

12.4.

16/7/2

1000 Sats strikers back at work

CITIZEN 22-4-87

By PETER DELMAR

MORE than 1 000 South African Transport Services workers who have been on strike in the Southern Transvaal region for six weeks returned to work yesterday in response to a management offer to pay returning workers their annual bonuses, Sats spokesmen claimed.

Management announced yesterday that the estimated 18 000 workers still on strike will be dismissed if they do not report for work by 8 am today.

"Workers who do not report and begin work to-

morrow will be considered to have ended their contracts with us," Sats spokesman, Mr Johan Hugo said yesterday.

The workers who remained on strike after April 3 were deemed to have forfeited their bonuses until management's concession, announced yesterday after negotiations with the recognised Black Trade Union (Blatu).

Sats general manager, Dr Bart Grové, told workers he would resume negotiations with the

strikers if they returned to work by today.

Blatu announced yesterday that a representative of the strikers and an official of the Cosatu-affiliated South African Railways and Harbours Workers Union (SARH-WU) had approached it with a request that Blatu attempt to resolve the strike.

Dr Grové agreed to meet with representatives of the strikers from the City Deep depot where the dispute originated if they were under the aus-

pices of the chairman of the executive committee of Blatu's Natal branch, Mr N J Nthinyane.

It is expected that five or six City Deep representatives will join Mr Nthinyane.

The strikers who abandoned the strike yesterday were from several depots, Sats spokesman, Mr Jannie van Zyl, said.

He declined to say which depots they were employed at for fear of intimidation. Strikers have

TO PAGE 2

16/2/2 18-2-1

CITIZEN 22-4-87

Soviet forces hit back at Afghanis

ISLAMABAD. — Soviet forces have carried out reprisal attacks in northern Afghanistan following recent Afghan rebel cross-border attacks into the Soviet Union, Western diplomats said yesterday.

The diplomats, quoting reports received from Afghanistan, said extensive Soviet military operations had taken place in the Afghan provinces of Kunduz and Takhar bordering Soviet Tadzhikistan.

But they had no details of the operations which they said appeared to be in response to the rebel attacks.

News services run by Afghan exiles in Pakistan have also reported retaliatory Soviet operations in Kunduz and Takhar recently but no independent confirmation of the reports was immediately available. — Sapa-Reuter.

16/2/2 18.2.1

CITIZEN
22-4-87

Gandhi faces 1st defection over arms row

NEW DELHI. — Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi yesterday faced the first defection from his governing Congress Party in Parliament since his government was hit by major arms deals controversies.

Mr Hardwari Lal, a member of the Lower House of Parliament from Haryana State, said he resigned from the Congress Party to join the opposition Lok Dal (Peoples) Party.

In a letter to Mr Gand-

hi released to the media in the Haryana capital of Chandigarh, Mr Lal criticised the Gandhi government's handling of alleged kickbacks on Indian defence contracts with West Germany and Sweden.

He also attacked the government for failing to resolve questions over the hiring of an American detective agency to look into the financial dealings of Indians abroad.

Mr Lal said yesterday he also submitted his resignation from the parlia-

ment to honour an Indian law which calls for resignation from an elected post in the event of a party defection.

He said he would seek to regain the seat for the Lok Dal in the election required by law within six months to fill the vacancy.

Meanwhile the opposition yesterday pressed for a full-scale probe of pay-off allegations in the purchase of Swedish field guns.

In the second day of debates on the contract with Swedish armsmaker Bofors, the government was again on the defensive as the heavily outnumbered opposition hurled charges in the Upper House.

Mr Gandhi's government has been deeply embarrassed by the Bofors affair which followed allegations of another arms purchase payoff and the resignation of Defence Minister Mr V P Singh who had ordered an enquiry into the earlier deal.

Mr Gandhi's ruling Congress (I) Party did not respond immediately to the demand for a parliamentary enquiry, but on Monday a similar opposition demand in the Lower House was rejected by current Defence Minister Mr K C Pant.

The alleged payoff was first reported by the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation last week which said at least R11 million had been paid as commissions to unnamed Indian officials and politicians into secret Swiss bank accounts.

3.4.

16/2/2

Curbs: PFP applies to Supreme Court

CITIZEN 22-4-87
Citizen Reporter

THE PFP has launched its application for the setting aside of the regulation restricting campaigns for the release of detainees.

Mr Ken Andrew, the chairman of the PFP's Federal Executive, said yesterday that it was hoped that the matter

would be heard in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week.

The State is opposing the application.

The PFP indicated earlier that it would bring an application in connection with the regulation pro-

mulgated by the Commissioner of Police which appeared in a special Government Gazette on April 10.

The application is being brought as a matter of urgency.

(News by A J Stirling, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein.)

Defence in terror trial tells Supreme Court ...

Why Mandela's testimony on ANC violence is vital

STAR 22-4-87

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Counsel in the Ndlanzi case has explained why he wishes to call Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), to give evidence in mitigation.

Mr Alan Magid SC, seeking Supreme Court permission for an appearance by Mandela, said the ANC leader had first-hand knowledge of the reasons for the ANC decision to switch from a non-violent policy to violence.

Sibusiso Robert Ndlanzi was convicted here last week of undergoing military training by the ANC and taking part in the activities of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (its military wing).

The convicted man said in his application that Mandela's evi-

dence was necessary for the determination of a proper sentence. He said a fundamental question when assessing his sentence was his reasons for involvement in a struggle which used violence.

Ndlanzi said Mandela was a founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe and prior to that had been involved in negotiations with the government of the day.

Mandela was the only person who, from personal knowledge, could tell the court why, after 50 years of non-violent opposition to the Government, the ANC decided on violent confrontation.

His application added: "It was and still is morally justifiable, when no non-violent options remain open, to embark on a struggle which may involve violence.

"I believe the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe were moved by motives similar to mine and Mandela will be able to confirm this.

"I believe my conduct has been in accordance with the activities which were envisaged by the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe and Mandela will be able to confirm this too.

"I also believe Mandela would be able to convince this court that it is not unreasonable for citizens of South Africa who are not white to believe that no non-violent option remains open.

"Mandela is eminently qualified to testify on these aspects and help persuade this court that my beliefs have a strong moral basis and have for a long time been shared by responsible leadership in our community."

The motion was opposed by the Commissioner of Prisons and the Attorney-General.

Mr Magid said one objection, that there could be a risk to public order and safety, could be met if Mandela gave evidence in Polsmoor Prison or some other secure venue.

Mr Magid said the defence was prevented from interviewing Mandela last weekend.

If Mandela were reluctant to give evidence, the defence would withdraw the application.

Mr Justice Thirion asked what evidence Mandela could give that was not already known.

He also wished to know if evidence would be of a political nature.

Mr Magid said professors could give similar evidence, but Mandela had the advantage of personal involvement.

PUBLIC ORDER

General W J Willemse, Commissioner of Prisons, said Mandela was seen as a martyr and a leading figure by many.

In the present political climate, it would endanger public order if he were allowed to appear in a public court to defend his views.

General Willemse said that to allow him to give evidence would merely give him a platform to justify violence and acts of terror.

It would be an expensive undertaking to bring him to court, he added.

Such an operation would receive worldwide news coverage and was likely to spark large-scale demonstrations.

Even if there were no demonstrations, he expected a massive crowd which in the present political climate could be hazardous.

General Willemse said Mandela's evidence would be irrelevant.

It was well known that the beliefs of the 1950s and 1960s differed radically from those of today, he added.

Appearances: Mr Magid and Mr Pius Langa for Ndlanzi, Mr Jan Combrink SC and Mr S J Maritz for the Commissioner of Prisons, and Mr Mike Imber SC, the Attorney-General, and Deputy Attorney-General Mr Bennie Schonfeldt SC and Mr Christo van Schalkwyk.

(Proceeding).

MANDELA DEFENCE BID IS POSTPONED

AN URGENT application for ANC leader, Nelson Mandela to testify in mitigation of sentence on behalf of an accused convicted of terrorism in a trial being heard in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, has been postponed.

The postponement was granted so the defence team may renew its application to the Commissioner of Prisons for permission to consult Mandela, *SABC Radio News* reported.

The application to

State warns of 'danger'

subpoena Mandela was brought by Sibusiso Ndlanzi, one of nine people convicted on charges of terrorism last week.

Violence

Ndlanzi said yesterday in papers before Mr Justice Thirion he believed Mandela would convince the court that it was reasonable for black citizens to believe that violence was the only option left for them.

The application is being opposed by the

State.

General W J Willemse, Commissioner of Prisons, said that Mandela was seen as a martyr and as a leading figure by many.

In the present political climate and the attendant violence it would endanger public order and safety if Mandela were allowed to appear in a public court to defend his views to propagate the continuation of violence.

To allow him to give evidence would merely

give him a platform to justify violence and acts of terror.

It would be an expensive undertaking to bring him to court and such an operation would receive worldwide news coverage.

Crowd

Such an operation was likely to spark off large-scale demonstrations.

Even if such demonstrations did not take place, he expected a massive crowd which in the present political

climate could be hazardous.

Gen Willemse said that Mandela's evidence would be irrelevant in the present case.

Mr Alan Magid SC, said on behalf of the defence that it was possible for the court to order that Mandela's evidence be taken down in Pollsmoor Prison.

He told the court the defence team had been refused permission to consult Mandela or to determine whether he was prepared to testify and to discuss the evidence which he would give. — Sapa.

(Proceeding)

Strong mandate plea to counter foreign influence

By
ANDREW THOMSON
IF the National Party was not returned to power with an increased majority on May 6, South Africa's enemies would "sharpen their teeth for the kill", Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Botha told pensioners at Huis Hoëveld in Albertville the NP needed a strong mandate to enhance its influence in foreign affairs.

He said there was an international "master plan" to isolate South Africa, weaken it economically and then overthrow the government by force.

South Africa's enemies, he said, wanted to ensure that Whites had no voice in Parliament and planned to suppress the voice of moderate Blacks too "because they stand in the way of communism".

Mr Botha likened economic action against South Africa, in conjunction with sport and cultural boycotts, to a rope around the country's neck which was being slowly tightened to strangle it.

He said the leader of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, had appeared before millions of viewers on TV in Japan, Australia, Europe and America with the message that the ANC was a body of freedom fighters willing to sacrifice all to escape the oppression of the "cruel" South African Government, and that there was no other choice but violence.

Tambo's appearances had led people in the places he had visited exerting pressure on their governments to take ac-

tion against South Africa. The harsh reality of ANC violence was largely ignored by the foreign media.

Mr Botha warned if the ANC ever came to power in South Africa there would be no freedom of religion, Press freedom, private property rights or independent trade unions.

"There wouldn't even be elections," he said, predicting the country

would be governed through force by a small clique of Soviet puppets.

"The South African issue is not a racial one, but an ideological one," he said. The government was trying to involve Blacks in the free market system in the hope that they could be converted through its rewards.

Mr Botha made a plea for White unity, particularly for Afrikaner unity, in the face of an international campaign against the country.

(News by A Thomson, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.)

Now NECC, RMC N/NATION (15-22) - 4-87 beat the clamps

TWO more organisations have been secretly launched this month in the teeth of the emergency.

The Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) was launched as a national body in Hammanskraal, while the National Education Crisis Committee set up its Western Cape branch in Cape Town.

This follows hard on the heels of the secret launch of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) in Cape Town earlier this month.

Nearly 100 delegates from all over the country - including Winnie Mandela, who opened the conference, and stalwarts such as UDF patron Francis Baard, who closed the conference - met to consolidate the RMC nationally.

The organisation also took its campaign behind South Africa's prison walls by electing Oscar Mpetha as its first national president.

The RMC has set itself an elaborate programme, including the establishment of new branches and regions.

Since 1983 it has set up branches in the Witwatersrand, Eastern, the Northern, Southern, Western and Central Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, Border, Cape Midlands, and the Northern, Eastern and Western Cape.

"The RMC works for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela," said a report delivered at the launch.

"No political solution can be found without him."

The RMC has given the Freedom Charter a central role in its campaigns. "It is a cornerstone of the democratic society we envisage," it said.

The RMC has also set up a legal and welfare committee to monitor information on political prisoners, and to campaign for prisoner of war status for them.

The NECC's Western Cape branch was launched by 120 delegates on April 6 - a few kilometres away from the SA Defence Force's 75th anniversary celebrations in Sea Point.

"The launch of this NECC structure is a triumph, coming barely a week after Sayco's launching," the branch said in a statement.

INITIATIVE

"It shows that, even under the emergency, organisations are able to take the initiative and define relevant and democratic education."

The United Democratic Front (UDF), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), South African Students Congress (Sansco), Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu), the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) and several community organisations attended the launch.

The names of the 12-member executive have not been disclosed because "being an NECC member these days is an open invitation for detention and harassment".

• The RMC national executive is Oscar Mpetha (president), Irene Mkwai (first vice-president), William Sitho (second vice-president), Mongezi Mngesi (secretary-general), James Ngomane (assistant secretary-general), Seth Mazibuko (publicity secretary), Cassius Lubisi (assistant publicity secretary), Jabu Ngwenya (treasurer) and Aubrey Mokoena (co-ordinator).

3-4

16/1/5

NP caused SA's crisis, says PFP's Webber

DURBAN. — The National Party had turned South Africa into a country in crisis, PFP candidate, Mr Warwick Webber, said in Durban last night.

Mr Webber who is opposing the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, in the Port Natal constituency, said South Africans were faced with a "security crisis, an economic crisis, a political crisis, a social crisis, and that we also face a crisis of confidence in ourselves" — because of the government policy. C11126122-4-87

But people with the real interest of the country at heart, were coming together in the spirit of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba to use this election on May 6, to change the direction of South African politics.

"I believe that people of goodwill from all races and creeds — moderates — will unite to restore initiative, hope and vision to government," Mr Webber said.

The bottom line in politics was how to accommodate Blacks at central government level and to share power and responsibility for orderly government.

"At the same time, we have to ensure there is no domination by one group of another."

Speaking in support of Mr Webber, Mr Nic Olivier, a PFP nominated member, said the separation of any so-called general affairs and own affairs in any proposed constitution, was another set of non-negotiables for the NP.

"The own affairs concept is nothing but apartheid in another form. It cannot function without enforced residential separation, namely group areas."

He said the establishment of an alternative government should be the priority for all thinking South Africans.

The PFP-NRP alliance and the break-away by the Afrikaner intellectuals, were the first steps in this process, Mr Olivier added. — Sapa.

(News by Mervyn Orchard, 36 Westguard House, Gardiner Street, Durban).

29.52

16/3/2

SA sends new CITIZEN 22-4-87 terro warning to Zambia

LUSAKA. — South Africa has sent the Zambian Government a second message urging it to restrain an insurgent force which it says is about to leave Zambia on a mission to infiltrate South Africa, a Zambian minister said.

National Guidance and Information Minister Mr Milimo Punabantu told reporters on Monday night the message, received by Zambia's State House over the Easter weekend, was similar to an earlier warning sent by Pretoria on April 8.

He quoted it as saying, "additional information . . . clearly indicates that groups of ANC fighters are still preparing to leave Zambia and Tanzania with the intention of gathering close to the border for infiltration in the course of the next few weeks".

The minister described the ANC group as imaginary and said the South African allegations indicated Pretoria was looking for a scapegoat for the difficulties it is facing in the campaign for the Whites-only elections next month.

"All the fighting is taking place inside South Africa and it is useless to blackmail neighbouring countries . . . for what is taking place," he added.

Zimbabwe and Mozambique received similar warnings earlier this month and interpreted them as a prelude to South African pre-emptive raids on alleged ANC bases. — Sapa-Reuter.

CIT/2EN 22-4-87

Strikers back at work

FROM PAGE 1

threatened to burn houses belonging to workers who returned to work, he said.

Blatu said yesterday that payment of bonuses, estimated to be worth R8 million, would be effected early in May.

SARHWU officials could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

Train services on the Witwatersrand were normal yesterday and there were no delays, Sats PRO, Jenné Jordaan said.

The Bureau for Information reported no further incidents of arson or damage to Sats property as security forces continued their protection tasks at Sats installations throughout the Witwatersrand.

Negotiations between Dr Grové and Mr Nthinyane and the City Deep delegates could be seriously jeopardised if the strikers do not return to work today, Mr Hugo said.

The Sats bus driver whose disciplinary case originally sparked the strike is probably being purposefully prevented from returning to work in order to keep the strike alive, the Sats general manager claimed in an information letter this week.

Mr Andrew Nendzanda was fined R80 in terms of the disciplinary code of Sats for a cash irregularity early last month.

Sats maintains that a decision to fire Mr Nendzanda was never implemented and that he still has the right to appeal against the fine. He has mysteriously disappeared

since the beginning of the strike.

SARHWU is demanding Mr Nendzanda's unconditional reinstatement.

In the letter, Dr Grové claimed that the strike forms part of the revolutionary strategy against the Republic.

SARHWU is instigating the strike on behalf of Cosatu, he claims. "The connection between Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC is well known and should give a clear illustration of what the Sats strike is all about."

Management has, throughout the strike, displayed the utmost tolerance and patience and cannot be accused of unreasonable action against the strikers, Dr Grové said.

In contrast, the intimidators and strikers are intent on confrontation and violence. This behaviour is in accordance with

the strategies followed by SARHWU, Cosatu, UDF and the ANC, Dr Grové said in the letter.

Mr Nendzanda's case had been used to "launch a propaganda campaign whereby workers were mobilised to strike. Intimidation had been the aim of SARHWU from the beginning of the strike," Dr Grové said.

Mandela, the THE AGE - 22 APRIL 1988 messiah behind bars

THE one man who could reverse South Africa's long and torturous descent into despair remains unable to do anything about it.

Nelson Mandela, probably the world's best-known political prisoner, has already served more than a quarter of a century in jail. The South African authorities continue to procrastinate over his fate.

In London, the head of the British anti-apartheid movement, Archbishop Huddleston, has helped to launch a new campaign for his release with the support of many governments and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar.

Millions of South African blacks who have never seen or heard this ageing former solicitor regard him as their messiah. Millions of South African whites whose attitudes have been manipulated by propaganda and censorship are fearful.

If Mandela is ever released, it would count as one of the 20th Century's moments of extreme tension, akin in importance to the freeing of the Mahatma Gandhi, Jomo Kenyatta or Archbishop Makarios. Some would say that it would be like the return from exile of Ayatollah Khomeiny.

All South Africa would be stretched as tight as a drum because no one, not even Mr Mandela himself as the African National Congress's inspirational leader, knows what effect such a dramatic event would have on a society that is at war with itself and has lost much of its capacity to reason.

It is an uncertainty that has caused years of agonising at the highest reaches of the ruling National Party as President Botha and the cabal of generals who are his closest advisers have tried to calculate the odds.

An international campaign to pressure Pretoria into freeing Nelson Mandela before his 70th birthday in July opened in London this week. **GRAHAM BARRETT** reports.

Which, they have asked themselves repeatedly, is the lesser of two evils: keeping Mandela in prison and risking a national uprising if he dies behind bars, or freeing him in the desperate hope that exposure will quickly tarnish the image of a leader whose isolation has kept him beyond the reach of controversy?

As Soren Kierkegaard wrote: "The tyrant dies and his rule ends; the martyr dies and his rule begins."

Mr Mandela could have walked out of Pollsmoor prison a long time ago if he had met Mr Botha's precondition of publicly repudiating the use of violence (and probably also agreeing to exile abroad).

The irony was obvious. There was Mr Botha, who presides over security forces that are internationally notorious for their willingness to kill, wound and torture civilians, including children, demanding a promise of passivity from a man who has been locked up since the early 1960s.

Nelson Mandela is no Gandhian pacifist, despite the ANC's attachment to the mahatma's methods from the time that it was formed in the early part of this century until 50 years later, when the South African police massacred dozens of unarmed protesters in Sharpeville and black political activity was outlawed.

Neither is he the monster that South African disinformation has tried to contrive. Everything that Mr Mandela has been allowed to say during the past three decades shows him to be, in the words of

Mr Malcolm Fraser's Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group: "a man who had been driven to armed struggle only with the greatest reluctance, solely in the absence of any other alternative to the violence of the apartheid system and never as an end in itself."

"We are forced to continue (with violence)," Mr Mandela said three years ago, "though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only: military installations and symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched. We deeply regret what happened in Pretoria on 23 May, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen

civilians were killed. It was a tragic accident."

Mr Mandela's exiled ANC co-leader and former legal partner, Mr Oliver Tambo, shares the belief that it is now necessary to meet violence with violence as long as civilians go unharmed. He, too, expresses deep regret at the fact that civilians are sometimes killed or harmed by ANC guerrillas who, Mr Tambo told me last year, occasionally become so embittered by the actions of the security forces that they hit back in an irresponsible way.

This is the conundrum in which Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, became involved recently with his remark that, in South Africa, murder could be justified in circumstances of extreme provocation.

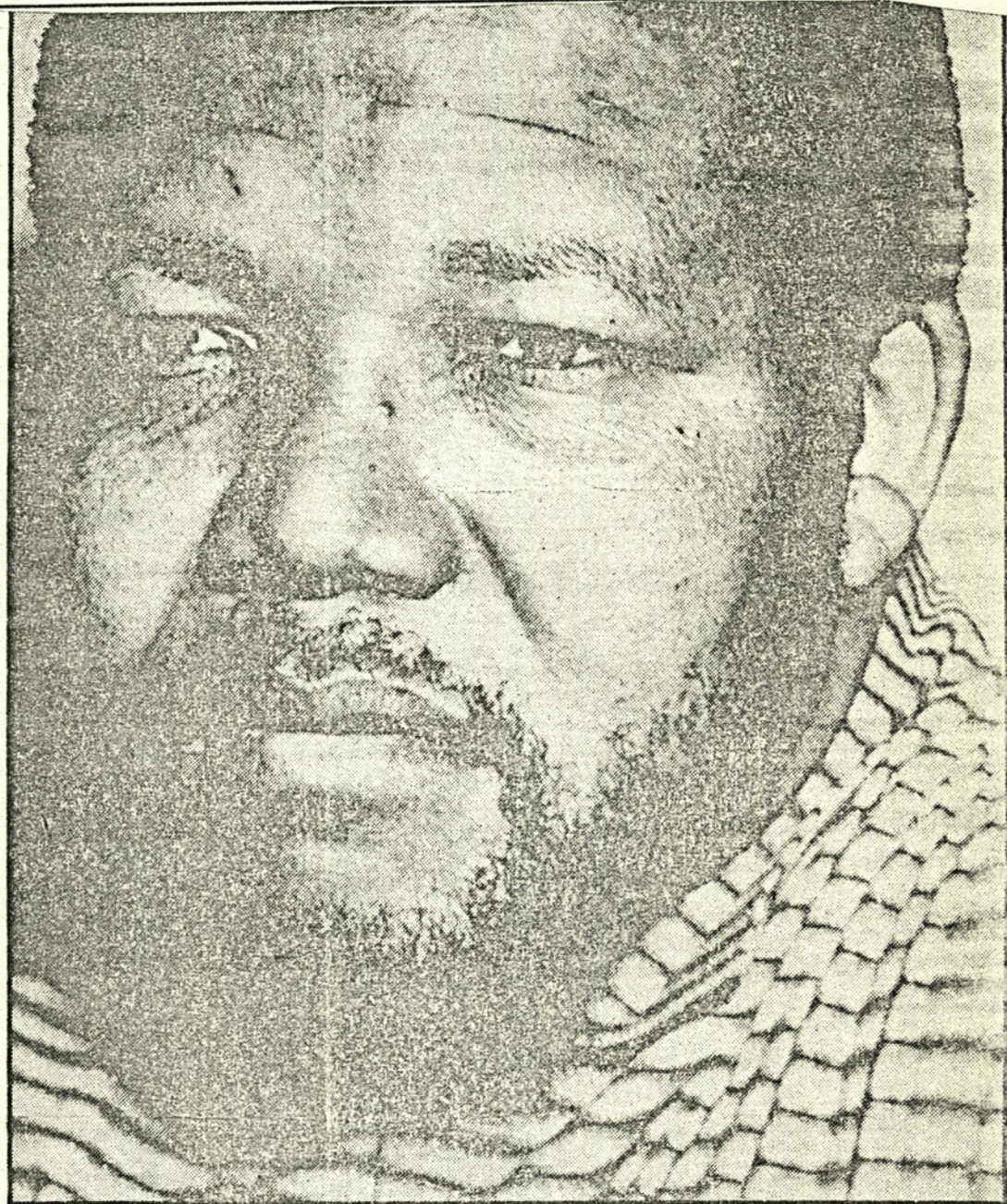
FEATURES

Pretoria University's institute of strategic studies put the issue into perspective a few months ago with an assessment that ANC action had resulted in the death of 80 people in the decade between 1976 and 1986 while, in only two years alone, 1984 to 1986, more than 2300 black South African men, women and children had been killed by the security forces.

It is in the face of this apparently uncompromising violence of the police and army, who can behave as they wish with effective impunity under South African emergency and security law as it now stands, that Mr Mandela has refused to accept any conditions on his release.

He says today what he was saying from the dock in the early 1960s, which is that he stands for a non-racial democracy in which white South Africans have a full part to play. "This is their home," he told an American lawyer permitted to visit him recently, "we want them to live here with us and share power with us."

All this accords with official



Nelson Mandela before his imprisonment 25 years ago: many of his followers have never seen him.

ANC policy. But Mr Mandela, in his meeting with the lawyer, went further. After the attainment of majority rule, he would not press for an uncontrolled movement of blacks into cities; integration would come "with dignity" as job opportunities arose.

This gradualist thinking places Mr Mandela to the right of his own movement and comes close to the position of the Progressive Federal Party in the white assembly and Chief Buthelezi's Zulu Inkatha movement.

As Lord Bethell, a member of the European Parliament who

was given rare permission to see Mr Mandela recently, has said, the ANC leader's ideas evoke the concept of "a national convention of the races that will draw up a federal constitution for protection of the minorities. It was precisely this national convention that was the ANC's demand in 1961, just before the armed struggle began and Mandela was arrested."

British author Anthony Sampson, who worked in South Africa in the 1950s and knew Mandela personally, wrote two years ago that "while Botha continually stresses violence when speaking about Mandela, he must know

quite well that Mandela's commitment to sabotage of government installations is far less violent than the battles now raging in the townships."

Mr Mandela's moderation — which sometimes places him in conflict with his own wife, the outspoken Mrs Winnie Mandela — is extraordinary in relation to the incarceration that he has had to endure despite the expiration of his sentence several years ago.

But the Botha Government has tried to pin another label on him, too, one marked "communist". The ANC makes no apology for its links with the smaller and much

PAGE 2 OF 3

less popular South African Communist Party, members of whom sit on the ANC's executive.

"From its inception," Mr Mandela once noted, "the ANC was formed and built up not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a parliament of African people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation. African communists could, and did, become members of the ANC.

"For many decades," Mr Mandela said from the dock of the 1964 treason trial, "the communists were the only political grouping in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals, who were prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us and work with us ... because of this there are many Africans today who tend to equate freedom with communism." Mr Mandela, like Mr Tambo, is a nationalist, not a communist.

Donald Woods, a former white South African journalist whose relationship with the martyred black radical Steve Biko is celebrated in Sir Richard Attenborough's latest film, 'Cry Freedom', has put it this way: "It is ironic that moderates such as Mandela are regarded by the South African Government as dangerous troublemakers at a time when such men represent South Africa's last hope of averting an interracial explosion."

As the Fraser Eminent Persons Group report put it: "We all agreed that it was tragic that a man of his outstanding capabilities should continue to be denied the opportunity to help shape his country's future."

This is why governments in nearly every Western country have been calling for his release. It is why political opponents of the ANC, such as Chief Buthelezi, have insisted that no real political progress can be made in South Africa until Mr Mandela goes free and why even a man as conservative as the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, who led what is now Zimbabwe into years of violence over his refusal to countenance majority rule, said long ago that Mandela ought to be released.

It is why Mr Fraser and his EPG colleagues were so offended when, just a few hours after their 50-minute meeting with Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor prison last year, Mr Botha harangued them about the ANC leader being an extremist and a paid agent of the Soviet Union whose continued imprisonment was the responsibility of black militants who wanted him to attain martyrdom by dying in jail.

The refusal of all reputable black conservative leaders to consider negotiating with Mr Botha while Mr Mandela remains in prison has meant that Pretoria has been unable to proceed with its proposed National Statutory Council, an advisory body that in theory would bring approved blacks into the decision-making process.

None of the ANC leaders qualifies for inclusion on Mr Botha's list of candidates. Mr Mandela

would not be released so that the Government could negotiate with him. Pretoria demands an undertaking from the ANC similar to that which it once demanded of Mandela: the organisation must first renounce violence and cut its links with the SACP, conditions which are tantamount to asking the ANC to destroy itself.

That is precisely what the South African Government has been trying to do down the years as independent opinion polls (the only reliable indicator of national opinion in the absence of black political representation) consistently show that Mr Mandela is by far South Africa's most popular leader.

Even Mr Botha, in his private moments, could not believe that the ANC can be wiped out. But he does believe that it can be seriously weakened militarily and politically, preferably through a schism, and it is this condition that he is promoting by every means possible.

The latest tactic is to assassinate ANC officials as far away as Western Europe as an addition to the established practice of attacking alleged ANC targets in southern Africa through cross-border raids.

Another ploy is to encourage and direct conservative black groups that are prepared to use violence against ANC-associated organisations such as the United Democratic Front and Council of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Botha, in his recent statements, seems to be accepting that one day in the distant future his Government will have to negotiate with the ANC, and that therefore the more divided, feeble and fatigued it is, the better.

But there is a lot of life left in apartheid despite Pretoria's claims to the contrary. Mr Botha has not even begun talking to the most conservative and compliant of black leaders beyond those who run the so-called "self-governing states".

So, what next? Will the new campaign for Mandela's release have any effect other than to increase the Botha Government's isolation and paranoia? Probably not. Pretoria goes out of its way to show that it is contemptuous of international opinion. If Mr Mandela is freed, it will be because the authorities have decided that it suits them to do so.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has long believed that her husband's release would trigger a mass popular response by black South Africans. Pretoria concurs, but fears an uncontrollable explosion of violence as a result. "We do not hold this view," Mr Fraser's EPG report said. "Provided the negotiating process was agreed, Mr Mandela's own voice would appeal for calm. We believe his authority would secure it."

But, as Anthony Sampson warned several years ago, "the later Mandela is released, the more difficulty he will have in restraining the violence in the black townships, and the more he will be seen by anti-white hotheads as far too moderate, far too dedicated to multiracialism."

PAGE 3 OF 3

Grenade Kills Black In Soweto

Police Trainees Target of Attack

4/22/87

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, April 21—Antigovernment guerrillas lobbed a hand grenade in the midst of black municipal policemen at drill in Johannesburg's Soweto township today, killing one recruit and wounding 64 others.

The daring daylight attack at a police training academy occurred as two platoons of 36 men each were undergoing close-order drill on a parade ground along a main thoroughfare of the sprawling black township.

The state Bureau for Information, the only authorized source of reports on racial violence, said the attackers threw the grenade over a security fence and sped away in a pickup truck. Six of the recruits were seriously injured and remained hospitalized tonight, authorities said.

Minister for Law and Order Adriaan Vlok condemned the attack as "reprehensible and cowardly" and said that township policemen "would not let themselves be intimidated by such deeds."

Black policemen in Soweto and other segregated townships frequently have been targeted by guerrillas. Today's attack resulted in the largest number of casualties in a single incident.

The victims of today's attack were undergoing a 13-week training course and were scheduled to graduate June 5. The academy's commander, Pieter de Beer, told reporters that he heard the blast and saw its aftermath from the window of his office. "It was not a pretty sight to see the recruits floored. They've become like family," said de Beer, adding that security at the academy was being reevaluated. He said the recruits and their drill instructors were not armed.

In telephone calls to news agencies, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, an arm of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress, said it was responsible for the blast.

In a separate incident, a car bomb exploded outside a railway station west of Johannesburg at which several commuter passenger coaches were set afire in the last week during a strike by 20,000 workers of the South African Transport Services. Police said no one was injured.

S. Africa, CentAm Protestors Target D.C.

WASHINGTON (AP) — Groups opposing American policy in Central America and Southern Africa are planning a demonstration next weekend — perhaps the largest since the Vietnam protest days — culminating in what is billed as “civil disobedience” at the entrances of the CIA.

“As of now, there are 1,000 buses scheduled to arrive Saturday and we have 200 coalitions nationwide sending people,” said Ned Greenberg of the National Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa.

A similar program is planned for San Francisco.

The Washington demonstration will extend over three days. Saturday is taken up with two rallies, one on the ellipse behind the White House in the morning, the other at the Capitol after a mile-long march.

The sponsors set yesterday aside for classes in civil disobedience in preparation for the demonstration planned at the CIA headquarters in nearby Langley, Va., on Monday. Even in the Vietnam days, demonstrators didn't venture into that area.

“We will have hundreds of people risking arrest,” Greenberg said. The demonstrators plan to be on hand at the two gates that are the entrances to the headquarters. The object of the demonstration is to disrupt activities at the CIA but Greenberg said he didn't know whether the protesters will try to stop employees going to work.

Another group plans a demonstration of a different sort.

“Since we are part of the mobilization, we have asked our people not just to bring their bodies, but to beg and borrow trucks and bring humanitarian aid, also,” said Maureen Fiedler of the Quixote Center, which has a program called Quest for Peace.

She said she expects 40 trucks from 21 states loaded with clothing, non-perishable food, medicine and medical supplies, and educational materials. Their contents will be loaded Saturday aboard cargo containers and shipped to Nicaragua.

The Quest for Peace, Ms. Fiedler said, set out last summer on a program to raise \$100 million in humanitarian aid and to date has tallied \$32 million.

On Saturday, there will be speakers whose names recall big rallies of the past, such as the Rev. William Sloane Coffin of the Riverside Church in New York; the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

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