

THE INDEPENDENT

JOHN PATTEN



Negotiation is better than not talking

The STAR
Sept. 19, 1987

SOMEWHERE, a start must be made with negotiating full black participation in the South African political system. That is generally agreed. But what will be widely disputed is whether the proposed National Council, as presented to Parliament for approval this session, is where the start should be made.

It has become ever more apparent that it takes a lot more than a forum (however constituted) to set the negotiation process in motion.

To illustrate the point, it is perhaps useful to look at the new element in the revised National Council Bill — the nine directly elected black representatives from different regions of the country. What if blacks wished to nominate Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and a string of other jailed, prosecuted or detained leaders of their cause? Would they participate before those leaders were free to campaign for election? Would they be wrong to refuse participation until their leaders could campaign freely?

To mention another stumbling block, a clause in the Bill disqualifies anyone who is not a South African citizen from voting or being elected to the council. Though it sounds fair enough, it could mean that Soweto leader Dr Ntatho Motlana would not be eligible to vote or stand for the council, because he is officially a Bophuthatswana citizen. There could be other black leaders, living permanently in South Africa, who also could be disqualified because of their official status as citizens of independent homelands.

These examples do not in themselves invalidate the National Council exercise, but they point to the very real need for the Government to take political actions to change the climate, as well as showing a very open mind to amendments if it hopes to smoothe the way for the council to have a chance of achieving its goals.

By chance, the prisoner swap cleared the last obstacle President Botha had set for considering Nelson Mandela's release. Major Wynand du Toit and the two Russian dissidents Scharansky and Sakharov are all free. President Botha has also changed the terms for considering the release of long-term political prisoners so the discretion for releasing Mandela is in the Government's hands.

President Botha thus has the power and the circumstantial position to release Mandela and others before next year's municipal and National Council elections. He would also need to lift the emergency, but his political opponents in black politics could make it difficult for him to do so. It is a risk he would have to take to gain a psychological advantage over those who are looking for justifications for organising a fullscale boycott of the proposed elections.

An orchestrated boycott must at this stage be considered a probability and, with it, a campaign of threats and intimidation against anyone willing to participate. That is why the lifting of the emergency will be so difficult. But without the emergency going, the chances of a credible election seem slim.

Looking now at the Bill itself there are several things to feel unhappy about. The way the council is being structured, it is being conceived too obviously as a meeting point of the ruling white executive with perceived black power groups, rather than a meeting of minds from across the political spectrum.

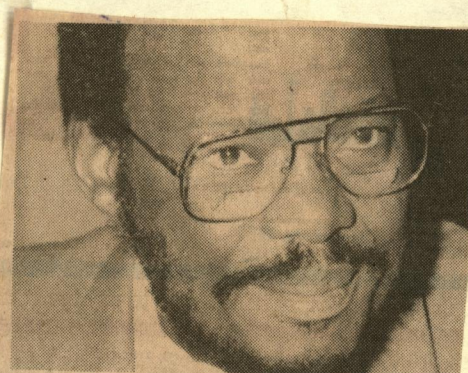
Opposition groups have no place at the table as of right. If they get there, it will be only through the favour of being nominated by the State President.

The directly elected black representatives from the nine proposed regions will be taken to represent the power group of the region even if there is a 90 per cent boycott of the elections. In a situation where elections are being held for the first time and power groups do not have recognition, the election of one representative a region may distort, rather than reflect, black public opinion. It would be far better to structure the council to have a much higher elected content, with room for losers as well as winners through some proportional allotment.

Though the council structure seems flawed, and the political circumstances appear adverse, the National Council IS a start in the direction South Africans should be travelling.

Because of that, it would be better for black leaders to beard the Government lion in its den rather than let political confrontation grow. In the council, it will not be a majority vote that will count. It will be consensus that will have to hold sway, so black participants will not be trapped into any system.

These arguments for participation may not prevail in black radical quarters, but the Government should go out of its way to make it difficult for blacks to have credible excuses for turning their backs on an exercise in negotiation which South Africa badly needs. It should be flexible about the structure of the council and conciliatory to reasonable black demands. Without that, the council may be a failure before it starts.



CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

2A

The Star Saturday September 19 1987

NEWS

DURBAN — There will be no future for any government if apartheid is eradicated at the expense of the economy, said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi when he met the new British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr R Renwick, in Ulundi yesterday.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister said that not only must it be ensured that a post-apartheid government would be in a position to govern for the benefit of the people but it must also be ensured that there would be depolarisation

Buthelezi lays it on the line for new British ambassador

in the process of bringing about radical change.

"Mass poverty, associated with a permanently polarised society after apartheid, will produce circumstances in which democratic government will just not be possible. We have to avoid the South

African Government retreating into a laager. That can be done only through the politics of negotiation," the Chief Minister said.

SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

He said the Government was "now milling around where it stands" because it could not make any real advances without gaining substantial black support for the steps it was taking.

"Black South Africa already has veto rights over government

options. It is economic necessity that has driven the South African Government into many of the reforms it has already introduced."

He told Mr Renwick that the outside world was prone to look at South Africa and despair.

"I ask the outside world to recognise that the South African Government has ceased to be pivotal in the sense that it, and it alone, can be expected to ensure movement in the right direction."

Ex-spy Craig *THE STAR* had a hand *Sept. 19, 1987.* in Putco deal

SARA MARTIN

Former Security Branch superspy and National Party member of the President's Council, Mr Craig Williamson was one of the financiers in the Putco deal with the Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) which collapsed this week.

This was confirmed to The Saturday Star yesterday by a highly-placed source in Sabta who refused to be identified. It was also confirmed by Mr Ivan Brownlees, who was the agent in the deal and has now become the principal.

This fact emerged this week after Sabta made a formal announcement that it would withdraw from the deal because of "unacceptable demands made by a third party". Responding to this Mr Brownlees said he failed to understand what the "unacceptable demands" were or why Sabta pulled out.

A spokesman for Sabta said Mr Williamson had made an offer to Mr Brownlees — who acted as Sabta's agent and is now carrying on with the deal — for R80 million to become part of a consortium which would have been formed by himself and Brownlees Holdings.

The bus company would have been offered for sale to Sabta and the transport authorities of Bophuthatswana and kwaNedebele.

"We turned down his offer as we had already been approached by the Rand Merchant Bank and we felt that it would be wiser to be entirely financed by a bank," said the spokesman.

"At one stage I did not even realise we were dealing with Mr Williamson as the deal was being conducted through my attorneys," Mr Brownlees told The Saturday Star last night.

"When we met with the executive of Sabta, I still did not link him to the President's Council as our dealings were always very amicable."

Mr Williamson was not available for comment last night as he was on his way back from Cape Town, but Mr Brownlees denied outright that Mr Williamson was

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Ex-spy in Putco deal

● From Page 1

still backing Brownlees Holdings who are taking over the option to buy the majority shares in Putco.

The company has until early next week to come up with the R156 million, failing which they will be in breach and will be given two weeks to remedy it or the contract will expire. Mr Brownlees said he had already raised a considerable amount and the chances of the deal going through were "very strong".

He said he aimed to establish a high-powered trust to physically take control of Putco.

In his efforts for the Putco deal to go through before the option expired on midnight on Tuesday, Mr Brownlees apparently offered to cut the purchasing price by decreasing his commission from R15 million to R6 million.

But at the advice of the Rand Merchant Bank, Sabta decided not to continue the transaction.

Mr Williamson is reported to have said this week that Mr Brownlees was apparently an operator who acted on behalf of himself, with the aim of buying Carleo Enterprises with money provided by others, to collect his commission and to participate in restructuring the company.

THE STAR 19/9/87



ARCHBISHOP TUTU ...
clashed with Mr Ruxton

Almost eight out of every 10 Australians believe their government wrong in the manner it is treating South Africa, says Mr Bruce Ruxton, the Australian ex-serviceman who repeatedly clashed with Archbishop Desmond Tutu on his visit to Australia, and who is paying a low-profile visit to South Africa.

Mr Ruxton (61), a cheery individual, who says he is referred to as "outsspoken" by those who don't like him and "forthright" by those who do, is in the country at the invitation of the SA Veterans' Council in his capacity as president of the Victoria Returned Servicemen's League.

Mr Ruxton says his own league is a powerful political lobby group consisting of 70 000 members, the second largest in Australia.

"The invitation very likely followed my attack on Archbishop Tutu and his trip to Australia and my opposition to our government's invitation to African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo.

"To my way of thinking the Tambo invitation was obscene — and I guarantee that 80 percent of all Australians thought the same."

Mr Ruxton refers to press reports on South Africa by the Australian press as "distorted" and a

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SARA MARTIN

"deliberate vendetta against the country".

"I have had several radio talk-backs and TV interviews with the Australian press since arriving in South Africa and I know I will be in for a hard time when I get back.

"They ask me, for example, have I seen the squalor in the townships. I reply, yes, but it is not as bad as where some of our Aborigines live. We can't even look after our black population, how can we look after yours. Anyway it is none of our business."

One of the points his adversaries raised was — "You have never been there, how do you know?"

"Now I can say, I have been there, so I do know," says the retired businessman who spends all his time working for the RSL.

"I have visited heads of all political parties of all races in Cape Town. I visited Chief Buthelezi in Natal. I have been lobbying for some time, unsuccessfully, to organise a visit for him to Australia. Our government simply won't allow it.

"I visited the naval base at Simonstown and was very impressed with it. Australia should be making use of it instead of taking up those silly cudgels of sport, trade and cultural boycotts against South Africa.

"Security-wise, Australia itself is in a locked-up position. If South Africa were to be overrun by communism, let me tell you the Cape of Good Hope would become the Cape of No Hope as far as Australia is concerned."

One of his pet projects once he returns home on Tuesday is to make a "lot of noise" against his Government's decision to ban SA Airways from October 26.

"It is a lot of nonsense, childish and petty, considering there are more than 56 000 South Africans living in Australia," he says.

Corruption fuse burns in Transkei

The STAR

Sept. 19 1987.



Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, is fighting for his political life amid signs of widespread corruption in Transkei and allegations that he personally accepted a R1 million bribe.

His struggle for survival in the oldest of South Africa's four nominally sovereign quasi-states comes as concern mounts over the multi-million fiscal debt run up by Transkei and its three political siblings: Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, told The Saturday Star that the four territories have borrowed nearly R615 million from private banks in the current year. In the previous financial year, they borrowed R778 million.

The loans are used to finance current expenditure of the four states, the veteran opposition politician said. Given their limited resources, he doubted whether they could be able to repay their loans.

The South African Government has guaranteed the loans but that was of little comfort to Mr Schwarz. It merely meant that the South African taxpayer was financing the loans and, possibly, facilitating corruption, he said.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has admitted that five percent of all money advanced to these states is malappropriated, describing it as "leerskool geld".

Suspensions that corruption has spread throughout Transkei and

Matanzima fights for his political life

PATRICK LAURENCE

seeped into — or perhaps emanated from — the most powerful office in the land, hardened after the presentation of sensational evidence to the Commission of Inquiry into the Transkei Department of Works and Energy.

The commission heard that Chief George was paid R1 million as "lobola" by a construction company in return for a contract to build 800 houses in Mbuqe, a suburb in Umtata.

The charge was made by Mr Herman Visser, a consultant for the company, Koen's Executive Construction.

The commission heard that Chief George was given a cheque for R500 000 and paid another R500 000 in cash. Mr Visser added that he was phoned by Chief George last Sunday night and ordered not to talk about the "lobola payment" under any circumstances.

Coincidentally, at the same time as Mr Visser was testifying, a regional court in Umtata committed Mr Liston Ntshongwana, a former close adviser to Chief George and, before that, to his brother, ex-President Kaiser Matanzima, to trial on

20 counts of theft. The charges relate to alleged payments he made to himself from a company account.

The charge is separate from an investigation by Transkei Commercial Police into Mr Ntshongwana's suspected involvement in a R4 million corruption scandal. The investigation focused on a proposed housing project in Butterworth. The contract was worth more than R50 million.

The Transkei Attorney-General, Mr Wandile Yako, identified three key anomalies in his initial investigation into the Butterworth housing.

They were: award of the contract to a company headed by Mr Ntshongwana and a local businessman, Mr Lungelo Macanda, without calling for tenders; payment of R4 million to the company, Builders and Developers, before any work was done; and agreement to build 1 000 houses on land with space for only 60 sites.

The Butterworth housing project should not be confused with the R30 million Umtata contract for which Chief George was allegedly paid R1 million in "lobola". The contract was originally awarded to

Koen's Executive Construction.

Koen's, however, went into provisional liquidation last year before completing the contract. The contract was then awarded to Tema Construction, on the insistence of Mr Ntshongwana, according to evidence given to the commission by Mr Sydney Qaba, the former Transkei Finance Minister.

An anxious Mr Qaba, who had unsuccessfully pleaded to give his evidence in camera, described Tema Construction as ex-President Matanzima's favourite company.

As a young man Chief George was struck off the roll of attorneys for misappropriating trust funds. But he survived to become Prime Minister. Now, in the twilight of his career, he faces even graver charges.

Ironically, the latest accusation of corruption was first voiced in May by his brother, Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief George won the first round, banishing his brother to Western Transkei. Chief Kaiser has since re-affirmed his intention of taking over from his allegedly corrupt brother.

But before he can hope to do that he will have to disentangle himself from the extensive network of alleged corruption. Whether he will be able to is uncertain.

That makes another Matanzima, Chief Ngangomhlaba, Deputy Minister of Defence and nephew of the feuding brothers, the man favoured to succeed to power.

**'ANC
asked to
meet SA
Minister'**

ROBIN DREW

HARARE — Approaches have been made to the ANC about a possible meeting with a South African Government Minister, ANC sources said here last night.

Nothing, however, has emerged from this move which was first made in July by a South African intermediary.

There has been widespread speculation about contact between Pretoria and the ANC, but ANC officials firmly deny this.

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in Harare for a conference on the plight of children under apartheid, was closely questioned about the approaches at a press conference last night.

He may not be quoted in South Africa.

Durban produces a ray of

THE STAR Sept 19, 1982

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON



in most multiracial meetings on the Rand.

Not that Durban has a great deal to be optimistic about. My Indian driver pointed out place after place where unemployed youths "will grab your money in broad daylight". And the Zulu royal leader, King Goodwill Zwelithini, explained to a conference later:

"There is robbery and murder by people here who are desperate to live."

Yet Durban has an air of confidence not to be found in other cities.

A wise and articulate colleague of mine (he is black) explained that the people of Natal — all colours — seemed far less bitter than other South Africans.

"You can build and get things done here without people automatically accusing you of being a stooge of the racist regime, or a Marxist."

The King expressed the local philosophy thus: "We must be thankful that we are the last in Africa to be free, for one of the lessons that

to the Act. The principle enforcing racial segregation must be eliminated, root and branch... It has forced different groups to live in designated areas, all too often at great distances from their work. This has meant high additional costs in transport, human fatigue, alienation and demotivation of people who may have to leave home well before dawn and return long after dark."

It made absolute sense to the audience — the same audience who, sitting individually in their homes or clubs might have muttered uneasily.

But they were meeting in Durban's industrial area where many thousands of people of four different races and six languages converge daily. In that melting pot on the Umgeni there is no tangible protection of race laws, and no one is threatened by the presence of people of other colours. They happen to meet in a normal world — and therefore accept reality.

Down in Durban they are indabas together more than at any time since pioneer John Dunn negotiated 100 wives from a Zulu chief.

I dropped in on a couple of debates there one day this week, and sensed an optimism not to be found

employment, and how to create jobs.

There was agreement on only two points: first, that no one knows, even within a million or so, how many South Africans are out of work, or how much it will cost to keep them and their dependants alive. And second, that the problem is more political than economic.

That grand old communicator, Colin Adcock of Toyota, had put together a debate in which he hoped "controversy will flourish so that we can find a way".

He achieved what this newspaper describes as "bridging".

First he wheeled in the economists of the Private Sector as opposed to Government.

Then he juxtaposed spokesmen for Free Enterprise and Organised Labour.

Then he brought in Small Business and Big Business.

Leon Louw, in his iconoclastic style, put over the message free enterprise wished to hear: fewer taxes; privatisation; deregulation; devolution of power. He had convincing tales to tell of huge economic successes for this policy, not only in Europe and the East, but in Africa.

"Take Senegal, which I happened to visit recently," he grinned.

WHERE will you find a white South African audience that will applaud a call for the immediate and total abolition of the Group Areas Act?

Certainly not in Hillbrow or mink-only Verwoerdburg. Not even in Houghton or Rosebank or Melrose or Craighall.

Horrendous tales of black brothels being established in their own quiet streets were instantly circulating in white suburbs this week.

That is the nature of the Apartheid beast, whose very heart is the Group Areas Act.

You cannot expect any fearful citadel to applaud its own invasion, and Group Areas have made tightly fortified, terrified citadels of every city, town, village and suburb of South Africa.

(Nor, incidentally, can you expect any white local authority anywhere to set the pace in ending apartheid. You need more equitable political pressures. You need to extend the municipal vote.)

Why then did a white audience in old-fashioned, conservative Durban applaud Dr Zach de Beer's call on Thursday? He said:

"It is not sufficient to fiddle around with minor amendments

hope

Obviously the free port of Dakar caught his eye, and showed how deregulation had, almost overnight, changed a chronically ailing economy into one about to hit six percent growth — much better than South Africa's.

"We all talk deregulation here ... but nothing happens!"

It sounded great, until Duncan Innes warned the conference of the first principle of "bridging". Business leaders had better understand that theirs was not the only perspective. While free traders see abolition of a minimum wage as a means of providing more jobs, trade unions genuinely believe it will lead to fewer jobs at cheaper rates. Where free traders see advantages in lifting exchange and import controls, trade unions see a flight of capital and a flood of cheap imports.

I have over-simplified a highly informative case, but Dr Innes's point remains:

"If we forgo imposing our solutions unilaterally and arbitrarily on others, we have a chance of peaceful solutions. Debate with organised labour will be difficult, with much suspicion and distrust. But if we do not debate, we shall merely widen the gap."

What's needed is "bridging".

HOUSE OF DELEGATES — South Africans should come to understand what the term "people's democracy" meant, the Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Defence vote, he said it was important to study the most fundamental indicators of the ANC perception of a future SA.

"The outstanding conclusion is that the revolution in SA is a continuing process which consists of two distinct phases, namely a national democratic revolution which must lead to a socialist revolution, and a people's democracy which must pave the way for a dictatorship of the proletariat."

Malan said he wished to place on record that the SADF would not hesitate to act against the ANC in whatever form was necessary as long as the organisation offered violence as a means to achieve its objectives.

Both a "people's democracy" and a "dictatorship of the proletariat" implied a one-party state, he said.

A "people's democracy" did not

Malan warns *Business Day Sep 19 1987* on ANC aim

imply more democracy, but less. The word "people" implied those who belonged to the party elite, those who were so-called progressive with a socialist orientation, meaning countries moving to the political ideological direction of the Soviet Union.

Earlier, he said the objective of those who conducted campaigns against SA by force or propaganda sought the overthrow of the present order. "Power is the name of the game. Power is at stake — namely the seizure of power and not the sharing of power."

A climate was being created in SA that the ANC was "the next government in waiting".

"South Africans are being fed a steady dose of defeatism and appeasement and are being made to feel hated, unloved and isolated."

However, the world had underestimated the toughness of South Africans. — Sapa.

Libachithile UM - AFRICA icala abaseSarmcol

ABASEBENZI abangaphezu kuka-900 abaxoshwa enkampanini yakwaBTR-Sarmcol bavelelwe ngumshophi ngenkathi belahlwa yicala ebeliseNkantolo yemisebenzi ngeledlule.

Labasebenzi baxoshwa yilenkampani eyakha injoloba eminyakeni emibili eyadlule base befaka icala belekelelwa yinyonyana iMetal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu), benxusa ukuba babuyiselwe emsebenzini.

Yonke leymizamo iphelele eboyeni kuhle kwezithukuthuku zenja ngenkathi ijaji leNkantolo yezemisebenzi uMnuz Pierre Louw ekhipha isinqumo sokuthi bonke labasebenzi abaxoshwa ngeke bathole sinxephezelo ngokuxoshwa kwabo.

Lesinqumo sithunyelelwe inyonyana iNational Union of Metalworkers' of South Africa (Numsa) ngeledlule.

Ngenkathi kuqala isiteleka eminyakeni

emibili eyedlule iNumsa yayingakabunjwa kanti abasebenzi laba babesamelwe yiMawu.

NgolwesiHlanu olwedlule-ke iNumsa ibisalindele lemininingwane emayelana nesinqumo senkantolo.

Lemininingwane ize yanikezwa abasebenzi izolo ngomSombuluko.

Umzabalazo walabasebenzi waqala ngezikhathi zawo-1970 ngenkathi befuna ukuba inyonyana yabo iMawu inikezwe

ilungelo lokuba ivive ngokomthetho emagcekeni alenkampani.

Isinqumo senkantolo sithi inkampani yakwaSarmcol kayizange yone uma ixosha labasebenzi ababefuna ukuba iMawu ingene ngenkani emagcekeni alenkampani.

Selokhu baxoshwa labasebenzi abangaphezu kuka-900 abangu-49 babo sebefe iziginqane bebulawa yindlala nayizifo eziphathelene nokuhlukumezeka komphefumulo. **Iqhutshwa ekhasini le-13**

Umgunyathi weziza KwaZulu

UM- AFRICA 19/9/87

ESINYE sezakhamizi zaselokishini lasOsizweni ngaseNewcastle siphezu kwamalungiselelo okufaka eNkantolo eNkulu omunye ungqongqoshe wekhabhinethi yaKwaZulu nabaholi beNkatha bakulendawo mayelana nomgunyathi wokwabiwa kweziza nokunyamalala kwezimali.

Ummangalelwa omkhulu kulicicala elizayo nguNgqongqoshe wezeMpilo neNhlalakahle uDr Frank Mdlalose.

Ucwaningo olwenziwe nguhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika ludalule ukuthi lelilokishi lisewsimweni esidabukisayo uma uliqhathanisa nomakhelwane walo

okuyilokishi laseMadadeni.

Emaphepheni azoyiswa enkantolo kudalulwe ukuthi kunokugwazisa okuningi nenkohlakalo engechazeke kumalunga ekhabhinethi laKwaZulu kanye nezinye iziphathimandla eziqondene nokwabiwa kweziza kulendawo.

Lamaphepha abuye athi iziphakamiso ezenziwa nguMnyango wobamBiswano neNtuthuko ezimayelana nokuthuthukiswa kawalendawo zashaywa indiva.

Kubuye kwadalulwa nokuthi amanye amakhansela abuye esabise abantu abangahambisani nawo ngokuthi azobabulala, futhi lamakhansela asebenzisa intsha uku-

ba ihlasele labo abangahambisani nawo. Ummeli okunguye ophethe loludaba lwalelicala ucele ukuba igama lakhe lingadalulwa kuze kube ngumhla wecala.

"Uma ngingase ngiziveze manje kungase kuphume isinjumo sokuba ngibulawe ngoba njengoba ngizobe ngiphethe loludaba olumangalela amalunga eNkatha kanye nohulumeni waKwaZulu," kuchaza lommeli.

Phambilini ezinye zezakhamizi zasOsizweni sezike zamangalela uhulumeni waKwaZulu ngokuxoshwa kwabantu emizini yabo ngokungemthetho, nangokukhethwa kwabantu

beNkatha ukuba babe ngamakhansela.

Kulelicala elisha lesi sakhamuzi sibekalicala kuhulumeni waKwaZulu ngoba:

* sekutholakale ukuthi imali ye-renti ekhokhwa izinyanga zonke ayibuyiswa yilohulumeni ukuba izosiza ekuthuthukiseni ilokishi.

* kubuye kwatholakala ukuthi umhlaba owarhengwa abantu bakulelilokishi ekuqaleni ko-1980 usuphindele ezandleni zehhovisi lakulelilokishi, futhi usudayiselwa ilokishi laseMadadeni.

Iqhutshwa ekhasini le-13

Govt musn't retreat into laager — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — The Nationalist government could be forced either to move forward or abdicate, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the new British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robin Fenwick, here yesterday.

He called on the outside world to recognise that the government was no longer pivotal in ensuring movement towards change.

Mr Fenwick was in Ulundi to pay his respects to the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President.

There was a "White laager" waiting to be filled in this country, Chief Buthelezi said. The government was distances from it, but everything possible should be done to avoid the circumstances in which it could make rapid retreat into that laager.

Such retreat could be blocked if there were greater awareness that apartheid was already doomed to extinction. Blacks would not allow it to persist.

The government was "milling around" where it stood because it could not make any real advances without getting substantial Black support for what steps it took. Blacks already had veto over it's actions by virtue of their economic necessity.

But he warned that real frontal assaults on the government in the forms of punitive isolation or the support of internal violence would rally Whites behind it as it then moved towards the laager.

The State President could not afford to fail in

the establishment of the National Council. He needed Black leaders in it who were sworn opponents of apartheid and who were able to gather mass support.

Chief Buthelezi said there was a tendency to despair because the SA Government had not thus far met international demands.

"I ask the outside world to recognise that the South African Government has ceased to be pivotal in the sense that it and it alone can be expected to ensure movement in the right direction.

"However recalcitrant the government is, there is ... inexorable move-

ment which is mounting for change nobody will be able to stop."

"I am totally committed to the politics of negotiation right now because it is a far more potent weapon against government recalcitrance than the politics of violence."

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There has been wide-spread speculation about contact between Pretoria and the ANC, but ANC officials firmly deny this.

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in Harare for a conference on the plight of children under apartheid, was closely questioned about the approaches at a press conference last night.

He may not be quoted in South Africa.

Appeal by trained ANC terror rejected

CITIZEN 19/9/87

BLOEMFONTEIN — The appeal of Jacob Molefe against imprisonment of 15 years for high treason was heard and dismissed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Molefe and Alpheus Zacharia Molotsi were convicted by Mr Justice H H Moll in the Transvaal Supreme Court on October 18, 1983. Molotsi, who was imprisoned for 18 years, was refused leave to appeal by the Appeal Court.

Both men left South Africa in 1976. The Judge

found that, between 1982 and 1983 — in pursuance of the objectives of the African National Congress — they established themselves in the ANC base in Maputo to prepare and plan to commit armed acts of war, sabotage and/or subversion against police stations, power stations, fuel depots and the population in general.

In furtherance of these aims they infiltrated South Africa and established "dead letter boxes" and weapons caches near Alberton for use by trained terrorists.

The appeal was heard by Mr Justice Hefer and Acting Judges of Appeal Mr Justice Boshoff and Mr Justice Steyn.

For Molefe Mr M Bassilian submitted that the trial judge erred or misdirected himself in finding that, on the basis of common purpose, Molefe was responsible criminally for acts of others where he played no part.

The judge was also said to have erred when he found that Molefe, when pursued by members of the South African Police, discharged a bullet in their direction from a Luger pistol.

It was contended that the sentence was excessive and induced a sense of shock.

It was said to be common cause that at the time the acts were committed, Molefe was not within the borders of South Africa and had no knowledge of the specific acts. He had not yet entered South Africa after completing military training outside its borders.

It was submitted that Molefe should not have been held responsible for a prior infiltration by his co-accused, during which acts were committed in Alberton.

For the state Mr J J Pelser said that Molefe had, at all times, acted with a common purpose and in execution of a conspiracy.

It was the State's case that Molefe was legally responsible, not only for every deed he had personally committed, but also for every act attributed to his co-conspirators in the charge sheet.

Evidence was that Molefe had already received training in 1977 from the ANC. It was submitted that it was clear that he had already then conspired with the ANC and/or its members and active supporters to further the aims of the ANC.

This was also his attitude when he entered South Africa from Swaziland early on February 16, 1983 — the day on which he was arrested. — Sapa