

Muhanelwa earns R80 a month. His wife does not work. They stay together with their children in a rondavel on the farm. It is Muhanelwa's only home.

He was born on the farm and his father is still working there.

He never went to school and started working when "I was still very small," he told the world he is his duties, by any rough estimation.

Promotion

His job, until June 9 this year, was to man the machine that pumps water to the farm. On that day he was told he was to work in the master's garden the following day.

What came as a promotion was to end in tragedy when Venter's dogs attacked him on the morning of June 10. He suffered serious injuries to his right leg which had to be stitched at Tshilidzini Hospital.

The doctor who treated him gave him eight days off so he could not walk. He went back to work on June 20. For the same week he was paid only R51,50 instead of his usual R80 a month.

"I just could not understand it. There was no other reason for the pay deductions. I even asked him if I owed his employing and he said no. It was clear that the money deducted was for the days I had not worked due to the injuries," Muhanelwa told the Sowetan.

He said Venter had promised to compensate him for the injuries from the dog bites. But later when he asked Venter about the money, "he asked me if I was mad". He is convinced that he will not be compensated, he said.

Muhanelwa's injuries would under normal circumstances fall under the Workmen's Compensation Act. But he is a farm worker and, in terms of the Act, he can only be covered if the employer has chosen to join, or opting to a syndicate for the Northern Transvaal Advice Office (Nato) in Pietersburg.

Now divorce Mr Khangela Mukhadi, said Muhanelwa could even bring a civil claim against Venter for negligence because the dogs had not been chained.

He said it was doubtful that Venter could have opted to cover the workers in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Mukhadi said his office would assist Muhanelwa if he needed advice.

But Muhanelwa is a tenant man. He lives in rondavel from the farm, which is his only home. Evicted tenants being known not to do so severely, it is a prospect that he does not look forward to.

But he is also a very bitter man who feels he has been by a man who once dragged him into serious trouble over Levubu.

Mhengodzeni Wilson Muhanelwa . . . bitten by dogs.

The hut is his only home

Venter has denied that he deducted money for the sick leave. He has even refused to say how much Muhanelwa had earned in loss. He dropped the phone and said he does not want to be bothered again.

The Sowetan visited Muhanelwa at his "home". It was late at night and his family was already asleep. Moreover we were in. There is not a single piece of furniture in the hut — no bed and no chairs.

Wife

The wife and kids were sleeping in one rondavel. On the other wall was a heap of tattered clothing for the entire family. Pots and other cooking utensils were in the other corner.

A big limping the emaciated man moving to a hanging post for Muhanelwa's mattress. They amount up the woodly possessions.

Muhanelwa has been in the thick of problems together with Venter. He was one of four labourers who were initially charged with the murder of Eric Sandu. He exonerates Sandu and how he died and does not want to be reminded of the episode.

"Each time I think of Eric and how he died I cry," he said.

Muhanelwa's predicament is typical of farm workers who eventually end up as enslaved workers.

Efforts

While there are efforts by the two major labour federations, Cosatu and Nactu, to get farm workers included in the Labour Relations Act, this is still far from over and does not address Muhanelwa's immediate problem.

Related, when he was found guilty of culpable homicide for the death of Sandu, the judge, in what has now become an internationally criticised sentence, said Venter could not be sent to jail because 44 black labourers were dependent on him.

It was therefore in the interest of people like Muhanelwa that Venter is a free man today and is not behind bars.

Maybe Muhanelwa would also agree with the judge since then. But do not bet on it.

LEFT TO FREEZE

SOWETAN 6/6/1989

THE families of 18 black farm tenants in the Weenen district, near Ladysmith, are being forced to sleep in the open veld without shelter in sub-zero temperatures after being thrown out of their homes by farmers.

Farmers are using civil ejectment orders to drive labour tenant families out of a cluster of 20 "squatter-veld" farms south of Weenen, according to the Association for Rural Advancement (Afra). 6/6/1989

In the past few weeks 40 families have been served with court orders, which will result in the eviction of about 200 people (including the 70 people already evicted).

Mr William Mthiyane, head of one of the displaced families, said the owner of the farm, accompanied by a messenger of the court and a policeman, had served him with an eviction order on Monday last week.

Some of the possessions had been taken to defray legal expenses.

He said his wife had become ill after the eviction and the months spent shelter. His children were writing exams in school, but they could not study at night next to the cook.

"I was born on that farm, so were my forefathers. I know no other place," he told Afra. 6/6/1989

The recent spate of ejectments contrasted, eviction follow years of tenant conflict between the tenants and the farm owners, many of whom are absentee landlords, over continued interpretation of the future for the black families.

The focus of the conflict lies in the Mngwenya Valley where Afra estimates there are 7 000 families threatened with removal from a cluster of Thorneveld farms.

Although an emergency camp for evicted tenants has been established by the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA), Afra spokesman there has been no provision yet made for their housing.

The Weenen co-operative project, which operates the families, has also warned that the crowding of dispossessed people into a cramped resettlement village will greatly increase the level of factional violence present in the area.

Vaal child labour costs as little as R2

MOST people working on farms in the Vaal Triangle survive on a combined family income of R60 a month. Children — some as young as eight — earn R2 a week, a *Sowetan* investigation has revealed.

The people live and work on the farms in and around Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging — less than 60 km from South Africa's richest city, Johannesburg. 19/6/89

Most farms are privately owned. Those owned by companies, including parastatal organisations such as the Rand Water Board and corporations such as Anglo American, pay workers between R120 and R300 a month.

Paltry

The investigation revealed that:

- Men employed as farm hands and labourers on the farms work up to 12 hours a day, starting at 5am, for a paltry R40 or R50 a month;
- Women working as domestics in the owners' houses earn about R20 a month. Others also work with their husbands in the months (July to the same season);
- Children start working with their parents in the fields from the age of eight.

One a farm at Vanderbijlpark, Matthew Mapakhiki, now eight, started herding sheep at the age of five, earning R2 a week.

For his, the farm he (left) after the farmer's dog mauled his face.

Matthew now lives with his unemployed mother, three brothers and two sisters in a shack in Kopjes in the Free State.

At one farm near the Vaal Dam, children are paid about R1 a day or R5 a week for picking and packing potatoes.

Many children skip school to work on the farms and earn up to R15 a week. 19/6/1989

To supplement the workers' income some farmers give them bags of mealie meal, milk or eggs.

Mr Koos Bruner of Parys said he gave each of his three workers R14 kg of meat plus the R40 he pays them a month. He said he paid them an annual bonus of R600 each.

On some farms workers get their full pay after 12 months, which is usually at harvesting time. In agricultural terms the option is called the uniform contract during which the workers receive R10 every month plus a ration of mealie meal or other foodstuffs.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

SOWETAN 19/6/89

Three farmers interviewed said they struggled to make ends meet and that they were naturally owned by the farmers. Others declined to be identified for fear of reprisals.

Mr Mabhali, a domestic worker at Bonsevel, a place near Vaal Dam, said the commission earned about R4a month after her maidenly duties earned some money from her R20 pay.

This happens after her Ndebele has "borrowed" foodstuffs such as bread, sugar or salt during the month. The maiden sometimes pays her with a bottle of wine after the deduction, she said.

Most workers belong to the Orange Vaal General Workers' Union, which organises more than 4000 members on Vaal farms.

Union official Mr Steve Kuhlang said many workers tend to exercise fear of being arrested by farmers for "offences" such as being late for work even by five minutes.

Farmworker is locked in cell over charges

Sowet. 18/7/89

A 19-year-old farmworker claims he was locked in a police cell for seven days when he went to lay charges against his former employer who tortured and assaulted him for eight hours on a farm.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

[illegible]

Mr Daantjie de Klerk

Dogs set on farm workers as 1 200 strike

Farm workers on the Zebediela state-owned citrus estate continue their two-week strike over demands for higher wages and recognition of their union.

By EDDIE KOCH

PRODUCTION at Africa's biggest citrus estate, near Zebediela in the Northern Transvaal, has been halted by a 16-day-old strike by about 1 200 orange pickers.

[illegible]

WM - 25/5/89

[illegible]

Zebediela will never be the same

SOWETAN 29/5/89

WHEN Afrika cries, she sings, or so the old saying goes. But when Afrika is happy, she dances and gyrates with a fervour and joy that is a marvel to watch.

And so it was last Tuesday when hundreds of workers from the Zebediela Citrus Estate, who had been on a historic farm workers strike that lasted 20 days accepted an agreement to settle the dispute.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

[illegible]

We must remove fear from our vocabulary... this was the message 74-year-old James Nchume personalised to striking Zebediela farm workers.

FOCUS

[illegible]

Dispersed

[illegible]

Negotiate

[illegible]

Worth

[illegible]

Workers fired at citrus estate

By MATHATHA TSEDU

TENSION is mounting at the Zebediela Citrus Estate after the dismissal of 19 workers.

Sowet. 27/6/89

[illegible]

African group accepts Nactu and Cosatu

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Sowetan 27/6/89

THE National Council of Trade Unions said the Congress of South African Trade Unions have been accepted into the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity.

23/6/89

In a communiqué issued by Mario Pontinhas, Nactu, the labour wing of the OAU, said: "In consideration of the application for affiliation of Nactu (affiliated by Nactu), the secretariat of the twelfth session of the general council of Onatu held in Accra, Ghana in April, accepted the affiliation of Nactu."

"It was the decision of the general council that both Nactu and Cosatu should be accepted into the family of trade unions and federations that would make representative presentations."

The distinctions applied from the three then 1 800 strong panel Mr Barayi's statement that "if the Government did not heed the warning the ANC would inevitably be when negotiate. According to that the ANC's constitutional guidelines aimed at a mass mobilisation and mass state power to be inevitably linked to the liberation."

"Discussions on the guidelines must not reduce to an a false notion that freedom is around the corner. They provide the basis for the formation of an alternative democratic constitution," he said.

Mr Barayi said: "Discussions on the guidelines must not reduce to an a false notion that freedom is around the corner. They provide the basis for the formation of an alternative democratic constitution."

Unions bid to review new Labour Relations Act

Sowetan 28/6/89

By LEN MASEKO

EMPLOYERS and representatives of the labour federations yesterday agreed to seek a meeting with the National Manpower Commission to discuss — among other issues — the review of certain controversial clauses in the Labour Relations Amendment Act. 28/6/89

The parties to yesterday's talks were the employer body, South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Sacccola), Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

The two parties said they began to meet the NMC on July 5 and 6 as part of fresh attempts to achieve objectives raised by Cosatu and Nactu.

They also agreed to invite to the talks the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU), SA Transport Drivers (Sacu) and the Commission for Administration and S. ea to mobilise "the broadest possible movement to the labour law".

The conference, which started yesterday and ends on Saturday, is being attended by about 1 [illegible] union delegates as well as representatives of the International Labour Organisation, United Nations, Nactu, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Organisation of Trade Union Unity.

The conference is focusing on — among other things — new strategies in interaction. The inclusion of the three organisations in the forthcoming deliberations "abdicated from the two federations" demand that the provisions of the labour legislation should be extended to workers in the farms, railways and various public sectors.

The two federations said in a statement: "We wish to appeal to the three employer organisations and/or their representatives to attend the next meeting as we believe that their presence is indispensable to the resolution of the rights of workers in these sectors."

Conflict

The federations said the conflict between them and Sacccola resumed. The conflict centred on the initial demands that employers disregard constitutional clauses in the labour legislation as well as support efforts to have them scrapped.

Nactu and Cosatu are scheduled to meet community organisations in Johannesburg tomorrow, to discuss developments in the alliance talks.

The unions are also preparing for the second round of the workers' summit scheduled to take place on August 5 and 6. The meeting will focus on future action in the event of the negotiations reaching a deadlock.

The NMC, as its person advisory body to the Minister of Manpower, began its review of the labour law last month. It is expected to complete its work in two years' time.

Talk to the ANC

Sowetan 13/9/89

Cosatu leader demand

President of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Elijah Barayi, yesterday gave the Government six months to negotiate with the ANC.

Addressing Cosatu's third annual conference in Johannesburg, he said between the Government applied to release a charter and Government that would make representative presentations.

The distinctions applied from the three then 1 800 strong panel Mr Barayi's statement that "if the Government did not heed the warning the ANC would inevitably be when negotiate. According to that the ANC's constitutional guidelines aimed at a mass mobilisation and mass state power to be inevitably linked to the liberation."

"Employers who talk of "an orderly move on degree" of deregulation, but that is when we talked about "orderly" for 5 years [illegible] and continuing to be abused to suppress worker unions constituted by the unions."

The two federations opposed to the two workers' summit scheduled to be held on August 5 and 6.

Cosatu revives anti-apartheid coalition

Sowetan 18/7/89

FOCUS

COSATU'S third national conference, which ended at the weekend, was marked by signs of rapprochement towards other liberation forces inside the country.

The message from the 1 800 delegates who attended the Congress of South African Trade Unions' meeting was that there was an urgent need for workers unity and that "a struggle led by the working class cannot be monopolised with a divided trade union movement." 18/7/89

"Cosatu's first and foremost task is to contribute to the unification of the working class and the strengthening of its organisations," one of the federation's resolutions read.

Unity

Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said high levels of unity in the congress marked new maturity in the history of the federation.

The congress believed that to achieve "non-racialism, one country", steps had to be taken to build unity between Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and independent unions.

The focus of the resolutions on unity was that Cosatu faced the important challenge of uniting not only its own members but all the workers in the country.

In support of this aspect, Cosatu delegates adopted the following resolutions:

- That a timetable be agreed upon by the federation, Nactu and independent unions to work towards "one union, one industry, one country, one federation".
- Bilateral talks between Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and independent unions.
- Bilateral talks between Cosatu, Nactu and independent unions to discuss further protest action against the Labour Relations Amendment Act.
- Endorsed the pending meeting of senior officials of the ANC, Cosatu, Inkatha and UDF, who will discuss peace initiatives in Maritzburg and other troubled town townships in Natal. The process of building an anti-apartheid coalition had already begun in the Jewa Centre said.
- A special meeting should be called to draft a "Workers' Charter" proposed by the Cosatu congress. Cosatu, Nactu and organisations from the "more democratic movements" will be asked to attend, and

Problems

- Most consumers should be revived and that these consumers should be open to any resident, irrespective of their ideology or affiliation.

But the federation is still in trouble only within one of its major affiliates the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Coewusa).

For the past two years, the union issue has been torn by problems caused by ideological differences.

The federation has resolved that its decision to expel one of the warring factions "did not finally contribute to unity" in the union.

Now Cosatu's central executive committee is to review the issue.

On the anti-apartheid conference, Cosatu delegates proposed that parties to the meeting should develop "a unifying perspective around the demands".

The demands include one person-one vote in a democratic, unitary South Africa, the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and an end to the state of emergency.

Meeting

However, Cosatu may have to address objections raised by organisations such as the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azaco) before it can be issued to pressurise the Government and employers outside to assess demands. The unions have demanded the repeal of sections in the labour law that [illegible] workers' right to strike, such as the clause which allows employers to use unions to disrupt mounting from strike action.

Cosatu's review of action against the LRA comes at a time when there is a re-think over the issue within the Government, which has asked the National Manpower Commission (NMC) to look into the issue. The NMC has indicated that two federations, independent unions and the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Sacccola) [illegible] to advise the Government to change certain aspects of the law.

On the ANC constitutional guidelines, Mr Barayi said: "Discussions on the guidelines must not reduce to an a false notion that freedom is around the corner. They provide the basis for the formation of an alternative democratic constitution."

Nactu is met with honour

NEW NATION 21-27/7/89

NACTU was met with warmth and dignity at the Cosatu congress, and a hopes that in future Cosatu will also attend its congresses, said Nactu general secretary Phineas Cuntsy.

"There was a high level of participation in debate and a lot of agreement," said Cuntsy.

"The degree of consensus among Cosatu members shows not only unity of ideas but a commitment to unity in action and we need to applaud them on that," he added.

Concerning on Cosatu's resolution on building trade union and working class unity, in which the congress called for a timetable for establishing one federation to drawn up by Cosatu, Nactu and independent trade unions, Cuntsy said that Nactu had already adopted a resolution commenting itself to promoting unity of the working class.

"We have not called for a timetable though, as we feel this is unnecessary and [illegible] unity is critical to the process of unity.

"Unity needs to develop from the common struggles on grassroots worker issues, such as the struggle against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA)," added Cuntsy.

He added that Cosatu's proposal for a week of action starting on September 1 to protest against the LRAA would have to be discussed with Cosatu and the independent trade unions.

"Nactu has a mandate from its shop stewards council on what action we can take against the LRAA and we need to discuss with Cosatu what it means by 'sustained action'.

"We will also have to scrutiny the content of action in terms of progress made with discussions with Sacccola.

"The Workers' Summit will have to take the final decision on what action will be taken against the act," said Cuntsy.

Nactu and Cosatu are scheduled to meet community organisations in Johannesburg tomorrow, to discuss developments in the alliance talks.

The unions are also preparing for the second round of the workers' summit scheduled to take place on August 5 and 6. The meeting will focus on future action in the event of the negotiations reaching a deadlock.

The NMC, as its person advisory body to the Minister of Manpower, began its review of the labour law last month. It is expected to complete its work in two years' time.

Cuntsy said Nactu was also [illegible] to meet community organisations in Johannesburg tomorrow, to discuss developments in the alliance talks.

Nactu and Cosatu are scheduled to meet community organisations in Johannesburg tomorrow, to discuss developments in the alliance talks.

Action against with other black organisations [illegible] discussed. [illegible] from the conference last year saying they will support the meeting only if the envisaged unity was based on "specific principles".

Cosatu has proposed that organisations taking part retain their autonomy and decision-making structures, but "be united by the perspective arising out of the conference."

Weekend's summit may go for stayaway

New Nation 20-27 Aug. 1989

A PROGRAMME of action to smash the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) is to be decided on at this weekend's Second Workers' Summit, called jointly by Cosatu, Nactu and independents unions.

Together they represent over two and a half million workers.

While protest action is on the table, there is speculation that this may take the form of a general stayaway from September 5 to September 8.

This follows Cosatu's recommendation to the summit that all progressive trade unions undertake a week of protest action between these two dates.

Cosatu's motivation for the two dates is that September 6 is the first anniversary of the LRAA, while September 8 is the anniversary of the "racist parliament" which passed the LRAA.

Nactu has also recommended protest action over a number of days, but has not revealed details of its recommendation to the press.

Cosatu and Nactu affiliates have also been involved in fulfilling their members' or groups wherever they support protest action against the LRAA. And both federations usually that there is a mood of militancy and defiance among their members.

This is borne out by the massive turnout of workers at anti-LRAA rallies held recently.

"Workers are also angry that employers have remained silent when anti-LRAA rallies have been banned," said Numsa.

"A high percentage of employers have also refused to allow building to take place on their premises, and unions have been forced to conduct rallies from their offices." Among those that have denied workers facilities are the mine houses.

While employers organised in the SA Co-ordinating Council on Labour Affairs (Socala) this week submitted a reply to Cosatu and Nactu's demands that certain clauses such as the right to strike are enshrined in the LRAA, it is likely this protest action will go ahead as planned.

Socala's response is almost a month later than the deadline given to them by Cosatu and Nactu.

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mokhatla also pointed out that the federation were "not entirely happy with the response, as we expected a response from all employers".

"This response excludes the SA Agricultural Union, the Commission for Administration, SA Transport Services and the National Manpower Commission."

The three agencies have to be discussed by the 750 delegates. Absentees are the LRAA, building workers' strike unity and state repression.

Also invited to the summit are representatives from the UDF, Black Consciousness Movement, Pan Africanist Movement and the Free Unity Movement.

Workers' action plan

New Nation 1/9/1989

Following the weekend Workers' Summit, massive anti-LRAA protests are expected today. And next week two days of action are planned to protest against the racist elections.

MASSIVE demonstrations against the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA) are to take place today in the towns all over the country in protest against the act's first anniversary.

The decision to mount the demonstrations was taken by the 750 delegates at the weekend Workers' Summit.

The delegates managed to do this even despite a massive police presence at the meeting.

The demonstrations mark the start of Cosatu, Nactu and the independent unions' "programme of sustained peaceful action against the LRAA".

In the coming weeks, the programme actions will also embark on other actions against the act.

This is in line with the summit resolution that workers will continue to campaign for the LRAA to be scrapped until their demands are met.

These factors were noted by the summit when it considered how to intensify the anti-LRAA campaign. These were that:

- Socatu and employers are during negotiations on the unions' demands about the LRAA.
- employers are using of issues outside of the act to undermine workers' rights, and
- the apartheid state is fostering the "exclusive trade unions movement" to try and cash in activities.

Two days of action on Tuesday and Wednesday are also planned against next week's "racist elections".

Summit delegates have been meeting with political and community organisations to determine ways from and action will take.

However, there is speculation that people will stay away from work on the two days as has been the case on previous stayaway days.

Summit delegates commented itself to working class unity. This will be focus of the next Workers' Summit.

Discussions on building working class unity are to take place in democratic unions at local and regional levels.

This means that in all unions – such as the metal, food, commercial, chemical and mining unions – Cosatu and Nactu affiliates and independent unions are to discuss how to build unity.

These discussions will be monitored by a national co-ordinating committee which will also set objectives and deadlines for the unity process.

The committee will also convene the next Workers' Summit.

"I am confident that there is now a possibility of unity," said Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini.

"The fact that the Nactu and Cosatu are the structures to pursue this unity means that the ground has been laid for the unity the workers.

"Unity is the only weapon workers have."

If Cosatu and Nactu affiliates can overcome their rivalry at local and regional levels, the ideal of "one union, one industry" will be closer to becoming reality.

This in turn will open the way to Cosatu and Nactu merging into one federation.

It is then the urgent task of affiliates to discuss how to build the unity necessary for the formation of single industrial unions.

LRAA talks with bosses still open

New plan to bring jobless to Cosatu

New Nation 1/9/1989

DESPITE the militant mood at last weekend's summit and the roadblocks for action, workers have left the door open for negotiations with bosses over the Labour Relations Amendment Act (LRAA).

The summit decision to continue negotiations was reached despite the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Socala) failure to respond before a deadline set by the labour movement.

At this stage, there are still serious differences between the trade unions and bosses.

Among the issues that will have to be resolved is the use of the LRAA to promote minority unions.

While Socala agrees with Cosatu that union membership should not be based on race, it says employers should have the right to refuse or grant recognition to a union where membership is totally segregated. Employers should be able to exercise this right even if the union in question does not have a majority, says Socala.

This effectively leaves the provision in the LRAA which protects minority unions firmly in place.

The question of minority unions has been a particularly sore point, especially with the alleged promotion of groups like the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa).

The promotion of minority unions has in many cases resulted in conflict between workers. Bosses have used them to weaken strikes in support of workers' demands.

On the question of sole bargaining rights for majority unions, Socala said it did not believe this should be written into the LRAA, but should instead be negotiated between unions and employers.

There is still no agreement on the issue of sympathy strikes which are outlawed by the LRAA. Unions have during some of the worst strikes in the last few years, for example the 1987 strikes and OK Bazaars' strikes, pointed out that the lack of solidarity action from other Cosatu affiliates weakened their campaigns.

At the same time, solidarity action in the Clover dispute and the limited support given to OK Bazaars by members of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, significantly boosted the common or mass workers' bargaining power.

At this stage it appears that Socala remains opposed to sympathy strikes and argues that industrial action against employers, who are not directly involved in the dispute, is unfair.

Bosses also refuse to agree on workers' right to picket.

Other issues that will have to be discussed at a future meeting of unions and bosses is the workers' demand that the clause restricting unemployment benefits be scrapped.

The joint representatives and regional officers of affiliates of the industrial court will also be placed on the agenda.

Disappointment procedures remain a thorny issue. Workers want legislation forcing multinationals to sign agreements which bind them to give "proper notice" when they disinvest. But it is unlikely that Socala will readily agree to a demand that will limit its collaborator.

AFTER a long hiatus to make inroads into organising South Africa's growing unemployed population, Cosatu's National Unemployed Workers' Co-ordinating Committee (NUWCC) recently convened its national conference and worked out concrete objectives in organising the unemployed. New Nation 1/9/89

The conference attracted 90 delegates from nine regions – Wits, Western and Northern Transvaal, Orange Free State, Highveld, Southern Natal, Eastern and West Cape and Border.

Coming out of the conference, the NUWCC has identified four areas to concentrate on to draw unemployed workers into Cosatu's fold.

These are campaigns around:

- jobs and unemployment benefits;
- anti-scabbing;
- the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF); and
- building co-operatives into a strong co-operative movement.

Education is key to the campaign around jobs. We need to conscientise the unemployed about their problems and the causes of unemployment," said NUWCC secretary Dan Mofokeng.

"We also need to explain why unemployed workers shouldn't scab, so we need to involve them in strikes," he added.

January 1990 has been set aside for the launch of a campaign around UIF.

At present, workers get paid 45 percent of their wages for six months after they are dismissed.

"We are saying that unemployed workers need to get this money for as long as they are unemployed," said Mofokeng.

The NUWCC plans to involve Cosatu affiliates in the UIF campaign as well, as it has implications for the social security of all workers.

"Most workers are only aware of the problems around UIF when they have been dismissed. We need Cosatu's support for the campaign for better UIF benefits from the start," said Mofokeng.

The NUWCC has also met with Cosatu affiliates to exchange ideas on co-operatives and to devise a common conception of action around co-operatives.

Cosatu's National Education Committee (NEC) is co-ordinating meetings on co-operatives.

"The idea is to write all co-ops and build a national Cosatu co-op movement. Community structures must also be involved," said Mofokeng.

At present the NUWCC has a number of sewing projects which make women's dresses.

Their main problem is that they lack funds and skills.

The NUWCC is also working towards launching itself as a full affiliate of Cosatu.

However, it is to assess the launch near now as its main priority is at present is to build local, regional and national structures of unemployed workers.

At present it has an estimated membership of 20 000 unemployed workers, mainly trained to new shop floor structures.

NUWCC members also participate in Cosatu local and regional structures.

However, the committee is presently discussing what organisational form it should take in order to fit into Cosatu's structures.

Subscriptions are also being discussed, as the NUWCC would need a paid-up membership to be part of Cosatu.

Cops probe Cosatu claim

Sow 23/6/89

THE Commissioner of the South African Police, General Hennie de Witt, has ordered a full-scale investigation "to the highest possible level" into allegations he's aware that the Post Office was involved in the intimidation of Cosatu Africa messages in its regional offices.

The Postmaster General, Mr Jonas de Villiers, said in a statement he had discussed the matter with De Witt "in view of the seriousness of the allegations".

This followed a statement by Cosatu on June 19 in which it called on the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications to explore alleged post office involvement in a false letter bombing and on the days of the Cosatu regional rallies. The letter allegedly said the addresses were of Cosatu's senior officials.

Cosatu further alleged: "It is not possible to introduce a false letter bomb into a secure package unless it is done at the exchange. There must therefore have been involvement of persons in the Post Office." 23/6/89

"This is clear proof that the Post Office is involved in the serious tricks of the Security Police. The Post Office has certainly been involved in tapping phones, faxes and telexes, but we now have proof." — Sapa

Delegation to face Minister of Manpower

DOMESTICS STEP UP CAMPAIGN FOR LIVING WAGE

SOWETAN 15/5/89

An activists' campaign for legislation for domestic workers, "the most oppressed and exploited of all workers", will kick off on June 1 with a delegation from the South African Domestic Workers' Union meeting the Minister of Manpower to present their wide-ranging demands.

Spokeswoman of Sedwu, Ms Mendel Ngidi, said that the campaign was in keeping with the congress of South African Trade Unions' campaign for a living wage.

"Sadwu feels very strongly that the master domestic workers are working under such bad conditions is due to the fact that they are not covered by legislation," she said.

She said that in South Africa, domestic workers were among the most oppressed and exploited of all workers, earning about R40 a month in some areas.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Sadwu, a 10 000-strong Cosatu affiliate, has called on all domestic workers and other progressive organisations to support the domestic workers' and farm workers' campaign.

Ms Ngidi said since their first attempt in 1982 to get legislation for domestic workers, conditions of farm and domestic workers were worse.

"Rentals and bus fares have gone up, food prices are increasing daily, education fees as well as medical fees are unaffordable, yet the wages of domestic workers still remain below the breadline," she said.

Sadwu is calling for and will present the following demands to the acting Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw:

- A minimum wage of R450 a month, an eight-hour day for five days and full meals for a full-time skilled worker and R150 a month for a full-time unskilled worker;
- A R175 wage for part-nightly paid workers and R40 for weekly paid workers;
- Part-time workers to be paid R15,50 an hour;
- The abolition of child labour;
- Maternity leave to be given to all domestic workers right weeks before giving birth and six weeks after giving birth, as well as time off to attend antenatal clinics;
- Twenty-one working days' paid annual leave after completing 12 months of service, with leave to be taken within four months of the due date.

Sadwu is also calling for legislation that covers the Wage Determination Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, the Unemployment Insurance Fund Act, medical aid benefits, one month's notice on either side, pension, a written agreement of employment and the rights of all workers to be protected by the Labour Relations Act.

"We have not only found a solution to our material problems. We have found a trade union to address our problems. We have found a trade union that is willing to fight for us," she said.

"We could make more money than R200 in private. They paid the money to the employers, the people who employed us. They gave them the bank where they could [illegible] money."

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Self-help project put food on the tables of Perskor strikers

Sow. 2/6/89

By DIZA KOONA

WHEN striking Perskor workers lost hope of organisation with their employers ending quickly, they sought ways of raising a living while they waited.

They started self-help projects. The African Women's Organisation gave the women their sewing machines and an electrician, which they [illegible] and on one African [illegible] day.

The men formed a handicrafts group and made artificial flowers.

The dresses are sold for between R70 and R80 and the flowers are R10 for a set of three.

"Both projects were started to bridge the gap [illegible] after 217 workers were sacked. The dispute has not been resolved and only 20 workers have been reinstated," [illegible] said.

Mr Sipho Khoza, the [illegible] organising secretary, said the handicrafts had [illegible] the others. He said the project alleviated the financial problems [illegible].

No salary

"I did not receive a salary for not months," Khoza said.

"I was beginning to feel the strain. My father and I were the only ones working at home.

"He could not afford to carry on all and there were no signs we would be reinstated. I had no money to pay and my debts were escalating.

"I considered [illegible]

6 Ccawusa workers go on hunger strike

By NTHABI MOHLOSELE

Sow. 23/5/89

MS Ccawusa workers have embarked on a hunger strike to highlight "intransigence" wages which are allegedly paid by Edgwaks.

This is in addition to a legal strike that has lasted 16 days. About 800 workers at 80 Edgwaks stores are on strike for better wages.

Workers' demands include an across-the-board increase of R115 a month backdated to July 1, 1988. The company is offering R100 from July 1989.

The agreement is to cover workers in Bophuthatswana. Management says this would prejudice trading rights and recognise the homeland government.

A statement issued by the Edgwaks surplus committee says: "The hunger strike will actually involve those Edgwaks workers, a union official and a support committee member. The strike will be unofficial and more workers are expected to participate."

A spokesman for Edgwaks, Mr Dennis Wilkinson, said the company would meet a Food Workers' union delegation on Tuesday.

Edworks strike ends

Sow. 2/6/89

EDWORKS and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa have reached agreement, ending a seven-week-old strike by the company's employees.

By LEN MASEKO

Edworks' managing director, Mr Stewart Dodo, said the union had accepted the company's offer of a minimum rate of R350 a month and a R100 across-the-board increase.

Ccawusa official Mr Jackie Mzeke said the strike involved second economic strikes as well as "matters of principle".

Action

These matters included the extension of the wage agreement to the company's employees in Bophuthatswana, picketing at Edworks distributors, union approval for action, picket protests during the strike and the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Act.

He said the two parties had also agreed to appoint an arbitrator who would determine whether the workers had intimidated customers and staff during the industrial action. Both parties had also agreed that the commercial labour legislation would not be invoked when determining workers' conduct during the strike.

"Granted to the complete success of the strike lies the question of continuing support," Mr Mzeke said.

Mr Dodo said the strike was "most damaging for those who participated".

Ccawusa has called off a hunger strike by some of its members. Mr Mzeke and five Edworks employees embarked on the strike fortnight ago to highlight the dispute between the company and Ccawusa.

OK and union settle dispute

Sow. 20/7/89

THE Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa and OK Bazaars are locked in a tie of words over a wages settlement. The recession final round of talks started on Monday and ended on Tuesday at 5am.

The union maintains it wrote the day after the company says the union would have got itself a better deal had it accepted the company's original offer to increase the minimum wage to R620 per month.

By LEN MASEKO

A company spokesman said: "The company offered to bring forward the date of an improved minimum wage of R620 to an effort to settle the dispute. And the union done substantial members of the union would have received increases well in excess of R100 a month.

"But in this was we done the minimum wage of R620 will only come into effect from February next year."

Ccawusa: It takes two wings to fly

By LEN MASEKO

SOWETAN 7/7/89

THE first between the two federations in the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa may soon be a thing of the past.

The Sowetan Commercial's announcement that it will be taking part in the forthcoming national conference of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) "as a fully fledged affiliate" Cosatu's third congress takes place next week.

The two groups — one led by Mr Pop Kgatsoe and the other by Mr Vivian Mona — appear to have finally made serious inroads towards ending the split.

Mr Kgatsoe said: "We are [illegible] towards consolidating the dispute." The Johannesburg Branch said

Rethink

The Cosatu dispute will also come under consideration in the company conference.

The move, coming after last weekend's congress of Johannesburg branch of Ccawusa, marks a turnaround from the factions.

"Ccawusa is moving that the division is weakening workers in their struggle against poverty, but progress is now being made towards consolidating the dispute," the Johannesburg Branch said.

The dispute became the two parties unanimously insisted around the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Kgatsoe wing and the group's subsequent merger with the Food and Beverage Workers' Union (Fawu) and Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) in June 1987.

The merger was later nullified by an out-of-court settlement, which also revived the 1987 constitution. This makes that any resolutions adopted by the union since November 1986, approved and valid.

Bickering

Both parties have confirmed that talks to end the two-year-old conflict are at an advanced stage.

The new peace initiative, if successful, may spell an end to months of bickering which threatened to upset the biggest union in the retail industry.

In the past two years the split has caused confusion and uncertainty in the shopfloor with retail management — faced with wage claims from both unions — finding it difficult to decide which group was legitimate.

Now Ccawusa is faced with a major challenge: How to ensure the reunion that have made inroads between the two groups disappeared and to put aside political differences.

Small capitalists? No, hawkers are workers

HAWKERS are part of the working class, they were assured this week, at a conference organised by the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businesses (Achib) which brought together hawkers, trade unionists and businessmen to exchange views on privatisation and decentralisation.

It was very important for Achib to have a relationship with trade unions, said the organisation's representative, Vicki Sotsetsi.

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) president James Motlatsewi said Achib "should avoid being made an appendage of the business capitalists and the ruling class — but should be linked to the working-class movement it was designed to serve".

He said the capitalist system had ruthlessly pushed millions of people out of formal economic activity. The unemployed were definitely "part and parcel of the working class movement". They became hawkers because they had to make a living and provide for food families and clothing and education for their children.

Motlatsewi said hawkers were barred by municipalities and city councils for not paying according to the "rules". But "these people forget hawkers cannot play according to rules, because they do not have access to capital and 'expertise'", he said.

While business leaders may believe that hawkers are capitalists in the making, but unlovely have other ideas. Hawkers are workers, they said at a conference this week

Nactu, as a workers' union organisation, "perhaps may not agree with Achib's notion of informal business", Motlatsewi said. It believed rather in collectivism and co-operatives. Achib could provide skills and develop models both in co-operatives for the unemployed, he said.

A hawkers' organisation also served the trade union movement in that it assisted in curbing scabbing by the unemployed during strikes, Motlatsewi said.

The National Union of Mineworkers' national organiser, Gwede Mantashe, also described hawkers as workers, making a link between hawking and unemployment.

Speaking on "privatisation from a worker point of view", he said the country was aimed at profits at the expense of workers, and would result in an increase in the rate of unemployment.

"Workers are actively trying to counter this attack by forming workers' co-operatives and organising themselves into hawkers' co-operatives," Mantashe said.

He said privatisation would have serious social effects. Parastatals were established to render services to the public with the objective of subsidising other ones — now they would be transformed into profit-oriented concessionaires, and profits meant exploitation, no regard for safety and little job security.

He cited as an example Eskom, which started implementing its privatisation programme in 1987-88 by reducing the workforce by 6 000.

He asked whether the government should not be actualising electricity, housing and infrastructure, instead of privatising "because of greed for profit".

Weekly Mail 2-9/8/89

Shop steward charged with intimidation

Sowetan 2/8/89

A SHOP steward of the Hotel Liquor and Catering Union and Pepsico Rose in the Eastern Transvaal was arrested at the Skyport holiday resort yesterday morning on a charge of intimidation, a union official announced yesterday.

He is Mr Nelson Mashile Nzuza's organiser in Eastern Transvaal. Mr Nzuza Mashile, who is the chairman of the shop steward committee at the resort, had signed a union recognition and on the final church hall for a workers meeting. The church had turned down the request, he said.

Mr Nzuza said police arrived at the union offices yesterday morning and left with Mashile. He said police had later told him that Mashile would appear in the local magistrate court to face charges of intimidation.

The resort manager, Mr Christodoulou, was said to be out and unavailable for comment. The local station commander was also unavailable to comment.

Negotiate Bifawu

Sow 4/8/89

● The Banking, Insurance and Assurance Workers' Union (Bifawu) has entered into a provisional recognition agreement with the Barlows Bank, a spokesman for the union said.

A Bifawu official, Mr Aldo Moss, said the agreement would resolve the union in organising — among other things — grievance and retrenchment procedures.

The two parties are expected to meet next week.

2 500 workers still on strike

By Ali Mphahlele

Sowetan 23/8/89

THE strike by over 2 500 workers at Pioneer Foods continued for a second week yesterday.

The workers, who belong to the Commercial and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, stopped work last week.

The company said it was dismissing 87 of the workers for an unauthorised strike. The company offered the rest of the workers a return on a graded basis — [illegible]

[illegible] Weekly Mail 18-24/8/89

The spokesman said the union had no mandate to call the strike. The workers were dismissed for violence with impunity.

A Cusa spokesman said a week ago that the union believed that the workers and the union were unfairly victimised [illegible] with the strike.

Bifawu rejects negotiated settlement

Sow. 18/7/89

By Mongezi Pela

THE Banking Insurance Finance and Assurance Workers' Union (Bifawu) has rejected what it calls plots to manipulate the working class to accept a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

This decision was taken at the union's second national conference in Kingsway at the weekend. Bifawu resolved to launch a campaign against calls saying they were aimed at undermining the integrity of black people's struggle for self-determination.

Bifawu further endorsed the Workers' Summit and pledged to support for campaigns against the Labour Relations Act and services stand at achieving "one national democracy".

Guest speaker, Zibhelo Cele, said Mach workers only should be based on unity of purpose, action and practice. He said being unity could only be secured if workers had principles upon which to operate and agree.

Messages of support came from the Swedish Bank Workers' Union, the Retail Distribution Movement of Austria, New Zealand several Nato affiliates and other local and international bodies.

Members of the new executive are: Herbert Mthembu (president); Sipesh Mdlomose (vice-president); Tom Phatane (general secretary); Walter Dlaba (assistant general secretary); Lesley Mosotoane (publicity secretary); Mfundo Mhlongo (treasurer); Sipho Magazi (treasurer-affairs) and Thelma Mazibuko for women's affairs.

Three-month strike ends

THE three-month long wage strike by Cape union and Allied Workers' Union (Cawu) workers at Fruit Fibre Cannery is over.

Staff Writer 1/8/89

The 1 227 workers at the Brackenfell and Durbanville plants returned to work on Monday, while the remaining 867 workers at the Kliprivier plant also returned back to work the Monday.

The conditions on which workers agreed to go back to work are that:

- 1990 wage negotiations take place next week. This was after management refused to improve on wage offer.
- The company will not victimise striking workers.
- The company does not blame strikers from the union for losses made during the strike.
- Long service awards will not be withdrawn by the strike.

The strike, which was the first national strike in Cawu's history, has been marred by the murder in October of a key shop steward during clashes in Gelvandale and a lock out in the Durban plant.

Union gets recognition

THE Vulcan Guards and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, a Nactu affiliate, yesterday signed a recognition agreement with the Hoedspruit Investment company in Tzaneen, a spokesman for the union, Mr Simon Mabatha said.

Mabatha said it was for the first time in the Eastern Transvaal that a union signed a recognition agreement. He said prior under the union would be granted as from the end of July.

Sow 28/7/89

"It is a historic moment because our members in the Far Northern Transvaal are to be considered by labour laws as their workplace," Mabatha said.

Journalists launch "democratic" union

New Nation 18-24/8/89

JOURNALISTS now have a new home after last weekend's national launch of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ).

Already representing some 400 journalists and media workers, the ADJ placed itself firmly within the mass Democratic movement (MDM) by electing as its patron ANC leader Oscar Mpetha. MPHAL NEW NATION editor Zwelakhe Sisulu and ex-chief former editor of the Communist Party of SA journal, Edwin Mofutsanyane.

Officially opened by SA Youth Congress (Sayco) president Peter Mokaba and SA Council of Churches director of communications Saki Mazwai, the launching congress commended the ADJ to fighting for a free press in a free, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

A key aspect of the weekend launch was the decision to constitute the ADJ as a trade union.

"We are moving into a period of transition and in this period, more than ever before, the media has a vital role to play," said the newly-elected ADJ president and veteran journalist, Moses Dlepu.

"In this period of transition, all Democratic forces are combining to defeat the apartheid system, and to build a new South Africa," he added.

"The major print media are owned and controlled by a tiny handful of individuals. The radio and television stations are owned by precisely the apartheid regime we are against and fighting.

"It is the task of journalists and their allies in the struggle for press freedom to ensure that the national debate on our country's future is not distorted by this monopoly control of access to information."

Other office-bearers are first vice-president Sifiso Mxgala from "City Press", second vice-president Ryland Fisher from "South", national secretary Cecil Sole from Dynamic Images; assistant-secretary Philis Ngomba from Vorisa News Agency and treasurer Paul Mancke from the "Weekly Mail".

The executive also includes regional representatives from Natal, the Transvaal, Western Cape, Border and the Eastern Cape.

The congress pledged ADJ's support for the MDM's Defiance Campaign and reiterated the preconditions laid down by the democrats, forum for any negotiations with the state.

It noted that, if any democratic negotiations were to take place, they had to do so in a climate of free, open and public debate which is against the failure possibly free of intimidation.

Other resolutions adopted commended ADJ members for helping the Namibian people's struggle by improving news coverage of events in that country, establishing a national media training committee to help develop media skills in all sectors and setting up courses for African people to debate on the kind of media needed by SA.

Sayco president Peter Mokaba at the ADJ launch.

Melaong released

SOWETAN REPORTER

Sow. 18/7/89

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa's regional organiser in Pretoria, Mr Sewerber Melaong, who went on a hunger strike demanding that he be charged or released, was yesterday set free from the Hillbrow Hospital after spending more than a month in detention.

The general secretary of Mwasa, Mr Bobinosi Khala, yesterday said the release of Mr Melaong without any charges having been pressed against him confirms Mwasa's suspicions that a campaign of harassment was being waged against the union. Mr Khala said that Mr Melaong was detained on March 6, the same day he told that he was being detained because he had "internal problems".

Mr Khala said the arrest of Mwasa's Eastern Cape organiser, Mr Mbulelo Sidzumo, who was recently released from detention after a long time, was a "barrage" of harassment which made it impossible for him to continue his union duties. "Another Mwasa organiser, Mr Mangwali Mpinkatweni, was forced to leave the country after harassment by police," said Khala. He said police were persistently after the Port Elizabeth organiser for Mwasa.

300 000 SET TO LOSE JOBS

Sowetan 23/5/89

THE threat of unemployment looms over 300 000 workers on 18 gold mines as the sliding gold price begins to knock out our marginal mines.

SOWETAN Reporter

This figure represents 40 percent of gold miners employed in the country, and 40 percent of the total mine labour force.

The two mines at immediate risk are Rand Mines' Durban Roodepoort Deep (DRD) and East Rand Proprietary Mine (ERPM), two of SA's oldest mines, which together provide 20 000 jobs. 23/5/89

The fate of the country's 18 marginal mines was highlighted last week when the gold price fell to its lowest level in nearly three years.

In Hong Kong yesterday bullion opened at $364 (an year's average price for gold was just over $400). If the slump continues, the country's marginal mines for other a turn in foreign exchange earnings to the tune of one $1 billion (about R2,7 billion), which could turn around [illegible]

[illegible] Deep and ERPM called for guarantees last week, as Rand Mines suspended their foreign on the Johannesburg and the London market exchanges. If this assistance is not forthcoming, the mines will close.

The mines have been hit by the drop in the gold price and by a strong rise in working costs, caused partly by inflation and partly by more difficult mining conditions as both mines grow older and dive to go deeper.

The two mines spend about R50 million every month, much of which goes to retaining the turnover of their hard rocks.

The higher working costs of the mines are also likely to lead to increased exploitation between the mining houses and the powerful National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which last month pledged for a doubling of the minimum wage for more job security for the mines.

NUM Press officer Mr Lesiy Magubane said Rand Mines had not [illegible] diversity [illegible] workers of the mineworkers. He said management's decision would be challenged in court [illegible].

Magubane [illegible] that the mines had been established since 1886, and had profitably worked their ore deposit and management should transfer its interests.

Provident funds for mineworkers

THE National Union of Mineworkers and the Chamber of Mines have agreed to the establishment of a provident fund for eligible mineworkers with effect from July 1, a statement from the Chamber of Mines said.

Sow. 21/6/89

The fund will apply to employees in all categories (i.e. staff and unionised) [illegible] NUM members of the National Union of Mineworkers to recognised bargaining units or in the case of non-unionised employees, where the employees have elected to participate in the fund, according to the statement.

The mine owners will be responsible for [illegible] in the event of [illegible].

Benefits

[illegible] benefits will be [illegible] income to employees in the event of retrenchment or permanent disability. [illegible] 7/6/89

The members' contributions to the provident fund will be matched by the employers [illegible] percent, in the case of unionised employees, and [illegible] percent in the case of non-unionised employees.

[illegible] to be considered in the course of [illegible].

Miners launch new union

By LEN MASEKO

A GROUP of former members of the National Union of Mineworkers have launched a new union that will cater for members from the mining industry.

The union is to be called the Mine Workers' Union of Southern Africa (Mawsa), and its members aim to recruit more than 20 000 mineworkers within the next six months.

Mawsa's acting general secretary, Mr Ishmael Ramonyebi, said the union was formed by "disgruntled" former members who felt that Cosatu officials had been [illegible] the interests of home for the protection and improvement of wages and [illegible] so that when the time comes for us to make these issues — [illegible] Sowetan 5/6/89

Acting general secretary Ishmael Ramonyebi.

He said some of the disgruntled mineworkers were departed to places such as Lesotho after the strike. "Most of these workers are still hoping to return to South Africa to look for jobs, but they are still living abroad [illegible] which the Cosatu leadership [illegible] to make these issues — [illegible]

He said some of the disgruntled mineworkers were departed to places such as Lesotho after the strike. "Most of these workers are still hoping to return to South Africa to look for jobs, but they are still living abroad [illegible] which the Cosatu leadership [illegible] to make these issues — [illegible]

[illegible] back to the mines because the Government seems to have blacklisted them," he said.

The formation [illegible] facing the mines not to negotiate with these candidates to relocate the dismissed workers. Mr Ramonyebi said. The union would [illegible] about 8 000 members [illegible] through to open [illegible] [illegible] the Sowetan

[illegible] alternatives of the industrial relations.

The union aims — among other things — to:

- To [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] mineworkers [illegible] employed in the mining industry in the country;
- To negotiate [illegible] wages, health and safety and terms of conditions of employment through collective bargaining and other lawful means; and
- To conclude lawful [illegible] with other unions, for example, "the [illegible] could compete in the [illegible] and unions.

Mr Ramonyebi said: "We will not be supporting any political party or ideology in the country."

Of the relationship between the Nuw and Mawsa he said: "We will [illegible] a close working relationship by [illegible] with other [illegible] unions including the Nuw."

New union not a threat – NUM

Sowetan 13/6/89

By LEN MASEKO

THE National Union of Mineworkers has dismissed hard from the new mining union formed by its former members.

The Nuw said in a statement that founders of the union, Mineworkers' Union of Southern Africa (Mawsa), were "dissidents" known for "the choices only they played while members of the union." [illegible] 13/6/89

"On occasion dissidents — dismissed union organisers or members — have attempted to set up rival groups. They will never pose any threat to the National Union of Mineworkers," the Nuw said.

Protect

The Nuw — supporting Cosatu's resolution of "non-racial unionism" — said it was each union's right to protect its members against "unfair practices" — was the only [illegible] organisation which "can truly protect workers' rights," the union said.

Mawsa was formed by a group of former Nuw members in Welkom a fortnight ago and its founders aim to recruit more than 50 000 members within the next six months.

Mawsa officials said the union was formed by "disgruntled" Nuw members who felt the Cosatu affiliate had let bargaining about thousands of mineworkers dismissed during the 1987 wage strike.

Interests

The Nuw said other groups could only serve the interests of bosses, officials, bosses and the Government.

Mawsa's interim executive includes former Mr S N Mncwabe (president) Mr T V Mokhosoane (vice president), Mr Johnson Kumbayi (general secretary) and Mr Chris Mofokeng (national treasurer).

Numsa

SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa yesterday wrapped up their second national congress keeping intact the values of worker power. Sow. 22/5/89

In what the union's general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso called "a giant leap for worker control", delegates from 744 regions tabled resolutions with officials abstaining from all deliberations.

"This is a significant success that not a single official participated in the debates," Mayekiso said.

"We have always believed that workers must make their own revolutionary without intervention from officials," he said.

A brief summary of resolutions passed were presented at the end of the four-day congress as:

- Disassociation to Congress of Democrats — an analysis of the present situation was adopted as an introduction to all resolutions.
- Mr Harry Gwala was honoured as the Honorary President of Numsa;
- Numsa campaigns — the congress resolved to start a union campaign;
- The issues of political settlement — the congress indicated its strong opposition to any negotiations with the Nationalist Government before basic conditions of political freedom are established. 22/5/89
- Violence — Numsa resolved to take a number of actions in regard to violence of vigilantes and violence during strikes;
- Working from unity — the congress agreed that there should be a mandate to strengthen co-operation with Nactu and other independent unions. The resolution towards unity made some inroads.
- Political policy — the resolutions dealt with the need to rebuild community structures and to rebuild the mass Democratic movement's strength in a more organised form than the previous.
- LRAA — a coup of [illegible] against the Labour Relations Amendment Act was agreed on.

Other resolutions have been referred to a special extended meeting of the central committee which will meet in June.

Elections for office bearers were held and the following persons were elected:

- President: Dumisani Dube (a shop steward at SKF in Hillcrest).
- First vice president: Maxwell Ada (a shop steward at Sulitha Industries in Pietermaritzburg).
- Second vice president: Percy Thomas (a shop steward at Market Cafe Cape Town).
- Secretary: Kgalema Motlanthe (official).

MOSES MAYEKISO

International flavour to Numsa congress

Sow. 12/5/89

By LEN MASEKO

THE National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa is to hold its second national congress in Gauteng next week.

The four-day congress, which starts on May 31, will focus on various issues including the union's political direction, the living wage campaign and collective bargaining under the spirit of the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Act.

Numsa's general secretary, Mr Moses Mayekiso, said: "This congress is a place where workers, the working class in particular, are generally faced with severe attacks, repression, oppression and exploitation in the factory and the spartheid regime."

The congress will also formulate resolutions to be used in the conference of the alliance meeting [illegible] the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the International Metalworkers Federation later this year.

Among organisations expected to send representatives to the congress are Cosatu, Trade Union Council, IC Metal, National Council of Trade Unions and the Norwegian Metalworkers' Union.

About 750 Numsa delegates and 300 observers are expected to attend the meeting, which will be held at Goodwin Park.

Stayaway to protest killed trio

Sowetan 6/6/89

By BONTI MASEKO

HUNDREDS of workers yesterday stayed away from work in Maritzburg's troubled township during the first day of a three-day peaceful protest called by the local community.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce estimated that less than 10 percent of the area's workforce participated in the stayaway.

Mr Annie Langeveld, president of the organisation, said the businesses were "operating" with industry operating as usual.

The Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce [illegible] labour on Monday for work of Mr John Dube, a senior shop steward of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

The Numsa official died in a hail fusillade when she and her family were attacked at their home last Thursday. The husband and daughter died during the attack.

The Maritzburg businessmen, protesting against the rising death toll in the Natal midlands, [illegible] — among other things:

- Action by persons [illegible] killings — more than 1 000 people are reported to have been killed [illegible] violence [illegible] in the area alone [illegible] years ago;
- An independent commission of inquiry into the role of police in the Maritzburg violence;
- Prosecution of [illegible] and
- Prosecution [illegible] be [illegible] [illegible]

Numsa accepts wage increase

Sow, 4/7/89

Numsa victory key to future stayaways

New Nation 4-10/8/89

New metal union will be second biggest

Sow, 19/5/89

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

NEW UNION IS LAUNCHED

Mandla Sebeswa guest speaker.

By MOKGADI PELA

THE new 130 000-strong Metal and Electrical Workers' Union of South Africa was launched in Johannesburg at the weekend.

A challenge to join up unions

By MOKGADI PELA

WHEN the 130 000-member-strong Metal and Electrical Workers Union of South Africa was launched in Johannesburg at the weekend, labour expert Mandla Sebeswa cut through the euphoria and challenged the new union. Sow, 1/6/89

Practical

Fight

Engaged

Strength

Task

Organise and mobilise – Dlamini

1/9/1989 NEW NATION

COSATU Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) goes to its Third National Congress in less than two weeks, having emerged from one of its most trying years since its inauguration in 1986.

It was among the first industrial unions to emerge as a result of the implementation of Cosatu's policy of "one industry one union".

Fawu has had to contend with disruptive divisions, threatened splits and a concerted attack from bosses.

The extent to which the problems dominated the union's affairs is evident from the fact that differences between branches and individuals have plagued each one of its congresses since its inauguration.

And this is what will distinguish the 1989 congress from all previous congresses, says Fawu president Chris Dlamini.

"This year we will focus on a programme of action rather than concentrate on differences," he told NEW NATION in an interview.

"While organisational issues will feature prominently, the congress will debate a lot of political issues.

"The emphasis of the congress will therefore be forward-looking while the issue (the union) has had to address therefore for all," Dlamini said.

Equally important will be the need to build on the structures that, according to Dlamini, have been put in place in the last year.

Membership has not grown significantly since its inauguration. Paid-up membership currently stands at 78 000. Dlamini estimates that the current membership amounts to no more than 40 percent of the industry's workforce.

Chris Dlamini

TARGET

A significant task therefore lies ahead and the union says its congress will set a definitive on-land the target of boosting membership to 100 000 within the next 12 months.

At this level, Fawu will have to decide whether it will continue organising farmworkers.

Significant foreign will be the presence of at least 20 delegates from the farm-workers' project. As said:

"The emphasis is likely to go further than just organising new members. Dlamini said that workers at the 20 farms using safety in Fort Lonsdale recently invited the union to both organise and service members.

Commenting on the recent raids on the lack of sufficient growth of the union, Dlamini identified two major reasons, internal problems at the union and the attack from bosses.

"That, coupled with continued transformation by companies like Tongaat, had the cumulative effect of slowing the growth of our union."

Fawu internal growth currently Hate Mashaba agreed, but added that the internal problems were now behind the union.

He said that internal problems were unavoidable and a natural consequence of the process of building union.

"We have also overcome half the principle of democracy and accountability of democracy."

The dismissal of two officials in the eastern Cape, was a direct consequence of democratic worker control," Mashaba said. The two officials were dismissed when they were against the union's decision to participate in last year's workers' summit.

These problems have not been completely resolved, he said, but the union and its members will be more alert to this. But Dlamini does not think it presents a major obstacle.

What remains a major for concern, however, is the continuing transformation in various sectors of the economy and the crippling loss of membership.

Dlamini said that the union is not underestimating the severity of the attack on the union from bosses. This is not will bolster positionally in the coming months.

ROLL BACK

"There is a concerted attempt by bosses to roll back the gains that Fawu has won through hard bargaining. A new phenomenon that has emerged during recent negotiations is a bargaining strategy that tries to offer wage increases or trade off against rights won by workers in the past," Dlamini explained.

It is not unusual for bosses to demand, for example, that increased bargaining rights be traded in exchange for wage increases, according to the Fawu president.

But workers are not willing to tolerate, he warns.

"Increased bargaining rights will plan be discussed. Where we already have these rights. We will formulate strategies to protect them."

Among the issues that Fawu will unanimously on to the workplace for national bargaining are the main and daily inductions. A certain number of members were also lost during the battle for centralised bargaining, Dlamini said.

Perhaps one of the most important issue facing the union is the question of unity. While unity within the union has been consolidated, we need to extend it beyond Fawu towards a challenge.

The congress will at the End-Road take into account the spirit of unity that prevailed at last week's opener where evaluating the organisations that had attended between Fawu and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) through the international Union of Food workers (IUF).

The closest relationship with the IUF will also come under the spotlight and Fawu will have to decide whether it will continue to work with the international socialists.

At a political level, the ANC's decisions on negotiations, accepted by the Congresses of African Unity, will be tabled for debate

Red Cross 6 flies in to see problems

Sow. 1/6/89

A SIX-MAN delegation of the International Red Cross is to arrive in South Africa today for a four-day visit to look at problems in the local movement.

By IKOFANG MAKOBANE

This was given in the wake of recent developments within the Southern Transvaal region of the Red Cross which resulted in the dismissal of Mr Reagan Khumalo, assistant regional director.

As a result of the dismissal 35 workers of the region have been on a strike for more than four weeks. 1/6/89

The workers demands include: The unconditional reinstatement of Khumalo; recognition of their union, the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu); the withdrawal of 80 percent of their interim dismissal death on strike and an assurance that no victimisation would be tolerated when they return to work.

A source at the Home Dynamic Coalition (HDC) — a union of volunteers, students and employees of the SARCI — said that while in the country, the delegation from the United Kingdom, West Germany, Sweden and Sierra Leone, will acquaint themselves with questions related to the mandate of the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement and the affirmation by the national society of the aims of that movement.

The source said the delegation will meet with the leadership of the SARCI at national level and in the Southern Transvaal region.

Shooting linked to strike, says union

Sow. 9/6/89

A PLASTICS employee was shot and wounded in Natalspruit at the weekend, in an incident believed to be linked to the five-week-old strike at the company's plant.

The worker, Mr Thomas Kubheka, has been admitted to the Natalspruit Hospital following the attack. He is one of the 700 members of the South African Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu) on strike at seven of Plastico's plants countrywide.

Sacwu's general secretary, Mr Humphrey Mmemezi, said the Sacwu member was accosted by unknown people while operating his taxi in Kathlehong on Sunday. The men — who were passengers in Kubheka's taxi — opened fire on him and then disappeared into the East Rand township.

The strike by Sacwu members, centres on their demands for an across-the-board increase of R200 a month. Management has responded to the wage demand with an offer of rises ranging from R115 to R140.

Strike said management had so far dismissed 200 employees following the industrial action. He said these workers had failed to heed management's ultimatum to return to work on June 2.

Two Sacwu members, Mr Joseph Msezli and Mr Joseph Kubheka, were detained in the past five days, according to the union.

• Seven multinational firms is linked in a wage dispute with by more than 1000 employees, presently on strike at the company's plants throughout the country.

The workers, all members of the Construction and Allied Workers' Union (Cawu), demand a R1,80-an-hour increase on the minimum rate against the company's offer of 58 cents per hour.

The strike involves plants in Cape Town, East Elizabeth, East London and Klip River near Hepstone.

Everite's industrial relations spokesman, Mr Brian Libson, said "the door was always open" for the union to open negotiations.

By LEN MAGEKO

CALL FOR BOYCOTT

Sow. 30/5/89

Eventer Foreign News Service

AMSTERDAM — Holland's biggest transport union, FNV, is to call for a boycott of all South African and by its sister unions in other harbours of South western Europe.

The move will be made at the world's dominant transport Federation's meeting in London.

An FNV spokesman, Mr Bert Dijon, said the union was to investigate how only the South African road trade remained that only a handful of the world's western European harbours "would have the desired effect of ending South Africa's isolation and trade in Europe."

An FNV report, Boycotting the Cape Route of South African Coal, in South-Western Europe, concluded the case of the Dutch foreign affairs ministry.

'Wit Wolwe' kill union man on the East Rand

7/7/89

A MEMBER of the SA Chemical Workers' Union was attacked and killed in Kempton Park last weekend allegedly by four white men who shouted "Wolwe (white fox)". Sacwu claimed yesterday.

Mr Stanford Mashiane (32), an AECI employee, died in Betapetrol Hospital on Sun 1 shortly after the attack.

In East Rand [illegible] yesterday confirmed the incident, saying police had information that "Mashiane was killed by a group of whites" last Saturday.

Police have opened a murder docket following the incident.

Sacwu said a union member who witnessed the attack heard the four shouts "Wolwe (fox) dood", as they assaulted Mashiane.

"When they (white men) saw me, two of them rushed towards me but I ran as fast as I could until I got a lift from a passing motorist," the witness told Sacwu.

The four allegedly disappeared into the nearby cold, leaving Mashiane severely injured.

Sacwu said the witness and the motorist noted the registration of the assailants' car.

A number of AECI employees have been assaulted by white vigilantes in the area over the past month, according to the union.

"Our members who are employed by AECI now fear for their safety following the spate of attacks on their colleagues," the union said.

An AECI spokesman said the company deplored any form of violence and that management would investigate the incident.

Mashiane, a migrant labourer, will be buried in the Vlakfontein on July 15.

PAC-PRESIDENT ADDRESSES UN June 1989

Zephania Mothopeng, a tenacious fighter, commemorates Soweto Uprising

"The saga of Sharpeville and Soweto have steeled our people to resolutely struggle for their inalienable right to their land... We have no doubt that with the demise of Apartheid a new Azania will emerge where everyone owing his or her allegiance to Africa and accepting African majority rule, will be considered an African in a free and democratic Azania. This new Azania will emerge in our lifetime!!!"

PAC-PRESIDENT ZEPHANIA MOTHOPENG

These were Zephania Mothopeng's concluding remarks from a June 16th 1989 address made before the United Nation's Special Committee Against Apartheid's commemorative meeting on the 1976 Soweto Rebellion. Nearly eight years ago, as a student activist, I circulated a petition demanding Mr. Mothopeng's unconditional release from South Africa's notorious Robben Island Prison. It never occurred to me, when doing so, I might one day actually meet this renowned freedom fighter.

Zephania Mothopeng is one of the oldest living veterans of the struggle against racist minority rule in South Africa. His political activities date back to the 1940's when he joined the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League. In 1950, as President of the Transvaal Teachers Association (TATA), he led them towards unconditionally opposing the inferior "Bantu" education system and lost his teaching position as a result.

In 1958, Robert Sobukwe, John Nyati Pokela, Zephania Mothopeng and other militant nationalists left the ANC dissatisfied with its reputed moderation and alliance with the South African Communist Party. Their new political home was the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) founded on April 6th, 1959. Mr. Mothopeng chaired the PAC's inaugural conference and later served as its Secretary for Judicial Affairs. Over the next 5 years Mothopeng was twice imprisoned for his PAC activities. One conviction was for his leadership role in organizing the March 21 1960 non-violent Anti-Pass Campaign, when the South African police killed over 69 demonstrators and wounded another 180.

At age 66 Mothopeng received a 30 year sentence on June 26th 1979 for "inspiring" the Soweto Rebellion of 1976. Before the trial actually started, he spent 16 months in solitary confinement. The trial itself, called the Bethal 18 Trial, lasted 18 months, making it one of South Africa's longest political trials. It was also held in near

> The author of this article is Corbin Beavers, president of Wibroc International New York and co-founder of the Bishop Tutu Refugee Fund. He spoke president Zephania Mothopeng on the commemoration of the Soweto Uprising at the U.N. this year.

secrecy, away from international scrutiny. He and 17 others (one received a suspended sentence) were imprisoned for "terrorist" activities and furthering the aims of the PAC, a banned liberation movement recognized by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. The court specifically found Mothopeng guilty of recruiting young men for the PAC guerilla army and instigating unrest in the Kagiso Township on June 17th 1976. The PAC's central committee in Tanzania voted Mothopeng as President in August 1986, when he was still imprisoned. After growing international and international pressure, South Africa unconditionally released President Mothopeng, at age 75, on November 10th 1988. (Long-time ANC member Harry Gwala was released at the same time. Both releases further raised speculation the South African Government might be laying the groundwork for Mandela's long awaited release.)

Despite his deteriorating health, President Mothopeng gave an inspring account of the historical developments that led to the Soweto Rebellion. He further explained that the international community can best support the struggle through comprehensive economic sanctions and highlighting political trials such as the Upington 14. Before concluding, President Mothopeng announced that the PAC, in consultation with the International Red Cross, recently launched a campaign insisting South African prisoners receive medical check-ups at least twice a year for tuberculosis (TB). Only after leaving South Africa this past May for an extensive medical examination in London, in part paid by the Norwegian Government, did Mothopeng discover he was suffering from TB. Almost no sunshine exposure, damp prison conditions, poor diet and stress, Mothopeng explained, make political prisoners susceptible to TB. This is a campaign deserving the anti-apartheid solidarity movement's principled support.

Immediately following the U.N. commemoration, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the National Black Network interviewed Mothopeng. He then held an impromptu photo session with South African exiles before attending private discussions with the U.N. Secretary-General and other dignitaries. Amidst the confusion of the photo session, I spoke with the President. He inquired about the Bishop Tutu Refugee Fund, a non-profit group I co-founded in 1985, having heard about it through his wife, Urbania, President of the African Women's Organisation (AWO). We ended the conversation with the promise to respectively exchange information about South African women's projects and the Bishop Refugee Fund. Soon afterwards, I left the U.N. building to catch a bus home. It had been a long, tiring day. But I left having learned more about South Africa's arduous struggle, even more convinced victory is certain, and a little satisfied thinking that those sometimes difficult days as a student activist might have contributed, in some small way, towards freeing this inspiring and tenacious freedom fighter.

Defence 'battling secrecy'

THE CANBERRA TIMES, JUNE 20, 1989

By DAVID FOGARTY

"We are battling the secrecy of intelligence organisations," defence counsel for alleged diplomatic car bomber Kerry-Anne Browning told the ACT Magistrates Court yesterday.

John Gordon was speaking after the ACT Chief Magistrate, Ron Cahill, to present evidence at the time Mr Gordon was taking his cross-examination a witness.

Mr Gordon said his client had been "blamed" she had been "set up" by one or more people from one or more intelligence organisations, namely the "South Africans, the Americans or the Russians".

He wanted to show her "propensity" of overt intelligence organisations to sink powerful and hold the truth.

Browning is also charged on 14th diplomatic cars in Canberra from May 3, 1988 to June 20 and between April and August last year. Browning, 30, of Stephen Street, Aranda, has pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Speaking the whole of yesterday's proceedings in the accused box, Detective Leigh Doyle, of the Australian Federal Police's national criminal investigation branch, said how AFP surveillance officers and ASIO operatives had worked together in collect intelligence on Browning, whom they had targeted as their primary suspect.

Earlier, he told the court that his job had been to control surveillance of, and to any evidence which related to the accused Browning, of two cars belonging to a US diplomat between August 7 and 16.

Yesterday, he said the AFP surveillance teams had had two teams of between five and eight officers on mobile patrol following Browning and her husband Maxwell Stanislaw Gunter, the Pan Africanist Congress's representative in Australia and married their house.

In mark 199 in a report across the street, Police surveillance officers had watched the house and ASIO operatives had set up listening devices in one the couple's private conversations. Tapes had been installed in the house on August 29 by ASIO operatives.

He said they aerial photographs had been taken of the Stephen Street house and that ASIO had given him early surveillance photographs of Browning and Stanislaw Gunter. The team had also made up a list of about 25 people who had associated with Browning. They had charted who had visited the house and when, and had made several visits to Browning's rubbish.

At one stage he thought "the CIA" (intervention points in the house) had had to be dusted.

On August 24, he had moved to his field, from that he had received a call to message that Mr Stanislaw's house had been seen entering an and towards "the CIA". He had immediately informed "Uncle", the ACT head of the AFP's surveillance branch, "Uncle", Sergeant Darryl Byers, had the repeated and the operation ended.

Before Mr Stanislaw's house had intercepted the social event, the police had made a look as if there had been a couple in the house drinking tea. Mr Stanislaw's friends had arrived, and the surveillance had continued from the room.

Detective Doyle said that ASIO had point to point an operative with his Australian-based, but Detective Doyle had said it was a bad idea. The operative had never been interviewed.

Prosecutor Robert Webster said that some of this was relevant. He said that there were three primary types of evidence in the case: tapes found in the time bombing scenes, items found during searches of Browning's home, items found in Browning's home.

Mr Gordon and Mr Webster's submission "was a good try". He said that after was Browning plant was than the overseas people had been run by ASIO. He wondered why ASIO had been involved in a purely criminal investigation. He said that he should questions the facts behind the court and the information given to the police.

Browning is on bail. The hearing continues today.

THE CANBERRA TIMES

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1989

Court told of conversations taped by ASIO

By DAVID FOGARTY

A Canberra detective agree more than a month at ASIO headquarters listening to bugged conversations from the home of alleged firebomber Kerry-Anne Browning, 30, told the ACT Magistrates Court yesterday.

Speaking for around full day in the witness box, Detective Leigh Doyle said he and two colleagues had listened to about 80 per cent of several thousand hours of tapes.

Only eight to 10 pages of transcript had been taken.

John Gordon, for Browning, asked if the tapes were originals. Detective Doyle said they were not. He agreed that he could not be certain if all the tapes made on the originals had been on the copies made by ASIO.

He said that about 50 three-hour videotapes had also been made during surveillance.

It has been alleged that between April and August last year, Browning, 30, of Stephen Street, Aranda, firebombed and was knowingly concerned in the firebombing of several diplomatic cars belonging to the United States and South African Embassies. It has been alleged also that on November 10 Browning made threats to Foreign US Ambassador Bill Lane, and that on November 10 the car was found to possession of an explosive substance. Browning faces a total of 12 charges.

In other evidence, Detective Doyle said he were had identified 30 Canberra addresses which had similar features to the front door of a South African.

He identified four main criteria: that the persons at the address had to be listed in the diplomatic phone book; was listed also in the Canberra telephone book; have a gardens surrounding the house; and be near major roads.

Browning is on bail. The hearing continues today.

Fire-bomb: chemists' evidence

CANBERRA TIMES JUNE 29, 1989

By DAVID FOGARTY

Residues of petrol, kerosene and other combustibles were found on many items allegedly found in the search of two fire-bomb attacks on diplomatic cars, the ACT Magistrates Court has heard.

Two analytical chemists told the court yesterday that the items allegedly found in two of three fire-bombing attacks last year on diplomatic cars contained the substances. These attacks were on April 13 and August 14.

The items included liquid detected on a drink bottles and petrol tins and residue found on a pair of black gloves, a black tank top and an old work.

It has been alleged that between April and August last year, Kerry-Anne Browning, 30, of Stephen Street, Aranda, firebombed and was knowingly concerned in the firebombing of several diplomatic cars. It has been alleged also that on November 10 Browning made threats to Foreign US Ambassador Bill Lane, and that on November 10 Browning made threats to Foreign US Ambassador Bill Lane, and that on November 10 she was found in possession of an explosive substance.

The chemists' evidence yesterday was the last in the current sittings. The hearing was adjourned yesterday until November 29. Legal arguments on the admissibility of police documents will be heard on October 23 and 24. The hearing is expected to take at least another fortnight.

Browning is on conditional bail of $10,000 with a surety of $10,000. She is to reside at the Stephen Street address between 9.00pm and 6am unless on overall duty at Hawker House and is to strengthen the policy when leaving and when returning. Footer is seeking to the ACT Magistrates Court is to be given for overnight trips or to attend special functions in Canberra between the curfew hours.

Zeph urges aid for struggle

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress has called on African and non-aligned countries to offer material help to the South African struggle and reaffirm of total liberation for the African continent.

Mr Zephania Mothopeng made his call when he addressed African and non-aligned ambassadors at the Consul Mansion this week.

Mothopeng said: "Following the independence of Namibia, Africa will have to the focus of attention after November 1989." He told the ambassadors that the people of Azania were determined and organised to get their national liberation and self determination.

"Nothing less than total eradication of the apartheid system and the return of the land to the rightful owners will be acceptable."

Mothopeng said the African people opposed reforms and attempts to co-opt them.

He told the 35 members of the Organisation of African Unity that Africa must unite to defeat colonialism and imperialism. "The Liberation of Azania, the continent's last remaining territory, will realise the objectives of the founding fathers of the OAU, namely, the total liberation of the African continent."

Zeph on struggle

THE liberation of South Africa was part and parcel of the struggle to liberate Africa from colonialism, Zeph Mothopeng said a mass rally in London last week.

Speaking to the London Anti-South Africa the PAC leader said:

"The situation is such as to make conflict between the disproportionately organised and equipped armed and the unarmed unavoidable.

"The masses are poised to make a significant contribution to obtain freedom and self-determination."

To the thunderous applause of the audience Mothopeng attacked the reform initiatives of De Klerk.

He said that the concerted mass demonstrations into the recognising an strategic programme necessitated by the oppressor, the Vorster's "Give me six months" F W Botha's "Adapt or die" and F Wide Klerk's "Give me five years".

Mothopeng said that the question of genuine change from the Nationalists would remained a struggle.

Sanctions

On sanctions Mothopeng discovered the notion that Africans would politic more through disinvestment or "sanctions" by pressing and that most multinationals employ primarily black operative while blacks.

Mothopeng gave a stern warning to Japan not to invest in South Africa or face the consequences.

Zeph's records have arrived

LONDON — Veteran PAC leader Zephi Mothopeng is finally to receive treatment for chronic cancer after a delay in the arrival of his South African medical records.

The records of his treatment for cancer while not in jail only arrived in London's Charing Cross Hospital three days ago.

Mothopeng (75) is already receiving treatment for tuberculosis at Charing Cross.

A PAC spokesman told Mothopeng, who was admitted to hospital two weeks ago, was as well as could be expected and was responding well to the treatment for TB. Doctors were hoping to press forward with the chemotherapy treatment.

PAC- President Comrade Zeph Mothopeng:

"We want to build a non-racial and not a multi-racial society As soon as people have accepted that, we are moving forward. Multi-racialism means you look at people as white and black. We don't look at people as white and black. We say there are no whites or blacks in Africa, there are only Africans and colonialists."

"We are not aligned to any power. In fact, we don't want any powers to interfere in our struggle. Their assistance must be in accordance with assisting us to achieve liberation. We don't want arm-twisting."

Interview with PAC Secretary of Economic Affairs

AZANIA NEWS 1989

This year 1989 marks the 40th Anniversary of the 1949 Programme of Action. This programme, adopted at an annual meeting of the African National Congress in December in Bloemfontein, ushered in new dynamism in the politics of liberation in South Africa. It marked the end of policies of protest (as exemplified by petitions, appeasements and pleas) and brought in the politics of challenge.

In the following interview, *Azania News* reporter speaks to a veteran of the freedom struggle and one of the foremost youth leaders and an African activist, Comrade Mfanasekaya Pearce Gqobose, who is also the PAC Secretary for Economic Affairs.

When were the factors that led to the formation of the African National Congress Youth League?

The African National Congress Youth League was formed to rejuvenate its mother body — the African National Congress by forcing it to depart from the policies of liberal reforms and appeasement. To stop begging for freedom and the right of self-determination of the African people in the land of their birth.

In implementing radicalism in the politics of the oppressed and oppressed, the Youth League introduced for the first time, the political methods of mass mobilisation, mass action and non-collaboration and on purpose of forming institutions such as the first time Councils of Africans and Europeans, the Native Representative Council, the Bunga and the Native Advisory Boards.

Another reason behind the formation of the League was to demonstrate the ability of the Africans to lead the struggle for their liberation themselves by asserting their personalities and rejecting inferiority status which had been enthroned by the white minority conquerors on them.

The founders of the League, mainly Anton Mfanasekha Lembede gave a clear ideological and political basis for African nationalism in its advance against conservative and liberal periods of the day. He called this Africanism. He taught the African masses a new trend which would build self-confidence, self-respect, dignity and an unconditional move forward to freedom.

This was a theoretical weapon galvanising mass mobilisation and mass action.

The Programme of Action was adopted in December, 1949, about two years before the launching of the Defiance Campaign of June 1952. Would you say this programme had any bearing on the campaign?

Yes certainly. It had a direct bearing. Africanism forged ahead unprecedented defiance against the oppressive institutions of the white minority.

This was proven by the 1952 Defiance Campaign and the PAC Positive Action Campaign against the pass laws of 1960.

By having as its ideological base Africanism, the Programme of Action showed that mass mobilisation, mass action and boycotts were potent methods of political struggle and a logical sequence as a vehicle for action.

The next thing was to pinpoint targets for action. The Defiance of the Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952 was the first such target. The pieces in the puzzle fit in neatly. For an example: the ideological setting by Lembede, the appreciation of the participation of the masses in the struggle through mass action, the identification of the targets and the actual march into battle, so to speak.

Then the Programme of Action was, as Lembede would put it, "An unadulterated contribution of the African people" through the African Native Congress Youth League of those days.

What was the aim of the Defiance Campaign and how did it differ from what you call previous first of struggle that you said characterised the period?

At the choice of targets indicated, the aim was to defy the unjust laws of the white minority racist rulers. But this was only a stepping stone towards a more profound target, that is the overthrow of white domination and the implementation of the African people's right to self-determination.

That during the campaign and subsequent to it, some elements within the mother body and the ANC(1), fell back to appeasement and compromised the 1949 programme to the so called Freedom Charter, does not take away the African people's inalienable right to independence and self-determination.

The Programme of Action did not seek to oppress anybody. It never sought to compromise on principles and was inimical to sections of moral imperatives and rules useless reformist methods under the influence and direction of pseudo-communists and white liberals.

Why do you think the then leadership of the African National Congress decided to call off the campaign and could you highlight the possible effects this had on the course of the struggle?

There were several reasons. Firstly a was contended that the African people had demonstrated their militancy and served a warning to the racists.

Secondly, the sharpen edge of the campaign had, in my view already been blunted by the influence of the white liberals and pseudo-communists who had entered the campaign as "advisers" behind the scenes. Thirdly the racist general election where the whites only voted, was to take place in the first half of 1953.

Having been finally advised on the age-old method of appeasement, some elements in the leadership felt that radical politics should be avoided prior to the election so that the racist nationalist Government should be voted out of power by liberals.

On the contrary, however, the nationalists (National party) actually increased their majority in Parliament. The efforts of the disorganisation of the campaign were at public table.

The African National Congress resorted to appeasement politics. The militant militarism which it had assumed since the adoption of the Programme of Action of 1949 had been dampened and held in check.

Consequently, instead of carrying out the tasks as outlined in the 1949 Programme, a new diametrically opposed programme emerged in 1955 called the Freedom Charter. Whereas the 1949 programme had called for the struggle to achieve the right to self-determination for the African people in the land of their birth, the Freedom Charter talked for the surrendering of this birth right "to all who live in it."

This versus that is the kind of our forefathers, the oppressor and the oppressed, the oppressor and the oppressed church equal ownership of the land of Azania. Obviously, a large section of the oppressed refused to be party to this and as you know, this resulted in the division of the African people. Exactly what the liberals had long sought to do.

Could you briefly tell us about the role of white liberals in the politics of the oppressed during the period 1952—55?

You will have already realised that in my previous answers to your questions I have mentioned the role of the white liberals. I may merely repeat what I have said. Namely that the liberals had sought to struggle to themselves the role of leadership of the liberation struggle of the African people. They did this by several different ways of running influence behind the scenes.

And because of their material positions, they could easily influence African politicians away from militant radicalism towards reformism. This was particularly the case during the years 1952—55 when radicalism had been brought to its peak as the result of the implementation of the Programme of Action and the Defiance Campaign.

The liberals were always out to thwart the national aspirations of the African people, for example, their moderating and reformist influence during the defiance campaign and their strongest opposition to and deliberate distortion of all what PAC stands for.

The formation of the PAC. What circumstances led and how do you see its role?

The formation of the PAC was a historical necessity. After the Africans had been defeated towards the end of the last century and particularly after Bambata in 1906, they resorted to non-violent political struggles for nearly a century.

The white minority regime on the other hand were determined to perpetuate their plunder through brutal force. This has been the case with all successive regimes up to the present day. Even children in tender years have felt escaped the atrocities. Thus, since it is a historical necessity that people, a nation, cannot be oppressed for ever, regardless of the ruthlessness on the part of the regime, the African people had to found the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to respond to this necessity.

They expect the PAC to carry out to demand role through armed struggle self-lordship and freedom to wear. This is the current and future role of the PAC.

However, I wish to say that notwithstanding the critical historical background I have given you, the African National Congress of today remains an anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-racist organisation.

For these reasons it is on the side of the oppressed and it has but a role to play against the white minority regime. It is hopeless to underscore this point. It is all the more important to back the PAC and the African National Congress should form a united front against the common enemy.

This is the task that the 1949 Programme of Action has given back of us. There is no escaping this reality. □

PAC Secretary for Economics, Pearce Mfanasekhaya Gqobose

PAC remembers its fallen ex-Secretary for Defence Makoti

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, have suffered one of their greatest losses in the untimely death of the former PAC Secretary for Defence, Cde Edwin Makoti. He was 67.

By Combat Editor
Willie Mazambane

AZANIA COMBAT 6, 1989

'Nkele', as the late Cde Makoti was fondly known in the PAC and APLA, was perhaps better known among the PAC fighters for his significant contribution in the founding of APLA.

It was under his military leadership that in 1960 the PAC introduced a massive wide-ranging scheme to retrain most of its fighters, making them what are today valued even by Pretoria itself as the most daring guerrilla fighters in South Africa.

It was also under Nkele's military leadership that the PAC introduced serious military and political education programmes to its fighters, making them some of the most military informed, most politically clear and most operationally efficient in South Africa.

But Nkele (father) was more than a defence man. He was a great articulator of the PAC ideological and political line and significant contributor to the development of many PAC major policy documents.

These included one in 1975 which has since been adopted by the OAU as its official document on South Africa's legal and international status.

They also included one entitled The National Mandate which sets out the PAC position on the national question in Azania, with the land ownership issue having been placed at the heart of that question.

A highly learned scholar, a seasoned journalist and an accomplished diplomat, Cde Makoti had held various senior posts in the PAC, including being the then Secretary for Publicity, Information and Political Affairs as well as being, as Chief Representative in Indonesia in 1967, the first PAC diplomat in Southern Asia.

Born on July 5, 1921, Cde Makoti received his primary education in Starkstroom, Heidelberg, in the Cape and completed his secondary education in Johannesburg where he got married and had three children.

A founding member of the PAC, Nkele left South Africa in 1961 for Lesotho, where he began working for the PAC publicity department. Passing through Botswana and Zambia, he went to Tanzania about four years later when he was posted to Indonesia as a diplomat.

In 1966 he had an APLA unit for military training in China and on his return to Tanzania he was appointed Secretary for Publicity and Information before becoming Secretary for Defence and several years later returning to his publicity post.

He retired from the post two years ago due to failing health and served the party in the area of research.

4 suspected PAC insurgents arrested at Magaliesburg

By Craig Kotze (Time Reporter) STAR 25/5/89

Four suspected Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) insurgents and an alleged collaborator were arrested by police in the western Transvaal at the weekend, the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, announced yesterday. 25/5/89 STAR

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

It is believed the group entered South Africa from Botswana.

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

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

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

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

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

'Chances still good for successful people's war'

PAC finds new Soviet stance on SA 'sad'

Cape Times 25/5/89

UNITED NATIONS — The Pan Africanist Congress finds it "regrettable" that Soviet officials now consider a successful armed revolution is impossible in South Africa.

Mr Tennyson Makiwane, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Africa expert, was recently quoted as saying the armed struggle will not win a peaceful, negotiated solution is necessary.

This reversal of long-standing Soviet support for black revolution in South Africa follows President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of avoiding proxy wars that Cold Warrior statesmen needed locally.

"It is regrettable that the Soviets adopt this stance," said a PAC spokesman. "We believe a people's war is a possibility, and the people's chances for it are good."

The spokesman said the organisation received no aid or aid from the Soviets in the Organisation of African Unity. As the Soviet stance grows well not have a major effect on the PAC.

'When the chains fight'

Soviet diplomats have been meeting South African officials since 1986, when the United States began mediating talks among Cuba, Angola, and South Africa on peace independence in Namibia.

The PAC's foreign secretary, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, sees no proposed changes in superpower arms assistance to the black struggle.

"We have a saying in Africa," said Mr Ebrahim. "That when the elephants fight, the grass suffers."

"And," he added, "when the elephants make love, the grass also suffers."

The Soviet Union has been the major supplier of weapons for the African National Congress, the PAC's main rival for control of the black resistance movement.

Mr Jacques Rev Rabeck said that the ANC's Lusaka delegation had been in contact with the PAC and with the black revolutionary movement.

However, the Ebrahim spokesman said the ANC's Lusaka delegation had not approached the PAC to join with the PAC and with the black revolutionary movement.

The PAC is based on a "Black consciousness" philosophy, which holds that blacks should work for their own liberation without white help. The ANC is multiracial.

The US recognises both the PAC and the ANC as representatives of South Africa's people. — Reuter.

E Rand blasts 'PAC' 25/5/89

HARARE. — Last week's grenade attacks in Tembisa and Kathlehong on the East Rand were carried out by the organisation of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zimbabwe's news agency reported. Seven security force members were injured in the two attacks carried out in the two townships earlier this month. CAPE TIMES

Cairo students pledge solidarity with Azania

by ASHRAF ALI KHAN

A CAPACITY audience at the African Society Building in Cairo was present at the Pan Africanist Congress call for the commemoration of the 29th anniversary of Sharpville.

The meeting was opened by a Qur'anic recitation followed by an address by the PAC's Egyptian representative Muhammad Hashed Sayed who outlined to the audience the history of the oppressed in their struggle.

"March 21, 1960 marked the turning point of our struggle in Azania. Henceforth we were no longer in fear the poisons nor the bullets and bases of the apartheid machinery," Sayed said.

The interest generated by this meeting was so overwhelming that the audience demanded a follow-up meeting.

Four days later on March 25 the second meeting took place at the same venue at which Sayed elaborated on the role of the neo-imperialists power in South Africa who "deceitfully underplay the popularity and constitutions of Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Imam Abdullah Haroon and Zephania Mothopeng."

He also gave a detailed outline of the contributions of the Islamic forces in Azania from Shaikh Yusuf, through Tuan Guru to Imam Haroon and Ahmed Cassim.

From this meeting an Islamic Students Solidarity group was officially launched on April 2 pledging solidarity with the struggle in Azania. The group consists of a wide spectrum of students from Al-Azhar, Cairo University, American University in Cairo and Ain Shams University.

At the group's launching its president, Shaikh Muhammad Kamara of Sierra Leone, called for the "uncompromising condemnation of the racist regime in occupied Azania and for the total destruction of the unfortunate racial apartheid".

At the same venue the treasurer, Maulana Ismail Khan of Mozambique, warned that "any compromise with the oppressor would amount to the new liberation of the masses.

"Do not act out for the sake of expediency. There can be no peace without justice," the Maulana said.

(This correspondent is a student in the Faculty of Journalism, Al-Azhar University, Cairo)

OAU service

THE Azania National Youth Unity has organised a service to mark the 26th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity in the Johannesburg YWCA yesterday. Star 24/5/89

OAU Day, commonly known as Africa Liberation Day, is commemorated on all African countries. The OAU is composed of African leaders from throughout the continent. In most countries it is the anniversary of Africa.

Various organisations including cultural The Pan-Africanist movements have been invited to mark the significance of that day.

"Azania identifies with and the oppressed, exploited and the oppressed in the thousands of unless government's incision of African throughout the continent in solidarity demonstrations to the gods Mozambique, Namibia and Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe and many others," a spokesman said.

OAU anniversary marked

Egyptian Gazette 16/5/89

A CEREMONY was staged yesterday in Cairo to mark the 26th anniversary of the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), centered on the big gate outside of attending the world over.

Addressing the ceremony, the Chief Representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, M.H. Sayed, hailed the racial policies pursued by the Pretoria regime, pointing out that its practices violate the principles of mandatory sanctions.

"Given that the policies pursued by the illegal minority racist regime have been universally branded as a crime against humanity by the international community — and given the fact that the international community is a legitimate ally in the fight against apartheid and security, the South African racist minority regime has been granted for the application of the provisions contained in Chapter VII of the UN Charter, namely, the imposition of mandatory sanctions," he said.

While condemning the misuse of the right to defence of the Pretoria government, Mr Sayed said: "We must acknowledge the support rendered by other freedom loving countries and peoples. To all those countries and peoples who gave us support and struggle in a non-racial basis, we extend our gratitude."

He also reiterated the support of organisation liberation movements for the Palestinians, Arab people battling against Israel and Zionism in the name of the same cause. Concluding the OAU call, he stated:

"The founding fathers of the OAU created the necessary crisis for the realisation of the noble principles, moral and legitimate liberation of the whole of Africa. The people of Africa struggled to realise the objectives as stated in various political and revolutionary documents, presented in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa."

Since its establishment, the OAU has been committed to the achievement of peace and stability in Africa, and to the promotion of the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states, including ending the dispute, and the Western Sahara and Ethiopia and Somalia and Ethiopia and Somalia and Ethiopia and Somalia.

PAC warns over vows by Pik

DAR-ES-SALAAM — The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday called on black South Africa and the international community not to be misled by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha's "deceptive" pronouncements of his government's intention of ending white domination and dismantling apartheid.

Star 24/5/89

The exiled movement's warning follows a BBC report of May 19 which reported Botha to have told US Secretary of State, James Baker, that his National Party will fight the September elections "on the basis of dismantling apartheid."

Willing

Botha told Americans that "white domination must come to an end regardless of whether black opponents are willing to join talks." He made the statement — regarded as the PAC as "very cunning" — in Rome.

"These utters are designed to divert the maximum support the liberation forces enjoy from the international community and from the progressive world," the PAC noted in a statement issued from its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam to the Africa News Organisation (ANO).

"It is a known fact that the South African regime is in a bankrupt condition economically and militarily — hence its R8,7-billion defence budget this year. The vast majority of the Angolan (South African) people have been completely alienated from the Dreyfusian State and are — absolutely no loyalty. 25/5/89

"They consider its police and army as forces of occupation and oppression, its industries and economy as machines of their enslavement, its educational system as devoid of morality and its philosophy of apartheid as absolutely repugnant. Because of internal political turmoil, the conditions of the white people have deteriorated, the cost of living has skyrocketed and the real income has declined."

The aim

The PAC explained that it was because of these internal conditions that Botha had to "be without an iota of conscience."

"The struggle must continue until the principle of one-person one-vote is realised."

EX-DETAINEE IS HIT HARD

Sowetan 5/5/1989

He has to pay Minister R11 000 or lose everything he has

FORMER detainee Mr Ishmael Ali Kader and his family stand to lose all their household goods and their car if they cannot find R11 000 to pay the Minister of Law and Order's costs for an unsuccessful court application.

The Kader family's furniture and car have been attached pending payment of the costs of the application brought by Mr Dawjeem Kader, three years ago for the release of her husband.

According to court affidavits Mr Kader was "psychologically crippled" by his detention.

He was first detained in June, 1986, for his alleged complicity in a conspiracy between Qibla, a Muslim organisation in the Western Cape, and the Pan Africanist Congress.

A year after Mr Kader's detention his mother and aunt died in a car accident at Wolmaransstad. They were on their way home after visiting him in Pretoria.

In July, 1988, Mr Kader was tried as a State witness in a trial against seven alleged members of Qibla and the PAC. He refused to testify and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for contempt of court. 5/5/89

His conviction and sentence were overturned on appeal eight months later but at Mr Kader's request was at Pollsmoor Prison while his attorney in February this year he was in Pretoria.

Affidavits handed into the court in March said that Dawjeem Mr Kader had been "psychologically crippled" by his period in detention and was suffering from "post traumatic stress syndrome".

The society Mr Kader sues the Minister of Law and Order arises from an application he brought for his husband's release after visiting him in Groote Schuur Hospital where he was receiving psychiatric treatment in 1986.

He had just spent two months in solitary confinement and "looks he was very sick", Mrs Kader said of the application.

Hospital

Mr Kader was handed into the court in March said that Dawjeem Mr Kader had been "psychologically crippled" by his period in detention and was suffering from "post traumatic stress syndrome".

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He had just spent two months in solitary confinement and "looks he was very sick", Mrs Kader said of the application.

4 of 5 Umtata PAC trialists acquitted

CAPE TIMES 8-7-89

PAC man found guilty on six charges to be sentenced on Thursday

PAC man found with arms

PIETERSBURG — A former Pan Africanist Congress commander was on Friday found guilty on six counts of terrorism in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court.

Reaction to NP's 5-year plan for SA

SOWETAN 30/6/89

BLACK leaders yesterday scoffed at the National Party's proposed five-year plan aimed at getting blacks involved in determining the country's future.

Plan is a fraud

By MOKGADI PELA

Ground for negotiation has not been laid

SOWETAN 7/7/89

Freedom

Negotiations — SA's new catchword

SOWETAN 14/7/89

Pressure

SA meeting faces potential split

By VICTORIA BRITTAIN

The right foreign minister is expected to-day to discuss Commonwealth policy towards South Africa, from a serious potential split at a meeting in Canberra that may mean — ahead of October's world-wide Commonwealth Finance Ministers' report on sanctions against South Africa.

The report calls for a wide-scope package of immediate additional sanctions to put pressure on Pretoria now (not, taking advantage of South Africa's debt renegotiation period which will flare up later, 1986).

The report calls it "a window of opportunity." An even more urgent but comprehensive measures sanctions will be put to the foreign ministers by a twenty-weight delegation from Nigeria, the main representative behind this group's tough defence delegation.

The issue of sanctions for these being off the agenda as the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, would use it to be, that Commonwealth sanctions, as she did at Vancouver in 1981, and to have Britain even more isolated within the Commonwealth.

The Canberra meeting will be the fourth by foreign ministers from Australia, Canada, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, with Canada's Joe Clark in the chair. Britain refused to join the group.

The Commonwealth Commission of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa was set up in Vancouver to provide "high level impetus" for widening and tightening existing sanctions, and evaluating the impact of existing sanctions. [illegible]

Britain was alone in refusing to accept further sanctions against South Africa in the wake of the bold Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) initiative.

The EPG's mission to broker negotiations between the government in Pretoria and the black majority was sabotaged by South African bombing raids on the Commonwealth regional in Southern Africa.

The group's report, which has spent a world-wide hard sell forward, the possibility of "the worst bloodbath since World War II" in South Africa.

The foreign ministers will discuss the sanctions report written by the expert study group, a distinguished academic and practitioners, and decide whether to back its recommendations for measures at the October summit.

But the report has been hotly received by Canada, and perhaps by Australia, who are reportedly likely to support its publication.

Both governors are publicly committed to the policy of full sanctions, but are reluctant to take additional measures at this stage, preferring to wait for other Western countries to join them.

In the UN General Assembly vote on comprehensive sanctions last December, 123 countries voted in favour, and only Britain and Canada of the Commonwealth countries voted against the resolution, although some of these vulnerable to South African bombing attacks abstained.

— The Guardian

Sanctions 'must go on'

CANBERRA TIMES 6 AUG 1985

A Commonwealth leaders will be under the Commonwealth to extend sanctions against South Africa, this week.

Tom Hayden of the Pan Africanist Congress arrive in Canberra tomorrow and will appear before the Commonwealth Commission of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa on Monday.

The Canberra-based PAC organisation, Maxwell Nettall-Hayden, said yesterday that his organisation would pitch the continuing sanctions against South Africa and for a campaign against Britain to encourage the country to join other Commonwealth members in imposing sanctions. Sanctions helped isolate the South African regime.

Mr Nettall-Hayden said the Commonwealth should hold its sanctions on Britain as the only country which continued to oppose the use of sanctions. He said the British Government signed statements that sanctions only had the effect in South Africa.

"Black people in South Africa are willing to put up with hardships associated by sanctions because it will bring an early demise to the regime," he said.

Mr Nettall-Hayden said the organisation would also push for sanctions to isolate surrounding South Africa which were overrunned with South African refugees.

He said the Commonwealth also was exploring its three trying to encourage dialogue between the South African Government and anti-apartheid organisations within the country. The PAC was unwilling to negotiate with a government that refused to accept the concept of one person, one vote.

The eight Commonwealth foreign ministers will meet from Monday to Wednesday this week, the last in a series before the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in South Lanka in October.

— LEANNE MASON

Australia will push sanctions

CANBERRA TIMES 6 AUG 1985

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Gareth Evans, on Friday reaffirmed that Australia will push to impose tough financial sanctions against South Africa at next week's meeting in Canberra of foreign ministers from eight Commonwealth countries.

"The particular importance of financial sanctions and their sensitivity to affecting a peaceful dismantling of apartheid will be highlighted," he said.

The foreign ministers of Canada, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, all members of the Commonwealth Commission of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, which includes Australia, began arriving in Canberra yesterday.

Senator Evans said other issues for discussion included a report on South Africa's policy of destabilisation of its neighbours, progress towards Namibian independence and a plan to counter South Africa's strategy of propaganda and censorship.

Australia to train black South African managers

CANBERRA TIMES 6 AUG 1985

Australia will help fund the training of black South Africans for managerial jobs as part of its anti-apartheid package, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Gareth Evans, announced yesterday.

Senator Evans said Australia's contribution to a pan-African training scheme would form part of an international programme in the Commonwealth and other countries.

He said the training of a cadre of industry and state government and corporation from African Countries, Britain and South Africa that the private sector network would help open doors to a more deserving area — black South African organisations legal management training, provided it is not under apartheid.

"This contemporary initiative for advanced training of black South African youth is being international political signal directed at the mainstream of apartheid," Senator Evans said.

"It demonstrates the complementarity between government and private sector approaches to South Africa and the scope and will for joint efforts to reduce the effects of apartheid."

Senator Evans proposed a plan by Australian non-government organisations and the private sector to introduce training for blacks after the successful scheme in Canada and Britain.

Australia would contribute a significant proportion of the estimated $25,000 needed annually, with the rest coming from the Canadian and British governments, including Australia would provide extra work for diplomats with prospective contacts against South Africa.

He confirmed a British newspaper report this week that the two-year-old Commonwealth eminent persons group, which broke its initial sanctions against Pretoria has declined to continue.

The Guardian newspaper said the report had suggested the Commonwealth approach plans to phase out trade with a European partner and a South African ally, Britain, accused of domestic or economic laws.

Sir Shridath said reported he would join the foreign ministers of Australia, Canada, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe for discussions in Canberra.

'No room' for the British

CANBERRA TIMES AUG 6 1985

By PHILIP ADAMS

Britain should be thrown out of the Commonwealth, the foreign affairs committee of the Australian Labor Party Conference, Maxwell Tony Grassby, said yesterday.

Mr Grassby, who is in Canberra for this week's meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers, also said that if British ministers were to leave Africa there was no reason for the British to participate in next year's Commonwealth Games in Auckland.

He said the PAC was telling black Africans whatever that they should not British from participating in the games.

The PAC did not know if the British government would be mainly used as a cover issue in South Africa "in that we are not interested in taking the the British government to task for the treaty agreement. This may be one of the points of such Britain and South Africa."

The England team was a team of "no colours," he said.

"If such a non-racial sporting contact can be paid such a high price in Africa, it is not for us to say that the South Africans are at the level of some international sporting issues and that British citizens are in the process of being treated unjustly in international tournaments."

Mr Grassby's opinion is in contrast to the foreign ministers that they should not only sanctions against South Africa, but also economic sanctions against South Africa. The ministers will consider a report on the effect of sanctions which was given to them.

The report calls for a unique package of immediate additional sanctions to put pressure on Pretoria now (not as in the debt-advantage of South Africa's debt repayment crisis which will flare in 1986).

Mr Grassby said sanctions had been effective in their respective areas. There had been a total ban on gold and coal. He predicted that South Africa and its gold mines of South Africa's foreign earnings came from gold.

There had also been a major increase in the high tech area of the ground from South Africa. "The large exports this has been accomplished," he said.

"The public accounts in which it is able to sell a limited number of Krugerrands to be confined."

The PAC had an undertaking from Arab and non-aligned countries not allow PAC members but it supply oil to South Africa and was working to have a total ban on oil and oil by-products to South Africa.

It was the PAC's information that the foreign governments that they should not only sanctions and other economic sanctions against South Africa. The ministers will consider a report on the effect of sanctions which was given to them.

The report calls for a unique package of immediate additional sanctions to put pressure on Pretoria now (not as in the debt-advantage of South Africa's debt repayment crisis which will flare in 1986).

Mr Grassby said sanctions had been effective in their respective areas. There had been a total ban on gold and coal. He predicted that South Africa and its gold mines of South Africa's foreign earnings came from gold.

There had also been a major increase in the high tech area of the ground from South Africa. "The large exports this has been accomplished," he said.

"The public accounts in which it is able to sell a limited number of Krugerrands to be confined."

The PAC had an undertaking from Arab and non-aligned countries not allow PAC members but it supply oil to South Africa and was working to have a total ban on oil and oil by-products to South Africa.

validity of sanctions probe to be doubted

THE South African Chamber of Mines has just released what purports to be a definitive survey on attitude to sanctions.

According to the study, released unexpectedly in Johannesburg and Washington at least 80 percent of South Africans of all population groups oppose tougher sanctions and disinvestment as strategies for social change.

A close analysis of the version of the report provided to the latest Chamber of Mines sanctions raises puzzling questions on its validity, however. Not only are some of the survey questions obviously biased, the answers given by the respondents could be, subject of different interpretations. Besides, an overdominance of the survey must be within the context of the prevailing state of emergency restrictions on pro-sanctions agitation, a fact that immediately becomes more apparent.

Some of the consultation drawn by the polling company Marketing appear to be based on a selective understanding of what the government lobby stands for. Zoul 19/8/85

The "effectiveness" opinion given respondents are attitudes to sanctions (as by extension, Studies over the last few years have revealed a contradiction support of the strategy of "effective" sanctions against South Africa. Blacks may consider a foreign investment pulling up a factory in Soweto in partnership with local residents while rejecting the idea of disinvestment on a white suburb. There is no necessary contradiction in this attitude. Besides, even the pro-sanctions lobby have never had anything against sanctions foreign support for community programmes, even as they advocate for the isolation of the country.

Question five of the survey questionnaire asks whether or not sanctions

EUGENE NYATI

are good idea. This is an irrelevant issue. Anti-lobby Tom and others support sanctions, not because they are a good or bad idea. Rather, because they consider them an effective non-violent strategy to weaken the present Government's militarisation agenda and Pretoria the undemocratic nature you and ignore the will of the majority South African. Sanctions are a conclusion comes only from knowledge of South Africa's foreign trade patterns.

An informed judgement on the country's vulnerability to sanctions must be based less on a simplistic mass opinion. Unless the survey respondents had reasonable understanding of the subject issue which they were being asked, any subsequent conclusion could be seriously flawed.

When a local company fears one a disinvesting foreign entity, the question does not always lead to job losses. If Lonrho, for example, leaves the National company Mobil the new owners would have little reason to change the old and trained staff and buy afresh. 19/8/85

If any job losses did occur, they would presumably be influenced by ordinary profit logic that would have done so in the wake the fact of disinvestment. Fear of losing as the Sentinel underscoring was profitable, the new owner would retain as staff. It's important to remember that foreign companies are in South Africa to make profit. Operation now of the survey points the possible extension of a job losses as a consequence of disinvestment without qualifying it with the observation above. An impression is created that disinvestment is an necessary followed by massive job losses. This is not always the case.

While on the subject of job losses it may be useful to contrast another misinterpretation. It has been suggested by various anti-sanctions advocates including John Kane-Berman of the SA Institute of Race Relations that any job losses resulting from disinvestment would be a possibility would endanger the peace of the democratic centre. The credible statistical evidence contradicts this. There is overwhelmingly no increase in trade union's numerical strength and its sect differentiated.

Let us suppose that post - disinvestment citizenship were to hold South African mines to operate half its staff. Regardless to such a decision would be, it would not necessarily weaken the effectiveness of Cyril Ramaphosa's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

While members should pay an optional South African trade unions have acquired the effectiveness that they have over the years, but because of their numerical strength than effective link with the broader liberation movement and community. On the other hand, despite their considerable membership in Natal, the Inkatha-based trade unions have failed to have much impact primarily because they remain wedded to a defiant political ideology. It may be worth noting that unionised workers remain a numerical minority in this country.

Lobby

The pro-sanctions lobby does not deny that disinvestment and boycotts could lead to some job losses in their anti-apartheid campaign. But it is explained as a regrettable and yet unavoidable sacrifice in the process of dislodging a particularly vicious and intransigent minority government. The lobby does not profess not a political strategy. Rather, a possible consequence of a political strategy.

Liberation politics is based on instinct. This would have to be explained fully to supporters of the lobby before taking their whether or not they could endorse what nothing for a cause.

Scenario

To selectively point high remarks without explaining the contextual context could be glossed and misunderstood. Thus a particularly crudely opposed to a survey the survey question pollster could reasonably locate the total. There is no evidence of this consideration having been taken into respect of the people who conducted the survey.

It is one thing to speak against local language, but quite another to be politically corrupted enough to allow human rights to be injured political. This is especially true under the prevailing repression.

A-G still to decide on Stompie dossier

Sow. 12/5/89

THE Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand is to decide whether Mrs Winnie Mandela had committed any crime with which she is interrogated in the death of teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi by Sugar, after receiving a dossier on some suspects who were members of the Mandela Soccer Club.

The dossier was collected by the office of the Anti-Apartheid Activist Jerry Mokoena, who was murdered in Soweto's death in detention and evidence in the dossier.

However, it would take about time to examine the dossier, the spokesman said.

The investigation into the Mandela Soccer Club players is the second operation which suspicions with Mandela and members were made against this members.

Death of ANC man

A FORMER member of the outlawed African National Congress Mr Elias Shabangu (62), died in Baragwanath Hospital last week.

Mr Shabangu of Duke Village served three years in the Pretoria Central prison for facilitating the escape of a banned organisation. He was after being arrested for 18 years. Sow. 18/5/89

The funeral service took place at the Lindelani Church, Orlando, at 9am. The cortege leaves for Avalon Cemetery at 12 noon.

Shabangu is survived by his wife, Gertrude, three daughters, Queen, Florence, Nancy and the eldest son, Mr

Guerilla, girl shot

LUSAKA — An African National Congress guerilla died and his Zambian girlfriend was shot with an AK47 assault rifle and then turned the gun on himself, police said yesterday. Sow. 18/5/89

Lusaka police chief Zenge Sakalelo said neighbours in the capital's Mtendere suburb reported hearing the shooting and finding everybody after a domestic dispute.

He did not name the ANC fighter or the 19-year-old Zambian but said their bodies were found in a house occupied by the ANC.

Last month, one ANC fighter was arrested on murder charges after two guerillas were killed in an attempted robbery at an ANC farm outside Lusaka.

CLAMPDOWN ON ANC MEN

LUSAKA — Zambia vowed yesterday to clamp down on members of the African National Congress guerilla group who break its laws by carrying or using firearms. Sow. 18/5/89

"We cannot allow members playing around with guns, even if it is a freedom fighter," secretary of state for defence and security Alex Shapi said.

He was commenting on an incident on Sunday in Lusaka where an ANC militant shot dead his girlfriend after a quarrel and then killed himself.

It was the second fatal shooting in a month involving members of the ANC. 18/5/89

The ANC has its headquarters in Lusaka and several thousand ANC refugees live in Zambia.

Shapi said some ANC members were authorised to carry arms in Zambia for protection of the group's premises and leaders because of the threat of attack by South African agents and informers.

But this authorisation for carry firearms was limited. "We don't allow, any minimum", Shapi added.

Last month, an ANC official died two hours before members of the organisation at a farm outside Lusaka in an apparent military attempt. The disputed killer was detained by ANC security officers and handed over to the Zambian authorities — Sapa-Reuter.

Shooting — ANC man is held

Sow. 18/5/89

LUSAKA — A member of the African National Congress yesterday shot dead an unidentified woman in a residential area of Lusaka, Zambian police have said.

"A skilled spokesman said about 24 cents and two cigarette stubs were found in the early morning of the morning in the Bwana residential area by the unknown ANC member who has been arrested.

"It will not clear whether the woman and the ANC member lived together.

In recent weeks there have been a number of shooting incidents involving ANC members which have, according to reports, resulted in growing tension between the Zambian government and the ANC.

The ANC said yesterday it had moved nearly half of its members out of Zambia but denied that this was the result of growing tensions between the ANC and the Zambian government.

Soviet leaders could be mediators

By JOAO SANTA RITA of the *Sowetan Africa News Service*

Sow. 25/5/89

THE current Soviet leadership is ideally placed to act as a mediator between the South African Government and the African National Congress (ANC), one of South Africa's top rejectors of the Soviet Union, Dr Philip Nel, has said.

Nel's statement was made on a paper delivered at a closed door day meeting in London in March between Soviet and South African academics. The contents of the paper were only now been disclosed by the Rotfontein-based Institute for Soviet Studies' magazine *Soviet Review*. Nel is head of the institute.

The dirty day conference was chaired by the former British ambassador to Moscow Sir John Killick, and the Soviet delegation was headed by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of Moscow's Africa Institute, who is an adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Nel said the conference that provided the Soviet Union could provide clarity on some issues Soviet diplomats could play a constructive role in promoting a negotiated settlement in South Africa. "Issues will include inter alia, the ANC as the oldest and most respected liberation movement, and the South African Government".

He said although it was premature to talk about a possible settlement to halt the South African Government and some opposition of the ANC behind-the-scenes could build some as talks indicate power, it was clear that likely to talk about the imminent transition of the Soviet economy the need for Western and Japanese technology would increase in the coming years. 25/5/89

"The Soviet Union's focusing current Soviet policy will thus remain and Soviet policy will accordingly be more predictable," he said.

He also believed that many Soviet leaders had accepted international stability as a priority and economic goal to reach.

The Soviet Union also had to make a clear that it was serious in accepting that there were local issues for regional conflict. Although this had been acknowledged in the case of Afghanistan, in Angola this had not been the case.

Scuttle

"No one can expect Moscow to circumvent Luanda and talk directly with Unita, or whatever else. Only can expect though that propaganda attacks on Unita or Unita really only a 'bandit' or 'puppet' organisation should cease, for this leads to a hardening of attitudes on all sides and then months the whole drive towards national reconciliation on which stability ultimately depends," said Nel.

"It must at least now dissuade also make it clear that the policy of talking to all sides in regional conflicts also applied to South Africa in this sense that the Soviet Union is prepared."

"Soviet commentators are correct when they argued that the Soviet and apparatus is travelling the will dictate regardless. However, if we take that to be an indication that governmental power is travelling on well, which some of is are trying to convince the government to take the ANC seriously as a future negotiating partner, we should also ever begin to convince other actors to take the South African Government seriously."

Nel said and added:

"If a settlement process of South Africa ever to get off the ground, it will have to be premised on the understanding that the executive government holds the biggest keys of all to power and stability."

Nel said the Soviet Union should also make it clear that it would support the handover of power of other political system South Africa should choose and together with other powers should guarantee the legal and international domestic through which that choice would be exercised.

It could be, however, difficult for the Soviet Union to provide clarity on Soviet policy, not only because of negative reaction among some Third World countries but also because unanimity might not exist among the Soviet leadership on these issues.

"It must at least now dissuade also make it clear that the policy of talking to all sides in regional conflicts also applied to South Africa in this sense that the government of national unity. The two other based there is a school of thought which also supports a settlement, but would rule that to see the ANC as the only future government in South Africa," Dr Nel said.

The statement of these two points of view did not mean that the Soviet Union could not take a role in mediating in the South African situation.

"As long as there is anything there is hope," he said.

Nel was also in agreement that key Soviet leaders would work because were thought, as in Western North

ANC men in hijack drama

THE Soviet ambassadors to Angola has confirmed that there were 157 members of the ANC aboard a Soviet airliner involved in an attempted hijack last week and that the hijacker had hoped to make for Johannesburg, SABC TV news reported last night. 25/5/89

The ambassador, Mr Vladimir Caccia, said an unidentified man against the hijacker had been overpowered by security officers aboard the airliner, en route from Luanda to Gito or Sakania, the

carrying a home-made bomb. Sow. 25/5/89

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka has dismissed as speculation the report that the plane was carrying members of the ANC.

The Soviet ambassador said the hijacker, whom he did not identify, had been handed over to the Zambian authorities.

He confirmed that the passengers had left the aircraft at Harare Salisbury, and the aircraft, aboard Zambia, had been returned to Lusaka.

Soviet diplomats arrived to be carrying more arrival than before. "Russia has always wanted a unique and stick approach by breaking the stick and using the carrot".

"Unfortunately, the PW Botha and his successors did seem to be thinking that the carrot

mentioning the ANC. "Unfortunately, we don't have enough time to sit down with all organisations, whatever treatment we respond to critical. So it was easy to single out the ANC and easy that stick a big carrot open by means of the right mixture of pressure and protestants" he said.

ANC ready for new initiative

Sow. 27/5/89

Military thinking is revolting in supremacy

LONDON — In a marked change in tactics the ANC is gearing up for a diplomatic initiative, according to an influential political newsletter here.

The *Strategic Africa Confidential*, in its June 23 edition, says this new emphasis reflects the organisation's "diminished military pressure" since last December's Namibian accord and the expulsion of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from Angola.

It also says the unease among ANC fighters is now "dangerously low".

"Frustration stemming from the military setback has come into the open with a spate of shooting incidents among ANC cadres in Lusaka, including one senior official who shot his crown with an AK-47."

In 1988 the ANC launched its most sustained bombing campaign in an effort to disrupt the October municipal elections.

This, according to *Africa Confidential*, represented an effort by hardliners led by Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani to "alter the established policy of avoiding attacks on civilians. 25/5/89

"This has backfired on Hani. He standing in the organisation has declined since his strong showing in early 1988. He is now seen by many, including some members of the South African Communist Party, as too reckless to be considered a successor to ANC president Oliver Tambo. However, Hani retains a near-divine status in South African townships.

"The military thinking which has dominated the leadership in recent years is now ending. The hardliners have been further weakened by the efforts of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union.

All this, suggests the newsletter, has underpinned the rise in status within the ANC of Thabo Mbeki. Hani's long-term rival for the leadership.

It says that political confusion within the National Party is allowing the ANC to develop its international initiative unopposed.

"A recent half-hearted attempt at modification of the 1987 constitution by the state Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis was sunk on Heunis from the president-in-waiting F W de Klerk, and is reckoned to be one of the reasons for Heunis' resignation."

SUICIDE, SAYS NAYCO

Sow. 20/7/89

[illegible]

CURBS: ANC DENIES POLICY CHANGE

SOWETAN 25/5/89

THE African National Congress headquarters is unaware of any change in the organisation's policy on economic sanctions against South Africa and is trying to reach a senior official to clarify comments he made on the subject, a spokesman said yesterday.

The official told reporters in Lagos, Nigeria on Tuesday that the ANC plans a new international campaign "which seeks to [illegible] South Africa [illegible]."

He did not elaborate on the new campaign except to say that the focus of the international community should be "getting the apartheid system destroyed" rather than getting "people to sit around the table".

He said "the intention is that apartheid would be a means to bring South Africa to the negotiating table rather than getting it to abandon the apartheid system".

A spokesman at ANC headquarters in Lusaka said yesterday: "As far as I'm aware there has not been any change," and suggested that the official may have been remarking about "something that was on his mind."

The spokesman said ANC headquarters had been unable to contact the official in Nigeria.

"The last reason that he could have said that," the spokesman said. He said he was afraid to comment because it "would make it seem as if there are different opinions within the ANC." 20/5/89

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Boesak were in Washington DC last week urging the US Government to increase economic sanctions against South Africa.

ANC SHIFT ON TALKS WITH GOVT

Sowetan 18/9/89 [illegible]

AN African National Congress document secretly circulating in the country is canvassing support for a change of position on negotiations with the Government.

The document goes so far as to suggest the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution.

[illegible]

The document is a reaction to a strategy by National Party leader F W de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who, according to the [illegible]

[illegible]

However, the ANC [illegible] the Government will take "positive steps" towards negotiations and [illegible]

The document suggests that the [illegible]

Although still in the embryonic stage, the [illegible]

The ANC is [illegible] to an "open-ended [illegible]" in an attempt to exclude the ANC.

- Thatcher to announce a contact group, consisting of representatives of the major Western powers and including some of the ANC's close friends, to visit South Africa.

Other factors influencing the need for negotiations are:

- Indications from the Soviet Union that it is prepared to work for a peaceful settlement with the West.
- The Chinese view of [illegible]
- [illegible]

[illegible] changes of attitude to negotiations, is expecting:

- The emergency to be lifted.
- The ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, to be released before the elections.
- Nelson Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners to be released after the elections.
- Legislation to be passed allowing blacks in Parliament — and a black might even be brought into the Cabinet.
- De Klerk to invite all South African [illegible]

At the Commonwealth Summit in Malaysia late in October, Thatcher will announce a [illegible] "This would [illegible] pressure on the ANC [illegible] the armed struggle."

The document says: "FW is working on a proposal to have [illegible]"

negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "representative forum" of all race groups, which is likely to be set up quite soon.

"With the [illegible] it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. The campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity," says the document.

Surrender

[illegible]

The document says [illegible]

"Our position should become one all Africans own. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The frontline states have a crucial role in this," the document says.

SA CRISIS:

The view from Lusaka

1.ASSESSMENT: SOWETAN 21/7/89

A presentation from the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc.) covered the questions of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, such as [illegible] effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda. 21/7/89

In summary [illegible] our strategic perspective remains one of offensive action against the regime and that the "[illegible]" of an uprising is building up.

We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of tying up the [illegible] of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

[illegible] The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the regime from all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again.

There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987.

As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations. Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that deals off this initiative in a manner that:

*Does not create confusion or divisions in our ranks.

*Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses.

*Does not result in any [illegible] of pressure from the international front.

*Results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime.

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

Information regarding negotiations initiatives.

2.1 BRITAIN: Britain has been preparing for Mr P W Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with blacks, whites [illegible] The Foreign Office also wants to establish links with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC, but Downing Street believes that a solution can be found without the ANC.

2.2 USA: The Americans want to initiate a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiation". They believe objectively that such a process of negotiation will develop in the course of the [illegible] This is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 PIK BOTHA/THATCHER MEETING: Mr Pik Botha told Mrs Margaret Thatcher [illegible]

2. NEGOTIATIONS:

Our discussion on this issue produced the following general perspective: In 1987 when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, that is, that it could not consider negotiations without certain preconditions being fulfilled.

For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency should be [illegible]

F W de Klerk ... negotiation initiative

2.4 CONTACT GROUP IDEA: Britain does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of the big powers. When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations. "Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG will come to South Africa." The question of what our response to this type of initiative should be, needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 FW'S PLAN FOR A "REPRESENTATIVE FORUM": De Klerk is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "Representative Forum" of all race groups which is likely to be set up quite soon. At the point of the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. The campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity. Presently there is already some kind of anti-sanctions campaign.

2.6 FRONTLINE STATES: Zambia has a predisposition towards negotiations and has already stated that should South Africa establish [illegible] South Africa to a Frontline States meeting. Mozambique and South Africa already have much contact and Comrade Eduardo Dos Santos has said - in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations - that "we may not have the time to develop that position of strength".

There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline States to rebuild their economies should the South African "issue" be resolved. One factor preventing this is the continuing destabilisation caused by South Africa. The pressure this places on the Frontline States [illegible] compromise in any kind of political settlement is obvious. 21/7/89

The role played by the Frontline States is worrying: that the Zimbabwean [illegible] Part of Thatcher's mission to southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline States for her planned initiatives.

2.7 OTHER ALLIES: At a recent meeting between the Chinese and [illegible], the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule. Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modifications of the [illegible]

There are indications from the Soviet Union that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement on the South African issue [illegible] with the West.

The contact group being proposed by Thatcher could include some of our closest friends. The state of emergency will be lifted after the September elections. Comrade Mandela and other high profile political prisoners will be released if Comrade Walter Sisulu is expected to be released very soon, well before the elections. Legislation is to be passed to allow blacks in Parliament and a black could even be brought into the Cabinet.

There is a person already being groomed in their circles for this position.

Together with this an announcement will be made by De Klerk inviting all South Africans to an open-ended "Indaba" conference to negotiate a new dispensation for South Africa.

At a Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop. This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in the process.

CONTINUE P

THIS is the full text of the official report of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 8, 1989 between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) executive members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the full national executive committee of the African National Congress (ANC).

It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). It reads:

"The meeting dealt with the key issues facing our struggle. The agenda covered the following issues: 1/ Assessment; 2. Negotiations (the political settlement); 3. Way Forward (Campaigns)."

CONTINUED

and stop the armed struggle.

2.9 OUR PERSPECTIVES. Negotiations are again a matter for decision because of the aspirations of organisations which have support from our long-established friends. The negotiated way a modified reformed capitalist society is to place the current status hold regime. This is quite different to what we have been fighting for...

Alternatively, how do we respond to enter the process being planned?

We have to discuss the pace of change. Nothing should wait to which we are opposed.

Our struggle is to take control of the process and ensure that negotiations should they occur we promote and advance.

For this reason it is important that:

"We should all have the same agreed positions, both inside and outside South Africa.

"We have energy to remain in control so those who intervene have to deal with our positions.

"Our position should become an all-African position. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The Frontline States have a crucial role in this.

We have in present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world cannot act with something. The world must deal with another initiative. This would place us at an advantage and give us the ability to control and direct the process.

We have to ensure ways of using our range of organisation to further destabilisation for ruling class rather than have the ruling class divide us.

In analysing at an alternative proposal we have to consider that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations. 21/7/89

Also we have to present that we do not thereby take the interests and that there is widespread demoralisation among our people.

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL. We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political environment.

We need to ask whether the preconditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these institutions. Does the government of the body represent the strategy of imperialism is to preserve the regime and marginalise the preconditions. Therefore, is it felt that a detailed plan which is to be worked out under level of which is a list of preconditions...

At this be dealing with this situation is to prepare holding organisations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be represented to draw up a constitution.

"Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?

"How do we organise over the establishment of such an assembly?

"How would such an assembly be composed?

"There are some of the questions to be addressed. There is another idea, going with the idea of the constituent assembly, that Parliament should be dissolved and an interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

At root to be based on the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and now to respond to the call for one to the process of a negotiated settlement.

Yet another issue is that of an "empire". Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal?

Here do we defines strategy to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What means that is this there are a number of meetings taking place in high levels.

We therefore tend to set reality, taking everything that has been said above.

The OAU summit starts on 26-31 July and is therefore crucial to further meetings as All-Africa positions on the basis of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to prevent any other initiative, we would tend to win support for our position, now is it worked out by then then.

3.THE WAY FORWARD:

Highlights on the way forward produced the following resolutions:

3.1 BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION.

"We need to improve the Mass Democratic Movement organisations.

"We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces.

"Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be stepped.

"The level of organisation must be discussed.

"The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Mass actions continue and be consolidated.

3.2 CAMPAIGNS.

"A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged in diverse and challenges to the regime.

"The educational and Labour Boycotts Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility to integrate mass action and, in particular, a general strike country occupation must be looked at.

"Street campaigns that need to be focused on the chiefs, Bantustan Parliaments and the September elections.

In conclusion, we need to add for the "Workers' Bureau of Azapo" in August followed by two even action in September versus the action of the ruling

NACTU urges not to beg for negotiated settlement

RADIO REPORT 20 AUG. 1989

NACTU urges intensified struggle, not negotiated settlement (The) Heroes, 20th August South Africa's oldest larger trade union body, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), said today it was opposed to current attempts to achieve a negotiated settlement in South Africa. NACTU President James Motlatsi, in a statement telephoned from Johannesburg to the Zimbabwean news agency ZIANA, said negotiations for the future of South Africa should guarantee the return of land to its original owners, but present moves towards negotiations were unlikely to achieve this. "Our responsibility at this juncture is to intensify the liberation struggle and not to beg for a negotiated settlement," he said.

He said NACTU wanted to make its stand known on the eve of tomorrow's meeting in Harare of the OAU, which is expected to consider the formulation of a strategy to end apartheid in South Africa. NACTU believed pressure moves towards organisations were being prompted by Western powers, big business and "most liberals", as well as "certain sections of the oppressed", in order to guarantee the interests of capitalism in South Africa. "One of NACTU's basic principles is anti-imperialism. This implies that the liberation cannot become part of any exercise that bolsters the interests of the imperialists", the NACTU President said.

"Negotiations of the future of this country should guarantee the redistribution of land to its original owners. The present moved exercise has no hope of ever achieving this and is therefore rejected." Mr Motlatsi said. *ZIANA in English 1718 gmt 20 Aug 89*

Conference for a democratic future

NEW NATION 18-24/8/89

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu addresses the press at a conference to promote the 'Conference for a Democratic Future'. Planned for October 7, the conference is open to all organisations committed to ending oppression and exploitation. 24/8/89

Members of the convening committee are, from left to right: Cosatu's Chris Dlamini; National Union of Mineworkers' Cyril Ramaphosa; Azapo's Hanson Peter, UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu and acting general secretary Mohammed Valli; Tutu; Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa and Justice Minister Kobena. Also on the committee are Dr Alan Boesak and former Azapo president Saths Mkenke (absented by Tutu).

The aim of the historic conference is to map out the shortest path to the ending of oppression and exploitation and the creation of a democratic country".

First peace rally held in Maritzburg

MORE than 6000 people attended an incident-free Cosatu/UDF peace rally held in Edendale, near Maritzburg on Sunday. Star, 11/7/89

The meeting, held at the Wadley Stadium, follows a similar meeting of the alliance held at Cosatu's Fawcett in Durban last weekend. There were the first two peace rallies held by Cosatu and UDF. 11/7/89

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu, urged those present to become fully involved in the peace initiatives in Natal, which he said had the support of the Cosatu/UDF alliance, Inkatha and the African National Congress.

Naidoo called for an independent commission of inquiry into the ongoing violence which has claimed more than 2000 lives.

Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, national president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa also emphasised the need for peace in Natal and said his organisation wished to be included in the peace talks.

There was a strong police presence along the road to the stadium and at the rally. Maphumulo thanked the South African Defence Force and South African Police for their unobtrusive presence.

No incidents of violence were reported.

BLACK consciousness and Africanist organisations were excluded from the planning stages of the coming anti-apartheid sports conference to be held in Johannesburg on July 15 because they did not have sports desks.

This was said yesterday by Mr Keith Hudson of the National Sports Council who are organisers of the conference.

The two-day conference will be held at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Neither, however, said invitations were sent at the weekend to Neza, Azapo and Azanyu as well as 317 other extra-parliamentary bodies.

Initially the NSC invited all sporting organisations and the sporting desks of opposition groups to plan for the July 15 and. Its gathering point this was a sports occasion, Naidoo said.

Unity

Dave Hlatsi, Azapo

NACTU, AZAPO GET INVITATION

By LEBOGANG HASHATSE

SOWETAN 23/8/89

Azapo did not have sports desks because they should not be invited at this stage, he said. 23/8/89

Naidoo emphasised that the major objective of the meeting was to focus the unity of the oppressed through sports and prepare spectacular and spectacularise for an apartheid-free future society.

Commenting on the question of unity, Mr Dipuo Sigwaza, spokesman for the SCM, said: "We support all efforts to build unity."

Mr Cunningham Ngcobo, Nezia's assistant secretary, said it would be a tragedy if the differences in the political and labour spheres were allowed to stop unity.

ROW OVER SPORT UNITY TALKS

Sowetan 29/6/89

By LEBOGANG HASHATSE

THE Black Consciousness Movement has condemned the National Sports Council for claiming that the BCM was not invited to talks on unity in sports because they did not have sports departments.

The movement was [illegible] to a statement by NSC spokesman Mr Krish Naidoo who said on Tuesday that the BCM and Africanist groups were not invited to unity talks because they did not have sports desks. [illegible]

Shocking

[illegible]

Sacos snubs sports indaba

SOWETAN Sports Reporter

Sowet 14/7/89

THE participation of multi-national sports administrators in this weekend's two-day sports conference organised by the National Sports Congress at the University of the Witwatersrand has sparked off a controversy.

The conference [illegible]

The South African Council on Sport (Sacos), a strong opponent of apartheid in sport, has objected to the presence of officials representing predominantly white national bodies.

[illegible]

SACOS TO BE DUMPED?

New Nation 27-31 Aug 1989

RUMOURS are circulating in the international sporting fraternity that the SA Council on Sport (Sacos) will be stripped of its status as the authentic representative of anti-apartheid sport in SA.

These rumours have surfaced in Yaounde, Cameroon, where the African continental sports movement has its headquarters, and follow Sacos' congress decision to dissociate itself from the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc). Sacos has also gone as far as deciding to open its own office in London, where Sanroc is currently based.

According to sources in London, Sacos' decision was being viewed with great concern in London and by the international non-racial sports movement.

The organisation's decision to cut links with Sanroc has also created problems for the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), which has strong links with Sanroc.

[illegible]

● The NSC [illegible] Western Cape [illegible] University of Cape Town [illegible]

[illegible]

Soccer talks to set policy on unity

New Nation 1-7/9/89

[illegible]

SACOSPORT FESTIVAL '88: A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME is a record of the Sports Festival held by SACOS in April 1988. In photographs and words it provides a documentary of the festival — a wonderful souvenir for all those who attended this "Olympics of the Oppressed", and a tribute to the role that SACOS has played for 15 years as the leading force in the non-racial sports movement in South Africa.

This Commemorative Volume contains over 40 pages of photographs and results from the festival, as well as three major declarations against apartheid in sport, and three essays analysing the links between sport and the South African liberation struggle.

AVAILABLE NOW: Copies can be ordered from BUCHU BOOKS, P.O. Box 2580, Cape Town, 8000 Tel: (021) 45-3786

PRICE: R30,00 per copy

Look at SA's Don Quixotes

Sowetan 22/6/1989

MUCH is being said now between leaders on attitudes on version of Nation Building in order to resolve the myriad problems that beset our country.

In many respects people have responded negatively to a concept that has been articulated by numerous circumstances leaders over several decades.

However, it might be that the manner in which the concept was articulated gave rise to the numerous criticisms that emerged after the concept was first spoken of.

It is obvious that the enthusiasm of the Inaugural Conference of Nation Building plunged into the fray without having carefully thought out what they intended to do and how they expected the populace to view version of the concept.

Problem

The other problem is that they did not carefully examine the various definitions and explanations of Nation Building that have been articulated by onto such as Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral and a number of others. *(If they did they should have given clear notice of the roots of their version of the concept).*

Clearly not one from Nyerere were taken to develop a speech for definition which they hoped would please everybody.

In many respects they are very much like Don Quixote — the romantic, yet naive, adventurer who charged at windmills because he was deceived by the mirrors of the Spanish aristocrats.

Incensed

Our view from Sowetan are equally incensed by the excuses that have emerged (and continue to emerge) for behind land.

In our suggestion to find solutions they have charged some that, where angels fear to tread, [illegible]

I do not think that those men are concerned as much with discussions of the Botha government as much as they deeper about the state in which the black community finds itself.

They despair of the perceived lo fighting that has been a feature in the past few years. They despair at the total lack of discipline that a number of activists display without any form of consult or consensus in relations. They despair at the way in which the relationship between has been thrown out of the window with the baby. They despair at the fact that every political action and initiative is dictated by Botha.

When there is a referendum (election and "stand-off") Where there is a municipal election was "stand-off". Where there is a labour bill you "stand-off". We never seize the initiative and everybody reacting from to the pressure we have "stand-off" ourselves.

FOCUS

Issue of a concept

Trapped

Now we can only wait and wait Botha does something before we do anything. When Botha declares we are go on hunger strike. When Botha releases we and release so we are to the millionaire.

Every action is generated by Botha. Every process is determined by Botha. We are trapped in our thinking and trapped in responding to oppression and repression by Botha.

In short the black community has lost some of the critical aspects of the revolution. They have lost their ability to grasp fear, in order to build a vision, we have to be able to see as though we are a nation.

We have to develop all the qualities of a nation. We have to be able to think for yourself, work out strategies for ourselves, to learn to organise ourselves and our people so that we can work together towards building a new nation.

There might be certain pressures that we are considering, pressures that will help us out momentum of the discussion, information of the lack of discipline and old mentality of the lack of respect for human life.

Crucial

Indeed that last point is crucial. It would appear as if our search for liberation has led us to believe that liberation equals death.

Truth is that the black community has forgotten that liberation — the struggle for liberation — is about life, about the protection and maintenance of life.

Life generate those people who are struggling for liberation because the preservation of dignity, of expression of self and existence, of hunger and poverty, of unemployment and disease are those who are in control of this country, Botha and all those who share Botha's fate.

That is why the black people began to organise against the regime; there is ANC, the PAC, the Black Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement emerged. They were fighting against the inability patterns of government and those who were totally opposed to participation in a force upon the neck of the black community.

Against that background the nation organisations developed their dynamics and strategies to fight against the values.

Desire

All that work had to do was for desire as found in our nation.

Leaders such as I.B. Tabata, Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo articulated the desire of the black people so that their work, thought and their work of dropped towards Nation Building.

Today these affiliates are far to one side from Sowetan have realised there all gone to extremes. Today, there is zero bickering. There are activists telling activists there is no discipline, said about all. There is no communication, creative effort on the part of the leadership to promote the social dignity and liberating that generated the struggle in the earlier days.

All of these concepts from out there to Sowetan to realise the Nation Building concept.

Time to decentralise the efforts is unmanageable to your staff would write those efforts done you help to increase the dialogue they generated was behalf of the million of black people who are the life.

Strategy

Is it not better for our agent that a Nation Building strategy is necessary? That we need to address those problems which have given rise to the dispute and the gap that many of us are feeling because of the lack of sound leadership that can demonstrate how to run a step without damaging the structure and unnecessarily sprinkling upon a powerful line to self-destructive and meaningless.

We need to say we are Nation Building. We need to agree that Nation Building is real. If there are certain aspects with which we disagree there being a democratic forum we can put our ideas views and let them stand the test of a year

Sowetan's plan: pt. Why we need it

Sowetan 23/6/89

FOCUS

For liberation.

Bravely

The lack of educational programmes which will give our people the opportunity to be able to take informed decisions rather than follow blindly.

Indeed, it is very rarely that we bravely articulate our concerns about what is going on in the meetings.

We need to come together behind closed doors and articulate those concerns so that we can correct one another so that we can learn from one another.

The maxim about unity has never yet been proved wrong.

Courage

Black people need to have the courage to confront their differences, to accept their mistakes.

They can be the only point of departure if we are to seriously consider nation building.

J.S.B./S.S.

Having accepted that, the next step is to acknowledge that Nation Building can only be achieved if it emerges from the grassroots, i.e. the concept must take root within the black working class.

Instinctively most of the oppressed and exploited crave for peace, comfort, security, freedom from want and hunger.

Duty

The leadership, therefore, is duty bound to articulate these needs, to give those needs and desires a form and context with which all can identify.

That is why Steve Biko's analysis of the South African condition caught fame and spread across the country. It was because he articulated that condition in a way that touched the grassroots — the black community.

Therefore, the concept of Nation Building that is being now articulated must excite the black community. It must give them the opportunity to say, "Yes! That is what we want."

Many will argue that the racism exist within the black community is pervasive and manifest for all to see. It is a disease that we are simply unable to overcome without growing it a constructive and creative manner.

That is where the complaints of our men on Sowetan takes its point of departure. They say the statement — it is a crisis — is self-destructive, non-productive and lacks creativity.

As a result we do not seem to be making progress.

To truly build a nation, therefore, we need to accept certain basic realities.

POLITICAL activist and journalist STRINI MOODLEY (left) examines and endorses *Sowetan's* Nation Building. In the second and last part of a series. This article is from the Natal publication, Umtapo Focus.

Realities

Most of our leadership — the doctors, lawyers, churchmen, academics, trade unionists, journalists and teachers are products of the informed education system of this country.

Yet, they are capable of analysing the problems of the society, they are articulate in their expression of horror of the evils that have destroyed the fabric of our community.

In the same way we must encourage our young people to educate themselves, to be able to analyse the good from the bad; to be able to critically evaluate what is right and wrong with the society.

We must eliminate the cynicism tendencies that have gripped the minds of our young who feel it difficult to distinguish between the education first of rebellion and the nature of the revolutionary struggle in our country; where we have been, too often in some ways the distinction of one from the other hopelessly blurred.

Cudgels

Our older people must be encouraged to take up the responsibilities that they have shirked for so long, and which had led to our children taking up the cudgels of battle.

All the political organisations must be encouraged, both inside and outside the country, to talk with each other to exchange ideas; to engage in healthy debate and mutual backing upon our matters to consider.

There is, in truth, only one real enemy. At the general time that enemy is doing everything in its power to ensure that the political organisations do not get together. Because, when that happens its process of our family will be over.

History

There are millions upon millions in history, not only in this country, but everywhere in the world where there has been a struggle to destroy the fetters of death and darkness, which will indicate the need for people to bury minor differences and come together.

Nation Building is about seeking our protection in that we do not wave into mutual killing, bickering and destroying one another.

Wealth

It is about taking decisions about our country, our people, our future so that we put an end to death, disease, impoverishment, police brutality, famine, violence and the unequal distribution of wealth.

We are not a bad people, neither are we a self-destructive people. We have the will, we have the numbers, we have the intelligence to lead our society towards a true nation — free from racism, capitalism and racism.

We can and must do — it is not for myself, then it is for our children and their children.

Black leaders at the core of Nation Building

Sow 26/6/89

ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaasie

[illegible]

Ordinary men and women have a role to play in the struggle

Sowetan 30/6/89

[illegible]

Interior

[illegible]

Fear

[illegible]

DURING the past 13 years of crises in black education, various solutions have been suggested and others tried by pupils and parents. In the fifth and last part of a series on the 1976 unrest and its causes, SAM MABE looks at some proposed solutions.

[illegible]

Problems

[illegible]

Youths disrupt 1976 service

Sow. 19/6/89

SOWETAN Reporters

[illegible]

Blow for Afrikaans

Dr Neville Alexander.

English is language of the future for SA, 'govt has seen the writing on the wall'

sow. 15/5/89

AFRIKAANS, the use of which in schools prompted black resistance to National Party policies in 1976, is in for a major setback when the country has been rid of apartheid, and English will emerge as the main language of the new society.

This is the central thrust of a controversial new study released today by the University of Cape Town's Institute for the Study of Public Policy.

The report is written by respected educationist and former Robben Island prisoner Dr Neville Alexander who argues that:

- Afrikaans cannot be guaranteed official language status at national level;
- The new English will be very different from the mainland language spoken today;
- Children must be taught their language in multi-lingual classrooms.

15/5/89

The backlash against Afrikaans and the need for a workable language policy, Dr Alexander says, is being caused by the linguistic facts of life, which dictate that if one needs to be fluent in English or Afrikaans or both if one is to secure a good job in any sphere.

This does contrast against blacks and favours those classified white, Indian or coloured.

In addition, blacks regard Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor and English as the language of freedom and democracy.

Previously, most middle-class black supporters of the supremacy of English do both the linguistic fact and the language of the future that would dominate. They believed a good knowledge of English would secure their economic and class interests.

Others influenced by the concern of black workers — such as certain humanitarian liberals, communists or national socialists — realised that an English-only solution to the problem was just as illusory and that the indigenous African languages were overwhelmingly part of the answer.

They conceded, however, that in the transitional period before a fundamental social change blacks would have to learn either English or Afrikaans as part of a survival kit.

Resistance

Dr Alexander traces blacks' vital resistance to Afrikaans to June 16, 1976 when the schools children of Soweto took to the streets with the chilling cry "Kill the Afrikaans." This stripped one of the most determined language planning exercises — which had been minuted and factored by the Bureaucracy — nullified taken in the modern world.

Until and after 1948, the main bodies used the unprincipled capability of Afrikaans and English to promote fully the class and national interests of Afrikanerdom.

All aspects of South African life were "Afrikanerised". The mined to reinforce material of the bureaucracy and played unfailly to the development of giant Afrikaner-controlled business empires.

The systematic promotion of Afrikaans against English, especially through the formal education system, also ensured the pathological feelings of inferiority which most Afrikaners felt towards "the English" and which arose from the humiliation their forebears had suffered during the indirect exploitation by British imperialism, says Dr Alexander.

Attending to the Bureaucrat's policy: "The role of the English language was to be downgraded and that of Afrikaans enhanced in all spheres of life, while the indigenous African languages were to be developed continuously to improve blacks to achieve culture and self and growth of black consciousness.

The class forces blamed are 3 G Strydom and "Tony Afrikaner who is worthy of the same character the ideal man South Africa will eventually have only one language and that language must be Afrikaans."

This united all anti-apartheid and left elements of the white liberal establishment to fully and rightly language must be Afrikaans." Even though the language policy was only an aspect of the total policy of apartheid which penetrated every part of the body politic.

With "Bantu" education, language policy became an instrument of political control "to be used deliberately and ruthlessly by the children and grandchildren of the Boers who had repeated Lord Milner's anglicisation schemes by establishing their own Christian National schools."

Blacks were taught to their mother tongue as well as Afrikaans, but Hendrik Verwoerd had already made it clear that Bantu education did not intend to qualify blacks for jobs above their station.

But the events of 1976 ruptured the regimented and brutalised a period when people were compelled to wrestle with alternatives to the outdated practices of a racist society.

However, it was not until 1981, when a national language project was launched on prison Robben by a team known as the Health, Education and Welfare Society of South Africa, that an all-embracing and systematic strategy on the language question was undertaken.

In examining this strategy, Dr Alexander speculates that in a post-apartheid South Africa, English will emerge as the lingua franca because it is the most neutral policy option, while Afrikaans will lose its status rapidly.

Only Afrikaner fundamentalists will resist this process. It is instructive to note that the Government already seems to have read the writing on the wall. All important strategies which it would be put forward to the republic's citizens are delivered in English, including all the most important portions of State President's and Cabinet Ministers' policy speeches.

The parties will be upset by Dr Alexander's contention that the "English" of a post-apartheid society will be very different from today's and will be subject to a multiplicity of dialects and polysemantisms. "This should not be frowned upon," says Dr Alexander.

He argues that language policy should have a two-fold purpose: to establish effective communication and to provide all with equal access to the system.

The road to June 16

Sow. 11/6 1989

THE nationwide unrest which broke after the Sharpeville massacre at the start of the anti-pass campaign launched by the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 must have come as an embarrassing shock to the Government.

THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the first part of a series of events leading to the June 16 unrest.

In response, the Government unleashed its anger not only on political activists but blacks in general. It seemed as if the authorities were out on a revenge mission.

But what they failed to realise at the time was that all that they did is trying to rule opposition paved the way for another explosion which took place 16 years later.

The state of emergency — the first to be declared in South Africa, led to the arrest of about 20 000 people who included PAC and ANC members and their supporters.

Members of both organisations were banned and banned by the police. Many were forced to go underground and others into exile.

When it was lifted, most of its provisions were converted into law which together with Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's policy of separate developments, were implemented with unprecedented ruthlessness.

Crushed

Beatings, house arrests and detention without trial which started at the time have since become a way of life in South Africa.

Political resistance among blacks was successfully crushed and for the next 10 years, there was no overt political activity in the black community.

Verwoerd, who at the height of the unrest and open defiance by blacks was forced to suspend pass laws for 17 days, seemed determined to show white voters that he was still firmly in control.

He was going to ensure that events that followed the Sharpeville massacre would not be repeated.

The implementation of the policy aimed at turning South Africa white was pursued with vigour. The only blacks who would be allowed in "white" South Africa would be those whose labour was required by whites.

The "unproductive", old, unemployed, sick, disabled and those still too young to work would be forcefully relocated to black centres.

This was also another strategy of dividing blacks and preventing them from uniting in resistance against the Government and from claiming political rights of a common South Africa. To effect this, urban local bodies were actively enforced.

Division

The Government had embarked on a programme to build white supremacy in the minds of the South African population; to divide people on the basis of their colour; to control black urbanisation; to lay strong emphasis on tribalism and traditional, to the administration of blacks; and to strengthen security legislation and control.

Blacks were to be encouraged to see themselves as Zulus, and Sothos and not as workers or as an oppressed people with common problems and common aspirations.

The repressive measures in which the Government demonstrated its ability to deal with "troublemakers" had ripple effects on the country's economy. The mood of confidence of the business community and foreign investors.

The economy boomed. The country grew richer as many industries were set up and there was economic prosperity nationwide.

But blacks did not benefit from this boom. They continued to receive low wages. Another reason why blacks could not benefit from the economic boom was that they were not skilled. Over a period of time, the Government seemed preoccupied with allowing blacks to be skilled in "white" South Africa.

The decided pass laws were used effectively as a means of keeping unwanted blacks from other areas. Only were allowed to stay and longer than 72 hours in an area were with special permission from the authorities.

The permission was to be stamped in their passbooks for any policeman to inquire on demand. Black men could be stopped anywhere in the country during the weekend or the middle of the night at their homes by police who wanted to inspect their passbooks.

It was compulsory for migrant workers to return to their "place of origin" at least once after every 12 months to ensure that their visa with Government, both legal and personal, would not be broken.

This was intended to ensure that they did not see the urban areas as their permanent homes.

The Government was the sole landlord in the urban areas. All houses were rented from the Government and blacks were not allowed to buy or build their own houses. Houses could only be allocated to married couples and the permit holder had to be employed.

Decree

In 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development decreed that no black women were to be placed on the waiting list for housing in urban areas. Those who qualified for accommodation would have to seek it on their own with registered house builders.

If a woman became widowed while she was managing a house with her husband and family, she would continue to occupy it only if she qualified in her own right to remain in the area and she was able to pay rent.

If not, she would have to return to her homeland with her children, unless special exemption was granted.

Very few women got this exemption. A divorced woman could stay on in her home only if she was not the policy party and had been granted custody of the children, if she qualified in her own right to remain in the area and if she was able to pay rent.

Hendrik Verwoerd . . . policy of separate development.

1976 and the waves of discontent

SOW. 14/6/89

FROM the late 1950s to the mid-1970s a number of things happened which helped shape the political climate for unrest.

[illegible]

Tense

[illegible]

Leaders

[illegible]

THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the second part of a series on events leading to the June 16 unrest.

14/6/89

[illegible]

Neglect

[illegible]

Straw that broke the camel's back

BY the beginning of 1976, blacks had taken too many blows from the Government. The straw that broke the camel's back was the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.

THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the third part of a series on events leading to the June 16 unrest.

15/6/89

[illegible]

Banned

[illegible]

Education, or training?

SOW. 19/6/89

EDUCATIONAL institutions in South Africa have over the past 13 years been turned into sites of struggle in which authorities have been challenged to change the education system.

THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the third part of a series on events leading to the June 16 unrest.

19/6/89

[illegible]

Orders

[illegible]

Memory

[illegible]

Attitudes

[illegible]

Azapo leader's family 'worried'

Star 1/6/89

THE family of detained Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa is concerned about his health.

Mabasa came to Johannesburg on a hunger strike. He is being held in a Bloemfontein prison.

Mrs Dee Mabasa said the last time she visited him he had gained weight and was getting worse.

However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Colonel Leon Roussow, said in fact he has been seen by his doctors on a hunger strike in the country.

Mabasa released

Star 22/6/1989

THE deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Lybon Mabasa, has been released but his movements have been restricted, a family spokesman said yesterday.

His wife, Mrs Dee Mabasa, said her husband was released by John Vorster Square in an Mr Oliver Tambo being released. He was detained on March 20.

Mrs Mabasa said her husband detained in the Free State was still detained.

Mabasa said he was on hunger strike in Bloemfontein because of the conditions in the prison. He complained of the food, lack of exercise and the treatment of his co-detainees.

He is a former school teacher and president of Azapo. His confinement is another blow back to the Azapo ranks of the South African Students Organisation in 1988.

While in detention Mabasa was taken on a hunger strike to force the authorities to decide charge or release him.

SB cops raid Azapo offices

By MOKGADI PELA

Star 19/5/89

POLICE raided the offices of the banned Azanian People's Organisation in central Johannesburg yesterday.

According to a spokesman for Azapo about seven security branch policemen entered the Wanderers Street office at about 2pm and started searching their cupboards.

This was the fifth raid on Azapo's headquarters that year, the organisation said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Captain K A Crowe said they do not comment on raided premises.

Azapo said on yesterday and extent of destruction at the hands of the security forces. Further, that the movement would not be intimidated by carrying out the mandate of the "oppressed and exploited people."

Azapo bomb threat

THE Azanian People's Organisation received a bomb threat from a women caller yesterday. They escaped the explosion by luck.

Star 28/6/89

Mr Tony Kaye, executive secretary, said the anonymous call was made by an agitated woman from the offices in Wanderers Street. Informed sources claimed report saying that Azapo was going to be a bomb.

Mr Tony Mandlana, who was also in the office at the time, said they took the threat seriously as Azapo is currently involved in Cosatu and the SACC in Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Employees Union in Boksburg and the SACC in Pretoria had been involved.

Chap holds 10th clinic

Star 4/7/89

THE Community Health Awareness Project conducted another free health clinic in Waterville at the weekend, the 10th since the East Rand this year.

The clinic, which took place on a nearby creche, treated 200 people according to records provided by Chap. Assisting the organisers were paramedics and members of Imbekeko Women's Organisation.

Promote accomodation for Chap Ou Chapa said most adults treated suffered from hypertension, influenza and other ailments. Some patients were referred to a nearby hospital for further treatment.

Concern over missing activist

By LEN MASEKO

Star 12/5/89

POLITICAL activist Mr Ebenezer Mosiwa has disappeared, giving rise to fears that he may have been kidnapped, a friend said yesterday.

His family and Old Food Beverage Workers' Union (FBWU) where Mr Mosiwa worked as a night co-ordinator, were yesterday involved in a frantic search for him. He was a member of the unrecognised Azanian People's Organisation.

FBWU general secretary, Mr Sipho Gumbane, said Mr Mosiwa was last seen leaving a meeting in the city on Tuesday night. The meeting, organised by Azanian Youth, focused on "working class youth and the struggle for socialism."

"We have searched for him everywhere in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand - Vaal area, including at hospitals, without success," the FBWU

Star 12/5/89

Critical list

The union has consulted its lawyers with a view to lodging an urgent writ with the police. FBWU officials and the Mosiwa family had not yet established whether the activist was in detention by late yesterday.

Mr Mosiwa has been detained several times over the past four years. He is former president of the Azanian Students' Movement.

Burial of activist

Star 7/7/89

FORMER Robben Island prisoner and organ[illegible] member of the African Peoples' Democratic Movement, Sipho Gugushe, who died at the weekend, will be buried tomorrow at Dagga.

Gugushe (32), former chairman of Azapo, is Dagga's new Potchefstroom. Also after being mobbed by other organisations during his ex-"reformatory terms".

He served several years on the island and for his original conviction for conspiracy to overthrow the state.

Gugushe's funeral will be held at the Methodist Church from 12 noon.

BCMA slams fake document

SOWETAN REPORTER

Sowetan 12/5/89

FAKE pamphlets purporting to be the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were distributed in Soweto yesterday.

The four-page cover pamphlet condemns the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and African National Congress for "ignoring the functional existence" of the BCMA and Pan Africanist Congress.

"We have de-radical the bloodbath which organisations and individuals, politically, economically and culturally, have been relationship by committing since the beginning of the year by choosing this to have talks with the ANC only as if the ANC is the only liberation movement of the oppressed masses of Azania," the pamphlet claims.

The pamphlets also cautioned the AAM, Dr Vusi Zizi Siddiqui, Dr Dante Cleaves and Mr Solomon Mazwai on their "partiality in acknowledging, directly or indirectly, the ANC as a more influential (sic) representative of the struggling masses."

The BCMA has distributed itself from the pamphlets saying the documents were the work of "the system and its agents."

Resource chief hits out at black business

THE Chief Executive of Black Initiative Resource Centre, Mr Kehla Mthembu, yesterday levelled criticism at black business, progressive organisations and trade union approach towards attainment of black economic empowerment.

Star 22/5/89

"The leadership of progressive businesses, trade community and trade unions, generally display ignorance on how business operates."

Economic

Addressing a seminar held in Johannesburg on black economic empowerment, he said there seemed to be surplus between black leaders themselves on the issue.

He said: "There is business, aim for the public institutions and universities, do not seem to be committed to the black development, not to their own statistic interests.

"The perceived failure of many black business ventures justifies my claim. I do not want to mention names as it is obvious who they are."

He also took a critical view at white organisations that were jumping on the bandwagon of black economic empowerment for the sake of exploiting blacks.

Illeteracy

He said that there was a high rate of business illiteracy among black leaders, adding, "most of the time they conceal their ignorance by being thrifty and radical."

He said that had resulted in many lost opportunities for black advancement in business.

Black economic empowerment could be attained if those organisations co-operated. "Our people need to be transformed and mentalised to be involved in wealth creation programmes."

Amazing

He said the involvement of "these strange bedfellows" in black business after such a long time of oppression was "totally amazing."

They have infiltrated black business on fraudulent and self-defeating practices, he added.

He urged the organisations to evaluate similar projects like pensions' provident funds to mobilise capital. By engaging these projects "we may develop blacks to have their own business and other big corporates in the country."

Blacks should also look into the possibilities of buying the discovering companies.

Housing need 'critical'

Sowetan 6/6/89

ALEXANDRA Action Committee representatives, including prominent activist, Moses Mayekiso, will meet Alexandra mayor, Mrs Agnes Fox, this week to discuss grievances relating to housing problems in the Johannesburg township.

At the launch of the "affordable housing for all campaign" in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Mayekiso said a petition would be circulated among Alexandra residents this week. A mass meeting was planned for next Friday.

Mr Mayekiso, who was recently released from detention, said township structures were being "crushed" in Alexandra.

"We have found there are a lot of problems in Alexandra. Not housing structures but crushed grass organisations," Mr Mayekiso said.

While it was difficult to obtain accurate figures, the ANC said there approximately about 1000 shacks were being erected in Alexandra every month. Mr Mayekiso and ANC politburo member Chief Magubelo of a Pretoria confirmed.

Alexandra's total population was estimated at about 200,000 in 1986, they said.

Asked if the ANC organisation included shack dwellers, the removal of shack dwellers in Orlando Extn and high rent housing.

Mr Mayekiso and Mr Magubelo said Mr Mayekiso had moved to Orange Farm (near Vereeniging) from Alexandra. They were living in shacks in overcrowded rooms. When ANC representatives spoke to them, they claimed their had been moved to the area after ongoing pages they did not understand.

The ANC had already contacted the Legal Resources Centre and planned to use it as a forum for Alexandra residents, they said.

An AAC sub-committee of shack dwellers would also be formed for area "services are overcrowded," Mr Magubelo said.

Critics by the administrator that no land was available for housing at Alexandra was untrue. They have the land to build a massive housing project at Alex [illegible] affordable.

"A golf course is also being built south of Alexandra [illegible] the needs of the township. We don't know who is doing this, but that land should be used to build affordable housing."

Another problem for Alexandra residents was the rate or tenders or notices by the authorities, sometimes without prior consultation with the people living in the township.

"The Alex people believe this is a plot by the authorities to decimate the vote by over and by creating conflict amongst the residents. People are now being pressed by the new amendment to pay rent."

They said the AAC would meet in coming days to ask those in charge (Alexandra town council — about 100 a month) for a minimum shack with R 30 for a three-roomed house.

Mr Mayekiso said they had a group in mind who would make the new [illegible] affordable housing. But he did not want to name them because "they are already there. I wouldn't like to jeopardise their position." — Staff

Drum editor Stan dies

THE editor of Drum magazine, Mr Stan Motjuwadi, died at his home on Wednesday night.

Motjuwadi, one of the most talented women in the history of black journalism, died at 59 years after a long illness.

His career in journalism started early in the fifties after he left teaching in protest at the introduction of Bantu Education in black Schools.

Born at Rustenburg on January 10 1930, Motjuwadi schooled at Western Bantu High and later at the Normal College in Pretoria.

By EDITH MASEKO

One of his schoolmates was the present Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu.

Motjuwadi taught at various schools in the Eastern Transvaal and also at Kingsley High where he and Tutu resigned together in 1954.

The former chief viceroy of the African Bank, Mr Gatsi Magomola, and sports personality, Mr Solomon "Sticks" Mkwena, were among his pupils.

He started his career in journalism at the World which was banned in 1977 and was a columnist at the now defunct Rand Daily Mail.

Sow. 21/4/89

Justice

He also worked for the Golden City Post and at the time of his death was editor of Drum magazine which he served for many years.

Motjuwadi, of author "The Stan" as he was known, will be remembered by his friends as a writer whose words always cried out for justice and who never destroyed when he criticised.

His close friend and colleague, Mr Don Rakitsi, said he remembers Motjuwadi as a fun character who could not be confined to the walls of a classroom and left teaching because he could not be done enough the newspaper.

"The readers were his people. He wanted to be free to write for his people, to please them," he said.

"I think when he died, last night, the first man to come him up there was somebody he called 'my kid brother', Casey Motsisi. They were inseparable," Mr Rakitsi said.

He was an avid reader and loved golf and soccer and could write with about them.

He will be buried on July 29, but his family has not yet finalised the arrangements.

He is survived by his wife, Mona, three children and his father, Joshua, who is 99 year old.

Stan Motjuwadi ... died after long illness.

Mysteries unravelled

SOWETAN 27/6/89

A LOT of misinformation about the Southern African Independent Churches has gone unchallenged and this book aims at rectifying the situation.

The Book, titled Black Theology across his ? on its back cover, is quick to separate the indigenous churches' "gospel or being labelled with strange names.

The author says the independent churches came into being following disagreements or some issue with mainline churches.

Because people were powerless and could not argue with the missionaries, the only alternative was to leave and form themselves into fellowships and later into or associated of churches.

Falls

There was criticism because of the formation of independent churches followed, but the author says he fails to understand the reasons for this.

He says the missionaries were divided when they came to South Africa and even today the mainline churches are poles apart.

Because of this division people have been prompted to say: "The future of the church in Southern Africa lies with independent churches."

Links

Independent churches means black-controlled denominations which have no links with the Western missionary enterprise.

Here are examples of independent churches.

- The Ethiopian type — those with the first to break away from the missionary churches, mainly on nationalistic grounds.

Title: Who are the independent churches?
Author: Paul Mashabe.
Publisher: Skotaville.
Price: R18.95.
Reviewer: MOKGADI PELA.

They are commonly identifiable by their dress. A few of these churches practice faith healing.

- The Zionist type — they are identified by their uniforms. The men do not shave, apparently seeking the image of the prophets of old.
- Apostolic churches — followers were plain white robes, with no insignia on them.

The Zionist Christian Church is the largest independent church. It is fundamentally self-reliant and has its headquarters at Moria in the Northern Transvaal.

Worship

The independent churches seem out of a desire to worship in freedom and also as an expression of protest against oppression.

It is only in these churches that black people can express freely their feelings — whether in singing, dancing, shouting and even crying.

"The world are be done to maintain churches. White Christianity supports, Western manner control people in daily life and even before God," says the author.

"Independent churches were born out of bitter experiences and the cry of freedom. In the independent churches manifests that like human beings, away from white domination and dehuman."

Harbour

On the accusation that the independent churches harbour "anti-white" attitudes, Mashabe says: "Why should our people after going through their experiences at the hands of whites, still be expected to have pro-white sentiments?"

The author explains that when people can no longer tolerate such other, it is never for them to anyone or under to prevent what little remnant of their relationship.

He says there is a situational interpretation of Christianity. It is a way of life. Further that man

Indigenous churches labelled with strange names.

from the Christian teaching of immortality, blacks have long held the view that there is life beyond the grave.

"Ancestors worship is used in a mediatory role. This is deeply rooted in blacks no matter how Westernised and educated one may be."

Mashabe says: "I know of many again Christians who (have they have nothing to do with their dead Christians. When some women have rituals and prayer and medical help failed, they secretly turn to ancestral worship.

Elite

"Also, in our black townships, where the educated increasingly tender, quiet and sharp are secretly brought down to book of care for ancestors to the ancestors under the guise of parties or social gatherings."

The book is never opener about the independent churches which are often dismissed as sects or separatist movements.

Because the author has had extensive experience personally and in administration work, he is able to set the record straight about these churches.

For students of the theology and the public in general this book will prove to be a treasure.

Union men get reprieve

21/5/89

SOWETAN Reporter

TWO trade unionists on death row have been granted a reprieve by President Botha.

National Union of Mineworkers members, Tsietsogo Mpiloni had his death sentences commuted to 20-years imprisonment and Commercial Catering and Allied Union of South Africa member, Mazwah William Mncwabe's sentence was commuted to 25-years imprisonment.

The pair men's reprieve was confirmed by a spokesman for the Department of Justice.

Meanwhile Lawyers for Human Rights issued a statement issued in Pretoria urging condemned prisoners received notice of their execution scheduled for next week.

Three of them, Gaga Louis Mkumbe, Sibusiso Sonti Mondo and Jerry Kuse, are due to be hanged on May 24.

Mkumbe and Mondo were sentenced and convicted for the murder of a Soweto policeman.

Sow. 22/5/89

In February 1986.

The national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, and other investigations indicated that the two men had exhausted all their legal remedies but their attorneys were reviewing their case.

Anton Kuse was convicted and sentenced in June 1988 for murder on an elderly Port Elizabeth security.

"It has been exhausted all his remedies and a would appear that execution is inevitable," Mr Currin said.

Four other men, Simon Mbatha, Abraham Magwenyane, Patrick Mokoena and Jimmy Henry Cohen, are scheduled to be executed on May 25.

Cohen was sentenced to death on charges of murder and robbery in September 1985.

"Although he was granted leave to appeal, he refused legal representation and has expressed the wish to be executed," Mr Currin said.

sentenced to hang

No extenuation for 14 Upington accused

City PRESS 28/5/1989

By CONNIE MOLUSI

FOURTEEN of the accused in the Upington 28 Paballelo murder trial have been sentenced to death by Judge JJ Buchan.

The case against the other 12 accused, for whom extenuating circumstances were found, was postponed until tomorrow.

The case was a sequel to the death of municipal policeman Lucas Tabenolo Sethwale on November 13, 1985, in Paballelo, near Upington. Sethwale was stoned, kicked, stabbed and his body set alight when he tried to flee the mob.

Before the death sentences were passed each of the 14 accused was given the opportunity to address the court.

Following are profiles of those sentenced to death and what they had to say before being sentenced:

ACCUSED No 1, Kenneth P Khumalo, born 1/8/1956: Khumalo is a ward mayor of Paballelo Township, Upington. Until his arrest he worked on Paballelo Town Council transport. He has three children.

The court found that Khumalo participated in the attack on the deceased's house by throwing stones at it. He was armed with a bottle containing a liquid incendiary petrol. This article was indicative of his intention. Although the court found no evidence that he participated in the attack on the deceased, he was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He told the judge: "I know I am not guilty. The evidence produced in this court does not warrant my conviction and sentence. Like were told."

ACCUSED No 2, Eric T Gubula, 6/2/1959: Gubula was unemployed at the time of the incident. He had completed matric and was employed by an Upington firm at the time of his arrest.

The court found Gubula participated in the attack on the deceased's house with the intention to drive the owner by house and kill him, and that he actively associated himself with the mob's common purpose. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He told the judge he was not guilty.

ACCUSED No 4, David Lekhanyane, 11/8/1964: Lekhanyane, a prison's son, was a matric student in Kimberley. At the time of the incident he was visiting his father in Upington.

The court found that Lekhanyane had entered part of the group that attacked the deceased's house. He had thrown stones at the house. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He also said he was not guilty.

ACCUSED No 5, Myner G Bova, 14/3/1960: Bova was a student teacher at the Cape College of Education in Fort Hendrik at the time of the incident. He has one child.

Although the court did not make a positive finding, evidence suggested he gathered with others in front of the deceased's house before stoning commenced. The court found he had participated in the stoning. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice and sentenced to death.

He said he was also innocent.

ACCUSED No 6, Zeko Zabendini, 11/2/1957: At the time of the incident Zabendini was a building society mortgagee in Upington. He has one child.

The court found Zabendini was part of the group that threw stones and attempted to drive the deceased from his house and kill him. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice and sentenced to death.

Zabendini told the judge: "This case is going to cause a stir in the legal system of South Africa".

ACCUSED No 8, Andrew Lekhanyane, 4/10/1960: Lekhanyane is accused number four's elder brother. He has three children. At the time of the incident he was employed by an Upington firm.

The court found he had been part of the group that threw stones at the deceased's house. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He said: "I am clean. The blood of the deceased is not on my hands".

ACCUSED No 10, Justice Bekebeke, 26/7/1961: Bekebeke had worked as a male nurse for four years at the time of the incident. He has two children.

The court found that Bekebeke actively furthered common purpose by throwing stones at the deceased's house, chasing the deceased, bringing him to the ground, and having him twice on the head with his firearm. The court found that the wounds inflicted on the deceased by Bekebeke were fatal, and he was classified as the principal offender.

He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances and sentenced to death.

He said: "I am a black man, though I would get convicted in this court. I have found none. The white case was found on racial prejudice".

ACCUSED No 11, Zenge Mokgatle, 24/2/1958: Mokgatle was employed as a labourer in Upington. He has four children.

The court found that Mokgatle threw stones at the deceased's house and assaulted the deceased. He was convicted of murder without extenuation as a principal offender, and sentenced to death.

He told the judge: "The man died . . . but I did not kill him. You are going to take my away from my wife and children and my parents for something I have not done. I say to you, as I end, God be with you".

ACCUSED No 13, Wellington Maaiza, 10/3/1962: Maaiza was employed as a construction labourer at the time of his arrest. He has two children.

The judge found that Maaiza threw stones at the deceased's house, associating himself with the mob's common purpose. The court stated it was probable that he participated in the attack on the deceased. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

ACCUSED No 15 Boel Japhta, 31/3/1965: The court found this Japhta participated in the attack upon the deceased's house, and that he returned from the site of the murder with accused 12 and 13.

He was convicted of murder without extenuation as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He told the judge: "I ask the Almighty to be with you, because I am innocent."

ACCUSED No 18, Evelina De Bruin, aged about 63. De Bruin worked as a domestic servant at the time of her arrest. She is married to accused Number 19. They have 10 children, two of whom are minors.

The court found that she incited the mob to stone the house and kill the deceased. She was also found to have stoned the house herself, and to have walked past the deceased's house after the killing chanting: "Why are his white brothers not helping him now?" She was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

She said: "I am an elderly woman and have been found guilty for something I have not done."

ACCUSED No 19, Gideon Madlongolwane, about 60. Madlongolwane had worked for South African Railways for 16 years at the time of his arrest. He is married to accused number 18.

The court found he had associated himself with the common purpose of the group and had stoned the deceased's house. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

Madlongolwane said his conscience was clear. He said he gave no evidence on his own behalf as he knew he would be branded a liar.

ACCUSED No 20 Xolile Yona, 30/9/1964. Yona was a professional boxer at the time of his arrest. He has one child.

The court found that Yona had associated himself with the common purpose of the group and had participated in the stoning. It also found that he took part in the attack on the deceased, and returned from the scene of the murder chanting: "Hey boy, the dog is dead." He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as a principal offender, and sentenced to death.

He said: "I was raised an orphan and would not like my own children to grow up without a father."

ACCUSED No 21, Albert Twili, 22/4/1962: Twili was a resident of the SAP some time prior to his arrest. He has two children.

The court found that he actively associated himself with the common purpose of the group and threw stones at the deceased's house. He was convicted of murder without extenuating circumstances as an accomplice, and sentenced to death.

He said: "A more clever judge would not have found me guilty at all. You have robbed me of my children. Congratulations."

Beukes isn't like the old Dominee

Somebody down there doesn't love Dominee Aubrey Beukes, the Cape divinity graduate who came to minister to the coloured people of Upington in 1982.

He isn't like the old Dominee. The old Dominee used to invite the grand white folks to his church once or twice a year, keep the front two rows of pews open for them.

The new Dominee invites blacks all the time — and they all anywhere!

The new Dominee gets hate mail and has had a death threat. The barrage started when he became involved with the Upington trial. Some of the pamphlets and car stickers that have circulated about him are far too sophisticated, he believes, to come directly from his own community. "Forget about the wit wolve," he says darkly. "What about the blou wolve?" His reference is unmistakeable. It's to the SA Police.

Aubrey Beukes is 32, married with two children. He is slight and intense, and wears a bokbaard. He is minister of the NG Sendingkerk. The diningroom of his modest home has been hijacked for a study, complete with copying machine, telephone and unruly bookcases. On the wall is a well-known prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference."

Ds Beukes doesn't seem to know the difference. He refuses to practise religious apartheid, though some in his congregation want it: someone dubbed a message on the church path: "Beukes, you neglect us — get right to get out."

He moves as easily in Paballelo and Upington as he does in his own area. He has worked tirelessly to rally support for the Upington accused. He was the only coloured member of the Upington community to be detained in the aftermath of the killing. "They took 82 days of my life. I won't easily forget that," he says.

Robert Sobukwe Papers

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