

# BLACK POLITICS

1990

FEBRUARY

16<sup>th</sup> — 28<sup>th</sup>.

(1<sup>st</sup> - 15<sup>th</sup> in the box-File)

# De Klerk's men gamble all on ex-prisoner Mandela

IF FW de Klerk and his cabinet created a political whirlpool in South Africa by releasing Nelson Mandela, there are signs that they see the ANC leader as a bulwark that will prevent them from being sucked under by the currents.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerit Viljoen — in the government's first public response to Mandela's first public speeches — this week made it clear the cabinet is banking heavily on Mandela's legendary leadership to end political violence on the left and to appease the anxiety that is driving many whites into rightwing rebellion.

Thus, in his assessment of the statements made by Mandela, Viljoen placed heavy emphasis on Mandela's commitment to negotiations aimed at "normalising" the political life of the country and his concern to appease white anxieties about a system of one-person-one-vote.

There were other "positive" sides to Mandela's statements since being set free, the minister added. These included the ANC leader's praise for President de Klerk as a man of integrity — "a likely future partner in a negotiating process" — and his expressed "rejection of both white dom-

ination and black domination".

Viljoen even excused Mandela for insisting that the armed struggle would continue until preconditions for negotiations had been met. Such statements, he said, could be understood because Mandela was, after all, operating "within the confines and discipline of ANC policy".

"It is clear Mr Mandela is ... expressing support for a peaceful settlement and I hope that the normalisation of political life would be enough to reduce the need for armed struggle."

There was much in Viljoen's comments that indicate a desire to maintain the image of Mandela as a bulwark against the forces of chaos. Thus the violence that marred the rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday, he said, was a problem of "crowd control" rather than "planned violence".

**It's not only the township masses who are counting on Mandela to deliver — so are the cabinet, who see in him a bulwark against chaos. EDDIE KOCH reports**

There were other areas where Viljoen indicated that the political eddies swirling around Mandela and De Klerk were pulling the supporters of the two men to the centre of the turbulence.

On the popular excitement that Mandela's "Welcome Home" rallies had generated, Viljoen said he hoped that co-ordination between the Mass Democratic Movement and the police would create order. "There has already been very good informal understanding and co-operation in the marches and the rallies," he said.

At times even the terminology that

Viljoen used was the same as Mandela's. "Normalisation of political life", the need for a "non-racial democracy", "structural mechanisms" to ensure protections for whites — these words were used by both the ANC leader and the government leader.

There was a clear sense in the tenor of Viljoen's press conference that the cabinet believed that, since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela, it had outmanoeuvred the ANC and broken the coherent strategies it had developed in the Harare Declaration.

There was now "a degree of confusion and contradiction on some issues" in the ranks of the ANC, he said. "It is incumbent on the ANC to adjust their positions rather than restate their preconditions (of the Harare Declaration) ... a shopping list that has been overtaken by events".

But, he said, with more than a little

condescension, the government was aware that the ANC needed time to sort itself out on these issues and was prepared to wait patiently until after the movement's executive meeting in Lusaka this week for a "coherent" response to the government's moves.

Viljoen used the occasion as an opportunity to hold out some carrots to the ANC on the eve of its big meeting. The lifting of the State of Emergency "was desirable and necessary to normalise political activity" and could be negotiated in early talks between the government and the ANC, he said.

This strategy was used by De Klerk in his interview with Ted Koppel, broadcast live during ABC's *Nightline* programme on Tuesday night.

Asked what was required from the ANC for the Emergency to be lifted, De Klerk replied:

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to, really, the marked exception ... If they want to send somebody to me, or to my ministers and say 'Let us sit down and discuss what is needed for the upliftment of the State of Emergency', they are welcome to do it."

Mandela's other major demand — that all political prisoners including those involved in armed struggle be released before a meeting between the movement and the government could take place — was also used by De Klerk to prod the ANC into accepting the need for preliminary talks.

"One will obviously have to decide what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. So its a question once again for negotiation," he said.

Both the Viljoen and De Klerk interviews indicate that the cabinet has devised a coherent and sophisticated short-term strategy — based on the insight they have gained into Mandela's thinking on how the negotiation process could unfold. And, like Mandela, they are confident that the immediate obstacles to an early meeting with the ANC to discuss a truce can

be overcome. But it is in the longer-term, when it comes to bargaining around substantive issues like a new constitution and economic system for South Africa, that the centrifugal forces pulling Mandela and the men in the cabinet apart are strong.

Viljoen listed the ANC leader's support for continued sanctions and his reaffirmation of the ANC's nationalisation principles as the two negative factors in Mandela's speeches.

On the question of sanctions, he insisted that De Klerk's recent moves had proved the government was genuine about negotiations and there was no further need for punitive measures to be pressurise it in this direction.

The ANC's policy of nationalising key sectors of the economy, he said, would put the negotiation process at risk. Here, instead of resorting to measured statements about the armed struggle, he said the government would "pillory" these ideas.

"Naive propositions on a future economic system could have negative effects on the future economy of South Africa."

# Having missed the big time Jackson leaves

W/Mand 16/2-22/4 90  
By THANDEKA GOUBULE

THE Reverend Jesse Jackson, who arrived in South Africa opportunely just after State President FW de Klerk's announcement of Nelson Mandela's release, left yesterday, cutting short his two-week "fact-finding" visit.

Jackson seemed eager to link himself to the dramatic release but was apparently unable to get close to Mandela until Sunday night.

De Klerk, asked whether Jackson's presence had anything to do with the timing of Mandela's release, said it was "totally irrelevant".

Jackson's limousine was virtually pulled apart when crowds mistook it for Mandela's car as he entered through the wrong entrance at Victor Verster Prison on the day of the release. The car, according to sources close to the American embassy, is now a wreck.

In a more happy accident, Jackson won the applause of the huge crowd waiting for Mandela at Cape Town's Grand Parade when he pulled a woman who was wounded by police fire to safety.

The well-known American civil rights leader flew to Windhoek to hold talks with the South West African People's Organisation leader Sam Nujoma. From Namibia, he will go to Zambia where he expects to meet with both President Kenneth Kaunda and the African National Congress.



The trip wasn't a total loss for American politician Jesse Jackson, who was welcomed by Sowetans

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI, Afrapix

# Time running out in race for a new South Africa

STATE 16/2/90

(11A)

Reaching the "new South Africa" may develop into a race against time, with the present life of Parliament setting the deadline.

This is the impression left from discussions with parliamentary groupings at the start of this year's session, as they look somewhat anxiously at the rapidly changing extra-parliamentary scene.

Neither the Government nor the various opposition parties delude themselves over the difficulties lying ahead for negotiations between the ANC, the Government and other groups. Many believe it could be months before the talks-about-talks stage can be reached, let alone the far more formidable discussions on a new constitution.

The deadline is being seen as the end of the life of this Parliament, for several reasons. Most important of these is the need for the Government to have a continuing mandate for its rule until a new dispensation can be created. It is that mandate which is under attack by the Conservative Party.

With some point, the CP argues that the Government already has no mandate for what it has been doing, especially as the Government is now willing to consider negotiations with the ANC in spite of telling the voters at the last election that it would not deal with the ANC while it continued its support for the armed struggle.

But regardless of the CP's claim, there have been no defections from Nationalist ranks, even if some loss of Nationalist voters to the CP is regarded as inevitable.

It is the CP's confident belief that it can bring the Government down at the polls. That is the reason for its continued espousal of parliamentary opposition.

There may be marches in the streets (as in Pretoria last night), and talk of a stayaway to demonstrate the weight of white concern, but there is an admission also that these activist methods are not part of the CP style.

Bringing the Government down at the polls is recognised by the CP as possible only if it can be done at the next elections. Elections after that might be too late. A new constitutional system would almost certainly reduce their political clout to nothing. So the deadline is vital to CP hopes, and fears.

On the Democratic Party side, there is a conviction that South Africa will never see another tri-

**JOHN PATTEN**, who recently spoke to leading personalities from the major political parties during a visit to Parliament, details his impressions.

meral election.

Even if the Government felt obliged by CP pressure to call an election under the present system (for lack of progress on a new deal), the DP view is that the Government could no longer expect the co-operation of any coloured or Indian groupings to participate again in tricameral elections.

If the negotiations for a new system bog down, the DP believes the life of the present Parliament will have to be extended so that a new system can be agreed.

Extending the life of Parliament beyond its term, however, poses a major problem and may not be easily achieved. Former president Mr P W Botha did so in the case of the House of Assembly in the mid-Eighties, but CP pressure forced the 1987 elections at an inopportune time by arguing effectively that the Government had exceeded its mandate.

The deadline, then, becomes a powerful reason for the Government and parties eager for a negotiated settlement, to press ahead for a new deal.

## Participation

There is every indication that the Government this time has accepted in its heart that full participation of all groups is the only moral basis for a new political system now that apartheid has proved unworkable.

That acceptance, however, does not remove the suspicions of its more radical opponents, that the Government may wish to foist apartheid-in-disguise on them. This suspicion will add greatly to the hard line taken in approaching negotiations, and could prevent any quick settlement.

Furthermore, some groupings do not seek a settlement at all, and actively oppose compromise. The CP falls in that category on the Right, and the Pan Africanist Congress does so on the Left. But there are also suspicions that the ANC is no convert to negotiations, in spite of the lip service paid to that principle.

Some see the ANC as having made such notable political head-



State President Mr F W de Klerk opened what could be the last Parliament under the present constitution.

way in the last few years without conceding any principles that there is no need for it to do so now. Especially with the Government under pressure from a mandate deadline that could bring it down at the polls, there are fears the ANC might force the Government to the wall.

A CP victory, it could be argued, might be the last doomed stand of the whites, whereas a compromise solution with the Nationalist Government might only deny black nationalists their dreams.

The position of the ANC toward real negotiations will become clearer after this week's meeting of its national executive in Lusaka. The hard line is by no means its only option. Nor is it in all respects in a stronger bargaining position than the Government.

A look into the minds of certain influential Cabinet Ministers reveals that they are still hoping for some group protection to be devised, enabling them to concede power to a coalition of parties.

Race representation, or even minority vetoes, are being recognised as proposals unlikely to persuade the ANC to a more tolerant stance. Instead, Nationalist thinking is turning towards the principle of equality

between unequal groups as the way to seek consensus solutions.

Groups would not necessarily be racial groups, and there would be an effort to get away from majority voting or vetoes as methods to resolve differences.

The President, Mr F W de Klerk, in his interview with Mr Ted Koppel on ABC television "Nightline" this week, used the example of equality of representation in the US Senate between different-sized states.

## Human rights

On top of this theory of group equality regardless of size, the Nationalists believe protection of individual rights will provide the other guarantee of human rights for the man in the street.

The combination of guaranteed group recognition and individual rights would be enough for them to surrender, white power to a coalition of interests (including white interests).

There is nothing inherently undemocratic in that solution, except that the ANC has long been committed to a system of universal franchise within an undivided South Africa, a formula that would throw power undiluted and unrestricted into the hands of the majority.

The Government fears the ANC formula would result in tyranny of the majority, and opposes it for that reason. ANC, MDM and UDF methods of networking discussion on problems, to arrive at decisions, is also frowned on by Government because it is seen as more suitable for one-party control, not for bargaining with opposition groups.

The ANC (through Mr Nelson Mandela) is already acknowledging that it must concern itself to allay white fears, but it is unclear yet whether this will extend to making concessions on a constitutional system, taking a softer line towards nationalisation of assets or giving recognition to white cultural and other values.

White politicians wait with some apprehension for greater clarity on what the ANC line will turn out to be on real negotiations.

Though the ANC cannot call all the shots, and the whites still retain power, there is no doubt that the ANC approach will have a considerable effect on the relative strengths of rival white parties.

They are all conscious that time is running out.

**Measuring words** 11A

Government was clearly disappointed and edgy at Nelson Mandela's first public comments after his release on Sunday. It is hoping for a more conciliatory response to President FW de Klerk's initiatives from the ANC executive committee in Lusaka.

At a press briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday the normally bland and unemotional Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen deviated from what has been an ultra-conciliatory approach in recent weeks to describe Mandela's recommitment to the armed struggle as "unhelpful" and his unqualified support for nationalisation of key industries as "naive and irresponsible." Viljoen also called for the ANC's economic policies to be "exposed" in debate.

However, he accepts Mandela's initial statements were made within the confines of an ANC policy not revised for decades. "We are confident that Mr Mandela will play an important role in further policy development within the ANC." (3-2-90)

Viljoen believes there is "confusion and contradiction" in ANC leadership ranks on the issue of an appropriate response. For that

reason, government can't "reach out" to particular leaders, no matter how important they may be, until the organisation has formulated an official response.

He sees hope for the future in Mandela's affirmation of De Klerk's integrity; his support for the creation of a climate for negotiation, which will obviate the need for armed struggle; his rejection of political domination by whites or blacks; and his awareness of the concerns of whites for one-man, one-vote.

He says another "meaningful step" would be a clear willingness to enter discussions with government about remaining obstacles towards negotiation, instead of "continuing harping on preconditions."

Viljoen says government agrees with Mandela that the remnants of apartheid must go and all people must be politically accommodated. But it finds "unacceptable" his view on sanctions and the armed struggle.

De Klerk's "large strides" towards bridging the gap of mistrust needs a similar response — such as a softening of sanctions.

In an apparent effort to bolster government's stance on key issues, Viljoen says the debate on constitutional change has started and needs input not only from politicians, but also from other interest groups including academics, economists and business leaders. He says the sort of economic policies the ANC propounds have been discredited throughout the world. ■

11A

# I will go home in peace'

WARMED UP ON SUNDAY AND WAS GOING STRONG ON TUESDAY. PHIL MOLEFE REPORTS

the people to handle it for themselves. Police representative Colonel Tienne Halgryn, said the mood in Soweto was "normal".

"We have sent out our normal patrols and we have been on the line to them every five minutes. They report everything as normal. Few celebrations have taken place ... and there has been no need for us to intervene in any action," he said.

Scores of vehicles including taxis and buses had joined in the merry-making, blaring their horns.

"O kae jwale a sa fihle? (Where is he now?)," said one old woman as she patiently waited in the blazing

sun. Just before midday word had already spread in the sprawling township that the leader would be addressing the masses at Orlando Stadium soon after his arrival from Cape Town.

"It is going to be full at the stadium, we should be making our way to Orlando now," said Florence Masekwame, a student at a nearby high school as she persuaded her friend that they should leave.

"I want to shake his hand first before I listen to him speak at the stadium," replied Maki, Florence's friend. Some old people who could not

make their way to the stadium waited patiently outside the Mandela household. "In the African tradition he can't go to the stadium before he goes into his house and thanks his ancestors for keeping him all these years," remarked one old man.

From the Orlando West hill top next to Mandela's house, scores of people could be seen making their way to the stadium. They marched from Mzimhlophe, Dube, Mofolo and Meadowlands in the West, and from Klipspruit and Orlando in the East.

Never before was Orlando Stadium so full. A Pirates-Kaizer Chiefs cup final at the stadium used to draw a

crowd of about 60 000.

But on Monday the Soweto soccer mecca was full beyond capacity. Two children were reported killed in a stampede and scores of other people were injured.

The people waited and Mandela did not arrive. His failure to arrive did not dampen the spirits. Thousands chanted and *toyitoyied* in the streets on their way home after the rally had been called off.

The news late in the evening that Mandela had finally landed in Johannesburg and would be addressing a rally at the First National Bank stadium on Tuesday sparked another round of celebrations.

Scores of people headed for Orlando West hoping he would sneak in at

the last hour. Television cameras took fresh positions and the marshalls were down to work again.

Some journalists had already heard through the grapevine that Mandela was whisked away to a secret place in Honeydew and he was likely to spend the night there.

But the people hung around. The real moment for him to be seen in Soweto came only at about 2pm on Tuesday when he appeared at the FNB stadium. Even Abdul Bhamjee, the National Soccer League public relations officer, admitted that day that Soccer City had never been that full.

After the speech, when the National Reception Committee chose to fly Mandela from the stadium in a helicopter, they made him miss what was happening on the ground.

"Mandela belongs to us, he belongs to the masses so why fly him above the people," grumbled one activist.

Standing in the crowd, I wished Mandela had been able to see it all.

11A



Relaxed and regal ... Nelson Mandela with Winnie Mandela at the Soccer City rally  
Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix



Joyfully reunited ... proud grandfather Nelson Mandela — the day after his release — with his wife Winnie and their daughter Zinzi (far right) and her children, Zoleka (left), Gadaffi (centre) and the newest baby (in Zinzi's arms).  
Picture: BENNY GOOL, Afrapix

## suddenly, he was there

to give a clenched-fist salute and advanced towards the gates, some 10 yards away, which symbolised freedom. A young woman among the press gave a piercing shriek which would have done a reincarnated Elvis Presley proud and, as if on the signal, the photographers stampeded and jumped upon each other with an air of desperation born of the fond belief that fame and fortune lay in a clear shot of the man.

After shaking a few hands their target made a strategic retreat to his car and was whisked off in what was just one of the surrealistic sights: that of the "desperate criminal" and "bloodthirsty terrorist" of yesteryear being protected by the wailing sirens of motorcycle cops riding with all the pride of a presidential escort.

They took the back-roads to Cape Town which was a pity, because the 50km length of the national road from nearby Paarl to the mother city was lined by crowds and groups of well wishers waiting for a glimpse of the living legend. They lined the flyovers, gazing down into the cars hurtling along the motorway underneath. Families watched hopefully next to empty picnic hampers under shady trees and gesticulating youths dancing along the verges with ANC flags, precipitating traffic jams and at least one pile-up as they exchanged jubilant clenched-fist salutes with passing cars speeding to the Cape Town rally.

When the convoy reached the city it was to find a huge, seething crowd of some 80 000 gathered on the Grand Parade in front of Cape Town city hall, awaiting the appearance of the man. On a porch under a huge ANC flag two anti-apartheid clerics, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Allan Boesak, urged them to patience as the hours ticked by. The heat in the middle of the crowd was almost unbearable, even in the summer's evening.

One by one fainting youths were passed over heads and hauled up to the podium for air. Nearby a water main was broken open and people scrambled for handfuls of water. On the edge of the parade ground the crowd surged now and then to the thud of gunshots as police in adjoining streets fired at alleged looters. In one corner a mobile medical clinic manned by university students tended to the injured lying on stretchers, some children in their pre-teens. The crowd waited on, heedless, for the man.

And then suddenly he was there, to a bellow of welcome. Looking gaunt in his grey suit and donnish in spectacles he read his carefully prepared speech.

And then the crowd broke into that great hymn, *Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika*, and all the waiting was forgotten in the moment: a man called Nelson Mandela had returned home to his people.

## We'll follow Mandela, the people sing

FREEDOM songs are one of the most powerful and original forms of "folk" music in South Africa, a product of the experiences of the people, their anger and their determination to be free. Their origins are diverse, emanating from the changing political scenario.

But, during the Welcome Home rally at the Soccer City stadium this week, activists struggled over their choice of freedom songs — as so many call for the release of Nelson Mandela.

But one song that still works and was sung in most of the townships during the euphoria of the African National Congress leader's release is the one calling for Mandela to answer

back: "Nelson Mandela, *sabela uya-bizwa*" (Nelson answer back, you are being called).

Most of the freedom songs created for campaigns such as the defiance campaign, the pass campaigns and the women's march on the Union Buildings, are still sung today, with slight modifications.

Such songs, despite being "outdated" on one level, still have the power to mobilise communities around a variety of issues.

Some of the songs are influenced by the rhythms and lyrics of church hymns and are reworded to fit a particular event at a particular time.

During the nationwide uprising of 1976, the most popular song was *Senzeni na? Sidutshulwa nje nge zin-ja* (What should we do when we are being shot like dogs?). The song uses the same rhythm as a well-known hymn.

Later the songs shifted from their defensive stance to assume a tone of more positive protest. Some praised the military wing of the ANC, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, while some praised the organisation's leadership.

During the rise of the workers movement, many songs called on the workers to unite and join the unions.

During the 1980s, a lot of songs were levelled at the government, in

X

X



Sunday chaos in Cape Town ... a youth was shot and killed when violence broke out at the Grand Parade rally on the day of Nelson Mandela's release

# Cape Town chaos teaches Jo'burg a quick lesson

THE HASTILY ORGANISED CAPE TOWN RALLY EXPLODED INTO LOOTING AND VIOLENCE. FORTUNATELY, JO'BURG WAS A MODEL OF DECORUM, reports **GAVIN EVANS**

IT was a tale of two cities: two rallies in two days in two centres of the country. The one, at best a partial success. The other, a triumph, remarkably free from major hiccups.

If there was a single cause of the troubles at Nelson Mandela's first release rally in Cape Town on Sunday afternoon, it was that everyone had been taken by surprise.

Neither the National Reception Committee nor the Cape Mass Democratic Movement leadership had any clear indication that Mandela was coming out on Sunday, nor that he would be giving his first speech in Cape Town.

In one day they managed to get together over 100 marshals, which may have been sufficient for a crowd of under 10 000.

As it happened over 100 000 people turned up. In groups of 20 or more, they squeezed into bakkies and kombis and they just kept on coming.

By 3.30pm the press enclosure at the city's Grand Parade had been overrun. Minutes later the marshals were literally driven to the wall and by 4pm the City Hall balcony which doubled as a makeshift podium had been seized.

Most of those who arrived and fought their way to the front were youths from the townships. Unlike their Soweto counterparts, most had not been active in political organisation, and many clearly lacked any notion of discipline.

They refused to get off the television platform, which broke. They refused to get off Jesse Jackson's Mercedes, which was stomped into a

wreck. They jeered at their regional leaders.

Mandela was due to address the crowd at 3pm, and it was over an hour after that when the looting began.

Some of those involved arrived as early as 9am, which meant that by 4pm they had been seven hours in the hot sun. While many involved in the window smashing and the bottle throwing were criminal elements taking advantage of the situation, the five-hour delay in Mandela's speech compounded the problem.

The police were not blameless too. While most were relatively restrained, when they opened fire it was often at point blank range and at the wrong targets.

In one incident I witnessed, the marshals were trying to restrain the

crowd when a bottle was thrown from several rows behind. The police fired indiscriminately at the marshals.

"We were trying to keep order when they shot at us," said one of the marshals, Nic Borain, who was hit by a rubber bullet. "The guy next to me was hit from a few meters, and it was with buckshot, not birdshot".

At about 4.30pm, hopes were raised when marshals struggled to haul a surprisingly calm Jesse Jackson onto the balcony.

He was followed by Allan Boesak, who, for the next three hours, tried without success to keep control. Other UDF and church leaders wisely withdrew, perhaps sensing the impossibility of their predicament.

Mandela finally arrived at 5.20pm, but his drivers made the mistake of

Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS, Afrapix delivering him to the front rather than the back of the City Hall. By that time the mood was angry and a decision was made to wait a little longer.

It was another two-and-a-half hours before he would finally address the crowd, many of whom had returned home by that stage.

Over the next two days confusion continued to reign while the National Reception Committee found their feet.

The first Mandela press conference was initially planned as a pre-rally event, then it was postponed until afterwards. Over 200 journalists dutifully arrived to be told it would be held the next day in Johannesburg, but it was later switched to Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

The next announcement was that the Soweto rally would be held at Jabulani stadium. Seventy thousand people arrived and several were injured in the rush.

By Tuesday the local and national reception committees had stabilised plans and the Soccer City rally in Soweto was relatively well organised. United Democratic Front assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe publicly apologised for the previous day's problems and the air was cleared.

One reason for the success of the Soweto event was that the venue was more conducive to crowd control. But, predictably, it was not nearly big enough.

Its official capacity is 85 000, but the number inside totalled at least 130 000, with up to 70 000 outside. When it ended at 5pm, scores of cars

## Victor Verster: We know the name, but who was he?

IF Nelson Mandela was the world's most famous prisoner, then Victor Verster must surely have become the world's most famous jailer, albeit several years after his passing away.

According to an obituary in the SA Prison Service's magazine *Nexus*, Verster retired from the service in 1963 after reaching the rank of Director of Prisons.

Following his departure, the civilian post of director was given its present title of Commissioner of Prisons as a result of a reorganisation for which Verster himself has been given much credit — and the honour (if you will) of having a jail in Paarl named after him.

*Nexus* also credits Verster for having a guiding influence on the 1959 Prisons Act, which, it says, established the Prisons Service as a separate entity less subject to control by and dependence on other branches of the government.

The Act also brought South Africa's prisons administration into line with "the standard minimum rules for the treatment of offenders which are subscribed to by the United Nations," *Nexus* says.

As Director of Prisons Verster established "contacts with international bodies and persons in the field of prison administration," says the magazine, adding that "these contacts led to many foreign visitors visiting South African prisons".

Verster died in December 1984, survived by his wife, a daughter, two grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

were still arriving. Had the event taken place on a weekend, and had it not been for the lack of publicity and the previous days' confusion, the crowd would probably have been 500 000 or more.

"We tried our best but we couldn't get a bigger venue than this," said UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, appealing to Soccer City management to keep on building in expectation of the return of the exiled leaders.

Much of the stress in Mandela's address and Walter Sisulu's short introductory speech was on discipline.

Perhaps because he spoke only in English, sections of the youthful crowd clearly did not listen, and some left early. Most, however, were glued to his words.

Unlike the all-day-picnic atmosphere of the rally in October to celebrate the release of Walter Sisulu and six others, the mood was tense and almost sombre.

The few incidents of indiscipline seemed to be a direct result of intense overcrowding. Where I was sitting there were three-to-a-seat, and the pressure from outside was enormous. Without the over 1 000 marshals present, the Cape Town chaos could have been repeated.

The NRC had learnt the lesson of punctuality. The rally started at its allotted time of 2pm, and Mandela spoke exactly one hour later.

INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

## IDASA

REGIONAL CO-ORDINATOR

IDASA (Western Cape Region) is looking for a Regional Co-ordinator to commence immediately (with a 6 month probationary period).

The work requires initiative, dedication and the ability to work with a wide diversity of people. A special requirement would be an understanding of and the ability to work in the Townships. The successful applicant will be expected to help conceptualise, plan and run IDASA projects in the Western Cape.

Applications in writing (including a summary of past experience) should reach IDASA Western Cape Region, 6 Faircape House, 46 Orange Street, Gardens, 8001, by February 25 1990.

PINETOWN-HIGHWAY CHILD AND FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY

A LARGE NON-RACIAL ORGANISATION Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons to fill the undermentioned vacant post

## FINANCIAL MANAGER

The successful applicant will be required to write up the society's books to balance sheet, prepare budgets, financial statements, subsidy claims, salaries and wages, administer and control finances for the society's creches, after-school care centres, and various projects. Salary negotiable and 13th cheque, pension and medical aid available. Please reply in writing and submit a CV to The Director, P O Box 42, Pinetown, 3600.

**Steps of hope**  
WE REJOICE AT THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA

WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO WORK FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF ALL THE PEOPLES

Missionaries of The Sacred Heart  
P.O. Box 977, Brakpan 1540.

## Are Mandela's <sup>(2)</sup>guards <sup>(11A)</sup>SAP men?

EVIDENCE is mounting that the Mass Democratic Movement and the security police have been involved in low-key collaboration to arrange bodyguards and other security measures for Nelson Mandela.

News reports, broadcast yesterday on Radio 702, quoted United Democratic Front sources as saying that security measures for Mandela were arranged jointly by the exiled leadership of the African National Congress and the South African security forces.

This coincides with reports from intelligence sources in the frontline states that former Police Commissioner Johann Coetsee had travelled to Harare last month to discuss security arrangements at Mandela's release.

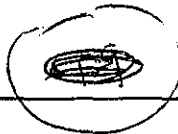
Colonel MJ Halgryn, police PRO for Soweto, asked if security police had assisted in guarding Mandela, said: "We feel responsible for Mandela's security and if we are responsible for someone's security, we do the security our way."

The government has stated that it is vital to ensure Mandela's safety. Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a press conference this week that the action of "maverick or lunatic elements" posed one of the greatest risks to the negotiation process. Mandela, however, has insisted that he will not accept the protection of the SAP.

There are two theories circulating about the identities of Mandela's bodyguards: that they are members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe, or that they are former policemen who have been recruited into a private security firm set up especially to provide a service to the MDM.

w/Man 16/2-22/2/90





# Mandela softens on nationalisation

By EDDIE KOCH

CONTROVERSY caused by Nelson Mandela's support for the nationalisation of key sectors of the South African economy was misconceived and unnecessary, the ANC leader told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday.

In a marked softening of his position on nationalisation, Mandela said his statements were designed simply to restate the existing policy of the ANC and that the movement was prepared to negotiate on all fundamental issues.

"I have said that we are prepared to compromise and that this is the policy of the ANC," Mandela said. However, he favoured nationalising some sectors of the economy because most black people did not have the necessary resources to own shares in the privatised companies.

"We must recognise that all this hullabaloo about nationalisation is totally misconceived, because nationalisation of certain sectors of the economy is part of the history of this country," he said.

Railways and telecommunications have always been owned by the state and the National Party promoted nationalisation policies vigorously in the past.

"All that time whites had the monopoly of political and economic power. But now the situation is changing.

It is clear that the day is not far off when blacks will have a dominant role in the political and economic structure of the country.

"Now the whites are turning around and saying: 'Nationalisation is not good. You must privatise'. Because they have got the the economic and financial muscle, they have got the resources to buy the industries which are privatised. We don't have that."

Mandela's comments were made in

response to threats from the Conservative Party that it would use his support for nationalisation as an issue around which to mobilise white resistance against the government.

Later he told Sapa that state control of sectors of the economy was the only way a new government would be able to "finance reform in health, education and housing".

The flurry of activity on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange since his release may have had more to do with a reluctance by whites to "achieve a

real settlement" than a fear of nationalisation, which had always been a feature of South Africa's economy.

The comments came in the wake of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo's statement this week that nationalisation was not the only way to ensure a redistribution of wealth.

"In South Africa, for a long time, you had State ownership of basic sectors of the economy and that did not mean advantage for the people for socialism," said Slovo in an interview with the BBC.

"So the whole question of how we move towards generating resources so that injustices of the past are addressed is something that has to be worked out. The pace and approach on this question is something which can be discussed," he said.

**FIRST FULL INTERVIEW WITH JOE SLOVO: SEE OVERLEAF**

# Nelson's next step <sup>11A</sup> a truce meeting with FW

FOR Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, the first stepping-stone to negotiations is a face-to-face meeting with the government to discuss a truce.

This is a key element of Mandela's political vision which has emerged in each speech and interview this week — and it has been largely overlooked by observers, according to close Mandela associate Dullah Omar.

While there has been shock in some quarters, notably in the Western press, at Mandela's insistence on the retention of the armed struggle and sanctions, Omar believes it was naive to expect that he would unilaterally renounce longstanding positions of his movement, and this has distorted the interpretation put on his speeches.

The pivotal early step (and Mandela says he is "confident" that day is not very far) is direct discussion between the two key actors about the "normalisation" of political life.

This would take place simultaneously with longer-term moves toward a broader "solution".

According to Omar, Mandela envisages such a meeting ending the "civil war". The armed struggle could be suspended and "in return Mandela would expect the freeing of all political prisoners ... the lifting of the State of Emergency, an end to all political trials and the abolition of the Internal Security Act."

Both the government and the ANC appear to be in broad agreement that such "normalisation" is a necessary

By **SHAUN JOHNSON and  
EDDIE KOCH**

condition for real negotiations.

Should the "truce" meeting succeed, "Mandela would then envisage non-racial elections to get people together from all sectors of South Africa to work out a new constitution," predicts Omar.

Omar's interpretation of the ANC veteran's thinking is supported by a close analysis of his utterances since his release and by a study of the August 1989 Harare Declaration.

Mandela's statements on the subject since Sunday follow this path. At his first rally on the Grand Parade in Cape Town, he said: "I wish to stress

that I myself had at no time entered into negotiations about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government."

His calls for the ending of the Emergency, a general amnesty, and the continuation of sanctions and mass action, followed directly after this key phrase. The two should be viewed as sides of a single coin.

At his media conference in the grounds of Bishops court on Monday, Mandela was asked about the apparent contradiction between his stated commitment to peace and his continuing endorsement of the armed struggle. He said: "There is no conflict between those two statements ... the armed struggle is merely defen-

sive ... If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country."

He then addressed the question of the NP/ANC meeting directly. "So far as (the release of Sisulu et al) was concerned, I have been negotiating (with the government). But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government."

He had been acting as a mediator in his "countless" meetings with the government, he said, "because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government."

8/Day 16/2/90

11A

~~322A~~

CONF

## Nationalisation fears 'must be assessed'

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

FEAR of the unknown was primarily responsible for the brake applied to the strong advance in share prices over the past few weeks, say V H Simmons's analysts.

What is now needed, following Nelson Mandela's statements on nationalisation, is a "cool and objective" assessment of whether or not such fears are justified, they say in the stockbroking firm's latest newsletter.

"We suggest that while we shall witness labour problems on an almost unprecedented scale, they will not cause widespread and insoluble disruption. The ANC believes it will rule SA in the not-too-distant future and we contend it is pragmatic and level-headed enough to ensure a sound economic infrastructure is intact on the day it expects to climb into the driver's seat."

Further, for the ANC to grow in strength and credibility it must keep its foreign options open, they say. If it is perceived by those abroad to be a destructive force in SA, the support of Western leaders may evaporate quickly.

However, the influence of the ANC over labour union leaders is, at the same time, "questionable", with the result that strike action will be unavoidable.

"Investors would therefore be well advised to steer clear, as far as possible, of shares in labour-intensive industries. The gold mines could prove to be an exception, because the heightened prosperity flowing from an advancing gold price should help the mines to stave off threatened labour unrest."

The analysts say government's deregulation and privatisation moves are essentially part of a denationalisation phase. Viewed in its correct perspective, then, ANC nationalisation "noises" are not very different from what the NP has been doing for the past 40 years.

"The essential difference is that the ANC wishes to nationalise precipitously; the Nationalist government did it insidiously," they add.

# Mandela comments on market fall

CHARLENE SMITH

THE adverse reaction to the issue of nationalisation showed that whites were reluctant to achieve a real settlement in this country, Nelson Mandela told SA journalists during a media briefing at his Soweto home yesterday.

He was responding to the flurry of activity on the stock markets caused by his statements earlier in the week that he still believed in nationalisation of the key mining and industrial industries.

"Nationalisation has formed part of the history of this country.

"Nationalisation exists. (11A) (KCP) (SAP)

"That's why the government is into privatisation now."

He said government moves to privatise would deprive a future black government of the resources to address the issues of poverty and housing shortages.

"Where do we get capital if we don't

nationalise?" 8/12/90

Sapa report he emphatically rejected government's new attitude towards the economy.

Asked if the country's 5-million whites would have to change their lifestyles under an ANC government, Mandela said they had already begun the process.

"Whites in this country are a very important section of the community and without them, without their co-operation, we will have immense problems.

"That is why we are so keen to ensure that the changes we are demanding are not going to mean domination of whites or blacks," he said.

● See Pages 10 and 11

● Comment: Page 10

# Door seems open on one man, one vote issue

Political Staff 16/2/90 (2/1A) (11A) Series of conciliatory remarks and responses between it and Mr Mandela.

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela's statement that the ANC was prepared to negotiate about its one man, one vote demand is being viewed in Government circles as his most positive remark yet.

National Party sources said this was the first time somebody from the ANC had indicated the demand was open to debate.

It was a cardinal point, the source said: "That has always been the number one issue as far as the Government is concerned."

The NP reaction was the latest in a se-

Series of conciliatory remarks and responses between it and Mr Mandela.

Speaking on BBC television, Mr Mandela said the Government's concept of group rights meant it was not ready to accept the principle of one man, one vote.

"We are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand, but at the same time we are consciously aware of the concern of whites over this demand."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to address white fears of being swamped. "We won't go into specifics just now, except to assure you that we realise how important it is to reach a settlement."

An NP spokesman said Mr Mandela's comments had mellowed markedly since his release on Sunday.

"This suggests two things: either Mr Mandela is seeing the world around him to be different in South Africa 1990 from what he had been led to believe, or the ANC itself is moving closer to a negotiating stance."

The tone of Mr Mandela's words since his release speech in Cape Town on Sunday, suggest he did not write that address.

"Either that, or it must be seen against 27 years out of circulation. The sentiments in it were really old hat."

STAR 16/290 (11A)

# Harare Declaration is the linchpin for peace

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC would not enter into negotiations before the Government had met all the preconditions as spelt out in the Harare Declaration, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In his first interview with local journalists since his return to Soweto, the ANC leader said the preconditions were the ANC's mandate from its supporters under the difficult circumstances where many leaders were either in exile or in jail. The organisation could not deviate from that mandate.

## COMMON ROLL

He held the interview in the small lounge of his home in Orlando West, Soweto.

He said there had been definite progress towards reaching a political settlement. He believed from discussions with Government representatives that progress would continue until political life had been completely normalised.

The ANC was prepared to

compromise on its views to reach a settlement.

But Western democracies were based on a system of one person, one vote. Universal franchise on a common voters roll was the only system acceptable to most South Africans.

Mr Mandela lashed out at the Government and whites in big corporations for being "agitated" about the ANC's policy on nationalisation.

Many sectors of the economy were already nationalised.

"For the Government now to be agitated over our policy of nationalisation shows they are not yet ready for either negotiations or a completely democratic system.

"Where do we get the capital to tackle the national issues facing us, such as housing, education and health, if we don't nationalise?"

Asked if the spate of violence countrywide would retard the lifting of the state of emergency, Mr Mandela said: "The Government has had three states of emergency. Violence is still

there. It has not helped the Government at all.

"The only power it has given the Government is the right to abuse its position by detaining innocent people without trial."

He would be prepared to play a facilitating role towards peace in Natal if instructed to do so by the ANC.

## IMPARTIAL ROLE

The 71-year-old politician strongly condemned Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for stating publicly that the UDF and its affiliates were the instigators of violence in Natal's townships.

"Any impartial individual would have listened to both parties before making a decision."

He called for a commission of inquiry into the causes and aggravating conditions of the violence.

The police should play an impartial role in Natal. This would be difficult because many blacks regarded the police as "the enemy of blacks".

Mr Mandela said the impa-

tiencia of black youth was not extraordinary, as had been illustrated by the National Party youths' actions years ago of breaking up political meetings when the United Party had been a threat.

"And the Afrikaner youth had the vote. The black youth has no such opportunities."

Following his urgent return-to-school call two days ago, Mr Mandela said:

"It is the responsibility of the Government to create conditions whereby we can make an appeal to the youth to discipline themselves and to go back to school.

"In the present political set-up it is difficult to do."

The Government had banned the Congress of South African Students, which had had a moderating effect on black pupils, and had detained youth leaders.

Asked to comment on events in Eastern Europe, Mr Mandela said the West forgot that Soviet

President Mikhail Gorbachev was the only international figure who had had the courage and honesty to confess about the shortcomings of socialism.

No comparable leader in the West had confessed about the mistakes of colonialisation and imperialism which had oppressed masses of people.

"If you remember that, you will be restrained in your assessment of the extent of the repercussions that might arise all over the world as the result of the turmoil in Eastern Europe."

## OPPRESSION ISSUE

Asked to comment on President Kenneth Kaunda's call for an end to the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said it was understandable that the Zambian leader would hold that view, since he was a non-violent and peaceful man.

"But the issue here is not one of the armed struggle, it is a question of apartheid. The issue is not one of sanctions, but one of oppression."

# ANC willing to see Strydom set free

## Executive seeks reprieve for all political offenders

LUSAKA — The ANC is so committed to the pardon of political offenders and to the abolition of the death sentence that it is prepared to see "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom go free.

This emerged yesterday from lobby discussions with officials attending the three-day meeting of the organisation's national executive committee.

The meeting of the ANC, at which a response to President de Klerk's reform initiative is being formulated, was into its second day yesterday.

Leaders of the ANC remain tight-lipped about the discussions, which are taking place behind closed doors, but there are indications that important announcements will be made at the end of the meeting.

ANC leaders are also not indicating when, or whether, Nelson Mandela will visit Lusaka.

### Divisions

They have said they are in touch by telephone with Mr Mandela and other internal leaders.

The ANC leadership is making light of suggestions that there are deep divisions over the approach to be taken to the Government's initiative.

In an interview this week, SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo adopted a hard-line "no

**By Ken Vernon of The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa**

concessions" stance, but there are indications that the "negotiationist" faction has prevailed, and that some concessions designed to keep the climate of reconciliation alive are likely.

In discussions with officials on Wednesday night it became apparent that the ANC is totally committed to the abolition of the death sentence and that it is unlikely to compromise on the issue of political offenders.

It is generally believed that the run-up to real negotiation and a return of exiles could take up to 18 months.

But it is possible that within the next fortnight large numbers of ANC supporters within SA, many of them in prominent positions, might reveal themselves and start with the internal restructuring of the ANC.

© See Pages 5, 6 and 12.

the ANC leader and the SA government. — Sapa

## Venda accepts ANC

CHL Twp  
14/2/90 11A

**LOUIS TRICHARDT.** — The President of Venda, Chief Frank Ravele, has announced that the ANC will be allowed in Venda "soon". He said at a news conference in Thohoyandou that his cabinet had discussed the matter and an announcement would be made in due course, SABC radio news reports. — Sapa



ALL TIME 16/2/90  
Meeting with Azapo 11A

**SOWETO.** — A constructive and promising meeting took place between Mr Mandela and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) executive yesterday morning in Orlando West, Soweto, an Azapo spokesman said.

"We have always been united in our aims and that is the liberation of the oppressed people in SA, but we have differed on strategy and tactics about how this should be achieved," said the spokesman. — Sapa

(11A) 16/2/90

2 Cape Times, Friday

## Guarded by grim-faced 'young lions'

JOHANNESBURG.— Mr Nelson Mandela has been surrounded at each of his public appearances since his release from prison on Sunday by a phalanx of grim-faced black youths in wrap-around sunglasses.

Drawn mainly from the ranks of the so-called young lions of the South African Youth Congress, the suited youths scanning the crowds around Mr Mandela are the security he chose over an offer from Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

They travel ahead of the African National Congress (ANC) leader when he moves from home and scan the crowds with binoculars while he speaks.

Mr Mandela, 71, has spurned offers of state protection since his release after 27 years in prison. — Sapa-Reuter

# ANC will respond to FW today

CAPT TWIN'S 16/12/90  
114

Own Correspondent

**LUSAKA.** — The ANC is expected to clarify the controversial issue of nationalisation when it issues its response to President FW de Klerk today. There were strong indications from a senior ANC source yesterday that the organisation was poised to announce a largely positive reply to Mr De Klerk's political initiatives.

The source said the ANC's main economic priority was to address the historical injustices and distortions caused by racism.

"But there are many reasons why we cannot nationalise the economy even if we wanted to. We do not want our economy to collapse into nothing," he said.

"There is nothing in our constitutional guidelines which make nationalisation mandatory."

In his view the ANC constitutional guidelines superseded the Freedom Charter with its emphasis on nationalisation.

He said the ANC felt strongly that sanctions should remain in place "for as long as the apartheid question is not resolved.

"We need them as a guarantee that negotiations do not stop in the middle of nowhere."

By yesterday it appeared clear that any serious strategic divisions among the ANC's national executive committee members had been ironed out, with disagreements not along simplistic political vs military lines.

● Mandela slams 'un-sympathetic' businessmen — Page 5

India sends envoy *Cyber Times 16/12/80*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — A special envoy from India has met Mr Mandela, and has held talks with him about the future of SA.

Mr Prakash Shah of the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent by Prime Minister Mr V P Singh to meet Mr Mandela and invite him to India.

Mr Shah said Mr Mandela had accepted the invitation and was expected to visit India next week. — Sapa



All smiles at yesterday's meeting were Mr Nelson Mandela and Azapo officials (from left) Mr Mbulelo Rakoena, Mr Strini Moodley, Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Muntu Myeza and Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala.  
Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

# ANC

Sowetan 16/2/90

11A

# forges unity

THE ANC has already made progress in forging unity with political organisations not falling within its ambit, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Earlier Mandela met five leaders of the Azanian People's Organisation who had gone to greet and meet him officially at his

**By THEMBA MOLEFE and PHANGISILE MTSHALI**

home yesterday. They were president Mr Nkosi Molala, publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza, Mr Strini Moodley, deputy president Mr Lybon Mabasa and Mr Mbulelo Rakoena. Speaking after the meeting Mabasa said Azapo had aimed at establishing lines of communication.

"We share a common

problem to overcome oppression, although we belong to different organisations. Mandela has a significant role to play as an ANC leader and the position he has assumed among black people," Myeza said. "The struggle has reached a new level after the State President's announcements and this has made solidarity and co-operation between all liberation movements an urgent necessity," Myeza said.

Addressing the Press from his Orlando West home, Mandela said throughout its history the ANC had made unity its top priority.

He cited as an example the Conference for a Democratic Future, a meeting of more than 100 organisations subscribing to the Freedom Charter and Black Consciousness movement at the University of the Witwatersrand last year.

● To page 2

**WE'RE OUR TO MAKE R**

SEALY FEELINGS	
WAS	NOW
12' Firm Double	R369 R289
12' Firm Single	R309 R239
12' Firm Double	R409 R349
12' Firm Queen	R579 R429

SEALY FEELINGS	
WAS	NOW
12' Firm Double	R579 R509
12' Firm Single	R479 R409
12' Firm Double	R649 R529
12' Firm Queen	R1029 R769

SEALY LUXURY SLEEP	
WAS	NOW
12' Firm Double	R229 R199
12' Firm Single	R209 R219
12' Firm Double	R289 R289

SEALY LUXURY SLEEP	
WAS	NOW
12' Firm Double	R479 R349
12' Firm Single	R339 R309
12' Firm Double	R509 R509

**THE SLEEP MATTY**

- 39 STORES S.A.'S BIGGEST**
- BLAUBOURG 872-8697/8-889 Shop 102 Upper Level Alberton City
  - BENONI 34-2276
  - BENTONVILLE 433-2200/2277 674-8178/8178-2271
  - BRANDFORD 748-4077
  - 182 Venter Ave. S. EASTGLAZIER 814-6206/814-1419 Shop 38
  - EDENBURGH 423-1318
  - 145 Meyer St. JOHANNESBURG CITY 38-4612/38-4872 Cr. Toy & Precious St.
  - REXHBURGH 872-8697/8-889 Shop 102 Upper Level Alberton City
  - ISLAINET 438-1045/6 494-3313/410 Shop 22
  - Kilnery Shopping Centre Rivers Road
  - MALLS ROAD 612-7812/7812-7980 502 Alan St
  - 102 SPYGLASS 012112020/2020 Shop 20
  - Beaumont Branch 102
  - 1122-1122-1122 777-0027/7-0025 Cr. Oak Ave & The Mall
  - ROODPOORT 728-4227/8-4223 44 Van Wyk St.
  - ROSEBANK 423-1318/1318 728-4223/7-4223 728-1225/42 880-2344 728-1225/42 880-2344 Fris Complex Shop 10

P.T.O

● From page 1

Considerable progress has since been made since the CDF, Mandela said.

He was critical of the role of the South African Police in tackling the escalating violence in Natal and called for a judicial inquiry.

One of the major problems is the role of the South African police. There is evidence that police are inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the United Democratic Front.

He also accused the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, of partiality by publicly stating the UDF and its allies were responsible for the violence.

Vlok had spoken only to Inkatha and left out the UDF before making the statement. As the person in charge of the police he should have been impartial and spoken to both the parties involved, Mandela said.

Partiality of the police will not solve the problem and the Government's (recent) decision that it would send 1 000 troops to Natal will not help either.

Asked whether he would meet Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the Natal crisis, Mandela said: "If the ANC so demands I will do it with humility as a disciplined and loyal member of the organisation."

Mr Walter Sisulu will lead a delegation of ANC leaders on a mission to the violence-torn Natal on February 25.

On the present mood of black youth, Mandela said the Government was charged with the responsibility of normalising the situation in the townships so that calls for pupils to return to school could be effectively made.

Mandela also reiterated the ANC's position on negotiations, saying all pre-conditions should be met by the Government.

These were the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners.

(11A)

# SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

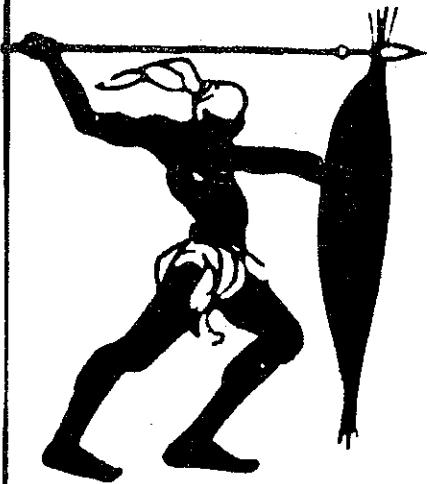


**WE IN SAYCO WELCOMES OUR  
ISITHWALANDWE AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF!**

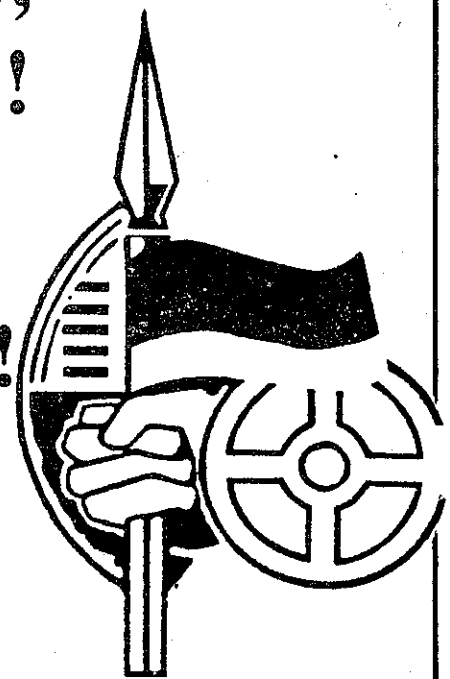


**COMRADE NELSON MANDELA**

**WE ARE YOUR SOLDIERS,  
COMRADE COMMANDER!**



**WE CARRY YOUR SPEAR!**



**ORDER US TO BATTLE!**

**FREEDOM OR DEATH-**

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**





# Meet us on Harare accord — Mandela

APR 6 45 16/2/90

11P

## Political Staff

THE African National Congress will not enter into negotiations before the government has met all the preconditions as spelt out in the Harare Declaration, says Mr Nelson Mandela.

In his first interview with journalists since his return to Soweto, the ANC leader said the preconditions were the ANC's mandate from its supporters under the difficult circumstances where many leaders were either in exile or in jail. The organisation could not deviate from that mandate.

A relaxed Mr Mandela said there had been definite progress towards reaching a political settlement. He believed from discussions with government representatives that progress would continue until political life had been completely normalised.

The ANC was prepared to compromise on its views in order to reach a settlement.

However, Western democracies were based on a system of one person, one vote. Universal franchise on a common voters' role was the only system acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

Mr Mandela lashed out at the government and "whites in big corporations" for "being agitated" about ANC nationalisation policy. Many sectors of the economy were currently nationalised.

"For the government now to be agitated over our policy of nationalisation shows they are not yet ready for either negotiations or a completely democratic system of government.

"It is now that the possibility has arisen that blacks might have an effective voice in government that they are now saying 'let's privatise'. I don't accept that at all."

Stock market turmoil indicated how unsympathetic big corporations were to black aspirations.

On the subject of violence, Mr Mandela criticised the state of emergency and said he would play a facilitating role towards peace in Natal if instructed to do so by the ANC's executive.

He strongly condemned Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok for publicly stating that the United Democratic Front and its affiliates were the instigators of violence in Natal.

"Any individual who is impartial would have listened to both parties before making a decision," he said, calling for a commission of inquiry into the causes and aggravating conditions of the violence.

## Peaceful man

Commenting on Dr Kenneth Kaunda's call for an end to the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said this was understandable as the Zambian president was a non-violent and peaceful man.

"But the issue here is not one of the armed struggle — it is a question of apartheid. The issue is not one of sanctions, but one of oppression. The armed struggle was resorted to by us because we had no other option."

In an interview with US television, monitored in Washington, The Argus Foreign Service reports that Mr Mandela reiterated his views on the continuation of present ANC strategies as long as the basic demand of one person, one vote was not met.

Mr Mandela rejected black-on-black violence, even in the case of black police informers.

"We do not even find it correct that civilians should kill other civilians, whether they are black or white. The struggle is solely against government policy. We want to confine it at that level."

# The Mandela Factor: What our readers think Rallies locked into a time warp



ARBU 16/2/90

11A

I HAVE been following recent political developments with interest, and was impressed with President De Klerk's speech in parliament on February 2 and his Press conference on February 10.

On the other hand I attended the meeting at the Grand Parade on Sunday, and although the mid-afternoon feeling of the crowd was friendly and celebratory, the mood seemed to change with the mob looting of shops and the taunting directed at the police. This was a grim reminder of the criminal and violent elements that lurk within the community.

Later, as dusk approached, Mr Mandela gave his speech and I was a bit disappointed.

He said the emotive issue of the armed struggle would continue. But this issue, thankfully, is really a paper tiger. Beirut and Belfast might show signs of an armed struggle but here in Cape Town the signs of an armed struggle are about as evident as the signs of an official international touring cricket team. So how can he say something that doesn't exist will continue?

Anyway it is irresponsible to talk like this, for if an armed struggle did develop it could further polarise the situation — with ghastly consequences.

These kind of rallies seem to be locked in a 1960s time warp. Instead of talking to their committed supporters and keeping up a chorus of "Viva!" their speeches should rather show a sympathy and an understanding of those people not committed to their party.

Then I think De Klerk and Mandela could between them probably get the support of 95 percent of the country and carry us forward to some form of consensus politics in which strife, apartheid and the armed struggle become part of history.

M PEARSON

Ottery

IDEOLOGY F/M 16/2/90

## Mellower views

A veteran communist and old ANC member, banned for nearly 40 years, believes Nelson Mandela and the ANC may not be seriously considering nationalisation.

Rowley Arenstein (71), a former attorney until he was disbarred in 1967, was freed of restrictions on February 2 when President F W de Klerk unbanned the Communist Party.

Since 1953 Arenstein has had several banning orders served on him, spent 18 years under house arrest and served a four-year jail sentence for furthering the aims of communism. He now holds views broadly supportive of recent political reforms in the country, though he remains a committed communist.

He worked with Mandela in the Congress Movement before the ANC leader was imprisoned. He was already a member of the

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 16 1990

FIM 16/2/90

Arenstein says he hopes to return to a legal career and expects his wife will start writing again. Their two daughters are attorneys. ■

# Mandela rebukes UK over easing of sanctions against SA

5  
d be  
m to  
to a  
Afr-  
such  
lon

had  
id it  
Dis-

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has criticised the British government for easing sanctions against South Africa and has urged Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to stick to European Community policy on the issue.

Mr Mandela's statement, made to a group of journalists at his Soweto home and quoted in The Times today, came as the European parliament passed a motion welcoming the African National Congress leader's release, but calling for the retention of sanctions for the time being.

According The Times report, Mr Mandela said: "The British government should not act unilaterally on this question. There is no need to review the question of sanctions at all because the conditions for which sanctions are being applied still exist."

## PRESENTED LETTERS

● The Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday presented letters to West European foreign ministers, calling for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa.

● The Inkatha movement has opposed a call by a Labour MP, Mr Bernie Grant, that the British government give financial aid to the ANC. In a letter to Mrs Thatcher and Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, Inkatha's representative in London, Mr B M Skosana, said the failure to distribute financial

aid "equitably" to anti-apartheid organisations would lead to "internecine conflict" among black South Africans.

● Noted Irish academic Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien has endorsed Mrs Thatcher's view that a relaxation of sanctions will help prevent President De Klerk being swept from power by a white backlash.

"It is not a question of 'rewarding' De Klerk but of preventing the loss of so many of his followers to the Conservatives that he could no longer deliver his policy of getting away from apartheid," he wrote in The Times yesterday.

● US congressional anti-apartheid activists are steaming ahead with plans to introduce additional financial sanctions against South Africa later this year.

Congressman Walter Fauntroy announced yesterday that his Sub-committee on International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy would hold two days of hearings next week into proposed legislation on financial sanctions.

## AMERICAN INVESTORS

● American investors of-flooding their holdings on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange will not be able to re-invest in South Africa in terms of US sanctions legislation.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 expressly prohibits new US investment in the South African economy.

THE

The paper for a changing South Africa

# WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 6, Number 5 Friday February 16 1990 to Thursday February 22 1990

## SOUVENIR MANDELA SUPPLEMENT

Pictures, anecdotes and reminiscences from the early life of Nelson Mandela



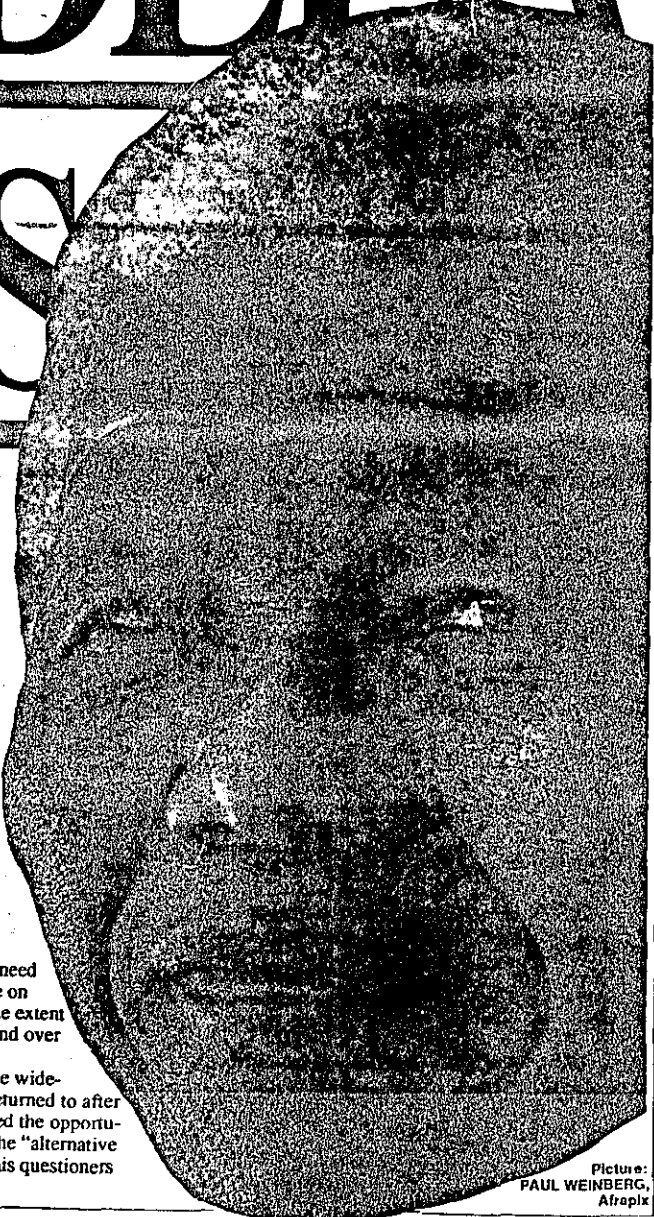
WEEKLY MAIL INTERVIEW

w/ Mand 16/2 - 22/2/90

118

# MANDELA

# SPEAKS



*In his first press interview, the ANC leader talks about the need for flexibility*

Interviewed by **GAVIN EVANS and SHAUN JOHNSON**

**N**ELSON MANDELA said yesterday that he was willing to be flexible over fundamental issues — even minority rights. Interviewed at his Soweto home, the 71-year-old African National Congress patriarch told the *Weekly Mail* there was no such thing as a “non-negotiable” issue.

“Once you say this particular issue is not negotiable, you are destroying the whole process of negotiation. If you are not prepared to compromise, then you must not enter into or think about the process of negotiation at all.”

Asked if the issue of minority rights was negotiable, Mandela stressed that in referring to “compromises”, he meant on “fundamental issues”.

“Insignificant things, peripheral issues, they don’t need any compromise,” he said. “You need a compromise on fundamental issues. What those issues will be, and the extent of the compromise, will depend on the type of demand over which a compromise is required.”

Mandela relaxed, chatted and joked freely during the wide-ranging interview in the lounge of the home he has returned to after more than a quarter of a century’s absence. He relished the opportunity of talking “face to face” with representatives of the “alternative press”, he said, and made a point of greeting each of his questioners

•To PAGE 2

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

I HAD A DREAM .... AND SO DID 150 000 OTHERS

Thami Mkhwanazi on Page 11

P.T.O.

# Relaxed Mandela praises FW, criticises Vlok

From PAGE 1

individually.

Discarding his suit jacket and pull-over before settling down on the sofa, he answered questions about his famous interest in boxing ("I stopped boxing before I went to prison — there was no opportunity for that type of thing — but I still follow it") and lamented the fact that he needed his glasses — "otherwise I won't be able to see".

Perhaps due to the relative informality of the interview, Mandela's famous charisma was allowed to emerge. At one point he chastised his questioners with an impish smile: "Why are you so serious? Why are you not laughing?"

Then, against the backdrop of a house filled with welcoming flowers and telegrams from all over the world, he returned to the business at hand. Despite having been in constant demand since the early hours of the morning, Mandela showed no signs of fatigue, nor impatience at the constant barrage of questions.

Mandela was conciliatory towards activists in the rival black consciousness camp, and said he believed there was a good chance of putting an end to Natal bloodshed.

He was clearly touched that representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation had visited the Vilakazi Street home that morning to pay their respects: "We worked with Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement very well in fighting prison conditions," he said, "and in the

## Mandela expresses thanks to 'alternative press'

By GAVIN EVANS and SHAUN JOHNSON

NELSON Mandela believes the "alternative press" in South Africa played a central role in bringing about the changes taking place in the country today and that it acts as a major influence on the government. (243)

In an interview yesterday Mandela said he had made a special request to the National Reception Committee to meet members of the "alternative press", "so that I should have the opportunity of thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the stand you have taken".

He said the perspectives put forward in the "alternative press" had "compelled the conventional press into giving publicity to the same views", and in this way had been an important influence.

"The courageous stand which you have taken is to a

very large extent responsible for the changes that have taken place today.

"The alternative press has always had a direct influence on government, and as a prisoner I was able to assess this very well".

The only way to flourish in the growing market of black readers in South Africa is to "reflect the ideas for which we are fighting". W/Med 16/2-22/2/90

Courageous journalism had played "a very valuable contribution to the struggle in this country for change and peace", he said.

Mandela expressed strong views on the need for press freedom and said the suppression of this right had been "one of the tragedies of this country".

"Forthright views from the press are always important because a good press is a good opinion maker in any society."

course of those struggles very powerful friendships and solidarity were established.

"If I am allowed to by the national executive of the ANC," he added, "I will reciprocate their overtures."

While repeatedly stressing that he was "just an individual" who would assume whatever role the ANC chose to confer on him, he said "if I have any ideas which can give fresh momentum to our efforts to unite the masses ... I will make those views known to the ANC.

"I will also hold discussions with other political organisations in this country," he said. "We are not the only people committed to unity."

The "one-sided" role of the police in the Natal conflict had vexed attempts at reconciliation, he said, but "in my view, an accord between the UDF (United Democratic Front) and its al-

lies and Inkatha would be the first step toward resolving this issue. Because when we pool our resources, and there is every reason why we should do so, we have got a far better chance."

In contrast to his words of praise for State President FW de Klerk, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mandela lambasted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for "blaming the UDF and Cosatu for the trouble that is taking place in Natal" when Vlok had held meetings with only one side.

He said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had "played his part" in trying to resolve the issue of the Natal violence but specifically blamed the police for siding with Inkatha.

Asked what his attitude was toward Afrikaners, he said it should not be necessary to ask such a question.

"For the last three years I have been negotiating with Afrikaners," he said.

"I am on the record as saying that I regard Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity. And I sincerely believe in this and I believe that he himself wants to have a new chapter in the history of this country. And that the two ministers around him (Coetsee and Viljoen) complement him very well in this task.

"I have of course made the reservation that I do not know whether Mr De Klerk is able to carry the NP and

Afrikaners with him. But the progress that has been made so far — and it is quite solid progress toward negotiations — has been made with Afrikaners. That in itself is sufficient comment on what I think of Afrikaners."

Mandela did not rule out the possibility of a future coalition between the ANC and the National Party in government, but stressed that it would be up to the ANC National Executive Committee to formulate strategies on such negotiations.

"All I have been concerned with in prison is how to get the ANC and the government to sit down and strive for a peaceful settlement," he said. "That is all. I haven't gone beyond that."

Mandela spent a large part of the interview discussing the problems of discipline and working structures within the resistance movements.

The problems of black youths "must be appreciated," he said, but they were aware of the need for discipline. The banning of the Congress of South African Students in 1985 had "removed a moderating influence", he said, quoting the report of Professor Tjaart van der Walt into the 1984-85 Vaal uprisings.

"He (Van der Walt) spoke as if he was Oliver Tambo," said Mandela.

"He said it was tragic to ban Cosas ... he said the African youth were far more developed than their white counterparts."

Mandela said inferior education was a major part of the problem, but had no doubt "if you sit down to discuss with youth their organisations, call meetings, that they will accept any suggestion we make to".

The South African Youth Congress was working on such structures, he said, and he condemned what he described as the over-reaction to incidents of hooliganism at his Grand Parade welcoming rally on Sunday.

"You take the example of the NP youth during the time of United Party meetings — they beat up speakers ... it is the exaggeration of whites who want to monopolise political power and who want to justify it by saying that blacks are not able to run their own affairs.

"I think we will not have much difficulty if we are given the opportunity to address the youth of this country."

The ANC leader called for the establishment of popular people's structures because "those that exist today, like town councils, are discredited ... therefore there is no well-structured body in the community to be able to tackle (the problem of crime).

"Law and order is in our interests," he said, but the problem was that "although there are maybe a few policemen who are quite good, the average policeman who is in contact with blacks is regarded as an enemy".

In an earlier interview, Mandela said that without the co-operation of whites "we will have immense problems in this country and that is why we are so keen to give them guarantees that the changes we are demanding are not going to mean domination of whites by blacks.

"There are substantial numbers of whites today who feel that fundamental changes are necessary and for that reason it is necessary for us to address seriously their fears and to reassure them that the changes we demand will not mean that their standards will be worsened."

Asked about his health, Mandela said it was "reasonably good" but that there were some "signs of wear and tear."

JOE SLOVO, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, uses the following analogy to rebuff accusations that the African National Congress is showing less than due gratitude for State President FW de Klerk's recent moves:

"When a man has been consistently battering his wife, he shouldn't expect a bouquet of roses from her the morning after he promises to stop ..."

"What have they really done? They've stopped battering us in the extreme way the did before, but beyond that, where are we?"

In Slovo's view, not very far. For one thing, he considers the ANC and the SACP, in real terms, to be not even half-way to where they were when the state's battering sent them underground 40 years ago.

Since then, he says, "we've been in the wilderness — and we don't see the promised land yet".

The long years of exile — during which his wife, Ruth First, was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982 — at times "seemed interminable".

"What kept us going was the reality that most of those with whom we worked at top levels during the 1960s were incarcerated, and that our task outside was to try and get things going again."

What sustained him was commitment — on the personal as well as the political level: in London during the "early days" he kept on his wall a photograph of Nelson Mandela with Walter Sisulu.

"Everytime a feeling of tiredness overcame me, I would look at that picture and it would all disappear."

As Slovo, once seen as the arch-enemy of the South African government, spoke in Lusaka this week, an SABC television crew was filming interviews with ANC officials at the movement's headquarters — an event once deemed inconceivable by both sides, now a measure of a new commitment. But words, even if they open up acres of once forbidden political space, do not necessarily remove fences.

Thus while both the ANC and the SACP intend resuming above-ground activity, strengthening their decades-old alliance and becoming "what we've always wanted to become — a legal political force with the right to contest for a following in the normal democratic way," the way ahead is marked with "proceed with caution" signs.

And De Klerk — "less of a street-fighter than his predecessors, and more realistic about the urgency of finding a solution" — is just one factor in a complex equation according to Slovo.

"He's embarked on a policy of finding new ways to retain as much as he feels able of white privilege. But having been forced to adopt new means of achieving this, he has created — without necessarily designing it — new space, new chemistry."

"In a sense South Africa after February 2 will never be the same again: not because De Klerk has transformed it but because, objectively, it has been transformed."

Progress, according to Slovo, will depend not so much on what De Klerk does but "by the pressure which is maintained on the ground by the people inside and by the international community."

But neither the ANC nor the SACP could be expected to emerge as a finished product at a legal level in 40 hours. A certain degree of wariness is required: it is not written in the stars that things will continue smoothly.

"De Klerk's speech is only 10 days old and already we've seen a rightwing backlash and the police showing their readiness to massacre people."

"Our re-emergence must accommodate many factors. We should not become too euphoric and act as if the political atmosphere has been normalised."

"We're far from the stage where a legal party can operate in confidence that the democratic process and the rules of the game will be adhered to either by the government or certain sections of the security forces," Slovo said.

Our timetable is not that of (Minister of Constitutional Development, Gerrit) Viljoen's, who sees 10 years passing before a National Party government disappears. Our timescale is tomorrow, but one's got to be realistic whether one can achieve that.

"We don't see the negotiation process as a business exchange — what emerges from it will depend on the clout of the people. So the struggle won't be called off just because of the prospect of negotiations looming ahead."

"You can't go to a negotiating table pointing a gun, but you've got to keep it over your shoulder."

Until the government accepted the terms of the Harare Declaration — the ANC's blueprint for creating conditions for talks, endorsed by the organisation of African Unity and the United Nations — "We're not going to be at a negotiating table."

"We've set out our conditions clearly and they've got to be complied with for the atmosphere to be created for genuine negotiations to begin."

And unless what was put on the table amounted to "an exchange on the process of moving, at speed, towards a united democratic South Africa then I don't think the table will lead to any results at the end of the day."

For Slovo, the crunch issue is the economic one. He reads the government's insistence on "group rights" as little more than a euphemism for virtually all the wealth of the country remaining in white hands.

"I have the feeling that if they were assured we wouldn't touch any of the white economic privileges we'd be there next month, in a majority rule situation."

"From our point of view there can be no liberation without economic liberation, and I'm not talking about socialism — yet. If they're going to dig in on the issue of entrenching the status quo in relation to the economy, and hold on to what they have, then I'm afraid *aluta continua*."

While the SACP went further than the ANC in believing the only rational way for South African society to be run was along social democratic lines, the question of a socialist future could "be settled in debate rather than in the streets — if we achieve a genuine democratic society".

The party still sees itself as the vanguard of the struggle — but not in the old, entrenched way: "we don't believe we have a natural right to lead workers. We must be the vanguard not by law but through social mobilisation and acceptance. If we can't achieve that, we've no right to represent them in any kind of power structure."

Support for the party within South Africa was "virtually impossible to quantify".

But Slovo attributes the groundswell of support for socialism in recent years — measured by SACP banners flying at virtually every political demonstration since the 1984-1987 uprisings — more to a negative reaction to "the depredations of racial capitalism".

"It's not difficult in South Africa for the ordinary person to see the link between capitalism and racist exploitation, and when one sees the link one immediately thinks in terms of a socialist alternative."

It didn't necessarily follow, however, that socialism was "a finished image in the minds of all those who shout the slogans."

"It's our task as a party to educate and explain, to transform the vague slogan into a fully understood concept — which we try constantly to do."

Likewise, the context in which the ANC and SACP understood negotiations had to be clarified and explained to people who saw a contradiction in terms between "negotiations" and "the struggle".

For Slovo, the crisis faced by socialism in Eastern Europe arose because of a yawning chasm which developed between socialism and democracy, "understandably so".

In his view, these "negative distortions" are not inherent in socialist doctrine but are the result of "the perversion of what I understood to be socialism."

"We had partly moved away from these distortions long before the explosions which took place in Eastern Europe — but we still have a great deal to learn from such failures."

Socialism's failure in Eastern bloc countries is also likely to affect the support — both material and moral — the ANC has so far enjoyed, as they turn their attention on their own problems rather than those of far-distant liberation movements.

Hungary's invitation to South African foreign minister Pik Botha indicates, for Slovo, that "the transformations which are taking place could lead to a different posture".

But in the case of the Soviet Union, there was "no evidence whatsoever" that support would end.

# FACE TO FACE WITH JOE SLOVO



For forty years until his 'unbanning' this month, the views of Joe Slovo were too dangerous to be heard. Here the Communist Party chief talks to **GAYE DAVIS** in his first full interview in a South African newspaper

VINTAGE COLLECTION - DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION - DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION - DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION - DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION - DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION

11A

THE party really came alive on Sunday. Soweto, Hillbrow, Sharpville, Kaitshong ... in fact the whole country, broke into impromptu celebrations.

It was on Saturday night that it actually began. Thousands took to the streets the moment the announcement was made, marching in the streets of Soweto (in pouring rain), singing and toying-toying until well after midnight.

And on Monday, the celebrations continued as thousands of people stayed away from work.

There was no official call for a stay-away, no pamphlets were distributed, neither were there the usual nocturnal evangelists calling on workers to stay at home. It just happened and the people stayed away on their own to welcome the released African National Congress leader.

"Inkikheli ibuyile asi phangele namhlanje (The leader is back, we are not working today)," was the

# 'If I can just touch his hand,

IT WAS THE BIGGEST PARTY THE COUNTRY HAD SEEN. IT STARTED ON SATURDAY NIGHT.

message.

A few taxis and buses were running to town early in the early morning, but they disappeared shortly after 7am. A handful of students in uniform went to school, but hung around the premises rather than going into classes.

At about 8am, hundreds of people had already lined up the main road in Orlando East, Afrika Street, which leads onto the Soweto Highway to the city. An amorphous group of youths sat in the road anxiously waiting for Mandela.

"We are here to form a guard of honour for Comrade Mandela when he enters Soweto for the first time in many years on his way home," said one youth wearing a gold, green and

black T-shirt at the Orlando/Diepkloof entrance to Soweto.

The Old Potchefstroom Road, the main route for people travelling to the city from the west and eastern parts of Soweto, was overcrowded with people hoping Mandela would use that route on his way to his Orlando West home.

As I headed for the Orlando railway bridge, which connects Orlando East to Orlando West, about 200 people came running down Mooki Street singing: "Mandela sabela uyabizwa (Mandela respond, you are being called)."

A large crowd had already assem-

bled outside house number 8115 Orlando West, hoping to catch a glimpse of the 72-year-old ANC leader. They came with crutches, wheelchairs, walking sticks; others chanted and ran all the way to welcome their hero.

"If I can just touch his hand, I will go home in peace," said an old man, David Phumo, who had come all the way from Mofokeng Section, Kaitshong. "I knew him when he was still young but now his hair is as white as mine."

"He was the best lawyer in town but the Boers made him to spend all his life in prison," lamented Phumo.

The whole street leading up to the Maponya shopping complex was a hive of activity as thousands more joined in the vigil.

A battery of cameras were focussed on Mandela's house, flashes popping all the time. Journalists had virtually camped outside the house and some have been sleeping there for days in caravans and trucks parked in the street.

The marshals, frequently taking orders from their superiors, had a busy time throughout as the crowds surged forward to be nearer the house.

The South African Police had an easy day leaving the whole thing to



Sign of the times ... Supporters of Nelson Mandela find a vantage point to wait eagerly for the moment of his appearance as a free man. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Afrapix



Outside Victor Verster Prison, waiting for the world's most famous political prisoner to walk to freedom, the ANC flag is hoisted. Picture: PAUL GRENDON, Afrapix

## Patience, people, patience. Then

11A  
w/Max  
14/2-22/2/90

By DAVID BERESFORD

SO the history books can show that it was at 4.16pm on Sunday, February 11 1990, that he finally came out of prison — 27 years, six months and six days after he was captured in the little town of Howick, supposedly betrayed by a CIA agent.

As it happened, the timing was all wrong. President FW de Klerk had promised he would be out at 3pm, so he was one-and-a-quarter-hours late, which, when you think about, is a little strange for a man who must have been longing to get the hell out of there for more than quarter of a century. But then that was just one small element in a pretty surrealistic day and, besides, he was having a cup of tea in the prison with his family and nobody was begrudging him that.

But by the time he made that magnificent, if fleeting, appearance at the gates of Victor Verster Prison, the air was electric with all the waiting and the excitement. The media had been there, of course, in growing numbers from about eight in the morning, one American network setting up a "cherry picker" with hydraulic lift for the best angles; rival networks flitting overhead from time to time in search of better angles; the hoi polloi behind the ropes on the ground, strapped by more limited expense budgets, squabbling over who was to enter a "pool" which would give them a 20 foot advantage when the great man came

striding out to freedom.

Others were gathering as well; a crowd of well-wishers swelling to some 2 000 who danced and sang their way through the day with a stamina to be expected of supporters of one of the world's longest-running liberation struggles. There were about 100 uniformed police standing more tiredly at the gates themselves; a few dozen more loitering under pine-trees on an adjoining rugby field; two truckloads over-looking the scene from a nearby mountain-side; groups of plain clothes men hanging about in surrounding vineyards and troops lurking in nearby bushes — one bunch of whom were highly embarrassed when a woman photographer stumbled into their dug-out in search of a public convenience.

The end of the long wait was heralded, inevitably, by the networks, when four of their helicopters, tipped off by radio, came hurtling over the hills and went zigzagging across the ground like an angler's floats signalling a shoal of hooked fish. In this case it was a joint catch and as realisation dawned on the waiting crowd that it was the man's car they were tracking, on its way from his prison bungalow, the shouts and cheers reached hysterical proportions.

The car drew up and he stepped out



BY THE WAY

# As the choppers rise into the sky, I count dreams



The old lion roared out a cry little-heard since the 1960s: "Afrika!" The crowd roared back: "Mayibuye!"

Picture: GILL DE VLIEG, Afrapix

**T**HERE were 150 000 dreams at Soccer City on Tuesday. The dreams unfolded, in broad daylight, amid the strains of muted jazz trumpet, screams, toyi-toyi chants and poetry.

Little Boitumelo Sisulu had been sleeping on the lap of a woman in the grandstand as the dream unfolded. A massive balloon of black, green and gold colours stood in the air above the pitch as the girl slept soundly under a black, green and gold umbrella.

The dreams continued unfoldings. Six helicopters arrived at 2pm and hovered around South Africa's biggest stadium amid cheers and chants of "ANC, ANC, ANC". Four of the choppers disappeared and two remained, hovering above the pitch.

Clad in pink slacks, with black, green and gold ribbons in her hair, four-year-old Boitumelo had been munching away at a hard peach before she dozed off. After all, she had been at the stadium from as early as 8am to see the game for which South Africans had been yearning for decades. She is in pre-school, and sitting and waiting all day without the occasional nap was totally strange. She had thought, however, the spectre of Nelson Mandela would perform a miracle and make her stay awake all day on Tuesday.

Boitumelo is the daughter of Sheila and Mlungisi Sisulu, son of Walter Sisulu. She and the throngs of South Africans of all hues had come to see Nelson Mandela make a triumphal return to his home town.

The sea of people from all segments of South African political opinion occupied every single space in the stadium, which was already bursting at the seams two hours before Mandela was scheduled to arrive. Many were to remain outside and hear their idol speak. The crowds outside jostled for entry at the gates outside the stadium. In the process some children were almost crushed.

An elaborate system of doctors, nurses and other members of the South African Health Workers Congress was at hand to care for the injured and ferry them to hospital.

There was self-discipline and order enforced, not by the police, but by South African Youth Congress marshals. The marshals enforced order on the police too. I saw a contingent of policemen being led in convoy into the open parking area by a marshal, who held a large ANC sign high. I'm not sure how committed they were to the struggle, but the convoy too shouted "Viva Mandela" as they followed the grinning marshal.

The two helicopters landed on the pitch. The stadium thundered with screams of "Viva Mandela", followed by "ANC, ANC, ANC" chants. Then Mandela arrived, followed by fellow African National Congress leaders Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada.

Next came Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, June Mlangeni and Caroline Motsoaledi, as well as Rivonia trial lawyers, Arthur Chaskalson and George Bizos.

As the party took their seats, the crowds stood up and cheered. Then they sang: *Somlandel'uMandela* (we'll follow Mandela). Sisulu then presented Mandela to his followers. They rose again and 150 000 fists punched the air as the throngs sang the people's national anthem.

Mandela spoke: "We are going forward. The march to-

wards freedom and justice is irreversible ... Your struggles, commitment and your discipline has released me to stand here before you today ... We call on the police to abandon apartheid and to serve the interests of the people ... Join our march to a new South Africa."

The old lion roared: "Afrika!" at the end of his speech. The crowd roared back: "Mayibuye!"

The ANC rallying call was popular in the 1950s, but was later abandoned with the rise of socialism among young militants in the movement. It was clear Mandela the unifier was fired by a spirit of nationalism.

We again sang the national anthem. The helicopters returned. The drum majorettes in their black, green and gold uniforms did their bit. Mandela and his entourage sauntered towards the aircrafts, amid the strains of Miles Davis' muted trumpeted. *The tune Tutu had been dedicated to Archbishop Desmond Tutu by the legendary trumpeter.*

"It's a dream," said pop singer Mercy Pakela, as the choppers rose and disappeared in the blue sky. So said everyone. I counted the dreams. There were 150 000.

**Thami Mkhwanazi**



## CHILD CARE WORKERS

Founded in 1908, our Society is the largest private non-racial welfare organisation in South Africa. We currently have vacancies for Child Care Workers in our homes in Johannesburg.

**Duties include:**

- Responsibility for the care of children
- Supervision of staff
- Liaison with Committees
- Staff training
- Administrative work

We are seeking caring and patient individuals who possess good housekeeping, organisational, interpersonal skills as the successful applicants will also be required to liaise with volunteers, domestic staff and social workers.

Candidates should preferably be in possession of matric, a valid drivers licence and must be prepared to work shifts or alternate weekends. A qualification in child care work through the NACCW would be an advantage although training will be provided.

A competitive salary is offered along with generous leave, medical aid and pension fund.

Call Mrs Fiona Plani on (011) 331-0171 or send a curriculum vitae to The Director P O Box 2538, Johannesburg, 2000.

## COSAW TVL

(Congress of South African Writers) Invites applications for the post of LIBRARIAN

This person will be responsible for the overall running, administration and development of the Can Themba Institute of Literature.

We are looking for a qualified and experienced person who's full-time job will include the following responsibilities:

- to develop the library's collection of resources
- to creatively promote the use of resources
- to liaise with and assist library users
- cataloguing and classification
- to establish a computerised catalogue of resources.
- to administer all aspects of the library including ordering, accounts, budget control and suitcase library
- to establish contact with other community resource centres.

We require a creative and self motivated person who is committed to a united non-sexist, non-racial and democratic society. Medical Aid and pension are available. Applications, including a detailed C.V. and the names, addresses and telephone no. of two referees are requested in writing. Closing date for applications is 23 February 1990.

These should be addressed to: The Co-ordinator, COSAW, P.O. Box 421007, Fordsburg, 2033. Tel. 833-2530/1/3



## WITS

Senate House, Jorissen Street, Braamfontein

### open lectures for scholars and members of the public

February 20	A History of Medicine Through Art	Prof C Rosendorff
February 27	The Death Penalty	Prof C J R Dugard
March 6	Imaging the Earths Interior: The Science of Geophysics	Prof B Corner
March 13	The Okavango Delta	Prof T S McCarthy
March 20	Marine Biology: A Botanists View	Prof R N Pienaar
March 27	The Games Parasites Play	Dr A Wadee
May 8	To Read Or Not To Read	Dr J Sherman
June 5	The Coal Processing Road Show	Prof D Horsfall
June 12	Chemistry Through Observation	Dr K Naik
June 19	Law As An Instrument For Change	Prof M Brassey
June 26	The Geological History of Johannesburg: 3500 Million Years of Earth History	Prof T S McCarthy

VENUE: SH 6 TIME: 19:30  
Booking at Computicket from 10 February—no charge

Enquiries—Schools Liaison Office 716 3597 or Information Desk 716 3162

# Delicate diplomacy ... and for now, Winnie's in favour

For now, Winnie Mandela, prominent at all the recent rallies, is back in favour. But dark clouds may loom on the not-so-distant horizon, reports **GAVIN EVANS**

HUGH MASEKELA'S dream of seeing Nelson and Winnie Mandela "walking hand in hand" finally came true this week.

For the moment he may only see it on television, but after 28 years the couple were together again, and the line from the popular Masekela song became a reality for millions.

For the wife of the country's first person, the past five days have returned her, for now, to a state of respectability.

While several dark clouds loom over what some have called her "rehabilitation", in the short term at least she is back in something approaching good favour.

Walter Sisulu introduced her at Tuesday's rally in Soweto, noting she had "also suffered and sacrificed", though the cheer greeting her from the 150 000-plus crowd was noticeably mute.

On several occasions Nelson paid tribute to the support of his wife, who, since Sunday, has seldom been absent from his side.

Unlike UDF president Albertina Sisulu, Winnie's role has now been trimmed to one of the wife of the leader. But there is also little doubt that once again this status has returned her to at least international acceptability.

A year ago, even six months ago, a rehabilitation of such proportions was difficult to imagine, at least in such a short period. But the prospect of Nelson Mandela's release, followed by the event itself, made it inevitable.

The event which ensured Winnie's fall from grace as the "Mother of the Nation" was the murder of 14-year-old Free State activist Stompie Moekele-Seipei, allegedly by members of the Mandela United Football team.

The team, which doubled as her bodyguard, had already attracted a reputation for thuggery. It is now widely held that they were infiltrated

by security police agents.

Seipei and several other activists were kidnapped, held against their will at Winnie's Soweto home, and according to abduction victims were beaten by soccer team members as well as by Winnie herself.

Seipei was later murdered while another activist survived a murder attempt.

The team's former coach, Jerry Richardson, is currently on trial for murder and eight other members are facing charges of assault and kidnapping.

For at least three years prior to these events Winnie Mandela's star had been waning in the eyes of many activists and sections of the general public.

Her 1986 speech suggesting support for necklacing opponents was widely quoted as an excuse for the State of Emergency by government representatives.

Her decision to build a luxury "palace" in Orlando, Soweto was not well received by many in anti-apartheid circles.

And her relationship with controversial American Robert Brown, who was after a "franchise" on the Mandela name, had to be blocked by ANC and MDM leaders, including Nelson Mandela.

After the Stompie incident came to light the UDF publicly condemned Winnie, while the ANC issued a softer statement criticising Winnie's judgment but placing the blame on the soccer team itself. The ANC statement also called for Winnie to be reintegrated into structures.

For a few months Winnie virtually disappeared from public view, but more recently she has re-emerged as a speaker at public meetings and other MDM activities.

The national leadership of the South African Youth Congress in particular developed a close relationship with her. Recently family members have referred the press to Sayco general secretary, Rapu Malekane, for comment when asked about family issues.

Two weeks ago Molekane issued a press statement attacking those criticising Winnie for building the "palace", noting she was not responsible for the poverty in areas like Soweto.

Nelson Mandela's decision to move into Winnie's current Soweto "matchbox" seems to have put an end to the issue. It is possible the palatial house may now be used as offices.

It is possible, however, that Winnie's return to the good eye of the public may not be too long-lasting.



Winnie Mandela ... status trimmed from political leader to wife of a leader

Several potential obstacles stand in the way.

The Richardson trial has begun, and may soon reach the front pages.

Perhaps because of the government's apparent desire to ensure that Mandela's release is not complicated by extraneous factors, they have kept their hands clean of the Winnie issue.

What is clear, however, is that the state has a welter of information, allegations and statements which could cause further damage to Winnie's reputation.

Already fresh information of a "hit list" being found in the Mandela home has emerged in the Rand Supreme Court trial arising from the death of football team member, Sane la Madondo.

The suggestion of further potentially damaging allegations emerged this week in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the death by hanging of Clayton Sizwe Sithole.

Sithole, said to be a boyfriend of Zinzi Mandela, allegedly committed suicide while being held in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on January 30.

One of the reasons cited by the state for his alleged suicide was that he had made a statement which included serious allegations against Winnie and Zinzi Mandela. Mr Justice R J Goldstone ruled that these should not be heard in court.

Another recent incident which has attracted controversy is Winnie's relationship with French businessman Alain Guenon, who is believed to have worked for the SABC, with the SADF and against sanctions.

He is said to have worked with Winnie, and in co-operation with the Sayco leadership, in setting up a press centre to co-ordinate news relating to Nelson Mandela.

While it is possible that all these issues will blow over or be swept under the carpet, there is no guarantee.

For one thing not all in the state with information on Winnie's affairs, have the best interests of either Nelson Mandela or FW de Klerk at heart.

Long after the initial euphoria around Mandela's release has subsided the "Winnie issue" could still be around.

## A message from the people who work at Mobil



Nearly three thousand of us work at Mobil, and many thousands more work with us in service stations, general dealers, spazas and supermarkets. Many people reading this use Mobil products every day.

We are a local company in every way with a very real stake in South Africa's future. We are truly committed to this country.

As in any large group of South Africans we come from different backgrounds, religions and languages. And, of course, we have different political views.

Without shouting about it, for many years we have negotiated with all shades of opinion. Through the Mobil Foundation, and our extensive community programmes, we have made substantial investments to help bring about a new and better South Africa. Our company's operations, too, have made an important contribution to job creation and economic development in our country.

But, until now, we felt that too many people were saying too much... while talking past each other. Violence, rhetoric, posturing and jargon seemed more important than finding real solutions.

Now we see significant changes which unite us in the hope that common sense and a common wealth will replace the selfishness of the past. Leaders on all sides are now showing real courage and starting to talk — and more importantly, to listen — to each other. Let us join hands with them!

The solutions might still be some time in coming, but the fact that the process has started, gives us hope that very soon now unique economic and political solutions will be developed here at home — by South Africans. In time, we believe South Africa will be restored to its rightful place in the world community.

Until then, we will continue to do everything we can to facilitate this urgent process. We at Mobil are firmly committed to progress, and we dedicate all of our energy to this goal.

This week it feels especially good to be a South African.

# Mobil

ASSESSING THE RELEASE

FIM 16/2/90

# Social costs, indeed

11A

BWA

L20

Nelson Mandela's release, despite the needless deaths and violence it has entailed, cannot be anything else but the best of news for this country. He was incarcerated for far too long; he and his supporters' exclusion from political involvement has not been to all our benefit; and the material deprivations caused by the social policies under which his imprisonment occurred will have to be addressed with reparation.

That, today, is common cause among the majority of people in this country. But the harsh reality is that, if the outdated and discredited policy to which he stubbornly adheres — the nationalisation of the mines, banks and "monopolies" — is applied here, social wrongs cannot be righted nor adequate reparations made.

There is overwhelming evidence to show from OECD countries that the lower the share of governments' spending as a proportion of the value of total output (GDP), the better able those governments are to finance consistently — and to sustain — a high level of social spending.

In some European social democratic countries, where government spending has risen and nationalisation has been actively pursued, national debt is in consequence roughly equal to GDP. Consequently, there is a danger, in countries like Italy, that in the years ahead the cost of servicing national debt alone will spiral out of control.

But, to be more specific: according to the JSE Actuaries index, the market capitalisation of shares listed in Johannesburg exceeds R150bn — of which 28% represents gold mines, 14% other mines and 19% mining houses and mining holding companies. Banks, financial service companies and insurance companies amount to 6%. The combination accounts for two-thirds of the total amount of shares.

If the mines were nationalised, the mining financial companies, if not included, will in any event probably disappear. The size of the JSE would shrink to a fraction of what it is now. The ability of insurance companies, pension funds and unit trusts to meet the expected needs of their policyholders and members — let alone shareholders — will be drastically curtailed.

Foreign investors would disinvest. The rand would be devalued to a fraction of what it is now. And foreign banks would press for repayment of their loans more rapidly than even the temporary standstill agreement allows.

This country's financial services industry, which provides not only pensions and other forms of savings but millions of jobs for blacks as well as whites, would virtually collapse. It would, indeed, be ruined.

Without foreign capital or the savings mobilised by the financial services industry, with skilled labour in shorter supply and wage costs rising, the outlook for the gold mining industry is indeed grim. The average life of existing gold mines is relatively short.

It is essential to open new mines so that they come into production by the year 2000 if the closure of existing mines is

to be offset. Most new mines are expected to be very deep and cost between R2bn and R3bn at today's prices. They will cost much more as time goes on, at a 15% annual rate of inflation, just about doubling in five years.

There is no time for us here to just muddle through and relearn the lessons of the Sixties and Seventies. The population of this country is expanding rapidly and we have one of the fastest rates of urbanisation in the world. If the wrong economic decisions are made over the next few years, the abject poverty that uhuru has brought to central Africa is a certainty, not just a possibility.

Moreover, in order to foster prosperity, this country needs substantial and continuing investment in such social needs as education, health and housing. Without re-investment in mining and banking, there is no hope of the economic growth that alone will provide the wherewithal for that social expenditure.

Whatever Mandela has been doing for the past 27 years, he has not been studying either elementary economics or the SA economy. To stand on the Grand Parade in Cape Town on Sunday and say that our economy has collapsed is nothing short of ignorance. Mining and banking are the cornerstones of this economy; they are the creation of free enterprise and they have transcended the constraints of apartheid. Let him nationalise them and then see what economic collapse really means.

The sooner Mandela gets to eastern Europe and central Africa to see the consequences of the policies he advocates, the better for South Africans of all races. Indeed, India, where poverty today is probably, in relative terms, worse than it was under the British Raj and where the growth of nationalised industries has not led to a remotely adequate system of social services (if they exist at all), would be a good place to start.

But perhaps the most depressing point of all is what Mandela's statements on nationalisation indicate for his strength of character, intellectual vigour and quality of leadership, a subject on which we dwell in the next article. It took a hoary old Marxist like Joe Slovo to qualify the remarks of a man from whom so much had been expected for so long.

Mandela is right in one respect. He is certainly no messiah. Maybe he is, as he says, no more than the servant of his own party — and captive to his own ideology. But if he adheres to the views he expressed this week, which appear not to have advanced since he was jailed in the Sixties, he is certainly not the servant of all the people of this country, which is no more than we had modestly hoped from him.

No wonder there was a sharp reaction in the price of the financial rand as foreign investors weighed up what he had to say. There will be many who will argue that we are insufficiently understanding of the man after his long incarceration. That may be so. But it was Mandela himself who, in his first public speech, referred to harsh realities.

# Nelson comes to Jo'burg

FIM 16/2/90 111

**THE STRUGGLE: A History of the African National Congress** by Heidi Holland (Grafton, 252pp, R24,99).

Holland's book is a sympathetic popular history. Its quality is variable but its intentions commendable. It could — and possibly will — make the basis for an educational comic strip along the lines of those classic comics that bring *Macbeth* and *Robinson Crusoe* into the homes of people who otherwise watch only TV.

The origins of the ANC as a peaceable, excessively docile vehicle for black protest in 1912 are sketched but, inevitable with the "popular" emphasis, the history of the movement is seen as it unfolded around the figure of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. So we begin with Nelson's early days in the Transkei. This is written in what might be called fireside chat mode and we are soon into fireside chats:

"Rolihlahla used to listen to his great-uncles talking about those faraway days. He sat in firelight beneath darkening skies on warm summer nights, a solemn boy among the many descendants of the great Xhosa chief, Ngubengcuka ..."

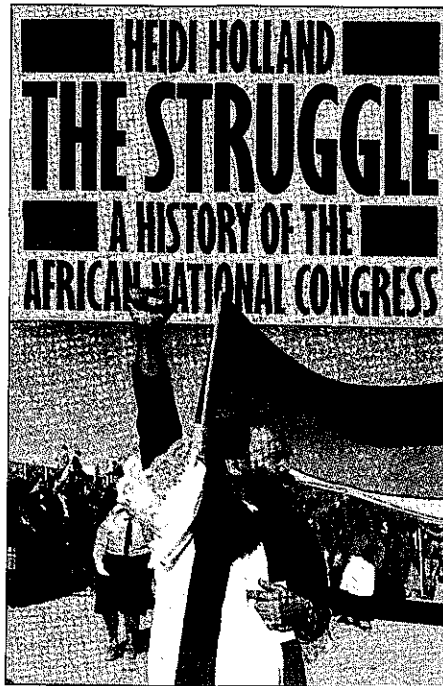
Thus accorded the resonance of myth, Nelson flees an arranged marriage and comes to Jo'burg. He and Oliver Tambo set up in business as lawyers; with Walter Sisulu they are the young lions of the time (the Fifties) and lead the defiance campaign. The Freedom Charter is thrashed out; the Treason Trial crystallises attitudes; Umkhonto we Sizwe is founded as a last resort after Sharpeville; events around Rivonia are recalled; some go to jail and some into exile. Soweto '76 occurs; the Eighties occur; "the struggle continues" (this phrase is actually the last sentence of the book).

While Nelson is first seen in a rosy, human glow, he soon ceases to be a man and becomes part of a movement: a process which has obviously not ended and which might yet present him with problems. Those more personal glimpses we have recently received of the great man — of Winnie physically dragging him away from a "shatteringly beautiful" other woman — and which serve to give him a human face, are not reflected here. More serious is the shallowness of detail (my skimpy summary of recent history above is little improved on by Holland) and the one-dimensional interplay of ideas.

To say that "the man whose influence dominated events leading up to 16 June 1976 was Steve Bantu Biko" is substantially to reinvent history, in which so many things converge that scholars become reluctant to generalise before a century or so has elapsed. But detail is not on offer — and anyone wanting it should return to John Kane-Berman's classic account of the period in So-

weto: *Black Revolt, White Reaction*.

Less easily checkable is the implicit acceptance of Luthuli's defence of working with communists: "I have one enemy, the Nationalist government, and I will not fight on two fronts." The SA Communist Party has produced some heroic figures — Bram Fischer is one — but much remains to be cleared up about its relationship with Moscow and, in particular, Stalin.



The sabotage campaign, Operation Mayibuye, is glorified; no mention is made of John Harris, the man who placed the bomb at Johannesburg station in 1964. The interesting chapter "Rise of the Spear" contains a personal account by Joe Slovo of an attempt to burn down the Johannesburg Drill Hall only to be foiled by "the presence of about 50 black cleaners." What if they had only arrived later once the bomb was in place? Holland also notes that Umkhonto recruits "were told that they could thereafter never refuse an assignment, and were warned that refusal to carry out the orders of the high command might end in execution," but does not ask whether this promise was ever fulfilled.

Thrill-a-minute stuff. Yet there is nothing casual or daredevil about guerrilla war, and such throwaway incidents and comments arouse troubling speculation unless they are viewed in context. The context is apartheid and repression. The book is oddly thin in this regard.

Holland records that Tambo reacted to Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* negatively: "Realistically, Kumalo (the central

character), no matter how politely and patiently he endured his hardships, would not forgive all ... Tambo felt the saintly, long-suffering character ... reflected wishful thinking."

Yes, but in the long and sporadic history of the ANC — only revitalised by new waves of bitter exiles — it is precisely such a long-suffering image of black saintliness that inadvertently dominates, above that of the anarchist with a smouldering bomb labelled BOMB or some Lordling of the Flies with a tyre and petrol. The black Jesus lives yet, not least in these pages. Released, the Lilliesleaf conspirators seem very like Kumalo, and this perception might well be important in whatever happens now.

Without detail and ideas, what is left? Holland's method is summarised at the outset by a reported incident near the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court where an ANC bomb blew up some policemen in 1987 (an event which I saw from my window). "What's your explanation for this?" a white bystander is said to have demanded of a black priest standing "near the carnage, his hands clasped in mute anguish." The priest is then said to have "turned to address his accuser in a quiet voice:"

"The church does not support this violence. It does not support any violence. But there are many kinds of violence in SA for which the ANC is not responsible. We should all pause to consider those other forms of violence when we see a response as dreadful as this."

How measured and eloquent. How good that someone with pen and paper — we are not told who — was there and had the time and the inclination to pause and consider it worthwhile to write it down so precisely. And was the priest called Kumalo?

Peter Wilhelm

## Lively lancer

**A SOLDIER IN SOUTH AFRICA: The Experiences of Eustace Abadie, 1899-1902** edited by S B Spies (Brenthurst Press, limited edition of 850 copies, not numbered, R225 excl tax).

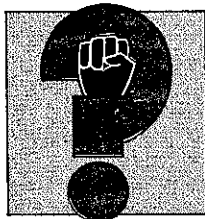
This is an important first-hand account of a young officer's three years fighting in SA.

As usual, the publishers have drawn the material from the marvellous resources of the library itself. The single volume typescript was acquired in 1971 but little is known of its history. It is presented in the form of a journal, the entries being either from Abadie's diary or extracts from his letters. He was apparently not subject to censorship and his remarkably cogent comments would seem to belie the fact that he was only 22 at the time.

NELSON MANDELA AND NEGOTIATIONS

# Staying in front

■ Mandela is merely trudging the party line — debate must focus on the economy



Too much obviously rested on the shoulders of the frail, physically beleaguered figure who emerged from Victor Verster Prison last Sunday. His inadequate performance on Cape

Town's Grand Parade — accompanied by the chaotic delays attendant on his release — dashed the widely-held hope that he would seize the historic moment and emerge as a national leader of stature. Reading a prepared speech, he showed himself as almost wholly a party functionary with little awareness of the creative possibilities of a personal role. The emphasis was on discipline.

On Monday the markets reacted gloomily to the reiteration of the rhetoric of nationalisation; and the realisation that a settlement of SA's problems was, if anything, further off than a week before sent the financial rand plunging. By Tuesday moderation came from a surprising source: Joe Slovo, the exiled communist and one-time leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, indicated that ANC economic policy was in the process of revision. But a lot of damage had been done and the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee continued to botch the arrangements it was meant to facilitate.

Government reaction (see *Current Affairs*) put the best construction it could on matters but the Conservatives laid a charge of treason against Mandela, Walter Sisulu and the Pan-Africanist Congress's Zeph Mothopeng. The violence in Natal reached ghastly heights.

After his release, Mandela made plain that he was aware of the need to allay white fears of domination. But this was his position in the Sixties — as he emphasised by quoting his famous speech from the dock at the conclusion of the Rivonia trial — and the effect was not of magnanimity but of ossification.

Mandela could do nothing else. As a loyal member of the ANC — and of no other organisation, he noted — he was bound by the commitment to socialism and the armed struggle. Until there is a change in the party line he cannot unilat-

erally deviate from party policy as it stands — any more than F W de Klerk could have seized the initiative until he was officially State President. Mandela has no official position in the liberation movement.

Nonetheless, his speech was more cramped than it need have been. Many of those — including distinguished liberals — who have visited him over the years spoke of his humour, dignity and qualities of leadership. These were not much in evidence after his release. Even the nonracialism was contingent on whites joining the ANC, and was, again, party policy which has its roots in the historic links between the black nationalists and communists. Expectations of those who believe in free enterprise were certainly not going to be met.

And what of black youth, faced with another old man? In Soweto, schoolchildren again vacated classrooms to greet their leader. As some had hoped, Mandela did at least stress to them the importance of education. One way or another, the swelling mass of the uneducated and unemployable is going to be the responsibility of a wide range of leaders for at least a generation.

Because he so firmly refused to deviate from the party line — its economic framework outlined in the Freedom Charter — Mandela actually deferred a decision on substantive negotiations between government and the ANC, though he was confident they would occur soon. In fact, he merely placed the responsibility for fresh initiative where De Klerk had placed it by his sweeping moves on February 2: with the external mission of the ANC. Since that body has a leadership crisis on its hands, comparable to that which faced the National Party when P W Botha had his stroke, a period of stasis must be expected.

The role Mandela comes to play within the ANC may, in the end, not be that of a "facilitator," but of a foreign emissary. He is expected to travel to Sweden to be reunited with his old friend, ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, but many invitations flooded in throughout the week from national leaders, notably in the West, which may prove salutary to Mandela. Nonetheless, he seems keenest to visit India, the strongest international supporter of the Congress movement in the Fifties and the spearhead of sanctions in the UN.

The prospect of a continued armed struggle — which, along with intensified sanctions, was a key element in Mandela's Cape Town speech — depends, again, on the external mission's intentions and capability. A major sponsor, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, feels the time has come for the ANC to lay down arms and, if this desire is translated into reality, the pressure will really be on to negotiate. As it is, the armed struggle appears to have been suspended from Lusaka as much as it has been contained locally.

Whether an exchange of views between Mandela and the exiles will be of any significance is moot: direction must come from a unified ANC and that unification has not yet happened. The internal mass democratic movement — in its broadest sense — is entirely in touch with the external mission.

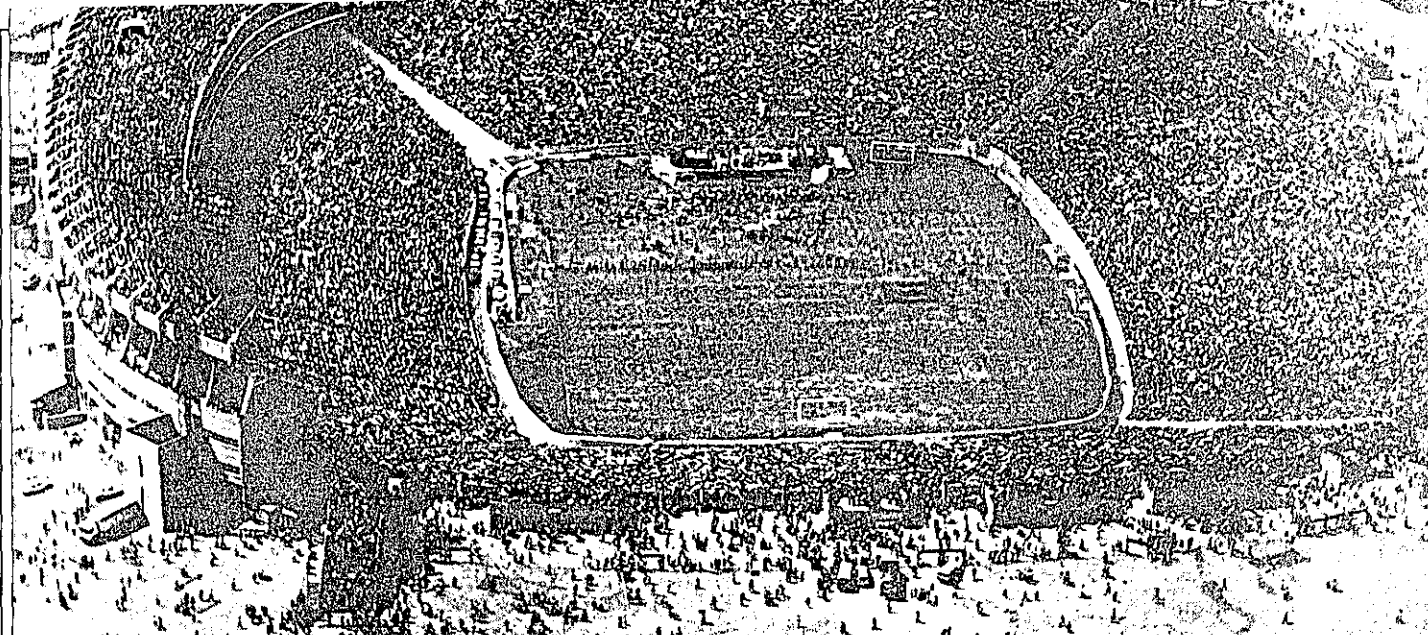
The all-important position of Inkatha (which also claims historic links to the ANC) was grudgingly conceded by Mandela, but this has obviously not affected the bloody fratricidal situation on the ground.

With notable, though expected, exceptions, many world leaders took their cue from Mandela's initial utterances on sanctions and the armed struggle. Both had to continue until the whites capitulated — a damaging misperception of the mood which may itself defer peace. In a sense, these leaders did exactly what the Conservatives said they would: make further preconditions once some had been met, and so on and on until the final abolition of apartheid and the institution of a unitary, democratic State. That the Nationalists have indicated they are prepared to move towards this —

P.T.O.



Maponya ferries Mandela ... private views kept private?



Tuesday's rally at Soccer City . . . mass emotion tempered by discipline

Photo by Robbie Botha: Flight courtesy Radio 702

through negotiation — was simply not sufficiently recognised.

Obviously, some believed that all the good things would suddenly come about with Mandela's release. This might be called the Hollywood view of history. They made the same mistake as those who believe that it was "the people" who released the man, whereas, in fact, it was De Klerk and his team.

The major exceptions were British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who wishes to lift sanctions, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President George Bush — though he has made a coherent stance contingent on his assessing Mandela man-to-man. He is in any case bound by the law and the wishes of Congress.

Thatcher found herself in a familiar position — isolated but courageously arguing that De Klerk needed both reward and support for his stance. The dangers of a right-wing backlash were pointed out in the Commons but Mandelamania had taken hold and the familiar and ugly postures of hatred for Thatcher were very visible.

Since so many expectations were built into Mandela's release — an event in many respects subsidiary to the freeing of the political process — De Klerk's critics had a field day. This was, of course, to miss the point. De Klerk and his aides — in particular Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen — have stressed that the steps they have taken have been in the interests of equity; and that any important political decision has an element of risk. The major risk — that there would be an overwhelming tide of revolutionary fervour, a familiar modern phenomenon — does not look as if it is capable of fulfilment.

Therefore, the unbannings and the release must be accounted a remarkable success, notwithstanding incidents of violence. They have dealt, in one sense, with a residue of old work left over from the previous administration. This suggests that De Klerk is still ahead of the game. It would have been pleasant if the world had been more supportive of

the courage which it took to break free of past restraints — with no precise mandate to do so from the white electorate — but not essential to the continuance of the process.

The process — of which the next step is that substantive meeting between Pretoria and the ANC — remains intact, barring major folly by the ANC. Government appears to be convinced that such a folly will not happen, though it has doubtless been perturbed by some events surrounding the release.

With old business dealt with, the focus of debate, as the *FM* has noted, shifts to the economic front. The black entrepreneur Richard Maponya — who figured largely in Mandela's reception — recently made some widely publicised remarks about Mandela's economic views, suggesting they did indeed deviate from official ANC policy; that the lessons of eastern Europe had been assimilated; and that Mandela's democratic-mindedness was matched by a tolerance of private enterprise.

If this is so, Mandela obviously does not feel himself free to express such beliefs. In fact, he believes the economy is in ruins — which may indicate the effects of so long and morally unacceptable a sojourn in jail.

The debate is likely to come down in the end to precisely what is meant by the restructuring of the economy to which Mandela also referred in Cape Town. If it means the nationalisation of banks, mines and "monopoly enterprises," then substantial foreign investment will never return, fixed investment will be choked off and the emigration of skilled whites will accelerate. It is difficult to believe that after the experiences of Zambia, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique wide-scale expropriation of wealth is a serious option in SA. But it would be a mistake to believe that the lessons of even the recent past have necessarily been learnt by ideologues.

Even the progress of Namibia to what at this stage looks like a promising indepen-

dence, with nationalisation very much yesterday's idea, need not apply in an economy as sophisticated as ours — one in which the birthrate and alarming educational statistics indicate plainly the potential for a revolution, or endemic instability, which would overtake the ANC itself.

These matters need to be thoroughly considered in advance of negotiations. Negotiations, in any case, can only establish a broad framework for a political and economic system which is fair and just. Such matters as land availability for rapidly urbanising populations, the provision of schools and hospitals out of general revenue, and for that matter the denationalisation (or privatisation) of concerns occur in the constitutional fine print.

This means that the parties to the negotiations need to elucidate well in advance what their intentions are. If the ANC is to persist with socialism, this must be clarified soon — along with the leadership structure — so that, for example, businessmen have real data on which to base decisions. Before that happens, it is inevitable that the markets will react convulsively and serve to predict the outcome of fears.

It is, therefore, fortunate that the Nationalists have laid the requisite stress on privatisation and deregulation — of creating an enterprise economy. The ANC's economic policies remain unclear — shrouded as they are in the interpretations of academics of a document devised in the Fifties.

Whatever bias towards socialism the years of National Party rule have left the economy, it would be folly to make or even attempt a transition back to doctrinaire socialism, especially if the economy had to carry the cost of more social services — such as education, health and housing. Businessmen have a role in persuading the ANC that this is so; and the debates, thanks to De Klerk, can be public and not clouded by prevarication and rhetoric.

We remain marginally optimistic. ■

# A funny thing or two happened on the ride from prison

11A

W/ Mail: 16/21 - 22/2/90

By JOHN PERLMAN

SOMEWHERE near Paarl there is a family of four who will be able to look at their photo album and say: "That's us with Nelson Mandela. It was taken a few minutes after he was set free."

People travelling with Mandela in the 12-car convoy that drove away from Victor Verster prison — pausing briefly to let him walk the final steps through the outer gate — were amazed when he suddenly asked his driver to stop.

Mandela had seen a white couple and their two small children standing by the side of the road on one of the few parts of the route that was not jammed with people. The man had been trying to take a photograph of the convoy as it passed.

When the car stopped Mandela got out alone and walked over to talk to the couple. "He talked to them for about ten minutes, and played with the little boy and the little girl" said one of his party.

"It was informal and they laughed and smiled, but you could see the couple were completely amazed."

Before leaving, Mandela posed with the family and asked one of his party to take the picture. And as he was about to go, the man said something like: "I've always voted Nationalist but you will definitely get my vote."

That, at least, is how the story will be remembered.

Mandela seemed to make an instant impression on those who travelled with him from Paarl. People noticed that after greeting the Mass Democratic Movement leaders, he then called the drivers of the cars over.

"He greeted them with the same feeling as he did the others," said one. "He didn't seem to care at all who you were."

People also remarked on how readily Mandela rolled down the car window to shake hands with well-wishers whenever the car stopped. "We thought he would be afraid to do that," said one.

Once in Cape Town, the convoy pulled off into a quiet street in Mowbray to plan how best to move through the large crowd to the Grand Parade.

They waited there for about half-an-hour, during which time Mandela



saw a woman walking with two young children. "He asked if he could pick them up and put them on his lap," said someone who was there.

"One of the kids — they were twins — was a bit shy but the other one looked very pleased to be getting into the car. Then his father came and took a picture of him with Nelson Mandela."

The convoy's final stop before the Grand Parade was a house in Rondebosch where the party went in — somewhat unannounced — "to freshen up" before the rally.

While inside, the three traffic cops who had escorted the convoy, sent one of the drivers in to ask if Mandela would autograph their notebooks.

He agreed readily, then laughingly remarked that he had left his glasses in the prison. No problem said his hosts. There was a pair belonging to an aged relative in the house which might just do. And they did.

Those who travelled with Mandela that afternoon say they cannot remember much of what was said. He was calm throughout, "never a frown on his face to show it had been a long day," said one.

Another said he never saw Mandela

walk past an outstretched hand or ignore a greeting.

And as he arrived at the Grand Parade, the story goes, his first remarks were: "I didn't expect such a turn out. It's so late and there are still a lot of people waiting. I'd better go and speak to them."

**Relaxing at last, back at home in Soweto, Nelson Mandela looks a little dubious as a gaudily dressed waiter offers him a cardboard box draught of 'tropical fruit nectar'.**

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

# ANC office opens in Luthuli's home town

AT

\$ \$ \$

\$\$

w/mand 16/2-22/2/90  
By CARMEL RICKARD (11A)

THE spirit of African National Congress president Albert Luthuli is alive and well in his home town, Stanger.

This week two enterprising ANC supporters set up an office in this Natal north coast town and said they have had "hundreds of calls and visits" from interested people.

In consultation with the Mass Democratic Movement, Justice Mpanza, veteran of 15 years on Robben Island, and long-time sympathiser of the ANC Abdul Mangera, have opened an office in Stanger, close to Luthuli's home in Groutville.

They are having an ANC sign made to hang outside the office, and also plan to fly the organisation's green, gold and black colours over the door.

Mpanza said he joined the ANC when he was a young man and continued to be a member after serving a term in the same jail as the now-freed ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others.

Mangera said he had ties with the Luthuli family stretching back to his youth when he was taken by his father to meet the Nobel Peace Prize winner. That began a life-long sympathy with the ANC.

So far the two are not joining up would-be members — they do not yet have registration cards — but they are taking names and addresses and say they will get back to interested people once the ANC executive in Lusaka decides on the procedure for signing on members.

"We have had hundreds of calls and visits since we opened our doors on February 12," Mangera said.

"People from town and from the rural area around here are very interested. It helps that this is Luthuli country and everyone knows about him and the ANC. They are right behind us."



11A



Peering into the future  
— with new hope  
given by the release of  
ANC leader Nelson  
Mandela. On Tuesday  
tens of thousands  
gathered at Soccer  
City, just outside  
Soweto, for a welcome  
home rally. Awaiting  
his arrival, the crowd  
keep a keen watch  
Picture: STEVE HILTON-  
BARBER, Afrapix

# Mandela and BCM leaders agree to further talks 1/19

W/ment 16/2 - 22/2/90

A SENIOR delegation from the Black Consciousness Movement visited Nelson Mandela at his Soweto home yesterday and agreed to a follow-up meeting with the ANC leader before the end of the month.

Azanian People's Organisation Deputy President Lybon Mabasa said the second meeting would discuss "matters of interest in the liberation struggle" and would be followed by a report-back to Azapo's national conference to be held next month in Johannesburg.

"Mandela was keen to meet the BCM

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

while still at Victor Verster Prison, but state officialdom — where letters to and from the ANC leader went astray — prevented such a meeting," Mabasa said.

Mandela "could play a unifying role among the oppressed if he acted above the normal confines of the ANC", he said. This meeting and the next would serve this end.

He said Azapo was proposing unity with both the ANC and the Pan African-

ist Congress, and not the ANC alone.

At yesterday's meeting, Mandela "commended the BCM on its work among the oppressed", said Mabasa.

The meeting also saw the reunion of Mandela and the BCM's Nkosi Molala, Muntu Myeza and Strini Moodley, all former Robben Island prisoners.

Azapo's national conference in March will discuss FW de Klerk's recent reforms, including releases and unbannings; last December's Conference for a Democratic Future; and the political changes in Eastern Europe, Mabasa said.

0.1/2

# Mandela sees Swedish delegate

CM Times  
2/2/90

117

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met a representative of the Swedish legation, Mr Jan Lundvik, and 15 chiefs from Tembuland in Transkei in separate meetings at his home.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Lundvik said the Swedish legation had called for the meeting to make preparations for Mr Mandela's coming visit to Sweden where he will also see ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Wide-ranging matters, including the South African political situation, were discussed.

Mr Lundvik said the Swedish government and its people were confident the ANC leader would make a great contribution to the South African political scene.

The Swedish official, who posed for pictures with Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, after the meeting, added that they warmly welcomed his visit to Sweden.

A leader of the delegation of chiefs, Chief Anderson Joyi, said they had come to see Mr Mandela to discuss the situation in the country.

They had also requested that the ANC patriarch visit the graves of dead relatives in Transkei.

Chief Joyi said Mr Mandela indicated that his visit would take place later as he was now attending to political matters in Johannesburg.

The head of the four million-strong Zion Christian Church, Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyana, also met Mr Mandela yesterday.

Tomorrow the ANC leader will host Mr Victor Sefora of the Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and will meet Azapo representatives, the National Reception Committee said.

On Friday Mr Mandela will meet leaders of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party in separate meetings. — Sapa

# We need one nation, with no guarantees for groups

Sowetan 16/2/90

11A

As we struggle out of the old it is difficult to change our thinking and our language to the new.

In this exciting week - when Mr Nelson Mandela was released from jail after 27 years; when thousands gathered at the Grand Parade in Cape Town to welcome him; when even more crammed the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg to listen to him - it is sad to find State President Mr FW de Klerk still using the old language of apartheid.

It was also disappointing to hear Mandela responding sympathetically to that language.

De Klerk told American and South African television viewers that checks and balances had to be built into any constitutional dispensation which "would build in protection for any group - inter alia the whites".

And he arrives at this conclusion after saying that the South African community was diverse: "It consists not only of black and white. The blacks consist of various nations."

"We have people of mixed origin ... an Indian community. The white community is also split into diverse groups."

The only new thing in this interpretation of the South African nation is that for the first time the National Party concedes that whites are split into diverse groups. All along, the party has been lumping all whites under one umbrella, the white nation.

This is without doubt the old interpretation that created apartheid.

At first the Afrikaners saw themselves as a nation distinct from the English one. We all remember the very recent rabid Afrikaner nationalism that sustained the National Party.

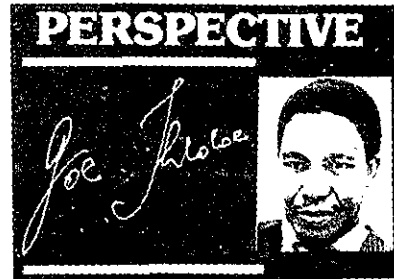
## A structure for control

It took Mr PW Botha to break the walls separating the Afrikaner from his English-speaking brother. He forged the present white, as opposed to Afrikaner, nationalism.

As for the rest of us South Africans, we were by law split into small tribes, which were elevated to the status of nations: the Zulu nation, the Xhosa nation, the Tswana nation, the coloured nation, the Indian nation - oh, a confusion of nations.

This elaborate structure was created for the material benefit of white South Africans and they made it a point that they always remained in control.

In yesterday's *Sowetan* we quoted Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew saying the Government spent an



average R3 082 on every white child's education a year, while it spent only R764.73 on a black child.

He said the gap between what was spent between the two children had grown by R191 in one year.

This was a self-sustaining system, and it is obviously an unjust one of white domination. And that is what apartheid is all about - not the separate toilets, the separate beaches, etc. For whites, these happen to be just the cherry on the cake.

## Scared of losing privileges

It is this system that we - all the people who believe in justice - are determined to dismantle.

And when people start talking of structural guarantees for minorities, we immediately suspect that they don't want their privileged positions tampered with. They are scared of losing their privileges.

It is these people who start saying they do not want white domination replaced by black domination. These same people redefine democracy and argue that they do not want domination by the few replaced by domination by the majority.

Those who fear black domination are still thinking in terms of black and white, apartheid thinking.

In any case, these same people have not spelled out what they mean by black domination.

When we talk of a post-apartheid society, we should talk of a South African nation. We should think of all South Africans enjoying rights and having obligations as South Africans, not as black South Africans or white ones; not as Indian South Africans or coloured.

That is what the struggle for liberation in this country is all about.

There is no need to mollycoddle people who want to maintain apartheid, albeit under another name. There is no reason "the fears of whites" should not be faced directly and shown up for what they are.

# ANC will respond to FW today

Cart Tuis 16/2/90  
114

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The ANC is expected to clarify the controversial issue of nationalisation when it issues its response to President F W de Klerk today. There were strong indications from a senior ANC source yesterday that the organisation was poised to announce a largely positive reply to Mr De Klerk's political initiatives.

The source said the ANC's main economic priority was to address the historical injustices and distortions caused by racism.

"But there are many reasons why we cannot nationalise the economy even if we wanted to. We do not want our economy to collapse into nothing," he said.

"There is nothing in our constitutional guidelines which make nationalisation mandatory."

In his view the ANC constitutional guidelines superseded the Freedom Charter with its emphasis on nationalisation.

He said the ANC felt strongly that sanctions should remain in place "for as long as the apartheid question is not resolved.

"We need them as a guarantee that negotiations do not stop in the middle of nowhere."

By yesterday it appeared clear that any serious strategic divisions among the ANC's national executive committee members had been ironed out, with disagreements not along simplistic political vs military lines.

● Mandela slams 'un-sympathetic' businessmen — Page 5

## Pilot dies in Alouette crash

PRETORIA. — An air force pilot died and a Finnish Untag member and SAAF crew member were injured when an Alouette helicopter crashed near here yesterday. The dead pilot was Captain Cecil de Jongh of 17 squadron.

Flight Sergeant G P Stemmet and Lieutenant Timo Heikkinen, who was stationed with UN forces at Rundu in Namibia, are in hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte being treated for head, back and neck injuries. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

# HI DI

Staff Reporter

## GENERAL Magnus Adriaan Vlok should until the "sinister state-sponsored hit been cleared up, DP leader Dr Zach de night.

Dr De Beer's call on the and of Law and Order for admission by the Defence unit, the Civil Co-operation whose brief was to identify "ists" and act against them.

The SADF revelation can van Zyl, wife of former B Robbery Squad lieutenant / applied in the Rand Supreme for the release of her arre

# 14 political prisoners freed

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia  
and Mckeed Kotlolo

A total of 14 political prisoners are known to have been released in the two weeks since State President Mr F W de Klerk's speech, repression monitoring groups said yesterday.

Most of the 14 were released shortly before their sentences expired, they said.

Less than five percent of the estimated 3 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences appear to be eligible for release, according to the Detainees Aid Centre (Dac) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

They defined a political prisoner as: "Anyone who finds himself/herself in prison for opposing apartheid. This definition referred to people who were jailed for peaceful protest, unrest situations or taking up the armed struggle."

However, the groups said President de Klerk's definition excluded a large number of prisoners that they considered should be classified as "political prisoners".

A DAC spokesman said six political prisoners jailed on Robben Island were released on Tuesday and another three political prisoners jailed there were released on Wednesday. A further three political prisoners were released from Johannesburg Prison, also on Wednesday.

The six who were released on

Tuesday include Mr Bushi Mape, who was sentenced to five years, of which one year was suspended, for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and terrorism. He was released five days before his sentence expired.

Mr Norman Yengeni and Mr Eddie Khumalo, who were sentenced to 10 years for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and terrorism were due to be released next year.

Mr Vuyisile Mavundla, Mr Nelson Qubeka and Mr Mohau Moledi were sentenced to three years for furthering the aims of banned organisations and were also due to be released next year.

## POLICEMEN

The three political prisoners released from Robben Island on Wednesday are: Mr Daniel Matshwenyego Mokgabudi, Mr Cederick Tshifhango Rapudi and Mr Lucas Mabe.

Mr Mokgabudi and Mr Rapudi, both former security branch policemen, were sentenced to 14 years' jail for spying for the ANC. They were arrested in 1986 and each sentenced to a total of 14 years in 1987.

Their sentences were reduced to six years each on appeal.

Mr Mabe was sentenced to five years in 1988 for furthering the aims of the ANC. Three years of

the sentence were suspended for five years.

The three men who were released from Johannesburg Prison on Wednesday are: Mr Andries Nkabinde, Mr Amos Rammego and Mr Nicholas Kgasi of kwaThema. They were arrested on November 20 1987 and sentenced for furthering the aims of banned organisations on June 28 1988. They were sentenced to two years' jail and two years suspended.

Two political prisoners released last week were Ms Barbara Hogan and Mr Rob Adams. Ms Hogan served eight of a 10-year sentence, and Mr Adams served 7½ years of a 10-year sentence.

Regarding their estimate that only five percent of political prisoners were eligible for release, the HRC spokesman said: "Mr F W de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament this month with regard to political prisoners limited the expected numbers of political prisoners eligible for release.

"In terms of the legislation all 'unrest' political prisoners are excluded, as are probably three quarters of the 'security' political prisoners because of the violence element in their convictions."

She added that the Government had not yet published a list of those who would be considered for release or have their sentences shortened.



Mrs Thatcher

*CA This 12/2/70*  
*11A*

## Europe votes to continue anti-SA sanctions

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — The European Parliament yesterday voted by a majority of two to one in favour of the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa until it becomes "democratic".

The decision has further isolated Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, accused in the House of Commons this week of "glorying in her isolation".

The 518-member parliament, meeting in Brussels, called on the 12 nations of the European Community (EC) to "continue to help victims of apartheid and maintain economic, financial and diplomatic pressure".

Members, however, also called on EC states to be "ready to assist economic recovery and social progress through trade and aid" once SA was democratic.

Mrs Thatcher favours the step-by-step removal of sanctions as a reward for changes made by the SA government, culminating in their final scrapping once there is a fully democratic constitution in place.

Although the European Parliament's decision yesterday is only advisory, it is likely to put strong pressure on EC foreign ministers when they meet in Dublin on Tuesday.

# Mercedes to build car for Nelson

*Sowetan 16/2/90*

MERCEDES Benz of South Africa has agreed, at the request of workers at its East London plant, to build a luxury motor car for Nelson Mandela.

MBSA management acknowledges the pride and esteem in which the majority of its employees hold Mandela and is accordingly prepared to agree to a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle being built for him to mark this important occasion," the

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa quoted the company as saying.

"The company firmly believes that a fair and just society must be established, based on fundamental principles of human rights and individual dignity.

"The process of peaceful reform has been accelerated by the release of Mandela and must be extended to embrace fun-

● To page 2

# Mercedes for Mandela

From page 1

damental issues through a process of negotiation between the leaders of our society which will lead to a democratic non-racial and free society."

A MBSA spokesman said details concerning payment for and specifications of the vehicle had

not yet been finalised, but the Numsa statement said union members at the plant had opted for a red car.

*Sowetan Gift 16/2/90*

"This is a gift from the workers, which would show their admiration and respect for their leader

Nelson Mandela. The workers have also indicated that they would like Comrade Mandela to come and get the car himself in the plant, and if that is not possible they would prefer Moses Mayekiso (Numsa general secretary) to come and get the car on behalf of Mandela." - Sapa



X ON TUES 16/2/90

## Violence statement clarified

**SOWETO.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said foundations were almost in place for negotiations between the ANC and the government.

"I am convinced we can resolve all differences and come together to discuss our future," he told foreign journalists.

Mr Mandela explained a controversial comment he made in an earlier TV interview that the ANC's military wing reserved the right to hit at government installations.

"What I said yesterday was merely to restate the established policy of the ANC. I was not talking about what was going to happen tomorrow or in the future," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

## 'An honour to be president'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he would be honoured to become president in a post-apartheid South Africa but his ambition was only to help bring peace.

Mr Mandela, 71, conceded that he was showing "signs of wear and tear". But he described his health as "reasonably good" and said he was carrying on with his prison-life exercise routine.

SPAR

16/2/90

11A

## Mandela to get a Mercedes

Mercedes-Benz SA is to build a luxury car as a gift for Mr Nelson Mandela, a company spokesman has confirmed.

This followed a request by National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) members at the firm's East London plant, said the spokesman.

"The company recognises the high esteem in which employees hold Mr Mandela, and has agreed to build him a vehicle."

The company has been reported as saying it firmly believed that a fair and just society had to be established in South Africa, "based on fundamental principles of human rights and individual dignity".

The spokesman said details concerning payment and the specifications of the vehicle had not been finalised, but a Numsa statement said members at the plant had opted for a red car.

The union added: "This is a gift from the workers, to show their admiration and respect for their leader. The workers have also indicated that they would like Comrade Mandela to come and get the car himself."

Prices of Mercedes passenger cars range from R76 000 to R304 000.

CAPE TIMES 16/2/90

11A ~~11B~~



**JESSE'S VISIT . . .** Rev Jesse Jackson and his wife Jacky (right) with Mr Nelson Mandela and Mrs Winnie Mandela at the Mandela's Soweto home yesterday. Mr Jackson addressed the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday.

CAPE TIMES 16/2/90

### Winnie 'had a hit list'

JOHANNESBURG. — A "hit list" was found in Mrs Winnie Mandela's home by police, the Rand Supreme Court heard on Wednesday.

This was alleged by Sgt J D van Zyl, investigating officer in the murder of Mr Maxwell Sanele Madondo, a member of the Mandela United Football Club.

The list exhibited in court contained the names of some of the seven men accused of Mr Madondo's murder, and those of Mr Elliot Sisulu and Mr Siphiso Sisulu. Sgt Van Zyl said the other person on the list, Boni, had been killed.

Appearing before Mr Justice R A Solomon and two assessors, the seven accused have pleaded not guilty. — Sapa

16/2/90



# Luxury German car for Mandela

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — Mercedes-Benz SA is to build a luxury car as a gift for Mr Nelson Mandela, a company spokesman has confirmed.

Speculation is that it will be a 500SE — the biggest available four-door, air-conditioned model — which retails for just over R200 000, excluding GST.

This followed a request by National Union of Metalworkers' members at the firm's East London plant, said PRO Mrs Wendy Hoffman.

"The company recognises the high esteem in which employees hold Mr Mandela, and has agreed to build him a vehicle," she said.

The company was reported as saying it firmly believed that a fair and just society had to be established in South Afri-

ca, "based on fundamental principles of human rights and individual dignity".

Mrs Hoffman said details about payment and the specifications of the vehicle had not been finalised, but a Numsa statement said union members at the plant had opted for a red car.

The union added: "This is a gift from the workers, to show their admiration and respect for their leader. The workers have also indicated that they would like Comrade Mandela to come and get the car himself at the plant.

"Numsa believes that this gift from the workers is significant and shows that they look to Comrade Mandela to initiate a process of political settlement which will incorporate the needs and aspirations of the workers."

By YVETTE VAN BREDA  
RETURNED exile and former city councillor for District Six Mr Barney Desai was yesterday hosted by the Mayor of Cape Town and other councillors at the Civic Centre "to show that the City Council was once non-racial".

Mr Desai, 57, who has been an advocate for the past 20 years and practised as a barrister in London, said at the reception with Mr Gordon Oliver that words could not do justice to how he felt at being back after 27 years.

Mr Oliver had asked former councillors to attend the occasion "as a type of reunion".

Speaking with a British accent, PAC leader Mr Desai reminisced about his working days in District Six.

"I come back and I see rubble. My heart is full of knives. I think to myself, a great wrong was done here. It was brutal.

"District Six was no

# Council looks back with Desai

CPL  
Times  
16/2/70

119  
~~118~~  
~~117~~

Upper Constantia, but it was home to many of us."

Mr Desai said he was listening to the radio in Harare when he heard President F W de Klerk's announcement that exiles would be allowed to return.

"I telephoned my travel agent immediately and then my legal representatives in Pretoria to inform the minister that I was coming home.

"In a matter of hours I was told I would not be arrested, but that they would like to interview

me." The interview has still not materialised.

Commenting on the present "political situation", he said: "The country must become democratic and fast. Any recipe designed to protect one group against another is a recipe for disaster."

Mr Desai said he intended to live in South Africa: "This is my home, I did not leave by choice." His wife Rose will join him from Harare in March.

He arrived from Harare on Saturday with his daughter Zivia, 35, out of the country since the age of nine, and son Hardy, who was born here in 1963 two weeks after Mr Desai smuggled himself out of the country in a cargo liner.

His son Rustim, 33, was also at yesterday's mayoral meeting after arriving from London.

All three children had not been back to South Africa as they had been denied visas.



**WELCOME BACK . . .** Mr Barney Desai, exiled from South Africa for 27 years, meets the Mayor of Cape Town yesterday at Mr Gordon Oliver's invitation.

## Mandela answers key questions

# Attitude of white businessmen 'unsympathetic'

CAPL Tind  
16/2/90  
11A  
[Handwritten scribble]

JOHANNESBURG. — The dip in stocks and shares was indicative of the unsympathetic attitude of white businessmen towards the reasonable aspirations of blacks, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking to the press from his home in Orlando West, Soweto, the ANC leader said the government's attitude towards the ANC's demands for nationalisation also seemed out of character.

"It (the flight of capital after nationalisation) may say a lot about the reluctance of whites inside the country and in the West to achieve a real settlement. Nationalisation has formed part and parcel of the history of this country," Mr Mandela said.

"Only now that the possibility had arisen that blacks might be able to participate in the running of the country, was the government beginning to privatise.

"Our demands are reasonable.

Where do we get capital from to finance reform in health, education and housing if we don't nationalise?"

Asked if the country's five million whites would have to change their lifestyles under an ANC government, Mr Mandela said they had already begun the process.

"Whites in this country are a very important section of the community and without them,

### Black unity 'vital'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday held out the olive branch to previously hostile black liberation organisations, saying unity was vital in the fight against apartheid.

In his quest for unity, Mr Mandela said the ANC had, throughout its history, made "the question of unity among the oppressed people, the cornerstone of its policy" — Sapa

without their co-operation, we will have immense problems."

No negotiations would take place until the government had met all the ANC's demands, he insisted.

He criticised President FW de Klerk for his "ambiguous gesture" in which he invited political exiles to return home, yet left them to decide whether or not they had committed any actions liable for prosecution on their homecoming.

"Nothing short of an amnesty for all our exiles and imprisoned people is acceptable to the ANC."

Mr Mandela lavished praise on South Africa's "alternative" press, revealing that prison authorities had kept letters he wanted to send to two editors (Mr Max du Preez of Vrye Weekblad and Mr Ameen Akalwaya of the Indicator) because he refused to change the letters' contents. — Sapa

11A



**A warm greeting at the Mandela home in Soweto yesterday: US civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson has a word in Winnie Mandela's ear, while Nelson Mandela embraces his wife Jacqueline Jackson.**

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

17/6/90 16/7/90 11/11  
From KEN VERNON  
Argus Africa News Service

**LUSAKA.** — The African National Congress is planning to come out and function openly on the South African political scene and thousands of the organisation's exiles may soon be heading back to the country.

According to sources close to the ANC national executive committee, which is meeting here to formulate a response to the reform initiative of President F W de Klerk, the NEC has decided to take full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the initiative to operate as a political party in South Africa.

The decision means that three weeks after Mr De Klerk crossed the National Party "Rubicon", the ANC is preparing to cross its "Zambezi".

The formal and detailed decision of the NEC is scheduled to be announced here tomorrow.

The decision to return to South Africa is seen as a major victory for those in the ANC who advocate "jaw-jaw" over "war-war". It will also neatly side-step the need for the ANC to make any concessions to the South African government to promote negotiations. The decision to return and operate within the changing system will overtake the need for such concessions.

### Show their true colours

Another aspect of the return to a "normal" political situation is that ANC supporters and sympathisers within the country, who have been adopting a "wait and see" attitude, will declare their true colours.

There will be a lot of surprises when this happens, said one ANC member, especially in the "homelands".

Thousands of exiles are expected to begin streaming back to the country once the "okay" is given by the ANC, and here in Lusaka, the possibility of return is the only topic on the minds of many rank-and-file ANC members.

It will also be a setback for the ANC "militarists" who reportedly still distrust Mr De Klerk's motives.

The continued praise for the President as a "man of integrity" by ANC godfather Mr Nelson Mandela may have strengthened the hands of the negotiationist faction within the organisation.

### Role of internal leaders

It is expected that part of the new strategy will be that official roles within South Africa for Mr Mandela and other internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu and leading lights in the Mass Democratic Movement.

ANC leaders in exile will probably not form part of the return movement in the near future, or at least until outstanding issues surrounding the amnesty for political prisoners is resolved.

They will remain in exile, and in control, at least until the ANC holds a watershed congress scheduled for June.

That congress, upgraded from a consultative conference, could be the most important to be held since the 1950's.

One of the main aims of the ANC's new strategy will be to reinforce its role as the major voice for the black majority in South Africa in shaping a post-apartheid society.

A major aspect of the new strategy will be that present blockages to talks, such as the release of prisoners convicted of violent crimes, will not be allowed to hold up the process of "normalisation".

### "Wit Wolf"

The apparent willingness of the ANC to allow "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom to walk free along with its own prisoners on Death Row is seen as testimony to that attitude.

Stumbling blocks will be side-lined for resolution at a later stage.

However, concern has been expressed within the organisation about the role of the police, particularly their apparent ability to act against many activities under the cover of existing security legislation even after the state of emergency is lifted.

# ANC exiles gather at their 'Zambezi' for the crossing

# Coming Home



11A

CHARLENE SMITH

# Mandela 'full of hope'

IN A pine-panelled room, sauna hot, in his Orlando West home, Nelson Mandela yesterday parried the questions of relays of local and foreign journalists. Tall and straight, he rose to shake the hands of each journalist and courteously responded to each question.

The answers he gave showed that Mandela strictly adheres to ANC policy and is fully briefed on all its positions. The following is an excerpt of the question-and-answer session with local reporters.

What is your reaction to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's call for the suspension of the armed struggle?

It is understandable that President Kaunda will make a call like that, because he is essentially a non-violent and peaceful man. But the issue here is not one of armed struggle, it's a question of apartheid. The issue is not one of sanctions, but one of repression. The armed struggle was resorted to because we had no other option, there were no peaceful channels open to express our position. As long as the situation remains the same, we have no option but to continue armed struggle.

What will your message be to the national executive committee (of the ANC) when you go to Lusaka?

That is confidential. I can do no more than say I have certain ideas which may have already been thought out by the organisation and acted upon. It's

my task, if I have any ideas, as a result of discussion with government to give a full report to the NEC.

You have said white fears will be addressed by the ANC, how will it address that? Do you see some form of minority rights entrenched in a future political dispensation?

The time is not yet opportune to express an opinion on specifics. All that we want to convey in the clearest terms is that the ANC is concerned about this question. I want to assure whites that they have a role in whatever new dispensation is agreed upon. We will address their fears in respect to minorities.

How do you see political development in the next five years?

I'm full of hope because in my discussion with government in prison, there has been definite progress and I have reason to believe that the programme will continue until the situation in the country is completely normalised. I have hope that we will be able to reach an agreement satisfactory to all parties.

The reaction on the issue of nationalisation has been unfavourable locally and internationally. Could this be reconsidered particularly in the light of Joe Slovo's views about the failure of such moves in socialist countries?

That may say a great deal about the reluctance of whites in this country and the West to achieve a real settlement in this country, particularly when one has in mind the history of this country. Nationalisation has formed part of the history of this country. Nationalisation exists, that's why the government is into privatisation now. The agitation about nationalisation now shows the government is not ready for the negotiations that are necessary for a completely democratic type of government. Now that the possibility has arisen that blacks may have an effective voice in government, they say, let's privatise. They know we have no resources.

Is the Freedom Charter cast in stone?

We are prepared to compromise and one compromises with regard to basic issues. Compromise is only demanded with regard to the demands of both parties and the ANC is prepared to do that.

What lessons can be drawn from the events of Eastern Europe?

We cannot be over-worried about this matter as the West is. The West forgets that Mr Gorbachev is the only international figure who has had the courage and honesty to stand up and tell the world that there are grave shortfalls in the socialist system. There

is no comparable leader of the West who has said we made a mistake by colonising the world and suppressing people through imperialism.

The government has sent 1 000 troops into Natal and the ANC has said it wants troops out of townships. What are your feelings on this?

One of the main problems that has complicated the situation is the role of the SAP. There is evidence that they have been actually inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the UDF. The clearest indication is the statement made by Minister (Adriaan) Vlok when he visited Ujundi last year. He had a meeting with Dr Buthelezi where he came out and made a statement accusing the UDF of being responsible for this violence. Any individual who is impartial will listen to both parties before making a decision.

Sending 1 000 police won't help. What is needed is a judicial commission of inquiry both in regard to the causes of violence and issues aggravating the situation in which the police play an important role.

Who wrote the speech you delivered on Sunday and on other days; do you have a speech writer?

Does it make any difference if I wrote the speech? Is it relevant to find the origin of ideas?

What will the next stage be in the negotiation process?

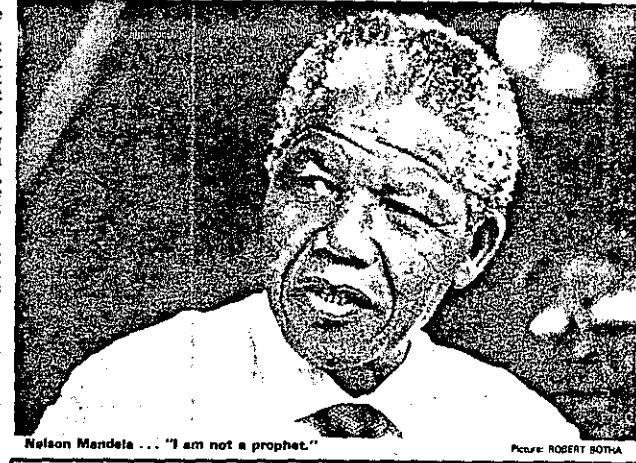
Negotiations are still in the first stage. The government should meet certain preconditions, they have not done that. The only one they have met is the unbanning of the ANC. The question of the lifting of the state of emergency in its entirety and the release of political prisoners and the creation of a climate for free political activity, these things will be done as long as we are not still bogged down in the first stage of negotiations.

The state of emergency is irrelevant from the point of view of normalising the situation. The government has had three states of emergency. Violence is still there. It has not helped.

(Responding to another question about negotiations, which asked if the ball was not now in the ANC court) The aim of setting preconditions is to have the opportunity of getting a mandate from our people. How do we get that mandate when the leadership is in exile — exiles who must decide before they return if they have committed a crime or not? How do we get a mandate when there's a state of emergency, more people in prison? The government must normalise the situation by meeting these preconditions. Once that has been done we can say the ball will be in the court of the ANC.

Do you believe the ANC will assume power in your lifetime?

I am not a prophet and I am not in a position to say what we hope and desire in our lifetime.



Nelson Mandela ... "I am not a prophet."

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



**Farm-ag Limited**

(Registration number 0526632/06)

("Farm-ag")

## MINI BUDGET



Schwarz:  
JSE panic  
was not  
necessary



Mr Schwarz

PARLIAMENT. — People should not have panicked and sold their shares on the Stock Exchange after listening to Mr Nelson Mandela's speech, Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party chief spokesman on finance, said yesterday.

"Instead, they should have read the ANC Charter or its policy years ago and then they would have known that Mr Mandela said nothing new."

The reality was that there were people in the country who were not only deprived of political power but were also economically disadvantaged.

"Capitalism is associated with apartheid in the eyes of many blacks. We need, therefore, to project a system which is not associated with apartheid, has been proven to be effective and gives opportunity and benefits to those previously deprived," he said.

In reply to Mr Schwarz, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said that South Africa needed a social market economy to provide upliftment for disadvantaged people.

Government, he said, had never argued for a cold, free-enterprise, capitalist system.

In its distribution of taxes over the past few years it had shown a considerable degree of compassion to the poor. It could have shown more compassion but was restricted by the process of reconstructing the economy.— Sapa

# No policy to nationalise — ANC official

11A  
the meeting  
16/2/90

LUSAKA — Nationalisation of the economy was not ANC policy, a senior ANC source said yesterday, apparently contradicting views expressed recently by colleagues as senior as Nelson Mandela.

Amid strong indications that the organisation was poised to announce a largely positive response to President FW de Klerk's political initiatives, the source added the ANC was prepared to negotiate tomorrow a cessation of violence between government and the ANC.

He was speaking during a break in the proceedings of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meeting, scheduled to end here today.

The meeting has resolved all the important matters and will take a few hours today to polish up its statement before meeting US civil rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson at noon and the Press at 2pm today.

The source said the ANC's main economic priority was to address the historical injustices and distortions of racism.

"There are many reasons why we cannot nationalise even if we wanted to. We do not want our economy to collapse into nothing," he said.

"There is nothing in our constitutional guidelines which make nationalisation mandatory," he added.

The guidelines state the economy shall consist of public, private, co-operative and small business sectors.

The source expressed the view that the guidelines were a modern interpretation of

ALAN FINE

the Freedom Charter (which talks of nationalising the heights of the economy), and thus superseded it.

Another ANC source said the nationalisation issue would become "irrelevant" when the NEC announced its decisions today.

On the question of the armed struggle, a number of NEC members reconfirmed that the ANC would not "unilaterally" abandon it.

But the first-mentioned source indicated he was willing to talk to government about a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Issues that could be addressed in such a process would be the Harare Declaration demands not yet met by De Klerk, including the position of exiles, political prisoners, emergency regulations and security legislation.

But he did not indicate that exiled NEC members would participate in talks with government on these matters.

He said the ANC felt strongly that sanctions should remain in place "for as long as the apartheid question is not resolved."

"We need them as a guarantee that negotiations do not stop in the middle of nowhere."

The source conceded certain ANC positions were there in order to have something with which to compromise in the negotiations.

Another prominent NEC member took a slightly less bullish view of the situation.

□ To Page 2

## Nationalisation

By Day 16/2/90

11A

□ From Page 1

"We will definitely announce something new which we think is important. But whether it goes far enough to satisfy everyone, we will have to wait and see," he said.

Delegates have remained extremely tightlipped about details of the proceedings at the meeting, where the future role of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other freed prisoners is also being discussed.

These leaders, and also president Oliver Tambo recuperating in Stockholm, have conveyed their views on the crucial issues to the meeting.

By yesterday it appeared that any serious strategic divisions among NEC members had been ironed out, and the meeting was now discussing detail.

Sources stressed that disagreements were not along simplistic political versus military lines.

Rather, they were based on differing assessments of whether De Klerk and the NP were genuinely committed to real change.

□ Former US presidential hopeful Jackson is due to arrive in Lusaka today from SA, to meet the ANC leadership.

□ Sisulu said yesterday that Mandela had been in contact with the authorities on Wednesday regarding a passport to allow him to travel to Lusaka.

Final details for the planned trip would only be made once Mandela had his passport.



Nicky Rebelo returns in the black comedy *The Good Soldier Svejk*, opening at the Laager on March 8. The other cast members are, from left, Barry Burke, Li Newman, Andrew Buckland, Gys de Villiers and Jennie Reznik

## Posters with perfect timing — they're history

IT was probably not intended that way but the timing of the one-day exhibition, *Posters in the Struggle Against Apartheid*, organised as part of the Wits History Workshop Open Day last Saturday, was perfect.

The posters on show — for the most part protest posters produced by trade unions and cultural collectives with roots in the democratic movement — were collected and shown at almost the same moment that they ceased to be living propaganda and entered the more reflective if less vocal realms of history.

The release of Nelson Mandela was announced that day and would happen on the following day. The African National Congress, technically unbanned for more than a week, was about to emerge decisively into the light of South African day.

In that historically overwhelming moment not only the posters calling for Mandela's release and the unbanning of the liberation movement turned overnight into relics of the struggle. The particular use of the poster medium was also changed into something belonging to a remembered past more than to the living present.

'Struggle' posters on exhibition at the Gertrude Posel gallery underwent an unexpected change of status on opening day when the news of Nelson Mandela's release turned some of them into instant relics. **IVOR POWELL** reports

South African realities have changed more dramatically and more suddenly than anybody could have imagined. Where formerly the struggle for democracy was guided by relatively abstract issues relating to morality and justice, now we are entering a new era in which the issues are practical and increasingly complex. In the past the struggle was to get to the point where the problems of South African life — which now need to be worked through — were merely acknowledged and addressed.

In terms of information and publicity in the liberation movement — of which poster making formed a central part — this meant that issues and events needed to be located within a moral dimension. The rights and wrongs of

what was happening in the country were what guided poster making as much as they did anti-apartheid media practice in general.

But now, the white heat of indignation is cooling. And new and different functions need to be developed for the information and propaganda machinery of the liberation movement.

The posters on show were for the most part unashamedly propagandist. They were made in order to persuade and to mobilise, and their appeal was thus to a mass audience.

Given this kind of purpose, "art" hardly comes into it — though of course the hand and eye skills which make for art do. Propaganda posters are successful insofar as they distil and dramatically persuade their viewer. Conversely, they fail insofar as they contain within themselves doubts or ambiguities.

In the propaganda sense, many of the finest posters on show are those which were produced under the auspices of the trade union movement. Often employing photographic imagery and coupling this with hard sloganising, they offer direct and immediately emotive argu-

●To PAGE 26

## Posters now lie in a heap of history

ments in favour of their cause. By avoiding any obvious and personal style in their communication, they argue for their message as a self-evident and collective truth, subordinated only to universals like morality and justice.

An example is the poster commemorating the 1976 uprisings, based on the famous Sam Nzima photograph which shows the limp body of Hector Peterson borne by grieving comrades. Little room is left for doubt about what really happened in 1976, or what its meaning was. Nor is there any question about the appropriate response to the image on the part of the viewer.

Similarly posters promoting living wage campaigns and built around images of dire poverty both appeal to the emotions and justify the need for that appeal; no room is left for ambiguity on the part of the viewer.

Ironically, it is when the posters approach the condition of art — when they employ an identifiable style — that they are least effective as posters. Stylistically what is conveyed is not the sense of incontrovertible truth, but a particular and conditional response to it. The message is that there could be other ways of understanding the situation.

But of course it is precisely doubt and ambiguity, that more complex awareness of layers of meaning, which defines the traditions of art and which makes art into the humanist discipline that it is.

The real significance of the events of recent weeks in terms of the arts is that much of the justification for making propaganda has disappeared, and correspondingly there is far more reason to be exploring the more comprehensively human dimensions that are represented by art.

w/Mail 16/2-22/2/90

# Did a plea from ANC cut short rebel tour?

Star  
17/2/90  
DAVID CAPEL  
(11A)

WHO was the mystery "third party" who brought influence to bear on the South African Cricket Union (SACU) to slash the itinerary of the rebel English cricket tour?

No one was saying this week, but the Saturday Star has learnt that two, "very senior, highly respected Afrikaans businessmen", currently in England, made an impassioned plea to the SACU and the National Sports Council (NSC) to reach a compromise on the controversial tour.

According to the SACU's Dr Ali Bacher, the businessmen had been asked to convey their message by the African National Congress (ANC) in London.

## Future leader

It is almost certain that the ANC official involved is none other than Mr Thabo Mbeki, the organisation's foreign affairs spokesman and a man who many predict will be a future leader of the ANC.

Saturday Star was told the businessmen did not pressurise either the SACU or the NSC ... "they merely pleaded for reason".

The businessmen and the ANC were concerned about the atmosphere within the country, particularly in the light of Mr Nelson Mandela's recent release. They feared the tour would exacerbate things.

One impeccable source close to the tour said he believed the South African Government must also have been involved, but this was firmly denied by Government spokesman. It is further believed that the British government played no part.



**PETER MOKABA (31):** Soyco leader has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

## 'Young lion' is caged under Security Act

Star  
12/2/90 PAT DEVEREAUX (11A)

DUBBED "leader of the young lions" the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) President, Mr Peter Mokaba (31), commands a half-million-strong youth movement and is described as a "fire eater" when he rallies his young lions together in anti-apartheid protest.

At present, however, the Sayco leader has been silenced. He is currently being held in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Mokaba, born in 1958 Mankeng township near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, has been in and out of prison cells since his first detention at the age of 15.

The young militant was detained on January 17 when on his way to attend a meeting in Pietersburg, according to his lawyer, Mr Fink Haysom.

### Many spells

This is just one of the youth leader's many spells behind bars.

In 1982 he was arrested and convicted of furthering the aims of the African National Congress (ANC). He was jailed for two years and redetained on his release in September 1984.

He was charged with having undergone military training outside the country and bringing arms into the country, and sentenced to seven years' jail on Robben Island for undergoing guerilla training. But he was released after serving a year when his conviction was set aside by the Appeal Court.

Mokaba was detained again in July 1985 and held in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act and released on March 21, 1986, after a successful appeal.

### Held incommunicado

In May 1989 the State dropped its terrorism case against Mokaba after keeping him in jail for more than 14 months.

In an urgent court application it was alleged that Mokaba was held incommunicado for several months under Section 29. He was, it was alleged, assaulted by police, threatened with death and kept manacled for days on end.

Shortly before the court application to restrain police from assaulting him was brought by his mother, Mrs Priscilla Mokaba, she too was placed in detention.

In this most recent spell of detention Mr Mokaba has so far not been charged. Mr Haysom said: "We have repeatedly demanded reasons for his detention to see whether they fit the parameters of the State President's speech but have had no response."

# Mandela impresses diplomats

CME-Trip 17/2/90

(114)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela delivered a 30-minute address to South Africa's diplomatic corps yesterday, reiterating his preconditions for negotiations but showing a "spirit of reconciliation".

Austrian ambassador Mr Alexander Christiani described Mr Mandela as a "man with great dignity, a man with great clarity of mind" who sought reconciliation with white South Africans.

Mr Christiani, dean of South Africa's diplomatic corps, had requested the discussion and said he was pleased it occurred within a week of Mr Mandela's release on Sunday from more than 27 years in prison.

About 50 diplomats, including 20 ambassadors and mission chiefs, attended the morning gathering held at the Jan Smuts Airport hotel. Among those were US ambassador Mr William Swing, British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick and Canadian ambassador Mr Ron MacLean.

"It was an extremely friendly, impressive and very statesmanlike performance," said Sir Robin.

Mr Christiani said Mr Mandela had repeated his well-known positions on maintaining sanctions and other issues in a 30-minute opening address.

## Thatcher message

He also reiterated the need for the government to lift the 43-month-old state of emergency in its entirety and to release all political prisoners before negotiations began, Mr Christiani said.

At the meeting Mr Mandela asked Sir Robin to "pass on greetings" to Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, BBC television reported.

The BBC correspondent said this greeting was "an indication (Mr Mandela) does not intend differences over sanctions against South Africa to stand in the way of negotiations".

Australian diplomat Mr Andrew Goledzinowski quoted Mr Mandela as saying at yesterday's meeting: "I assure you that there will be no negotiations until the issue of political prisoners is resolved."

Mr Mandela explained that ANC leaders such as himself felt morally responsible for young guerrillas in South African prisons because they had joined the armed struggle in response to a call by the organisation.

Mr Mandela told reporters after the meeting the overwhelming majority of political prisoners remained in custody despite President F W de Klerk's announcement this month that some would be freed. — Sapa-Reuter

# Talks are on, says the ANC

CAM TAPS 17/2/90  
11A

From ALAN FINE

**LUSAKA.** — The ANC announced yesterday it would send a delegation to South Africa for direct talks with President F W de Klerk on issues standing in the way of negotiations.

In making this dramatic announcement yesterday, acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo signalled that the process of "talks about talks" had officially begun.

The statement was made on behalf of the ANC national executive committee at the end of its two-and-a-half day meeting here.

Mr Nzo said the delegation to meet Mr De Klerk would comprise both NEC members and recently released internal leaders including, presumably, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The exact composition of the delegation had not yet been decided. Mr Nzo added that there was an urgent need for a meeting between the NEC and internal ANC leaders, and for meetings with the MDM and other anti-apartheid forces.

A delegation would enter South Africa for this

purpose "as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made".

More generally, plans were being made for a co-ordinated return to South Africa of ANC leaders and members as soon as possible.

Mr Nzo said the delegations to South Africa wanted assurances they would not be arrested on their return, and getting this clarified would form part of the preparations. However, he did not appear to think this would be a problem.

Mr Nzo said Mr De Klerk would receive an official communication from the ANC on its wish for a

meeting, but declined to say what form this would take.

While welcoming the steps announced by Mr De Klerk since February 2, the ANC believed the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations required further action on the government's part.

"To help achieve these objectives in the shortest

To: page 2

● Buthezi slams Mandela — Page 2

● JSE waits for the ANC — Page 23

P.T.O.

## No attacks on civilian targets

Own Correspondent

**LUSAKA.** — The ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would not attack shopping centres or other such civilian targets, but its "defensive" functions such as protecting people from "state terror" would continue until a ceasefire had been negotiated, ANC leaders said yesterday.

Acting president Mr Alfred Nzo said the national executive committee had considered "with all due seriousness suggestions that it should unilaterally suspend the armed struggle".

Pressed to define on whom the ANC drew the line, leaders said civilian targets would not be hit but military targets remained legitimate ones.

Mr Nzo said the NEC viewed with grave concern "the continuing campaign of repression" being carried out by the security forces.

The general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has been appointed as the only non ex-prisoner to serve on a committee charged with re-establishing open ANC structures in South Africa.

Mr Nzo said the committee, would be led by Mr Walter Sisulu. Other committee members include Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Harry Gwala.

### ANC's reply to FW

- It will immediately re-establish the ANC within the country.
- It will take immediate steps to prepare for the organised return to SA of the leaders and members of the ANC.
- The next national conference will be held inside SA from December 16.
- To negotiate a suspension of hostilities when a climate conducive to negotiations has been created.
- It condemned the British government for "unjustified" lifting of sanctions.



SIT-IN... Mr Sto Jaxa, in a green-black-and-gold jersey, addresses fellow students at UCT during a sit-in which took place yesterday. CAM TAPS 17/2/90 (54)

Picture: RICHARD BELL



possible time, (the NEC) resolved to meet Mr De Klerk," Mr Nzo said.

The items the ANC wished to discuss, and on which it desired government action, were the release of all political prisoners and detainees, ending the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, a halt to political trials, and the removal of all troops from the townships.

Mr Nzo said the ANC "reiterated the fact that the masses of our people continue to suffer under the apartheid system."

It restated that even when the climate for negotiation is created, "this will not mean that this system will have been abolished. Therefore the struggle... must and will continue".

● **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports that there was no immediate response from the government to the ANC announcements.

A spokesman for the State President's office said Mr De Klerk would be studying the ANC's decisions and would respond "at an appropriate time".

Mr De Klerk was originally scheduled to hold a major press conference this week but a spokesman for his office said yesterday that the press conference would definitely not be held this weekend.

It was not clear whether the press conference — which Mr De Klerk said last weekend could deal with issues like constitutional rights for Africans and one-person one-vote — would still take place.

One of the government's senior negotiators, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, would also not be drawn on the ANC's announcements last night.

He said the government first wished to examine the ANC's remarks before reacting. One of his spokesmen said this would probably be next week.

However, the government is likely to welcome the ANC announcement that it plans to send a delegation to meet Mr De Klerk.

Government ministers have emphasised repeatedly in recent weeks that they favour talks with the ANC on remaining obstacles to negotiation and Mr De Klerk has made the point that his door is open.

## Whites dance for Mandela

SOWETO.— Twenty white South African students visited Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday, ending up doing the "toyi toyi" dance and chanting slogans hailing the ANC.

Black residents had the rare sight of whites chanting ANC slogans in Zulu.

"I think it's really good fun," said Kate, 20. "But I am not sure that most of us know what we are singing."

Their performance was good enough to earn them a brief doorstep chat with Mandela. —

Sapa-Reuter

NEWS

# How long can Winnie's demure image last?

Star (7/2/90)  
(11A) (88)

PAT DEVEREAUX

**RADIANT AT** the side of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela appears to have been "politically reinstated" and to have adapted to the role of demure wife without so much as a backward glance.

However, problems have been predicted for the couple in both their political and private lives.

The first warnings of dark clouds on the political horizon came this week with the start of the trial of former Mandela United Football Club soccer coach, Mr Jerry Richardson.

Although she has not been charged in connection with the murder, Mrs Mandela is said to have been implicated.

**Thuggery**

Members of the football team formed her personal body guard but they had a reputation in Soweto for widespread gangsterism and thuggery. The ANC later ordered that the soccer club be disbanded.

In the trial, the State alleges Mr Richardson murdered child activist 14-year-old James "Stompie" Moketsi Seipei after assaulting him at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home in December 1988.

Mr Richardson is also charged with four counts of abduction and five counts of assault.

However, Mr Richardson was released on bail of R5 000 on Thursday by the Rand Supreme Court and the trial was postponed to May 2 this year.

This means that the events which took place at the Mandela household and Mrs Mandela's possible implication involving the Stompie murder and beatings of three other young men will not be unravelled until mid year.

In a separate incident this week, damaging allegations about Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were reported to have been

made during the police interrogation of the late Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, the father of Zinzi's third child who died in detention.

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Mr Sithole's death ruled that these allegations could not be heard in court.

In another case this week — the murder trial in which seven people stand accused of murdering member of the now defunct Mandela United Football Club, Mr Maxwell Sanele Madondo — it was disclosed before the court that police had found a "hit list" at Mrs Mandela's home containing the names of some of the accused.

From these latest developments it is clear the State has in its possession information which could further seriously damage Mrs Mandela's now said to be "rehabilitated" image.

Last year the South African

Council of Churches expressed fears that the State would time Mr Mandela's release with the start of the "Stompie" trial in a bid to discredit the Mandela name.

According to visitors who have met with Mr Mandela he is not likely to distance himself from his wife, despite the allegations, because he views himself as "traditionally responsible for her".

Meanwhile, Garner Thompson reported from London this week that British psychologists have predicted problems for the couple in their personal lives. Dr James Thompson this week warned that the danger point for Mr Mandela could come about a month after his release.

"I think his real difficulties will be renegotiating his working relationships with everyone and getting back to the hectic pace we now live in and the pace that is demanded of him because of his inevitable saviour role," said Dr Thompson.

After years of a penfriend relationship, getting to know each other again is another problem the couple will have to confront after more than 20 years apart.

Another leading British psychologist, Dr David Lewis, also expects the reunion to be fraught with problems.

**Strangers**

He claims the couple didn't have time to establish an emotional bond in the early stages of a short marriage. "They will now feel as though they are living with a complete stranger".

He believes one pitfall could be Mrs Mandela's reaction to the change in their respective statuses — he no longer a faceless mystery, and she probably toppled from her position as an international celebrity.

But Professor Fatima Meer, his authorised biographer, believes Mr Mandela will have no trouble making the transition back to public life.



**PRESSURE URGED:** Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged the international community to press South Africa to lift a three-year-old state of emergency and release all political prisoners in an hour-long closed meeting with ambassadors and senior diplomats of some 20 countries represented in South Africa. Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie then went on to meet the Ambassador of Austria, Dr Alexander Christiani, at Jan Smuts Airport as he was on his way through to Namibia.  
© Photograph: Boy George Mashini.

**20 whites serenade ANC leader**

**SOWETO** — Twenty white South African students visited Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday, ending up doing the "toyi toyi" liberation dance and chanting slogans hailing his African National Congress.

Black residents of the township had the rare sight of whites chanting ANC slogans in Zulu, including "Nelson Mandela is calling you".

"I think it's really good fun," said Kate (20). "But I am not sure that most of us know what we are singing."

But their performance was good enough to earn them a brief doorstep chat with Mandela, who came out of his tiny home to greet them.  
— Sapa-Reuter.

*Dunhill brings a new dimension of lightness*

# Can Jesse Jackson help to heal our wounds?

When United States civil rights leader and former Democratic presidential candidate, the Rev Jesse Jackson arrives in South Africa today, he will probably be reminded of the last time he was in this country more than 10 years ago.

Mr Jackson was in South Africa in 1979, and during his two-week stay here he angered many people and had many others spellbound.

It was then that he called South Africa "a terrorist dictatorship" for the first time, and he has since tried hard to get the "terrorist state" label to stick.

Once regarded as one of "white" South Africa's arch enemies, United States civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson who arrives here today, with an entourage of 17, seems to have toned down his acerbic rhetoric in favour of a more conciliatory approach. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

But the outspoken Baptist minister, who is no stranger to controversy, returns to South Africa a much friendlier man. Since Mr F W de Klerk took office as State President last year and embarked on a number of reforms, Mr Jackson has been somewhat conciliatory towards this country, and has even publicly complimented Mr de Klerk for releasing political prisoners.

After a meeting with South African ambassador Dr Piet Koornhof in Washington early in December, Mr Jackson thanked Mr de Klerk for releasing political prisoners and later allowing them to hold a rally.

Mr Jackson comes to this country at the invitation of South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The SACC asked Mr Jackson to acquire first-hand knowledge of the political situation in the country "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the US... to force this regime to negotiate with the authentic leaders of the people".

The undisputed black American leader, the last person to talk to assassinated civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King jun before his death, hopes to meet President de Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders.

Dr Koornhof was reported as saying he believed Mr Jackson, a long-time personal acquaintance of his, seriously wanted to play a conciliatory role in this country.

After a meeting in 1979 with Dr



Fiery Jesse Jackson... belief that he will play a conciliatory role.

Koornhof, then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Jackson was full of praise for Dr Koornhof. He describe Dr Koornhof as "fresh air in Nationalist politics (who) raises issues which should be heard and which will mandate an agenda for liberation".

The two men have been relatively close since then.

A founder of People United to Save Humanity (Operation Push), Mr Jackson was the first black man to make a serious attempt for the US presidency. He had never held elective office when he made his first bid for the presidency in 1984, and his candidacy brought increased voter registration among black Americans.

Mr Jackson won about 3.2 million votes during the Democratic primaries, calling for a "Rainbow Coalition" of voters of every race to defeat then President Ronald Reagan.

In 1988 Mr Jackson was the only rival of Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis at the end of the campaign. The final convention count on July 21 1988 was 2 876 250 for Governor Dukakis and 1 218 500 for Mr Jackson.

While in South Africa in 1979, Mr Jackson tried to bring together feuding black political groups, arguing that unity was essential. A number of people, including Black People's Convention founder-member and then member of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr Tom Manthata, slammed Mr Jackson saying his unity idea "was conceived abroad with the sole aim of pushing Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi as a leader because he is perceived as such overseas".

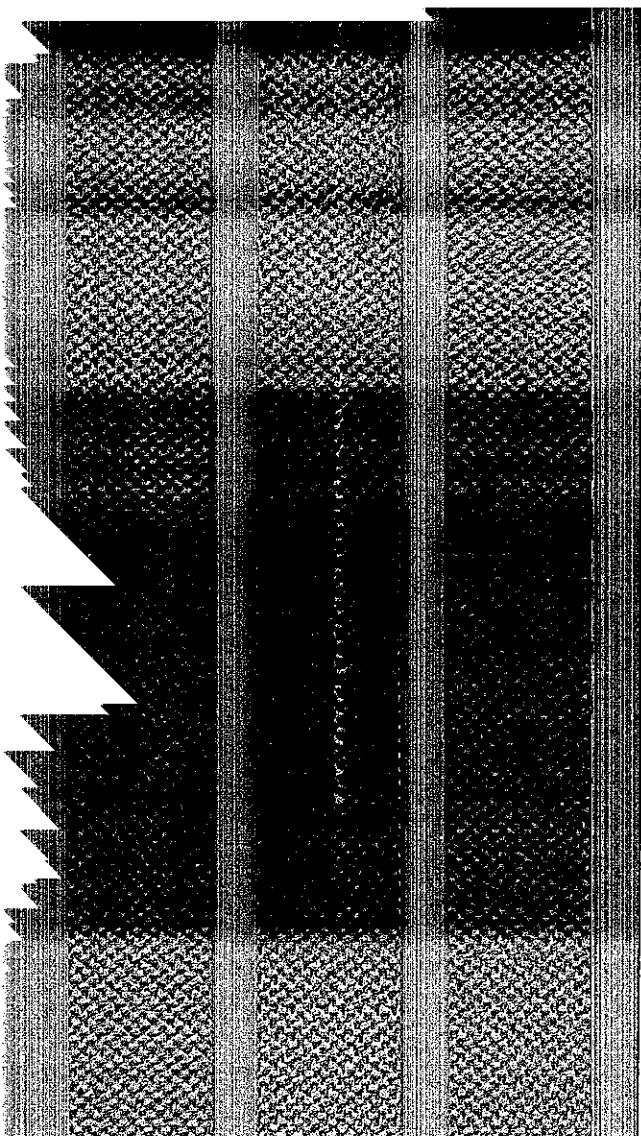
The then influential black newspaper, *Post*, came to Mr Jackson's rescue, stoutly defending him in an editorial:

"The spectacle of white South Africans across the political spectrum, with the dubious support of a few black allies, in condemning the Rev Jesse Jackson, is sickening.

"He (Mr Jackson) has been attacked from an unexpected white quarter as "a loud mouth" simply because has the courage of his convictions. He has also been condemned — also from an unexpected black quarter — as having imperialistic designs, simply because he dares focus on the importance of black unity as a prerequisite to achieving the things we are all fighting for.

"Jesse Jackson's views about this country are so relevant it hurts. He is, in spite of the concerted effort by South Africans to prove the contrary, a very important man. No amount of denigration by white South Africans and their black satellites will alter the fact..

"For our part we would like to say to Jesse Jackson: do not despair. You were good. You did your thing well. You gave us hope and pride.. come back again."



**AIRPORT MEETING:** In another hectic day yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie met the Ambassador of Austria, Dr Alexander Christiani, at Jan Smuts Airport as he was on his way through to Namibia. **© Photograph: Boy George Mashinini.**

## Buthelezi rounds on ANC leader

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused Mr Nelson Mandela of serious errors of judgment, the first prominent South African black to criticise the nationalist leader since he left jail last Sunday.

Chief Buthelezi took issue with remarks by Mr Mandela about violence by blacks against blacks in Natal where Inkatha is fighting the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi quoted Mr Mandela as saying there was evidence suggesting that the SAP was siding with the

moderate Inkatha against the UDF, which is affiliated to his African National Congress (ANC).

"Sadly the facts do not tally with the interpretation which Dr Mandela places on them and he should seriously question those who give him the kind of background information which leads him to make these kind of serious errors of judgment," said Mr Buthelezi, who leads Inkatha.

Mr Buthelezi said recriminations against himself and Inkatha by Mr Mandela were in-

tolerable.

The Zulu leader's criticism of the more left-wing Mr Mandela reflected deep divisions among blacks who oppose apartheid but differ on how to confront it.

The violence in Natal, which has killed 2 000 people in three years, has increased since Mr Mandela was freed, with some analysts saying each side is trying to gain territory before the start of peace negotiations.

"Where, Dr Mandela, I ask, is your hand of friendship?" said Chief Buthelezi. — Reuter.

CAD: Times 17/2/80

# Sharpe hits out at Thatcher

LONDON. — "If sanctions are lifted now, the promise of (Mr Nelson) Mandela's statesmanship will be dissipated and the future will be handed to terrorists who believe in revolution by 'necklacing'."

In a hard-hitting letter in the Independent newspaper yesterday, author Tom Sharpe, who was deported from SA in the late 1950s, described British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's praise for Mr F W de Klerk's "so-called boldness and courage" was "as incomprehensible as her silence about Mandela's years of imprisonment and hard labour is insulting".

He said the "guerilla war of liberation" remained justified and would continue until the dismantling of "apartheid legislation like the Group Areas Act is genuinely begun".

# Buthelezi slams Mandela cop claim

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday criticised statements allegedly made to the press by Mr Nelson Mandela, in which the ANC leader is quoted as saying police were supporting Inkatha in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi, who is also the president of Inkatha, said Mr Mandela should question those who had informed him, because their information had led to errors of judgment on his part.

The chief minister said in a statement yesterday that people in the Lindelani area affected by the violence had approached him with allegations of partisan police action.

He had approached Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to investigate the matter "so that if there was any truth in

the matter, we could act against the stated involvement of the SAP".

"Mr Vlok came, saw and made a statement. In that statement he pointed a finger at the UDF.

"Now Mr Mandela says there is evidence that the SAP are supporting Inkatha in violence against the UDF that the police incite and he says: 'One of the clearest illustrations of this was when he (Mr Vlok) met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and made a public statement accusing the UDF and its affiliates of being responsible for this (the violence)'."

Chief Buthelezi stressed he was reacting to press reports only. "I react cautiously because Mr Mandela is who he is and I have not yet sat down to talk with him on a wide range of issues which should claim our attention.

"Sadly the facts do not tally with the interpretation which Mr Mandela places on them."

Both he and Mr Mandela were on the telephone, Chief Buthelezi noted, "but he did not even pick up the phone to check my side of the story".

A letter from Ulundi to ANC leaders, suggesting possible dates for negotiation, had not been acknowledged.

The Inter-organisational Committee set up by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to explore ways of co-operating to eliminate violence was teetering "because UDF and Cosatu have just not got any answer back from the ANC about the issues we have tabled", said the Inkatha president.

"The ANC must not remain petulant while SA burns. Where, Mr Mandela I ask, is your hand of friendship?" — Sapa

## Parliament and Politics

JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen political prisoners are believed to have been released following State President FW de Klerk's parliamentary address, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) confirmed yesterday.

"Confusion reigns over exactly who is eligible for release because of the marked discrepancy between Mr de Klerk's and the repression monitoring groups' definition of a political prisoner," said Mrs Audrey Coleman for the Detainees Aid Centre (DAC).

The HRC and DAC define a political prisoner as:

"Anyone in prison for opposing apartheid. This definition referred to people who

# HRC: '14 political prisoners released'

*C.M. Trust 17/2/90 (117)*

were jailed for peaceful protest, unrest situations or taking up the armed struggle."

This working definition conflicts with that of Mr De Klerk's which prevents a large number of prisoners from being classified as "political prisoners".

"Less than 5% of the estimated 3 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences appear to be eligible for re-

lease as a result of the 'legalisation'.

"The problem in compiling a list of prisoners eligible for release under Mr De Klerk's announcement is the difficulty in obtaining information and the different classifications of 'political prisoner'.

"All 'unrest' political prisoners are excluded, as are probably three quarters of the 'security' political prisoners,

because of the violence element in their convictions," a HRC spokesman said.

Among the 14 political prisoners recently released, are six from Robben Island who were released on Tuesday and another three political prisoners who were jailed there were released on Wednesday. A further three political prisoners were released on Wednesday from Johannesburg Prison.

● A spokesman from the SA Council of Churches confirmed the names of the three released from Johannesburg Prison on Wednesday. They are: Mr Andries Nkabinde, Mr Amos Rammege and Mr Nicholas Kgasi of KwaThema.

Govt <sup>CME Times</sup>  
frees <sup>17/2/90</sup>  
ANC spies

JOHANNESBURG. — Two former security policemen who were sentenced to 14 years imprisonment each for spying for the ANC three years ago, were released this week in terms of the government's pledge to release political prisoners.

Mr Matshwenyego Daniel Makgubodi of Atteridgeville and Mr Tshifhangu Cedric Rabuli of Soshanguwe were released with five other political prisoners from the Johannesburg prison on Wednesday afternoon.

"I was stunned by the news and could not believe it. Although we are happy to be out we feel bad about the comrades we left behind," Mr Mokgabudi said.

The two were convicted on charges of being members of the ANC, furthering its aims and of disclosing sensitive security information to the ANC. — Sapa



# ANC to send team for talks with F.W.

Star 12/19 (111)

## 'Suspension of hostilities' a key item on agenda

LUSAKA — In a major breakthrough, welcomed by National Party and Democratic Party sources, the exiled leadership of the African National Congress said yesterday it would send a delegation "as soon as possible" to South Africa for a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

The announcement came after a three-day meeting of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee.

The meeting would be the first between the movement's exiled leaders and a South African head of state.

Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, also said the movement was prepared to negotiate "a suspension of hostilities" once Mr de Klerk met the group's remaining pre-conditions for formal talks.

The ANC said "it resolved to meet Mr de Klerk as soon as possible to discuss with him the need to address these issues so that a climate conducive to negotiations is created".

The movement said the delegation would include exiled members as well as leaders inside South Africa. That could include recently released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, although Mr Nzo did not specify anyone by name.

The Lusaka announcement followed three days of meetings to evaluate recent reforms announced by Mr de Klerk on February 2. These included legalising more than 60 opposition groups, among them the ANC; the release of Mr Mandela; the easing of press restrictions; and a moratorium on executions.

Mr Nzo said the ANC viewed these reforms "in a positive light".

The ANC reiterated that the Government had to release all political prisoners, lift the State of Emergency and allow exiles to return before formal negotiations began.

Mr de Klerk has said he plans to take these steps.

The ANC, which was banned for 30 years, also said it would open offices in South Africa.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Mandela said he would be willing to meet Mr de Klerk to discuss the prospect of negotiations.

"I have found him to be a man of integrity with whom I can do business," Mr Mandela said.

Saturday Star's political correspondent, Peter Fabricius, reports from Cape Town that the Government had no of-

NEWS

ANC <sup>(11 ft)</sup>

● FROM PAGE 1

ficial response last night. But National Party sources described the ANC move as a "start".

The Government reaction was expected to be positive, as the ANC's move to send a delegation was a direct response to an invitation by Mr de Klerk a week ago.

Speaking at a press conference to announce the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk said that "exploratory talks" could be held to discuss problems hindering negotiations.

Although he was specifically referring only to the issue of political prisoners, Mr de Klerk indicated in a later interview that the lifting of the State of Emergency could also be negotiated.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said: "We have taken note of the statement. We are studying it and we will probably respond to it early next week."

Senior NP sources said: "It is an encouraging sign that they are coming to talks. Our attitude all along has been that the ball is in the ANC court. They must make some gesture."

"But it seems as if they try to play it both ways. They stick to

their familiar rhetoric about violence and sanctions, but on the other hand they want to get clarity.

"It's the smallest possible start they could take, but it is at least a start."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I'm delighted to hear this news. It confirms that the ANC is looking towards genuine negotiations and by implication, that its intentions are peaceful."

"The proposed talks with Mr de Klerk represent the most important step so far in the 'talks about talks' to which all of us have been referring."

"The re-establishment of the ANC as a political organisation within South Africa is entirely to be welcomed and is something we have long campaigned for."

"As one of the handful of members of Parliament who voted against the banning of the ANC three decades ago, I shall be particularly pleased to welcome them back to the political scene."

On the likely right-wing reaction, Mr de Beer said: "I don't think it adds anything to the fury they are exhibiting. The action of unbanning the ANC was already enough to raise the Conservative Party's anger to maximum levels."

"It simply is not physically possible for them to become any angrier."

... assistance more than

NEWS

# How long can Winnie's demure image last?

PAT DEVEREAUX

RADIANT AT the side of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela appears to have been "politically reinstated" and to have adapted to the role of demure wife without so much as a backward glance.

However, problems have been predicted for the couple in both their political and private lives.

The first warnings of dark clouds on the political horizon came this week with the start of the trial of former Mandela United Football Club soccer coach, Mr Jerry Richardson.

Although she has not been charged in connection with the murder, Mrs Mandela is said to have been implicated.

### Thuggery

Members of the football team formed her personal body guard but they had a reputation in Soweto for widespread gangsterism and thuggery. The ANC later ordered that the soccer club be disbanded.

In the trial, the State alleges Mr Richardson murdered child activist 14-year-old James "Stompie" Moketsi Seipei after assaulting him at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home in December 1988.

Mr Richardson is also charged with four counts of abduction and five counts of assault.

However, Mr Richardson was released on bail of R5 000 on Thursday by the Rand Supreme Court and the trial was postponed to May 2 this year.

This means that the events which took place at the Mandela household and Mrs Mandela's possible implication involving the Stompie murder and beatings of three other young men will not be unravelled until mid year.

In a separate incident this week, damaging allegations about Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were reported to have been

made during the police interrogation of the late Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, the father of Zinzi's third child who died in detention.

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Mr Sithole's death ruled that these allegations could not be heard in court.

In another case this week — the murder trial in which seven people stand accused of murdering member of the now defunct Mandela United Football Club; Mr Maxwell Sanele Madondo — it was disclosed before the court that police had found a "hit list" at Mrs Mandela's home containing the names of some of the accused.

From these latest developments it is clear the State has in its possession information which could further seriously damage Mrs Mandela's now said to be "rehabilitated" image.

Last year the South African

Council of Churches expressed fears that the State would time Mr Mandela's release with the start of the "Stompie" trial in a bid to discredit the Mandela name.

According to visitors who have met with Mr Mandela he is not likely to distance himself from his wife, despite the allegations, because he views himself as "traditionally responsible for her".

Meanwhile, Garner Thompson reported from London this week that British psychologists have predicted problems for the couple in their personal lives. Dr James Thompson this week warned that the danger point for Mr Mandela could come about a month after his release.

"I think his real difficulties will be renegotiating his working relationships with everyone and getting back to the hectic pace we now live in and the pace that is demanded of him because of his inevitable saviour role," said Dr Thompson.

After years of a penfriend relationship, getting to know each other again is another problem the couple will have to confront after more than 20 years apart.

Another leading British psychologist, Dr David Lewis, also expects the reunion to be fraught with problems.

### Strangers

He claims the couple didn't have time to establish an emotional bond in the early stages of a short marriage. "They will now feel as though they are living with a complete stranger."

He believes one pitfall could be Mrs Mandela's reaction to the change in their respective statuses — he no longer a faceless mystery, and she probably toppled from her position as an international celebrity.

But Professor Fatima Meer, his authorised biographer, believes Mr Mandela will have no trouble making the transition back to public life.

**20 whites serenade ANC leader**

SOWETO — Twenty white South African students visited Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday, ending up doing the "toy! toy!" liberation dance and chanting slogans hailing his African National Congress.

Black residents of the township had the rare sight of whites chanting ANC slogans in Zulu, including "Nelson Mandela is calling you".

"I think it's really good fun," said Kate (20). "But I am not sure that most of us know what we are singing."

But their performance was good enough to earn them a brief doorstep chat with Mandela, who came out of his tiny home to greet them. — Sapa-Reuter.



**PRESSURE URGED:** Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged the international community to press South Africa to lift a three-year-old state of emergency and release all political prisoners in an hour-long closed meeting with ambassadors and senior diplomats of some 20 countries represented in South Africa. Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie then went on to meet the Ambassador of Austria, Dr Alexander Christiani, at Jan Smuts Airport as he was on his way through to Namibia. ● Photograph: Boy George Mastanini.

*Dunhill brings a new dimension of lightness*

# ANC youth leader recalls a long and tortuous road

TALKS about talks between the ANC and the Government did not just fall out of the blue.

Crucial spadework was done over many years in meetings between ANC members and groups of academics, students and professional people.

One man who can today feel justifiably proud about the role he played in creating the climate for negotiations is ANC youth leader Jackie Selebe.

In Lusaka this week Mr Selebe — he is the youngest member of the ANC's 35-person executive — told how these exploratory meetings helped to prepare the ground for the main event that is to follow.

"There was great opposition from both sides when we started reaching out to youth

groups inside South Africa," said Mr Selebe. "But we persevered — and we have been vindicated."

In South Africa the first tentative moves to establish contacts were harshly slapped down. Matie students had to cancel a visit when Mr P W Botha threatened to withdraw their passports.

Businessmen, including Anglo chairman Gavin Relly, were severely reprimanded by the Government. Groups like Idasa and the Five Freedom's Forum were called "meelopers" and "fifth columnists".

Even journalists who ventured north in search of quotes ended up on the receiving end of government tongue-lashings.

A mere five months ago the NP launched an all-out campaign to unseat DP



**JACKIE SELEBE**  
Feels vindicated

co-leader Wynand Malan in the election in Randburg — with the main bone of contention being his contacts with the ANC. A picture of him sitting next to ANC leaders was used in a NP propaganda blitz.

And within ANC ranks people who spoke to "the Boere" were treated with suspicion by hardliners who preferred "war-war" to "jaw-jaw".

"It was very difficult in the beginning," recalled Mr Selebe whose Youth League pioneered the talks with student groups. "But we persevered, often meeting in the

utmost secrecy — and our efforts are now bearing fruit.

"Through the years we have managed to destroy major preconceptions and stereotypes that have existed about 'the other side'."

Only last month a Youth League delegation met with the establishment-connected youth movement Jeugkrug in Harare. The contrasts in views were sharply etched and they agreed to differ on a number of issues, but at least a basis of understanding was established.

The result of all these contacts, said Mr Selebe, was that there were now a number of highly influential people inside South Africa who had already had exposure to ANC views.

**Vital** 1/11  
They range from domineers to businessmen and from lawyers to teachers.

Mr Selebe said he hoped these contacts could be continued even when real negotiations at the leadership level got going.

"The youth have always been in the front trenches of political warfare and they are going to play a vital role in determining the future of South Africa."

# Guerrilla diplomat wants to return from Russia with love

SIPHO SIMON MAKANE is the diplomat who wants to come in from the cold — literally.

For the past two years he has been the ANC's chief representative in Moscow. But his heart really belongs to his native Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape.

"If the ANC leadership decides to return to South Africa, I want to be among the first to come home," Mr Makane said this week in Lusaka, where he attended the meeting of the National Executive Committee.

"But, I also realise it is not a decision to be taken too hastily. Discipline will be the keyword in the next few days and weeks."

It is a sad reflection on recent history that the amiable soft-spoken diplomat has come to know the capitals of the world better than that of his own country.

## Wary

After being expelled from Lovedale College for political activities in the early 60s, he left the country to further his studies in the Soviet Union. He also became completely fluent in Russian.

Having served in ANC offices in Uganda and various Eastern European capitals, he was appointed to the highly-regarded post in Moscow.

"But I've still never been in Cape Town. I visited Johannesburg briefly once or twice and I had to slip into Pretoria under cover of darkness to avoid arrest."

Talk about life in Moscow and the first thing he mentions is the terrible weather. "The snow and the cold and



SIPHO SIMON MAKANE  
Wants to come home

the ice become unbearable. "After so many years I still can't get used to it."

He walks with a slight limp, the result of an old rugby injury sustained when he was still young and strong.

"It is holding up better now in Africa where it is warm ... but in the Moscow cold it gives me a lot of trouble."

Years of first-hand experience of the Soviet system have made him wary of the excesses of socialism.

"Gorbachev is the first leader who recognised that the old system simply did not work. The changes he is bringing about are absolutely essential to rescue the Soviet economy."

And for South Africa?

"I don't think pure socialism can be a solution for our problems. It is too ingrained in human nature to strive towards bettering living conditions — and financial inducements are needed."

"It is natural for young people to be driven by ideal-

ism. I had the same anger and impatience when I joined the ANC. But when you reach my age you come to realise that everything cannot be attained overnight.

"It is so sad that so many people had to die before we, as fellow South Africans, realised that our problems can best be solved through negotiations," he added.

"Weapons don't think. They kill at random. But the best bullets are political bullets."

Mr Makane finds it quite amusing that he is often mistaken for South Africa's ambassador to the Soviet Union by ordinary citizens



**Ironic**



"They come banging on my office door to ask about emigration prospects and job opportunities — especially qualified and professional people. They believe South Africa is the land of milk and honey," he said.

"Radio Moscow is now advertising for an Afrikaans announcer for its external service. They are using someone now but have received a flood of letters from inside South Africa complaining about the quality of the man's language."

And it seems as if glasnost may also be extending to official Soviet attitudes towards South Africa. Ironically, the ANC representative often finds himself on the wrong end of the stick.

"I often get politicians or officials telling me: 'Why are you still hammering De Klerk when he tries his best to change? You are too hard on the poor chap.'

"I have to remind them it

is my job to keep up the pressure on the South African Government otherwise the momentum will be lost," said Mr Mokane.

He is optimistic about South Africa's future — but not starry-eyed.

"We may be going through an initial period of uncertainty and upheaval. It is not going to be easy to change the attitudes of both blacks and whites after generations of

indoctrination and bitterness.

"But, in the end, we will have to realise that we need each other. Circumstances will force us together."

And will he be available to return to Moscow in a pinstriped suit as the official ambassador of a future South African government?

"Not likely. I want to go and rest in Fort Beaufort ..."

51 Times 18/2/90

DRIES VAN HEERDEN REPORTS ON A VISIT TO THE ANC IN LUSAKA

# Comrade Slovo

JOE SLOVO doesn't go to bed at night with a guilty conscience. But many white South Africans think he should.

For almost half a century, the Lithuanian-born advocate has done little other than plan the downfall of the white government of South Africa.

His schemes and actions have caused the death of many people — including innocent civilians.

As general secretary of the South African Communist Party and for a long time chief of staff of ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, he has been Public Enemy No 1 of successive SA governments.

In a Lusaka hotel room, Mr Slovo, a personable fellow, sat down to talk about his life as a revolutionary. The least of his worries, he says, is the fact that he has been demonised by so many in South Africa.

## Attacked

"I am a contented man," he says. "If white South Africans have hated me, it has always been counterbalanced by the fact that I am much loved by the majority of the population — and they are the people that count for me.

"In fact, the more the Government has attacked me, the higher my stakes have risen in the eyes of the majority.

## THE MAN WITHOUT A GUILTY CONSCIENCE

important contribution to the cause.

"But it really never entered my mind that I was giving up a career. The sort of deprivation that people say I have suffered has been more than outweighed by the idealism of the cause that has moved me all my life.

"My critics have labelled me 'anti-South African'. The truth is exactly the opposite. It is my love for the country and all its people that has led me to live a life of purgatory in exile."

He frankly admits he never really thought he

would be able to return to South Africa. Rapid developments inside the country have caught him unawares.

"In a sense, I never left South Africa. The courage of the people inside who carried on the struggle made me feel as if I was there with them.

"And, in a vague, abstract way, I thought I might some day be back. Frankly, I could not have kept going if I did not have this to cling to.

"But to think of actually walking in the streets of Johannesburg again ... it all seemed so remote.

"It was the thought of

friends and comrades we'd left behind that kept driving me. In my office in London hangs a photograph of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. Whenever I felt despair or uncertainty, I looked at the picture and took new courage."

## Targets

Slovo believes that much of the propaganda aimed at him over the years was because the Government "refused to admit that black men could draft policies or plan actions that shook the regime and the military".

"So they had to invent this ogre of a great white brain manipulating the ANC behind the scenes," he says.

But he admitted that, as commander of Umkhonto, he did plan armed incursions and attacks on targets — of which some can be labelled "soft".

"It is never easy to be involved in a process that leads to any loss of human life," he says. "Obviously we did not relish some of the consequences of our actions. But they are unavoidable in any conflict.

"My conscience is clear.

"Perhaps more than any other liberation organisation involved in a military struggle, we have consciously set out to avoid the loss of innocent lives.

"Statistics will one day show that in South Africa, fewer lives were lost than in any other comparable situation. We toned down several of our operations at the expense of our struggle because we were so mindful of this."

And did he, as a man who lived by the sword, ever think he might also one day die by the sword?

"It is impossible to commit one's self to the struggle without some thought in the back of your mind that you may have to pay the ultimate penalty. But if this governed your life, you would not be able to do anything."

## Suffered

And when the praises of the leadership are sung, some of the loudest "vivas" are reserved for J S — his nickname in exile circles.

In ANC circles, everyone knows that Joe Slovo has suffered a great deal for his commitment.

Since he left South Africa in 1963, he has lived on the run. He seldom sleeps in one place two nights in a row.

His wife, Ruth First, was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982.

Many say Joe Slovo, 64, could have become a Supreme Court judge or at least a rich advocate with a thriving practice if he had stayed on and curtailed his political activism. But instead he chose to follow his own path. Does he, on reflection, think today that he should have taken a different route?

"It was not an easy decision to leave. Through being an advocate defending most ANC members in the late 50s and early 60s, I made an

"Margaret Thatcher had Saatchi & Saatchi to handle her public relations. I had Botha & Botha."

His standing within the ranks of the ANC seems unassailable.

One can attend any meeting of the movement and, without exception, there will be a special welcome for "Comrade Joe Slovo, general secretary of our ally, the SA Communist Party".



**BEST FRIENDS . . . high-ranking ANC officials Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani**

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will not do anything to jeopardise talks between the movement and the Government.

This assurance was given this week by Mr Chris Hani, the chief of staff of MK (as Umkhonto is known).

He told the Sunday Times: "There should be no fear of MK derailing the peace process.

"We are all committed members of the ANC and we take our orders from the leadership. If they tell us to stop our action, we will do so."

He also dismissed suggestions that there were "rogue elements" in MK which may feel aggrieved by the present initiatives and act on their own to scuttle them.

### Defensive

"The discipline is good. No members will take any action without orders from the leadership," Mr Hani said.

His statement came only a few hours before the ANC's National Executive made major concessions on the use of violence in the run-up to the negotiating process.

In a statement after its three-day meeting in Lusaka, the NEC said the ANC would in future adopt a "defensive strategy" and only concentrate on military targets.

Acting ANC president Alfred Nzo said military installations would still be

# Military wing to aid talks

SI Times 18/2/90 11A

regarded as legitimate targets for attacks, but added that no violence would be directed at civilian targets.

Mr Nzo said the NEC had decided not to declare a unilateral ceasefire because it considered this a matter for negotiations with the Government.

Both Mr Hani and the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, this week denied reports of a "power struggle" between them to become the new leader of the ANC.

Senior ANC sources said the two are the closest of friends — they were born only 10 days apart and grew up within walking distance of one another, both attending the same high school.

Mr Hani later went to Fort Hare University where he obtained a BA — majoring in Latin — while Mr Mbeki studied economics at Sussex University. Their paths crossed again when both joined MK in the mid-60s.

# Ailing Oliver Tambo still at ANC's helm

By DAVID JACKSON

THIS is the first picture of ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo since he suffered a stroke in Lusaka last August.

The photograph was taken in Stockholm by a member of Mr Walter Sisulu's party during their recent visit to Sweden as guests of the Swedish government — part of their three-week African and European tour.

The 72-year-old Mr Tambo — referred in ANC circles by his initials OR — been undergoing treatment at a Swedish clinic since his stroke, which partially paralysed his right arm and side.

Mr Sisulu told the Sunday Times: "The paralysis is improving a great deal now. He took part in three meetings with us and he was very bright. We met at a private house and not in a hospital.

SI Times 18/2/90  
**Slowness**

"There has been a slowness in his speech, but that has not affected his mental faculties.

"The statement read at a rally we attended was drafted personally by Mr Tambo ... he is still the man in charge and would still play a key role in any future negotiations."

Talking about Mr Nelson Mandela's release, Mr Sisulu said the ANC leader would have preferred to have been freed after all political prisoners had been released and the state of emergency lifted. (JA)

He also dismissed claims by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok — made before Mr Mandela's release — that security considerations had delayed his freedom.

Said Mr Sisulu: "It was no excuse ... they had been considering the question of the release of Nelson for years.

"Threats have been made several times by the right-wing.

"Raising the question of threats from within black ranks is the usual stunt by the National Party," he said.





# Plans, promises and the future realities

S/Times 18/2/90

11A

LIKE so many liberation movements before it, the ANC is about to come face to face with an important reality — rhetoric is fine for winning support, but you need more substance to run a country.

The rapidity of recent developments in South Africa is forcing the ANC to review its proposals for what the country of the future should look like. This plan will be in the inside pocket of Mr Nelson Mandela's jacket when he sits down to face President De Klerk at the negotiating table.

In Lusaka, the backroom men of the ANC's department of legal and constitutional affairs are busily drafting specific proposals on every conceivable topic — from voting procedures to a "green revolution" to the place of women in the post-apartheid South Africa.

Led by a burly, bespectacled lawyer, Leipzig-educated Zola Skweyiya, the department's research has already taken it to the United States and several West European countries — especially Scandinavia — in search of models for central, regional and local government structures.

The model it has so far come up with looks very familiar ... a Westminster-style democracy like the one South Africa had until tricameral politics dawned in 1984. But it's Westminster sans apartheid.

## Rights

A unitary non-racial democracy, one person one vote with a first-past-the-post, winner-takes-all election system; Parliament with a governing majority and a "loyal opposition"; a Cabinet consisting solely of members of the majority with committees and lobbies and a sergeant-at-arms carrying a mace ... and the necessary bureaucracy to sustain it.

The very same Westminster system that Mr De Klerk this week pointed out to Ted Koppel as the system that could not work in local conditions where the rights of minorities (read whites) have to be guaranteed.

There is a heated discussion looming between the men from the minority, who used Westminster to deprive the majority of a vote (and discarded it when the heat was turned on them), and the majority, who see in Westminster a panacea to get what they believe rightfully belongs to them.

## Problems

But the new South Africa will be more than just who votes where and how often. Mr Skweyiya candidly admits the litmus test of a future ANC(?) government will be its ability to deliver on the expectations of the masses who have suffered oppression and deprivation for many generations.

In the words of the well-known ANC slogan: "The people want freedom. And they want it now!"

One is tempted to quote Shakespeare back at them: "Of expectation fails, and most of all there where it promises most."

At least in the short term, a new



**by Dries van Heerden**

who has just spent a week with the ANC hierarchy in Lusaka

government will have to cope with so many new and pressing problems in the day-to-day running of a highly developed country that it might not be able to fulfil all expectations.

The best example of ideology that will have to give way to practicalities is the emotionally laden issue of land distribution.

The Freedom Charter — the basis of ANC thinking since 1955 — is quite unequivocal about it. "The land shall be shared among those who work it," it states, and, "all shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose."

Which means large (white) farms should be subdivided into small units to be redistributed to those hands who have tilled the soil without sufficient remuneration for so long.

But how do you marry this pastoral utopia with the even more pressing problem of feeding the nation? Especially if the ANC's own research has shown that subdivision into too small units may have disastrous effects on production?

"It's a challenge," admits Mr Skweyiya. "We'll have to satisfy the just demands of the peasantry but keep commercial farmers on the land to ensure continuation of food production."

The nationalisation bogey raised by Mr Mandela this week presents the same conundrum.

Again, the Freedom Charter



promises glibly "the national wealth of our country shall be restored to the people". But the backroom men of the ANC may find themselves less in agreement as their research into this topic intensifies.

In a sense, it is a blessing in disguise that South Africa may be the last country on the continent that will experience rule by the majority — and that thousands of black South Africans have in the last three decades experienced life in the rest of Africa or in Eastern Europe.

## Pattern

Understandably, it is a touchy subject, but senior members of the ANC candidly admit that the lessons of mismanagement, corruption and the pursuit of ideological pies-in-the-sky have not been lost on the movement.

"We cannot go blindly back to South Africa without taking into account what happened in the rest of Africa," says Mr Skweyiya.

Ten years ago, Thozamile Botha was a charismatic, fire-brand orator who stirred the masses in the Eastern Cape and organised a strike that crippled the Port Elizabeth motor industry for months. A spate of arrests and bannings drove him underground and eventually forced him into exile.

Today he is active in both ANC

composition of schools will largely reflect this.

"This leaves us with a number of questions. Do we impose racial quotas on schools? Do we bus children to and fro to force integration? What do we do with all those white schools standing empty while black children have to make do with overcrowding and lack of educational aids?"

If there is one certainty, it is that affirmative action in one form or another will be a hallmark of a future ANC-led government. There will be active programmes to redress imbalances. Less will be spent on defence and more on education, health and housing.

## Limited

The State will play a much more active role in determining spending priorities — very much as the National Party did before the privatisation bug struck them.

And what the poor receiveth, the rich will giveth away by means of taxation.

The public service, police force and military will reflect the composition of the population. Already ANC members are receiving on-the-job training in Britain, Canada and Australia to form the nucleus of a future administration.

Now that the ANC is legal, Mr Skweyiya wants to broaden his research and start consulting with local academics. "We don't want to talk only to those people who agree with us," he says. "The bigger the variety of ideas, the better."

## Ideals

But, in the final instance, the proof of a future government's ability to deliver on promises made over decades will only come once the hands-on experience starts.

Says Mr Skweyiya: "We will have to educate the masses that government actions are limited by practical circumstances. We will not be able to implement all our policies on day one."

"Some may take months to phase in. Others, 10 to 15 years. Some may remain ideals forever."

**Associated Tour Operator**

# Mandela's first words belied his true stature

8/ Times 18/2/90

I RECALL walking as a schoolboy through stationary traffic along Whitehall in central London as thousands of students thronged around South Africa House demanding Nelson Mandela's release.

As an undergraduate I was bombarded with leaflets telling me not to open an account with Barclays Bank lest my overdraft be seen in some way to give the apartheid regime credibility and Mr Mandela's jailers comfort.

When I was posted as a correspondent to Johannesburg I was spat upon by members of the Release Mandela 24-hour picket in Trafalgar Square as I breached their lines to pursue a visa inquiry.

In my years in South Africa "Release Mandela" has become the most popular political mantra shouted in townships from Cape Town to Pretoria.

## Predictable

None of these memories prepared me for what I should realistically have expected when Mr Mandela finally left jail after 27 years last Sunday. When I joined about 50 000 people of all races to hear his first words from the balcony of Cape Town's Victorian city hall my first impression was one of profound disappointment.

It was not that the speech was especially bad. It was just so ordinary, almost identical to all the speeches made by the other African National Congress prisoners released in recent months.

Certainly it would have been difficult for Mr Mandela to make any grand gestures to white South Africans by, for instance, distancing himself from the armed struggle or suggesting sanctions might slowly be relaxed.

Sanctions and the guerrilla war remain basic tenets of ANC policy.

## Stephen Robinson

HA

the Daily Telegraph correspondent, tells how he was at first disappointed, then greatly impressed by Nelson Mandela

It would have been silly to expect him to contradict his own organisation in his first public utterance.

But Mr Mandela failed to lift himself above the commonplace, to fulfil the absurdly elevated expectation we had all built up. There was no clear vision, no evidence of the famed statesmanship which visitors to his cell over the years have all remarked upon. Mr Mandela could have been just another political activist delivering yet another predictable speech.

Considering he had 27 years to work on his first address as a free man, it was a big disappointment.

He was unlucky that the occasion had been spoilt in advance by the appalling behaviour of a small minority of the crowd who seemed intent on destroying his triumphant return by pelting the police with bottles and stones.

The lack of organisation by activists in the Mandela Reception Committee was a disgrace to the entire anti-apartheid movement. Mr Mandela deserved much more from the men who have been campaigning for his release.

The paralysis and incompetence of the organisers and the shameful conduct of the youths who broke away from the crowd to loot a nearby shopping centre will have supported the prejudices of those on the far-right of white politics who say that the ANC cannot be trusted to run a corner shop, never mind the country. After so long in jail Mr Mandela deserved a great deal more from his own people.

But if many of us were disappointed by his address, his first

news conference the next day did much to repair the damage.

It has become a cliché to talk of Mr Mandela's charisma and his sense of effortless authority, but it is also true. He is a striking-looking man with handsome features and neatly cropped greying hair. Despite his 71 years he is slim, almost gaunt, and he walks erect.

He is dignified and courteous, and speaks excellent English.

He did not waffle or pontificate in answering journalists' questions, as do so many political activists in South Africa. All his answers were measured and to the point.

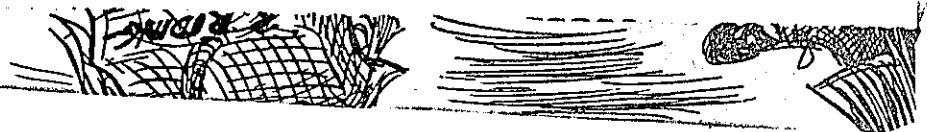
## Applause

Before he even began answering questions he apologised to journalists for the inconvenience caused when the news conference was postponed the previous evening. When journalists announced their names and publications, which he recognised from his readings in jail, Mr Mandela signalled his approval with a broad smile and an enthusiastic "Oh yes!"

It was the only news conference I have ever attended at which all the journalists present joined in a spontaneous round of applause as the speaker rose from his seat.

On Sunday night as I stood in front of the Cape Town City Hall I felt I was watching a rather ordinary politician. On Monday I was not certain I was in the presence of a great man, but I did feel that if any man was capable of representing the interests of black South Africans against an astute President De Klerk, Mr Mandela was that man.

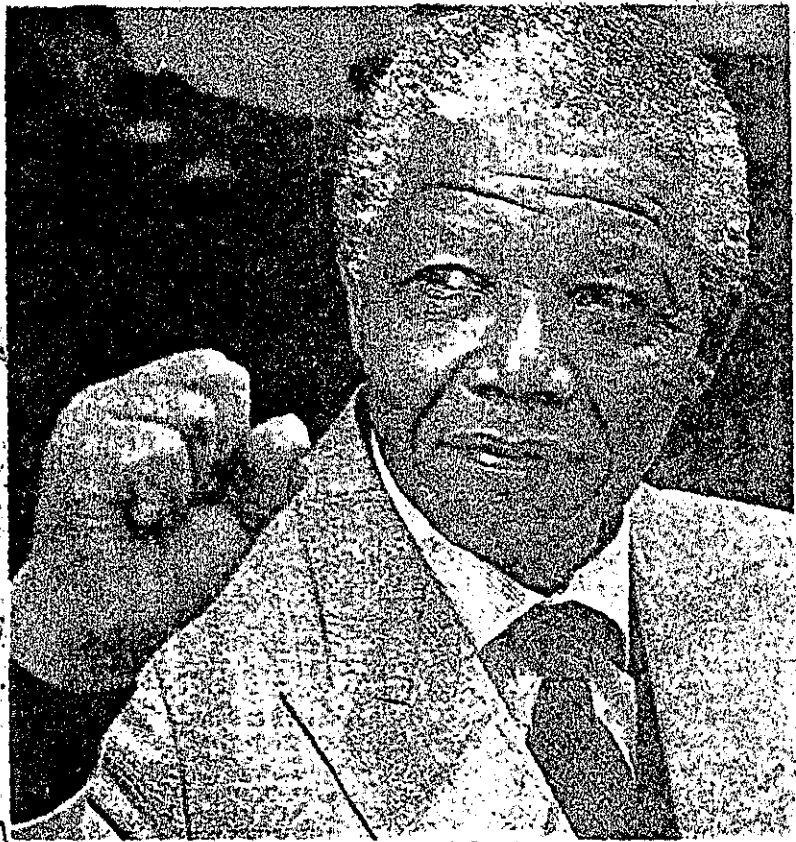
South Africans  
damned if they  
For years we



S/Tmes 1812190

(11A)

t  
e  
r  
s  
h  
e



● HOME IS THE HERO: P12

# Business must have open options on the redistribution of country's wealth



**B**USINESS groups in South Africa should always be in a position to determine whether there are ways of achieving wealth redistribution other than through nationalisation.

A corporate restructuring of the economy, in which companies are persuaded to hive off chunks of their present productive assets and give them to the disadvantaged black majority in an attempt to hasten black economic participation and empowerment, is one.

Another is action by government and the private sector to aid the process of black economic participation by creating a suitable climate and appropriate mechanisms as well as legal and funding structures such as:

- The United States Procurement Act.
- Development agencies such as United States Small Business Administration.
- The creation of trusts designed to enable blacks to acquire a meaningful stake in the economic life of the country in projects such as privatised companies and capital-generating structures like the Stock Exchange.

These options can be activated only when statutory apartheid has been scrapped, creating a climate of equal opportunity for all South Africans, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

In South Africa, land constitutes an enormous problem which underlies much of the conflict in our country today. One cannot see this problem eventually solved without the government taking over some land for equitable redistribution among

Everyone agrees there has to be some form of redistribution of wealth, but does it have to be done by nationalising large sectors of the economy? Here, DR SAM MOTSUENYANE, chairman of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce points to some alternatives.

*Clipped 18/2/90*  
South Africans.

The Beaumont Commission of 1914-16 came to the sad conclusion that the black share of land was woefully inadequate and recommended that above seven million morgen of additional land be allocated to blacks.

Until now the recommended quota has not been fully acquired.

The ANC and Nafcoc support the concept of a mixed economy in South Africa.

The economy should have a public, private, small-scale family and co-operative sector, meaning that the government will have to run some State enterprises in almost the same way as is done all over the world.

The sensitivity of the land issue is now receiving government attention and reports say the government aims to dump the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936.

However, the scrapping of these Acts will not go a long way in addressing the issue of redistribution. While some will be in a position to buy land at market value, the poor will remain disadvantaged.

While the scrapping of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 should be done as speedily as possible, the fundamentals should be left to the negotiating table.

A start will have to be made to reduce tension between ANC-favoured justice goals and economic production goals.

PATRICK MAFAFO reports the policy of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) calls for wholesale land nationalisation and redistribution.

PAM general-secretary Benny Alexander says the Africanist struggle is directed at dispossession, national oppression and economic exploitation and is "therefore a struggle for national self-determination of the African people".

"In a nutshell, our struggle against colonialism is a struggle against oppression and capitalism," he said.

The following economic principles guide the PAM:

Alexander says a free Azania should pursue an economic system that:

- Shall ensure that labour power of the working masses shall not be exploited;
- Shall ensure that all major sectors of the economy are controlled by the state for the well being of the economy and the citizens of Azania. This means transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply shall be in the hands of the state;
- The economy shall be efficiently run to meet the needs of society in changing circumstances, not profits for individuals; and
- It will encourage and set up co-operatives in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.



Sam Molsuenyane . . . land is an enormous problem.

# Three die in Mandela celebrations



Fear and panic is written all over this child's face as stretcher bearers carry her to safety.



If it had wheels, it was used to get to the rally.

## Three die in rush to see ANC leader

By **CONNIE MOLUSI** *AP Wire 18/2/90*

THREE people died and scores more were injured in last week's scramble to see Nelson Mandela.

■ At the Grand parade in Cape Town on Sunday, one person was fatally shot and 13 others wounded after police opened fire on a looting mob;

■ At Orlando on Monday a child died and 27 others were taken to Baragwanath Hospital for treatment after a stampede by a crowd of 90 000; and

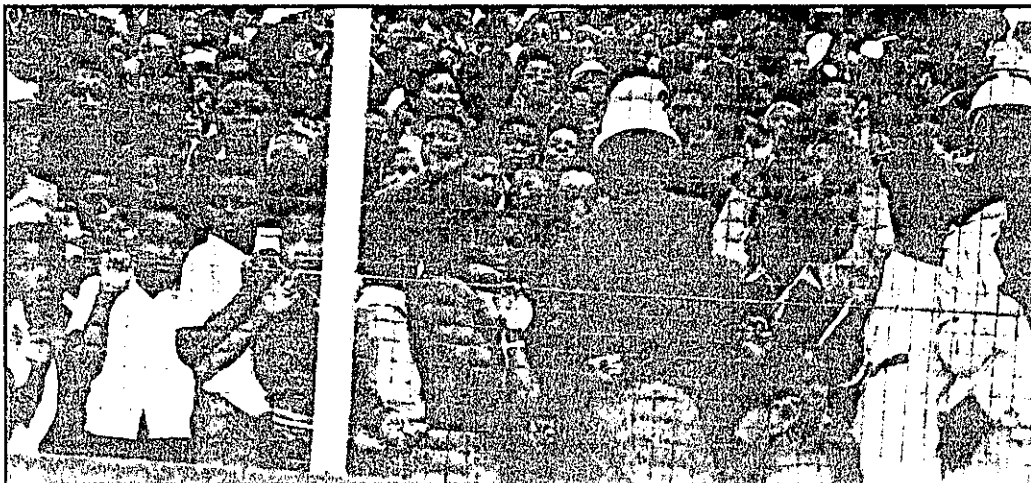
■ When 120 000 people forced their way into the FNB stadium in Johannesburg on Tuesday, one person died and 44 were injured.

Most of the injured were children attended to by Red Cross assistants. Many were taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

A spokesman for the National Reception Committee expressed concern about the number of people injured.

"It is unfortunate this had to occur during such an occasion. We sympathise with all those injured and their families."

He said the NRC would take steps to ensure proper facilities and crowd-control methods were used in future.



There was no stopping the crowds who came to hear Mandela.

■ PICS: GEORGE MASHININI

11A

MANDELA SOUVENIR POSTER INSIDE

# MANDELA FOR

*CP Press 18/2/90*

11A

# PRESIDENT

## Leaders set for ANC-Inkatha talks

By S'BU MNGADI *11A 116*

THE ANC internal leadership, headed by Nelson Mandela, is set to hold talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the Natal violence this week. *CP Press 18/2/90*.  
The talks will precede the big welcoming rally planned for Mandela next Sunday at King's Park stadium in Durban.  
Details of the talks were finalised

in Johannesburg on Thursday when Diliza Mji and Willie Mxunu, both members of the UDF-Cosatu committee involved in peace initiatives with Inkatha, met senior ANC leaders - including Mandela.  
Mji told *City Press* yesterday the ANC leaders would tour the trouble spots and meet the people affected by the violence before meeting Inkatha.  
■ To Page 2

## Nelson tipped to succeed ailing Oliver Tambo soon

CP Correspondents

AILING ANC president Oliver Tambo may step down and leave the presidency to Nelson Mandela, top ANC sources in Lusaka said this week.

Some ANC members speculate that Mandela may be heading for an installation ceremony during his Lusaka visit.

The role Mandela has to play in the ANC was discussed by the National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka this week, sources told the Africa News Organisation (ANO).

According to the sources, the meeting decided Mandela's role was central and crucial in breaking the political stalemate in South Africa.

Mandela, held in high esteem both in South Africa and internationally, holds the trump card for a peaceful settlement and the dismantling of apartheid.

The sources point out he is the best man to lead an ANC delegation to State President FW de Klerk.

The consensus among NEC members is that De Klerk had taken a positive stand with his announcements since February 2.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said on Friday the NEC had decided what role Mandela would play in the ANC, but he would not elaborate.

Sebina also said Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders released from jail would be given specific responsibilities in the leadership.

He confirmed Mandela would visit Lusaka this



A Mercedes Benz 500 SE - the model suggested as a present for Nelson Mandela.

## Present for Mandela - bulletproof Mercedes *140A*

By CONNIE MOLUSI *CP Press 11/4/90*

THE National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) is to give ANC leader Nelson Mandela a Mercedes Benz - probably a red bulletproof 500 SE - for his contribution to the liberation struggle.

Workers approached management and asked to be allowed to build a car that would reflect the stature of Mandela's stature.

The company has agreed to build the car and is waiting for the union to tell it what model and specifications they require.

National Reception Committee (NRC) member Cyril Ramaphosa said Mandela has welcomed the idea.

The NRC would prefer Mandela to have a bulletproof 500 SE with tinted windows and telephone.

Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso said: "The gift from workers is significant and shows that they look to Comrade Mandela to initiate a process of political settlement which will incorporate the needs and aspirations of workers".

The management of Mercedes Benz SA, said it acknowledged the pride and esteem in which the majority of its employees held Mandela.

The company was prepared to agree to a car being built for him to mark this important occasion.

### Police check existence of new BMW hit squad

World-famous  
**CRAVEN "A"**  
MENTHOL FRESH TASTE

## Nelson tipped to succeed ailing Oliver Tambo soon

CP Correspondents

AILING ANC president Oliver Tambo may step down and leave the presidency to Nelson Mandela, top ANC sources in Lusaka said this week.

Some ANC members speculate that Mandela may be heading for an installation ceremony during his Lusaka visit.

The role Mandela has to play in the ANC was discussed by the National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka this week, sources told the Africa News Organisation (ANO).

According to the sources, the meeting decided Mandela's role was central and crucial in breaking the political stalemate in South Africa.

Mandela, held in high esteem both in South Africa and internationally, holds the trump card for a peaceful settlement and the dismantling of apartheid.

The sources point out he is the best man to lead an ANC delegation to State President FW de Klerk.

The consensus among NEC members is that De Klerk had taken a positive stand with his announcements since February 2.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said on Friday the NEC had decided what role Mandela would play in the ANC, but he would not elaborate.

Sebina also said Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders released from jail would be given specific responsibilities in the leadership.

He confirmed Mandela would visit Lusaka this week.

The NEC announced on Friday it was sending a high-ranking delegation to De Klerk to discuss issues still obstructing the start of constitutional negotiations.

The delegation will consist of leaders both inside and outside the country.

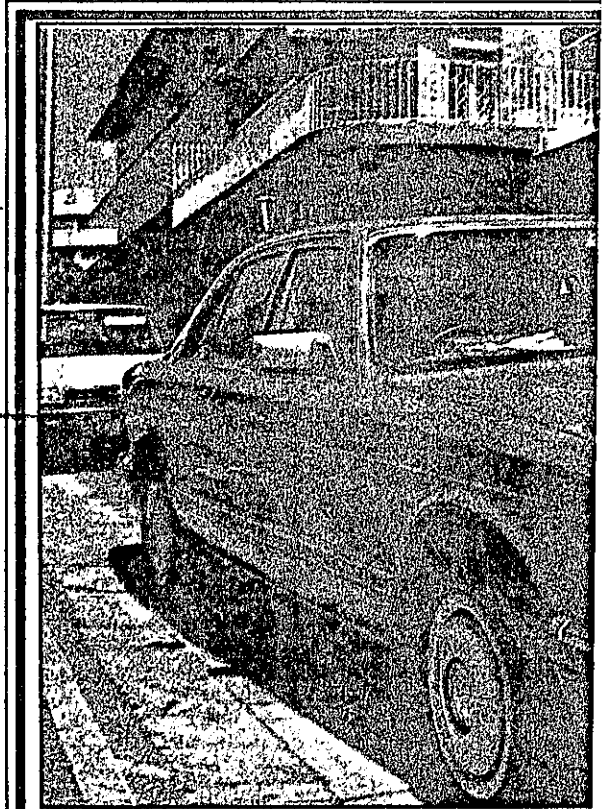
The NEC also announced, in formal response to De Klerk, that:

■ It would immediately begin to re-establish the ANC within the country and that a committee under the chairmanship of Walter Sisulu would supervise this;

■ It would take immediate steps to prepare for the organised return to South Africa of the leaders and members of the ANC;

■ Its next national conference would be held inside South Africa from December 16, 1990; and

■ The ANC would negotiate a suspension of hostilities when a climate conducive to negotiations had been created.



A Mercedes Benz 500 SE - the model suggested



ANC acting president Alfred Nzo (right) discusses a point with SACP leader Joe Slovo during this week's meetings in Lusaka.

## KwaZulu minister linked

**S'BU MNGADI** *Apr 18/1990 (107)*  
A KWAZULU deputy minister has been linked by his former chauffeur to the killings of prominent progressive leaders in Durban and plots to kill others.

Samuel Bhekizizwe Jamile, KwaZulu's Deputy Minister of Interior, is at the centre of an SAP investigation into the unsolved killings of five people, all anti-apartheid activists killed between 1987 and 1989.

In a detailed affidavit the chauffeur, Lawrence Nhlanhla Ntshalintshali, heavily implicated Jamile in the killings of outspoken critics of the KwaZulu government. They are:

- Businessman Zazi Khuzwayo, a former emergency detainee and member of the UDF Clermont Advisory Board, who was shot in his shop while counting the day's earnings in May 1987;
- Businesswoman Pearl Tshabalala, a community activist and wife of advocate V Tshabalala, who was fatally wounded by known killers at her bottle store in February 1988;
- Clermont headmaster Emmanuel Mashana Khuzwayo, who was gunned down at his house in March 1988; and
- Taxi operator Mandla Mkhize, who was shot through the mouth at his home e

F  
C  
By  
PC  
ing  
of  
me  
op  
ar  
  
for  
bli  
an  
Ea  
an

# Alternatives to nationalisation

11A

~~11A~~

clips  
18/2/90

## 'ANC economic policy is out of date'

**N**OW that the country's three leading black political groupings, ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, are free economic sense is needed.

Giving blacks economic power is a vital part of the liberation struggle, but how should it be done?

The ANC economic policy of nationalisation is well known. In a statement released through the UDF - the largest group inside South Africa supporting the ANC - the nationalisation of banks, mines and monopoly industries remains the policy of the ANC. Nelson Mandela has confirmed this.

In the statement, Mandela says a change or modification of this view is "inconceivable". However, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo is reported as saying nationalisation can be negotiated with the companies to be nationalised.

This view is supported by South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

The threatened organisations include Anglo American, Barlow Rand and Rembrandt. The ANC mixed-economy policy advocates their nationalisation. To say this will solve South Africa's economic ills is untrue. It will retard economic growth and fail to meet the aims of the ANC, which is to redistribute wealth.

The ANC policy comes at a time when the rest of Africa is privatising.

The ANC should look at its backyard, Zambia. So unsuccessful has nationalisation been there that rumour is it, too, is considering privatisation.

Furthermore, ANC view seems to contradict that of trade unions.

result, in Africa and Latin America, is the hollowness of political liberation without economic liberation."

This has resulted in much debate about whether political or economic empowerment should come first. Most analysts have argued that one is meaningless without the other, so strategies to achieve both must be devised simultaneously.

Black South Africans have also debated this. While recognising the fundamental importance of the attainment of political liberation it can be argued that economic liberation is needed for effective political power, and this cannot be achieved through large-scale nationalisation.

The costs of nationalising mines, banks and monopolistic industries will run into billions of rands, unlike Zambia where the nationalisation of copper mines is said to have been achieved through foreign aid. With Eastern Europe changing, the wells of foreign aid are drying up. International financial institutions are unlikely to forward loans for such schemes.

The ANC's intentions are obvious and morally commendable. It seeks to improve the masses' standard of living by restricting profits and levelling incomes and fortunes by taxation.

It seeks to lower the rate of interest by making money easier to borrow. It seeks to raise the workers' standard of living by forcing employers to pay realistic wages. Like the famous English economist, Lord Maynard Keynes, it believes in big government spending. These measures are impelled by good intentions. It is the ANC's way of doing things that is doubtful. The means remain inap-

In the days ahead the ways in which black people gain economic power will make or break the South African economy - and, of course their own wealth with it. Are we to be saddled with old-fashioned policies that don't work, or will the freedom movement move with the times?

In this article, economic writer PATRICK MAFARO suggests ways of achieving black economic empowerment without the built-in efficiency of and ruinous expense of large-scale nationalisation.



Joe Slovo, SA Communist Party leader ... flexible on nationalisation.





South Africa's economic ills is untrue. It will retard economic growth and fail to meet the aims of the ANC, which is to redistribute wealth.

The ANC policy comes at a time when the rest of Africa is privatising.

The ANC should look at its backyard, Zambia. So unsuccessful has nationalisation been there that rumour is it, too, is considering privatisation.

Furthermore, ANC view seems to contradict that of trade unions. Recently Alec Erwin, economic adviser to Cosatu, said old-style economic thinking had to change. Cosatu, he said, had become more flexible, agreeing that some free market economic truths were more important than old political beliefs which "nationalised all industries".

The effect of well-intentioned but ill-advised policies such as that of ANC always result in a bureaucratized, law-ridden state that regards the redistribution of wealth as more important than its production.

It has been said that people do not learn either from historical experience nor theories. South African black political leaders are obsessed with political solutions.

What has been forgotten is the absence of economic opportunity as a result of three centuries of apartheid white rule.

African history is full of ruined societies born in liberation, only to wither for the lack of a solid economy. The idea behind black economic empowerment is that it should result in total independence from white political and economic domination.

A study on black economic empowerment by a black consultancy, Co-ordinated Marketing and Management Services, points out that less developed countries have tried to attain political liberation first. "The

and leveling incomes and fortunes by taxation. It seeks to lower the rate of interest by making money easier to borrow. It seeks to raise the workers' standard of living by forcing employers to pay realistic wages. Like the famous English economist, Lord Maynard Keynes, it believes in big government spending. These measures are impelled by good intentions. It is the ANC's way of doing things that is doubtful. The means remain inappropriate.

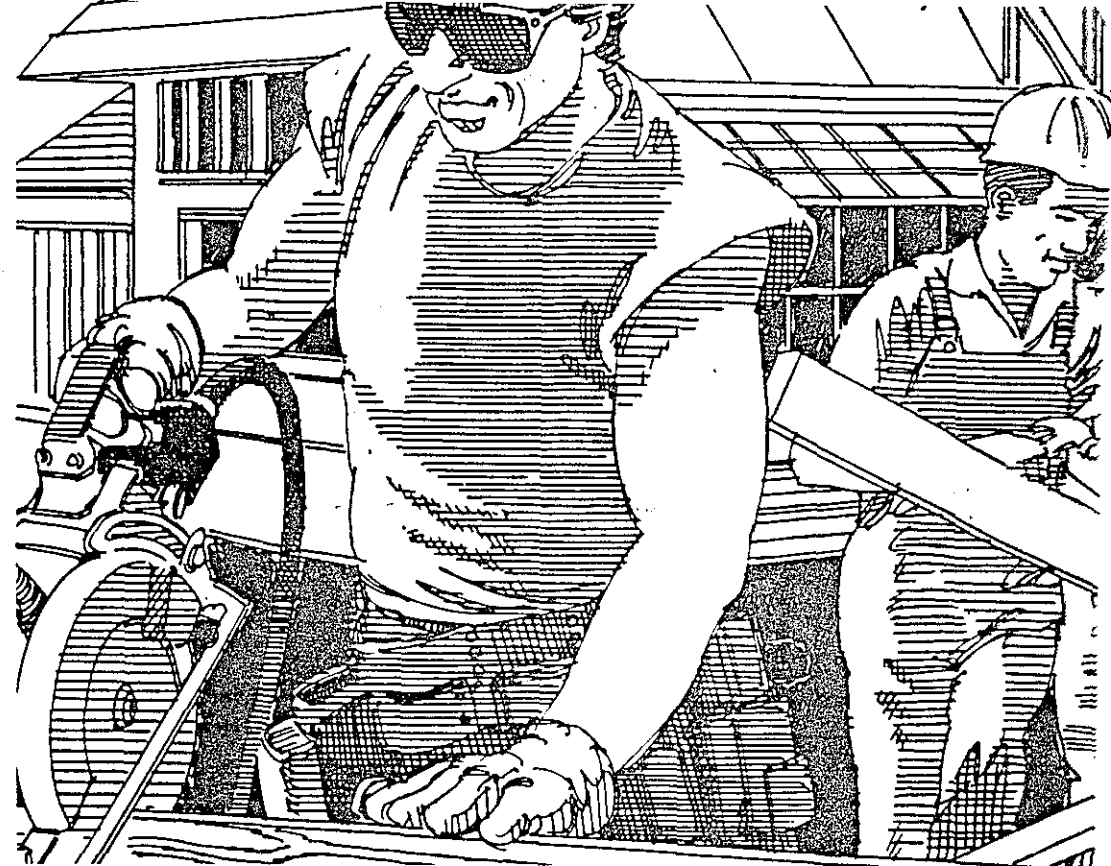
However, not all is lost. Other approaches exist to meet the ANC's desires. This will require a two-pronged approach. The existing government, through privatisation, and the major corporatesector - Anglo American, Sanlam, Barlow Rand, Rembrandt, etc - work through a process known in business as deconglomeration. This can be seen overseas where companies are selling subsidiaries that do not fit their main business.

The process should resemble that of Anglo American in the case of Gencor, one of South Africa's major mining houses. It is said Anglo helped the Afrikaner volk to acquire Gencor, to prevent the nationalisation of the mines.

On the other hand Anglo's head, Harry Oppenheimer said the group felt "it was not desirable that Afrikaners had a meaningful share in the mining industry".

Besides deals such as that of Gencor, the concept of deconglomeration should be accompanied by capital projects - large employment-creation projects such as Mosgas. First of these projects could be mineral beneficiation - making manufactured goods out of local raw materials.

South Africa is an exporter of raw materials. For instance gold. Countries buy raw materials from



us and in return we import processed gold, jewellery for an example.

Deconglomeration will cost a lot. Where will the finance come from?

The World Bank could fill up the gap.

The bank is divided into two divisions. One is the International Finance Corporation (IFC). It acts in the private sector in less-developed countries attempting to develop and encourage private enterprises. It takes shares in these companies. In return

it raises capital and gives advice.

The other division is the International Development Association (IDA). IDA works in the poorest countries, lending funds for approved projects at heavily subsidised interest rates. Repayment periods exceed 50 years. It develops roads, waterways, power supplies, irrigation, etc.

There are also local lending schemes, such as stokvels, operating in the black community. Billions of rands are generated through these schemes.

This money has not been fully used.

Estimates are that these stokvel clubs have R200 million a month, R2.4 billion money that does not create economic power. It is used to create a financial system, white finance, such as Wesbank, which has R94 million in assets.

## Business must have open options on the redistribution of country's wealth

49) 30) -  
IIA

**B**USINESS groups in South Africa should always be in a position to determine whether there are ways of achieving wealth redistribution other than nationalisation.

Everyone agrees there has to be some form of redistribution of wealth, but does it have to be done by nationalising large sec-

While the scrapping of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 should be done as speedily as possible, the fundamentals should be left to the negotiating table.

A start will have to be made to reduce



...ence nor theories. South African black political leaders are obsessed with political solutions.

What has been forgotten is the absence of economic opportunity as a result of three centuries of apartheid white rule.

African history is full of ruined societies born in liberation, only to wither for the lack of a solid economy. The idea behind black economic empowerment is that it should result in total independence from white political and economic domination.

A study on black economic empowerment by a black consultancy, Co-ordinated Marketing and Management Services, points out that less developed countries have tried to attain political liberation first. "The

mining houses is said to have helped the Afrikaner folk to acquire Gencor, to prevent the nationalisation of the mines.

On the other hand Anglo's head, Harry Oppenheimer said the group felt "it was not desirable that Afrikaners had no meaningful share in the mining industry".

Besides deals such as that of Gencor, the concept of deconglomeration should be accompanied by capital projects - large employment-creation projects such as Mosgas. First of these projects could be mineral beneficiation - making manufactured goods out of local raw materials.

South Africa is an exporter of raw materials. For instance gold. Countries buy raw materials from



us and in return we import processed gold, jewellery for an example.

Deconglomeration will cost a lot. Where will the finance come from? The World Bank could fill up the gap.

The bank is divided into two divisions. One is the International Finance Corporation (IFC). It acts in the private sector in less-developed countries attempting to develop and encourage private enterprises. It takes shares in these companies. In return

it raises capital and gives advice.

The other division is the International Development Association (IDA). IDA works in the poorest countries, lending funds for approved projects at heavily subsidised interest rates. Repayment periods exceed 50 years. It develops roads, waterways, power supplies, irrigation, etc.

There are also local lending schemes, such as stokvels, operating in the black community. Billions of rands are generated through these schemes.

This money has only to be effectively used.

Estimates are that 800 000 of these stokvel clubs generate about R200 million a month. This represents R2,4 billion a year, but this is money that does not give blacks economic power because most is not used to create wealth. Through this system, white financial institutions such as Wesbank have financed close to R94 million of Sabta's minibus taxis.

## Business must have open options on the redistribution of country's wealth

49) 30) -  
IIA

**B**USINESS groups in South Africa should always be in a position to determine whether there are ways of achieving wealth redistribution other than through nationalisation.

A corporate restructuring of the economy, in which companies are persuaded to hive off chunks of their present productive assets and give them to the disadvantaged black majority in an attempt to hasten black economic participation and empowerment, is one.

Another is action by government and the private sector to aid the process of black economic participation by creating a suitable climate and appropriate mechanisms as well as legal and funding structures such as:

- The United States Procurement Act.
- Development agencies such as United States Small Business Administration.
- The creation of trusts designed to enable blacks to acquire a meaningful stake in the economic life of the country in projects such as privatised companies and capital-generating structures like the Stock Exchange.

These options can be activated only when statutory apartheid has been scrapped, creating a climate of equal opportunity for all South Africans, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.

In South Africa, land constitutes an enormous problem which underlies much of the conflict in our country today. One cannot see this problem eventually solved without the government taking over some land for equitable redistribution among

Everyone agrees there has to be some form of redistribution of wealth, but does it have to be done by nationalising large sectors of the economy? Here, DR SAM MOTSUENYANE, chairman of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce points to some alternatives.

South Africans.  
*CIP news 18/2/90*

The Beaumont Commission of 1914-16 came to the sad conclusion that the black share of land was woefully inadequate and recommended that above seven million morgen of additional land be allocated to blacks.

Until now the recommended quota has not been fully acquired.

The ANC and Nafcoc support the concept of a mixed economy in South Africa.

The economy should have a public, private, small-scale family and co-operative sector, meaning that the government will have to run some State enterprises in almost the same way as is done all over the world.

The sensitivity of the land issue is now receiving government attention and reports say the government aims to dump the land Acts of 1913 and 1936.

However, the scrapping of these Acts will not go a long way in addressing the issue of redistribution. While some will be in a position to buy land at market value, the poor will remain disadvantaged.

While the scrapping of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 should be done as speedily as possible, the fundamentals should be left to the negotiating table.

A start will have to be made to reduce tension between ANC-favoured justice goals and economic production goals.

PATRICK MAFARO reports the policy of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) calls for wholesale land nationalisation and redistribution.

PAM general-secretary Benny Alexander says the Africanist struggle is directed at dispossession, national oppression and economic exploitation and is "therefore a struggle for national self-determination of the African people".

"In a nutshell, our struggle against colonialism is a struggle against oppression and capitalism," he said.

The following economic principles guide the PAM:

Alexander says a free Azania should pursue an economic system that:

- Shall ensure that labour power of the working masses shall not be exploited;
- Shall ensure that all major sectors of the economy are controlled by the state for the well being of the economy and the citizens of Azania. This means transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply shall be in the hands of the state;
- The economy shall be efficiently run to meet the needs of society in changing circumstances, not profits for individuals; and
- It will encourage and set up co-operatives in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.



Sam Motsuenyane... land is an enormous problem.

# Mandela wants to visit Oliver Tambo

By STAN MHLONGO

11A



**Oliver Tambo ... treated in a Swedish clinic.**

DURING Nelson Mandela's address at the FNB Stadium this week, he spoke of his wish to visit Oliver Tambo, his old law partner and president of the ANC, currently undergoing treatment in a Swedish clinic.

For the past six months, Tambo has been in the clinic recovering from a brain spasm.

Tambo and Mandela are long-time friends who opened a law firm at Chancellor House in Johannesburg in December 1952. It was the first black legal partnership in the country.

Tambo eluded a police dragnet and fled the country in the 1960s. He was elected ANC president in 1967 and has led the organisation from Zambia since then.

In the absence of Tambo, the ANC has been headed by an executive committee in which foreign affairs representative, Thabo Mbeki and secretary-general Alfred Nzo play a vital role.

Observers claim Thabo, son of ANC veteran Govan Mbeki, is the front-runner for the presidency.

# I'm not climbing on the Mandela bandwagon, says Gibson Kente

By ZB MOLEFE

11A C/Prem 18/2/90

PLAYWRIGHT Gibson "Malume" Kente pointed out this week that he is not an opportunist riding on the Nelson Mandela freedom bandwagon.

Kente, a Mandela nephew through the Madiba clan, was reacting to a *City Press* article last week which told how he offered his then home in Molapo township, Soweto, to the ANC for secret meetings in the '60s when Mandela and his colleagues were on the run.

He went on: "I was aware that the men were working for a noble cause - for the good of the oppressed. Had I been caught then, I would have been sent to Robben Island. But I was prepared to take the risk.

"Those days when Mandela was dubbed 'The Black Pimpernel' were dramatic days - I mean when they came to my house dressed in overalls and using all kinds of disguises to duck roadblocks... You could have trans-

formed those moments into a movie."

Kente said people like Mandela and Walter Sisulu were always at the secret meetings at his house. He is sure it was used mostly by the local ANC branch.

He has helped a number of youngsters in political trouble who were running away from the authorities - particularly those from Port Elizabeth and parts of the Eastern Cape.

Since then over the years scores of youngsters have used Kente's present home in Dube, Soweto, for various activities including printing posters.

A period Kente remembers vividly was 1985 when youths wanted to turn the drab townships into parks.

To Kente that period had a lasting impact on him because, as he said, "I believe if you can grow a plant, you can grow a man".

Last year he received a certificate from the Orlando YMCA for his "public spiritedness and contribution to our society especially in the field of dramatic arts and youth development".



Kente ... meetings

# Meeting Mandela after all these years

By KHULU SIBIYA

APR 18/1990

118

**C**OMING face-to-face with one of the most famous people in the world could be nerve-wracking. I was soon to find out about that when I got a call from the Mandela home on Wednesday morning.

"Tata wants to meet and shake hands with you." The message was short, sweet - but loud and clear.

Long after the phone had clicked dead on the other side I found myself still saying: "Most certainly... much obliged... when?... now, you mean?..."

Nelson Mandela wanted to have a tete-a-tete with me, I was telling my colleagues. "Really? Did you phone him or did he phone you?" they kept asking.

Mandela and I wrote to each other for about two years. No big deal, some people said when I proudly displayed my collection of letters.

"The man must have been bored sitting in jail having nothing else to do," they sourly said. But I knew they were envious of my claim of friendship with Madiba - as most of his letters were signed.

In any case, driving to the Mandela home after that telephone call was an irksome experience. I was among the crowd that took to the streets on Saturday night soon after it was announced he would be released.

I joined the happy throng who "toyed" on Sunday when word spread like wildfire in the townships that he would be coming home to Soweto. I was among the 120 000 jubilant, but disappointed, crowd of people

when I could not come anywhere near getting a glimpse of him at the FNB stadium.

Now this telephone call! "Yes, come and see him. Just tell the marshals to let you in," was the instruction.

Outside the Mandela home in Orlando West local and foreign media were patiently waiting. To get a picture or a word from the man who shook the world, and continues to do so, was sufficient.

On my way to the house - after going through tight security - one American journalist yelled: "Find out about his diet... and health!"

That's Mandela mania for you.

Because an interview was not allowed, I was curious - perhaps unfairly in this instance - to find out whether the man was as warm and caring as his letters indicated.

Was he as pushy and dominating as some people have said of him? What about his views? Are they the same in private conversation as those expressed in public? Was he bitter about his many years in prison?

It did not take a second to find all these answers.

With a giant leap across a small, but comfortable, lounge, Mandela hugged me and shook my hand vigorously, welcoming me in. For one moment I was stunned. Yes, the man was warm.

Without wasting time, he got down to business: "I owe it to all you people... you've been great!"

At 71 how is he going to cope with all this euphoria? He is a father, a family man, a leader, a cult and just about everything. Surely there will be a breaking point.

The right wing is screaming for his

blood; they say he must be hanged. The white liberals are uneasy after campaigning for his release because he talks about nationalising the mines and the banks.

The government feel betrayed, although they are not saying it, after his call for the intensification of the armed struggle.

The National Executive of the ANC had to call an urgent two-day conference in Lusaka to determine his role within the leadership.

The Western countries feel let down that Mandela still talks the language of the '50s and '60s by still regarding the communists as his allies.

Many of those who had their cars hijacked and property destroyed since his release was announced are now apprehensive. Rival political organisations to the ANC say they want to see how far Mandela will go with negotiations with the government without their participation.

All-in-all the road ahead for Mandela will not be an easy one. There are all sorts of problems that could crop up between now and the day people sit around the negotiating table.

A power struggle cannot be ruled out and Mandela seems to be aware of all these problems. But can he cope by himself? Most certainly not. He will need support from all the people of South Africa.

After taking a close look at his small and modest house, I agree with those who say Mandela should look for a bigger and better-situated home.

Whichever way one looks at it, his present home no longer befits his status. For a start it is too small to accommodate the number of visitors expect-

ed to see him in the coming days.

Many people have already expressed fears about the situation of the house. Even a white junior cabinet minister would feel unsafe living there.

Mandela is the people's leader but his safety should be uppermost in the minds of those he leads. The lunatics from the right who have called for his blood should not be taken lightly; they will stop at nothing.

Talking about the Mandela mania. I was amused to see that fiery American civil rights leader and one time United States presidential candidate Jesse Jackson take a back seat to the Mandela release.

You see, Jackson - like most American public figures - likes to steal the limelight. They will go to any lengths to attract attention. In the case of Jackson he timed the release of Mandela to coincide with his visit to this country.

Poor Jackson. Everybody, including his own media forgot at one stage that he was in South Africa. No wonder he had to cut his stay short. This should be a lesson to all those Americans that we too have leaders of world stature.

I was also pleased to hear that Mercedes Benz of South Africa will donate a Merc to Mandela. I'm told the idea comes from the workers themselves. Well done guys, the man deserves it. But don't forget to install the bullet proofing. There are mad people out there.

Yes, it was wonderful to shake hands with Mandela and I am sure that goes for others who had this opportunity. Our prayers to have him back to his people alive were answered.

Long live Mandela.



City Press editor Khulu Sibiyia met ANC leader Nelson Mandela this week.

12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

# PAC calls for armed struggle

By MARTIN  
NTSOELENGOE

MORE than 800 union-  
ists yesterday heard PAC  
president Zeph Motho-  
peng, condemn negotia-  
tions with the government  
and call for an intensifica-  
tion of the armed strug-  
gle.

He told the workers  
that they were the van-  
guard of the liberation of  
the African masses.

Mothopeng was speak-  
ing at a rally for the Steel  
Engineering and Allied  
Workers Union of South  
Africa to explain the  
PAC's stand on negotia-  
tions.

Before the rally, activ-  
ists marched through the  
streets near Johannesburg  
station, bringing traffic to  
a standstill.

To loud cheers of "Viva  
Mothopeng," he said  
African people were not  
prepared to negotiate  
their birthright.

# Millions hear the words of released leader

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was silenced in prison for 27 years, this week spoke hundreds of thousands of words which were quoted on television and in newspapers to countless millions of people all over the world.

A grey-haired Mandela, who had not addressed a meeting for nearly 30 years, was as eloquent as he was at his Rivonia trial, and exhibited the same charisma to a new generation who had never seen him or heard him speak, in a busy week of speeches and media interviews.

He touched on a wide range of problems. Here are some of them:

## ON A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT:

He said several times during the week that he believed in a negotiated settlement with the white Nationalist government.

He told BBC TV: "I believe a negotiated settlement can be reached before De Klerk goes back to the white electorate in four years' time."

He called on whites to support De Klerk in his effort to reach a peaceful settlement.

Mandela told French TV blacks would not dominate whites in a reformed South African government.

However, he told reporters outside his home in Soweto that although he was sure compromises would be made by the ANC and the government in negotiations, "it is the ANC (and not I) who must decide what compromises it should make.

"I think it is most presumptuous for me to speak for the ANC."

## ON EDUCATION:

"The crisis in education that afflicts us demands special attention," Mandela told 120 000 people at the FNB Soccer Stadium on Wednesday.

"The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis, it arises out of the fact that our people have no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community.

"All students must return to school and learn," he said to cheers.

## ON CRIME:

"I have been greatly shocked by the statistics

of crime. I must make it clear that the level of crime in our country must be brought down."

## ON VIOLENCE:

"It is discipline and loyalty that will liberate us.

"Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence of apartheid continued.

## ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE:

Mandela said at a news conference in Cape Town on Monday that the ANC had no option but to continue its 30-year guerrilla war against white rule while the violence of apartheid continued.

## ON DE KLERK:

"Mr De Klerk is a flexible man and a man of integrity, and the advantage of dealing with a man who is flexible and who knows what is going on is that the possibility of a settlement is always there."

## ON THE ECONOMY:

Mandela spoke several times on redressing the unfair economic situation between blacks and whites in South Africa.

His statement about the nationalisation of mines and the redistribution of wealth caused a fire both in South Africa and overseas.

He said later the ANC

## ON HIS IMPRISONMENT:

In his address at the FNB stadium Mandela said he and fellow former prisoners had never forgotten the support and inspiration of the people. He said they had been freed because of this support.

## Nelson, you're as welcome as the sun - world's top men

TELEPHONE calls and invitations to Nelson Mandela from widespread heads of governments poured in this week.

Among the callers were US President George Bush, who reached Mandela at the home of Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Bishopscourt in Cape Town a few hours after his release and invited him to Washington DC for talks. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia also phoned him there. Other messages included:

- An invitation to attend the Namibian Independence celebrations; An invitation by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to visit Canada, which Mandela has already accepted;
- An invitation by the Japanese Government to visit Japan;
- An invitation by Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, chairman of the OAU, to visit Cairo;
- An invitation by the Asian Olympic Council to address the youth of Asia; and
- New York Republican House of Representative member Frazer Horton has asked that "his courageous man" address the joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives.



Canadian leader Brian Mulroney... invitation.



**Dr Ntatho Motlana**

# 'Proper' home issue set to spark debate

11A

CPN 18/2/90

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE final choice of a proper home for Nelson Mandela is destined to spark off controversy in the black community in the next few weeks.

Already, Soweto Civic Association chairman Dr Ntatho Motlana has said: "Mandela's Orlando West home should be kept as a national monument because the only way he could be protected if he lived there would be to cordon off surrounding roads."

He said it would be wrong for Mandela to set up home in Soweto again.

"He is not a Sowetan, but a South African," said Motlana.

It would be more fitting for Mandela to live in the best area to cater for his needs.

The issue of middle-class status has been a subject of heated debate in the black community. As a result, the final choice of Mandela's home will be followed with keen interest.



# Hectic schedule of events

By SANDILE MEMELA

CP Press  
18/1/90



THE past seven days have seen ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release from 27-years' imprisonment, his return to Rivonia where he was first arrested and his return to home at Orlando West, Soweto. (11A)

The week of freedom has been punctuated with a hectic schedule of interviews, meetings and addressing crowds.

Last Sunday the world famous ex-prisoner walked out of Victor Verster Prison after State President FW de Klerk had earlier announced his release.

There were shouts of joy and tears of relief as Mandela returned to public life at a massive public rally on Cape Town's historic Grand Parade.

Mandela's hopes of a dignified return were marred when youths went on the rampage, smashing and then looting shops.

On Monday morning he met a large contingent of local and foreign reporters in the tranquil atmosphere of Bishopscourt - the official residence of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In the afternoon Mandela returned to the Transvaal and quietly retreated to a house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg for the night.

Mandela's return to Soweto on the following day added a new page to the history books when he addressed a gathering of more than 130 000 who attended a "Welcome Home" rally in his honour at Soccer City.

In his first public address in Soweto in 27 years, Mandela called for discipline and an end to what he called "mindless violence".

More than 30 people were injured, some seriously, when a fence surrounding Soccer City collapsed as the crowds dispersed quickly and peace returned after Mandela's address.

At least one child is known to have died in the crush. After the address Mandela finally returned to the home he stayed in before his arrest, where he received a hero's welcome from the community.

On Wednesday, Valentine's Day, he spent a large part of the day speaking to TV-networks and foreign Press.

Wednesday saw Mandela having an hour's meeting with charismatic American preacher Rev Jesse Jackson and his entourage. He also received groups of students from Wits University.

He followed a hectic schedule on Thursday having interviews with foreign and local media.

On Friday Mandela dashed to Jan Smuts airport where he met the Austrian ambassador, Alexander Christiani, who was on his way to Namibia.

In the next few days Mandela's visits will include the first stepping stone to negotiations when he consults with the ANC in Lusaka before it meets the South African government.

Mandela has also committed himself to visit ailing president Oliver Tambo who is recovering in a private clinic in Sweden after suffering from a stroke suffered last August.

# Young Lions with a huge responsibility

NELSON MANDELA has been surrounded at each of his public appearances since his release from prison last week by a group of grim-faced black youths wearing wraparound sunglasses.

Drawn mainly from the ranks of the so-called Young Lions of the South African Youth Congress, the suited youths scanning the crowds around Mandela are the security men he chose in preference to an offer from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

However, CHARLES MOGALE reports the identity of these men and their background has been kept top secret by the National Reception Committee (NRC).

When Mandela made his first appearance in Soweto at Soccer City on Tuesday afternoon, scores of formally dressed men, some wearing sunglasses, formed a human chain to protect Mandela.

They travel ahead of the ANC leader in speeding convoys of cars when he moves from home and then scan the crowds with binoculars while he speaks.

The NRC would this week not reveal the identities of the men, but NRC spokesman Murphy Morobe was adamant they were not members of the SAP.

"It is unthinkable that we could involve the SAP in the security of our leader. We are not disclosing who his protectors are, but it is our own thing. He is very safe," Morobe said.

SAP PRO for Soweto Col MJ Halgryn told reporters this week that his force felt responsible for Mandela's protection.

"We feel responsible for Mandela's security, and if we are responsible for someone's security, we do the security our own way," Halgryn said.

Mandela, 71, has not denigrated the police, but he spurned offers of State protection on his release after 27 years in prison.

"We cannot force our presence on him," Vlok told reporters in Cape Town, adding that police would try to protect him from a distance.

Police spokesman Peet Bothma said the VIP Protection Branch was responsible for Mandela's safety, investigating reported threats against his life by supporters of shadowy neo-Nazi groups who opposed his release from prison.

"Wherever he goes in public there is a fairly large police presence to maintain order. They would move in immediately if Mr Mandela were attacked," Bothma said, referring to Mandela's attendance at large public rallies.

In contrast to the high security at rallies, Mandela was only guarded by a handful of apparently unarmed youths during a private visit on Wednesday to a friend 10 minutes' drive from his Soweto home.

One friend said Mandela saw no difference between the police and the prison officials who had guarded him since 1962. "He does not want to stay in their hands a second longer than he must." *U/A*

Instead, Mandela surrendered himself to the care of the National Release Committee (NRC), a group of activists who had been planning for his release for over a year and the apparently untrained guards they appointed.

"Mandela does not want to be guarded by the South African Police," activist Trevor Manuel told reporters during the frantic 24-hour run-up to his release. "He prefers to put his safety in the hands of the people."

Citing right-wing threats to assassinate Mandela, NRC officials refuse to discuss the security they have arranged for him. They decline to say whether the young bodyguards have been authorised or licensed to carry firearms.

Most of the guards favour wraparound sunglasses and shiny suits. They refuse to answer questions and they never smile.

They stand with folded arms or with one hand inside their jackets, but if anyone approaches they are quick to screen Mandela from possible attack. — Sapa-Reuter

# Walter Sisulu's nephews were on the 'hit list'

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

11A  
Apr 18/2/90

TWO nephews of ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu were on a "hit list" compiled by the disbanded Mandela United Football Club, the Rand Supreme Court was told this week.

The names Elliot and Siphon Sisulu were on a "hit list" produced by Protea policeman Sgt JD Van Zyl before Judge Solomon and two assessors, when seven Soweto residents appeared on a charge of murder.

Van Zyl told the court that during investigations into the murder of activist Stompie Sepele last year, police found the "hit list" at Winnie Mandela's Diepkloof house.

Other names on it were those of Lerothodi Andrew Ikaneng, S'busiso "Sponge" Chili, his younger brother Mphika, Sandile Blanket and people named Mbuso and Nkosi.

Six men and a woman were charged with the murder of Maxwell Zanele Madondo, a former member of the Mandela Football Club.

They were Lerothodi Andrew Ikaneng, 22; Isaac Mazibuko, 23; Moses Nhlankhla Blanket, 18; Sandile Blanket, 22; Dudu Chili, 47; S'busiso "Sponge" Chili, 25; and Mphika Chili, 22.

They are alleged to have murdered Madondo on February 13 last year in what is believed to have been a revenge killing. The accused have pleaded not guilty.

The case took a dramatic turn when three of the accused - Dudu Chili, Mpike and Blanket - were acquitted.

Earlier Van Zyl had told the court that Ikaneng told him Mandela Football Club members had tried to cut his throat during an assault in Orlando West.

And After Ikaneng was discharged from Baragwanath Hospital, the "foot-

ball club" members vowed to kill him, Van Zyl told the court.

A day after Madondo was killed, the house of Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) member Dudu Chili was attacked with petrol bombs and an AK47 assault rifle.

As a result of the attack, a child, Fingi Msomi, died and Barbara Chili had multiple burns. Van Zyl also told the court that in a later attack, allegedly by the "football club", two other men, Boni and Tally, were killed.

Van Zyl, who spent three days in the witness box, also told the court he had been told during investigations that some members of the "football club" lived at Winnie Mandela's house. Others lived at the house of an Orlando West sangoma.

Trouble started when the accused allegedly assaulted Madondo after S'busiso was waylaid by the "football club" members at school.

After hearing of the incident, S'busiso allegedly called a meeting of all the Mandela Football Club victims and those on the "hit list".

Hours later S'busiso met Madondo in an alley in Orlando West and a fight ensued. Later, when a mob came on to the scene, Madondo was hacked to death with a variety of weapons.

During a trial-within-a-trial, Judge Solomon dismissed Isaac Mazibuko's claim that he was assaulted by the police to make a statement.

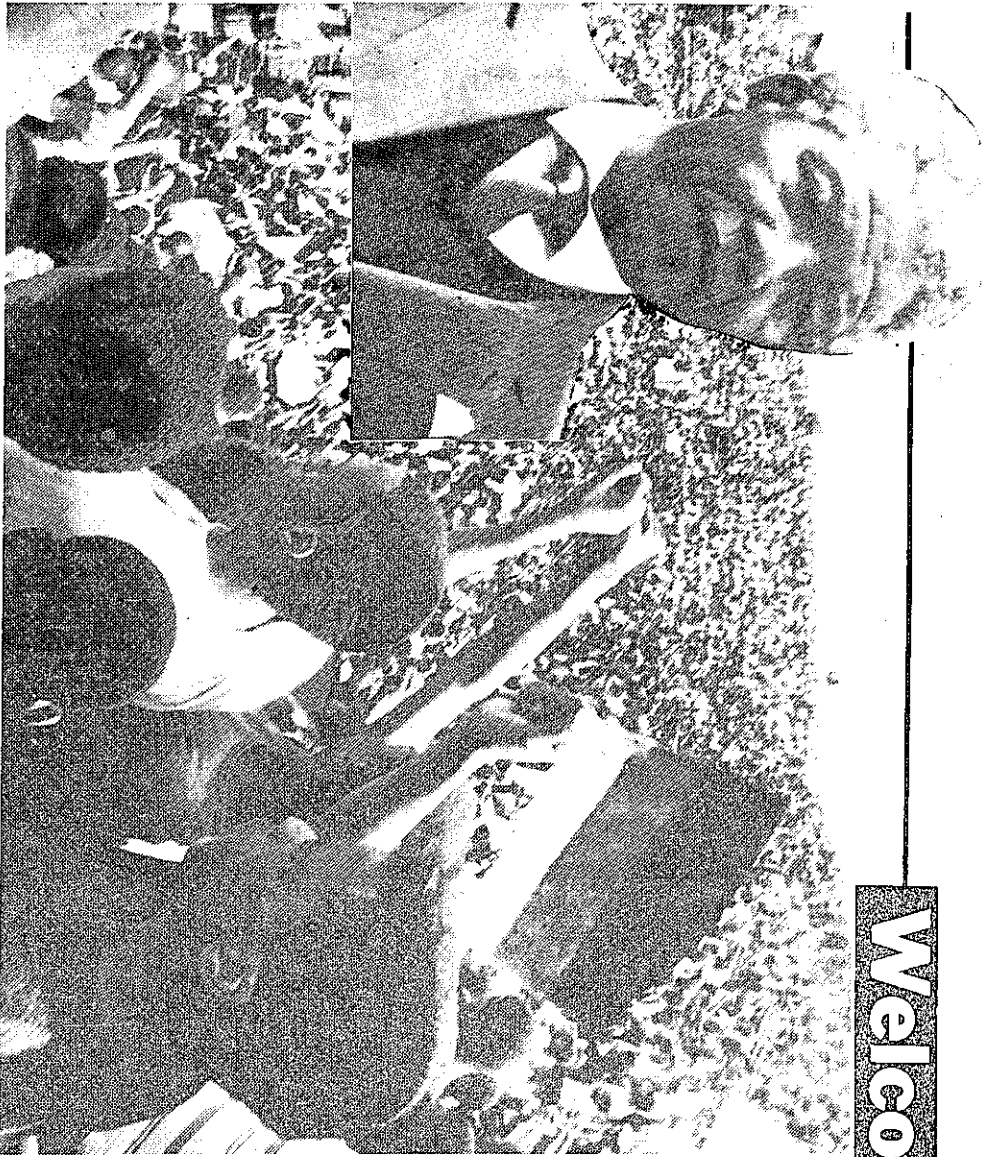
The judge said Mazibuko's evidence in court was false.

Van Zyl was also criticised by the judge for not keeping his police pocket book in good order.

When it was announced that three were to be acquitted, Ikaneng faced the public gallery and said: "Don't worry, the truth will emerge. We will be home with you soon."

# Welcome back, Mandela!

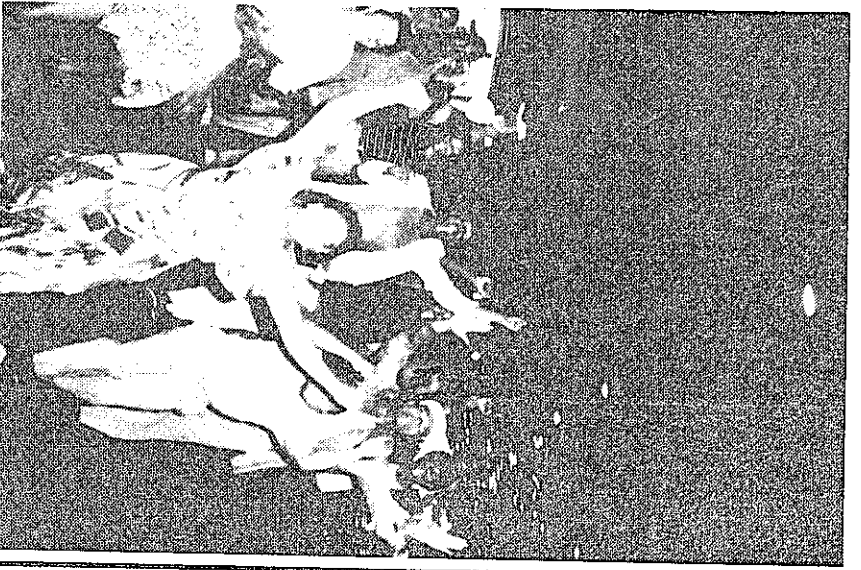
11A



Part of the jubilant crowd of 150 000 which packed Soweto's FNB Stadium on Tuesday to welcome Mandela home after 27 years in prison.

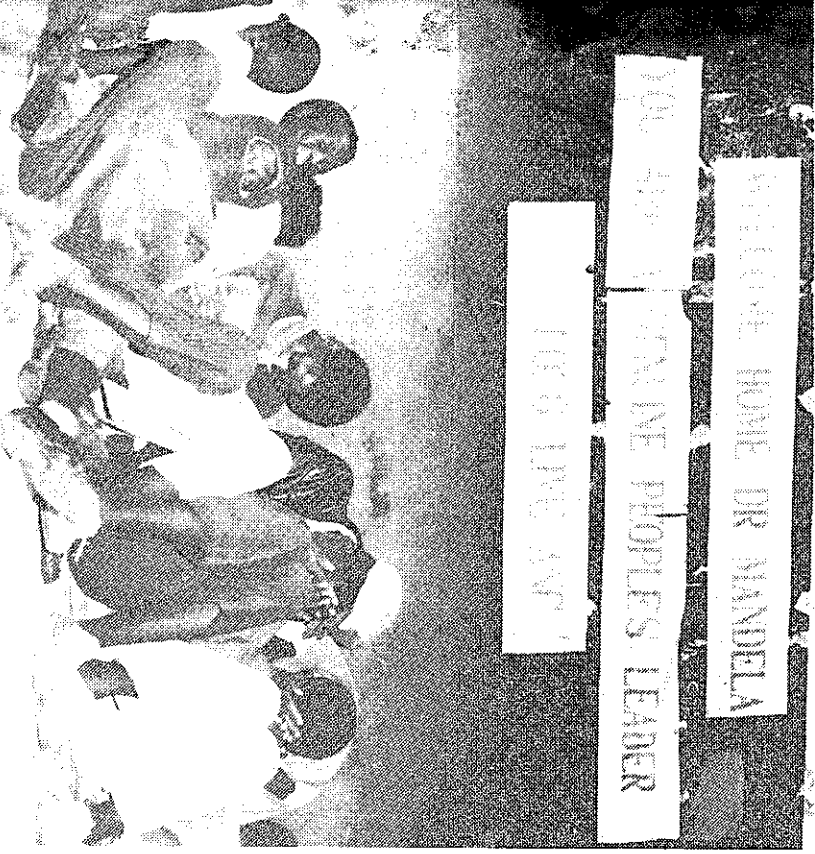
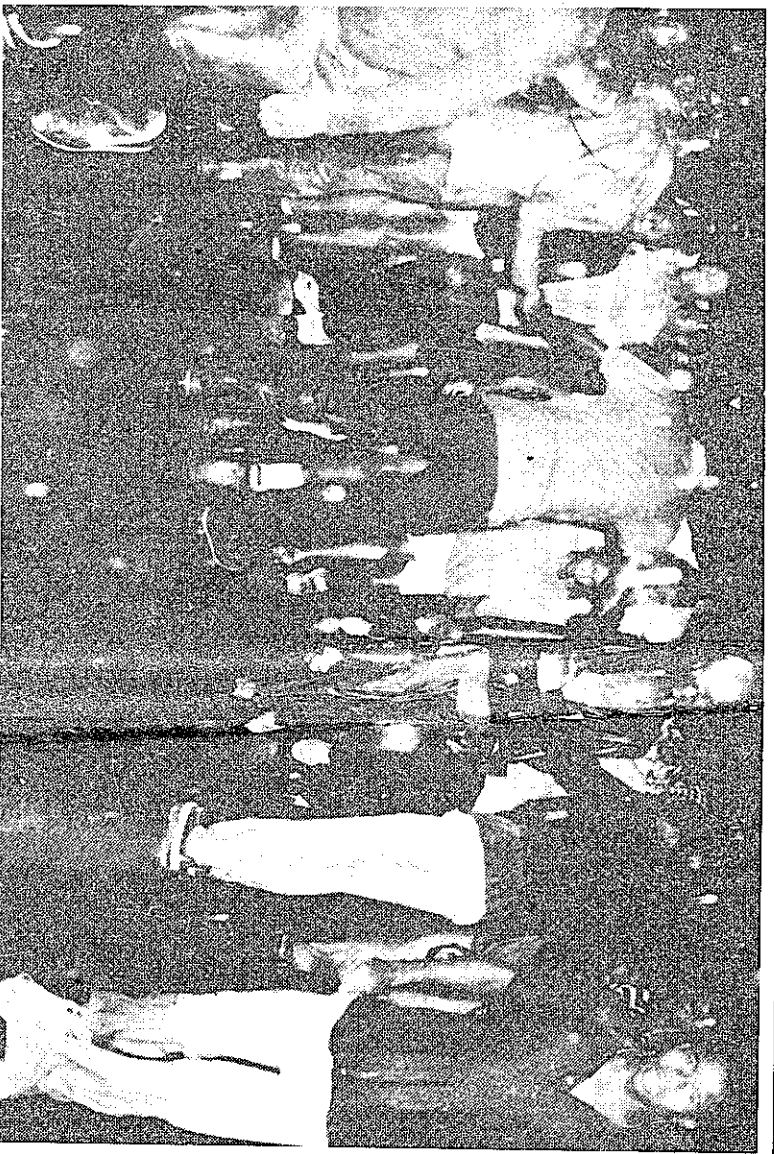


A clenched-fist salute to the waiting crowd from Nelson Mandela as he walks free at last from Victor Verster prison in Paarl on Sunday.



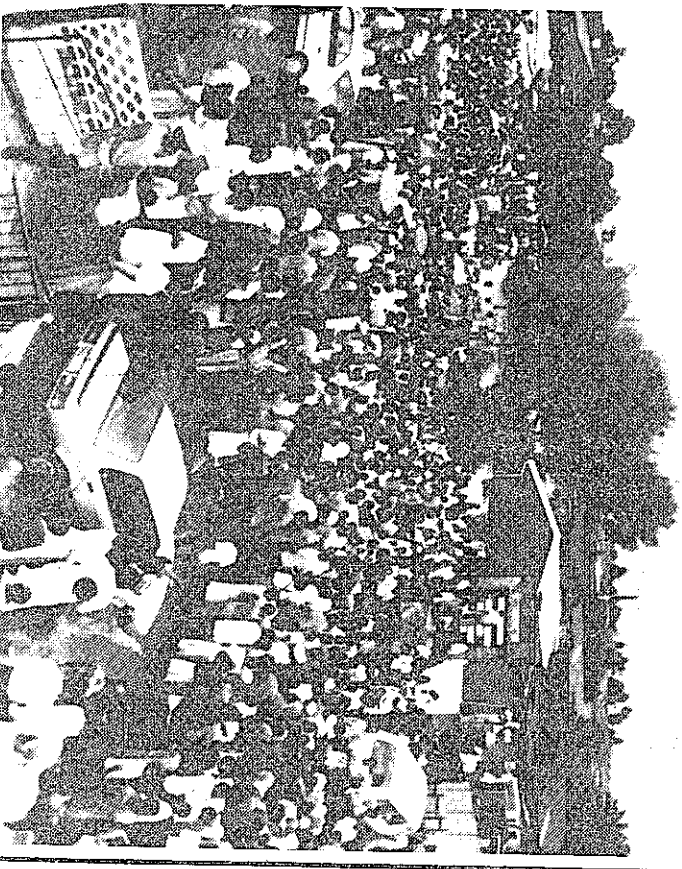
A singing and shouting jubilant crowd celebrates in Johannesburg on Saturday night.

## Pictures: BONGANI MNCUNI and TLADI KHUJELE



Ardent supporters drop off to sleep outside the Mandela home in Vilikazi Street waiting for his arrival.

A heavy downpour could not dampen the spirits of these joyous Johannesburg Mandela supporters celebrating his release in the city's streets.



The Mandela home in Soweto is lost in a sea of people surrounding it as they gather to welcome home their leader.

# Why violence could sound the death knell to reform

St. Times 18/2/90

118

THE early television news bulletin on Monday night, Day Two of South Africa AM (Anno Mandela) had a Beirut-ish ring to it.

Headline after headline, pretty Ellen Erasmus intoned a litany of death and destruction: one dead after police opened fire on looters at the Grand Parade; dozens killed in Natal civil war; hundreds homeless after shacks razed in Crossroads; bomb blast at Newlands cricket ground.

Next day, in the leafy garden of Archbishop Tutu's elegant Bishops court residence, the same TV audience saw Mr Nelson Mandela address the fundamental problem of white fear of black political domination. It was something the ANC was genuinely concerned about, he assured us.

The theme continued throughout the week: more death and destruction; Mr Mandela expressing ANC sensitivity to white apprehensions — "we want whites to feel safe".

Dealing with the latter is a long-term process that will be pivotal to negotiations for a political settlement.

## Risky

Of more immediate concern, and in need of urgent attention by the ANC and its affiliates, is lawlessness. It is an issue that gives rise to trepidation, not just among whites, but among peace-loving citizens of all races.

One supposes it was to be expected that the relaxation of State control to create a climate for unrestrained political activity would also unleash unlawful and violent forces. After all, as President F W De Klerk himself has said, the transition period we are entering is risky and dangerous.

Without abrogating its constitutional duty to ensure overall stability, the Government has informally bestowed upon the ANC, UDF *et al* a responsibility for the behaviour of their followers in townships and rural areas.

However, it does little to assuage



**Ric Wilson**

*explains why the ANC must stamp out violence and lawlessness if it wants to keep up the reform momentum*

apprehension of the future to read news reports about blacks in minibuses descending on garages demanding free petrol in the name of Uhuru. Or, even worse, a mob stopping a police van in Soweto and "liberating" a dozen suspected housebreakers, armed robbers and rapists.

(The driver of the paddy wagon, said a police spokesman, acted with "restraint". More realistic, perhaps, to assume that the acquiescence of the policeman in this case was motivated by a healthy instinct of self-preservation).

## Appeals

Although the incidents of violence are isolated and inspired by a variety of motives, when they are assembled in news bulletins and newspapers in one 24-hour period, they convey a disturbing, albeit exaggerated, sense of impending anarchy.

Mr Mandela, slipping easily into the mantle of elder black statesman, demonstrated his awareness of the problem in his speech at Soccer City when he called for an end to "mindless violence". Exercise dis-

cipline, he beseeched the ANC's millions of followers.

It was a plea eloquently and forcefully repeated in interviews throughout the week. But whether one man's appeal (even Mr Mandela's) is sufficient remains to be seen.

Jungle law has burrowed its roots deep in our township societies. Arson, rioting, necklacing etc. have in many cases become an unfortunate concomitant of the defiance campaign. No one needs reminding of Mrs Mandela's infamous "with our matches" speech.

While indications are that this emphasis has changed, Mr Mandela and the UDF need to take account of public impatience with wholesale violence.

It is an impatience that has in the past manifested itself in tough action by the authorities — the state of emergency which former president P W Botha imposed on the entire country in the turbulent mid-80s.

## Enforcing

In freeing the nation to pursue its political destiny, President De Klerk has taken a calculated gamble. It was as much with hope as conviction that he declared on February 2: "The season of violence is over. The time for reconstruction and reconciliation has arrived."

In the spirit of *quid pro quo* politics, it would be in the ANC's own interest to respond by exercising all its considerable muscle into enforcing Mr Mandela's wish for order and discipline.

Only after this has been achieved can the ANC convincingly address deep-set anxieties over shared power.

If widespread lawlessness continues, President De Klerk will increasingly find himself being blamed for plunging the country into a state of near-anarchy.

Eventually, if the pressure builds up sufficiently, he may be forced to intervene in a way which will ensure order, but once again limit political freedom.

CONT. 5

119

18/2/90

# FROM THE PRO

**THE day that Nelson Mandela walked free from prison, Mike Tyson was toppled from his world heavyweight pedestal by a virtual unknown.**

Mandela, a keen amateur boxer in his youth, hardly had time to digest the news. But it was a comparison not lost on international newspapers which promptly combined the headlines: **DOWN (Tyson) and OUT (Mandela).** In one giddy week which began with the first steps to freedom from the gates of the Victor Verster Prison, improbable events have tumbled over one another in the rush to become reality.

## DREAMS

And the huge hands which once pounded punchbags in Soweto gyms — and were hardened by 12 years of breaking rocks on Robben Island — were kept busy shaking a thousand eager hands from Paarl to Soweto. Mandela chatting to the SABC's Clarence Keyter in a Network studio interview. Mandela addressing crowds from the steps of the Cape Town City Hall.

Mandela overnighting in a luxury home in Johannesburg's northern suburbs ... filling Soccer City to overflowing and signing autographs for well-wishers at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn.

The nights he spent in prison, says Mr Mandela, were studied with vivid and imaginative dreams. But never in his wildest dreams was there a script like this.

It has been, he said in one of his few off-the-cuff remarks this week, simply "breath-taking".

It began on Sunday with the first disbeliefing steps to freedom.

The first night of liberty at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's home, Bishopscourt. The first garden TV interviews. Then, back to a Johannesburg he had not seen since his activist days in the early 1960s. Home in a prison garden bungalow gave way to a tiny matchbox



**HOLDING COURT . . . Nelson Mandela entertains the Press outside his 'matchbox' home in Soweto earlier this week**

## REPORT by DAVID JACKSON

house in Orlando's Vilikaze Street. The backdrop of scenic Cape mountains replaced by satellite dishes strung up on the backs of bakkers, mobile caravan darkrooms and portable toilet cubicles. Here, all week, Mr Mandela held court in the tiny four-roomed house while the ever-present army of foreign TV and radio networks and curious Sowetians jostled at the

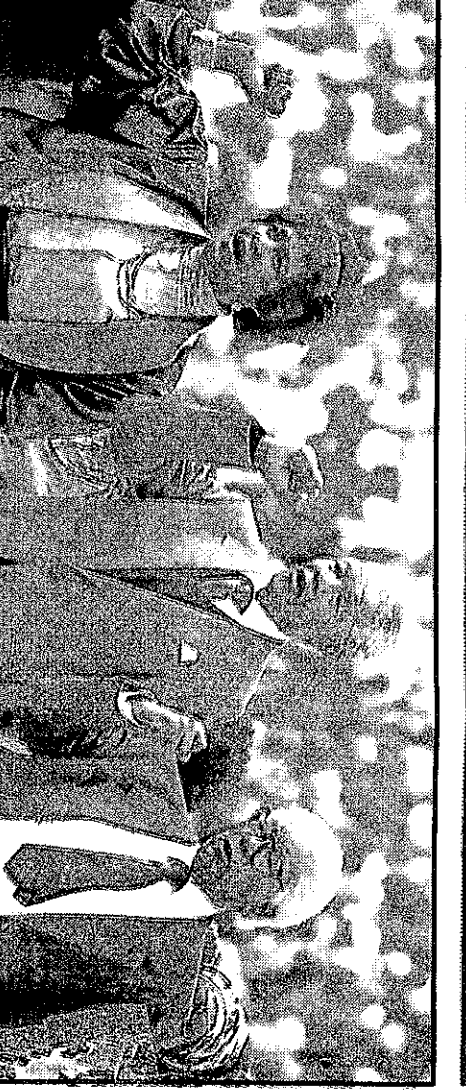
Jackson on a whistle-stop visit. Buses bringing parades of Nussas students. Zeni and Zindzi Mandela arriving with their entourages to greet their father. And the constant coming and going of members of the National Reception Committee.

In the huge Soccer City Stadium on Tuesday, euphoria and tragedy waits to be played out. The stadium seats 85 000 but 120 000 are jammed in, at a conservative estimate. Tens of thousands hazy at the gates outside, straining for a glimpse of

Mr Mandela. Some of the crowd chant to be let into the spacious VIP boxes high above the stadium. The master of ceremonies, in a moment of indiscretion, tells the crowd there are no keys. Bedlam breaks loose as sections of the crowd break through the ranks of marshals and storm the enclosed media centre to get a better vantage point. Others batter down the entrances to the VIP boxes.

Journalists with experience of crowd hysteria realise instinctively that a disaster is in the making. They have to "pool" their questions and choose representatives to put them as Mr Mandela, his voice becoming husky with fatigue, begins his unrepentant Press conference. Inside the matchbox there is hardly room to swing a camera. Just left of the entrance, Winnie is on the telephone in the tiny dining alcove which has several napkins laid out on the table.

The walls throughout are simple but elegant Oregon pine. Down the passageway to the bedroom, the wall is smothered with congratulatory telegrams. To the right, the modestly-furnished living room where Mr Mandela conducts his interviews



**FISTS OF FREEDOM . . . Mandela flanked by wife Winnie and Walter Sisulu at Soccer City**

## PICTURES: Pierre Oosthuysen, James Souller, Tom Edley, Ambrose Peters

They are trapped in the middle with two separate mobs battering at doors on either side of them. On the pitch, Mr Mandela threatens to cut short his speech unless everyone in the crowd keeps still. Miraculously, the heaving mass comes to a semblance of order. But dozens are injured later — some seriously — as the crowd surge from the stadium on their way home.

Back at the matchbox on Wednesday and Thursday, the media wait their turn to be summoned in relays to film and record the words that go around the world. Most of the local Press corps are not so lucky.

## LOVE

Mr Mandela stops to address them. "It is because of your efforts over all these years that I am able to stand here before you. I wish I had time to speak to all of you, but I must go on to other engagements ... thank you."

He speaks in the vernacular then repeats his message in English. At his side, as always this week, is Cyril Ramaphosa, National Union of Mineworkers' chief. Another appointment, another handshake and so to the final day of his first whirlwind week.

Mr Mandela stops to address them. "It is because of your efforts over all these years that I am able to stand here before you. I wish I had time to speak to all of you, but I must go on to other engagements ... thank you."

He speaks in the vernacular then repeats his message in English. At his side, as always this week, is Cyril Ramaphosa, National Union of Mineworkers' chief. Another appointment, another handshake and so to the final day of his first whirlwind week.

**3.1 THE SAIDRU WAGE RATE INDEXES: WAGE DETERMINATIONS AND LABOUR ORDERS.****Results for the Second Quarter of 1986****The Median Wage for Labourers:**

At the end of June 1987, the median wage in the index for labourers stood at 94 cents per hour. This represents a 2.1% rise in nominal terms over the value of the median wage in March 1987 (92 cents per hour), the last date at which the median was calculated. The June 1987 median wage also shows a rise of 8%, in nominal terms, over the value of the median wage a year ago, in June 1986 (87 cents per hour).

The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for June 1987 (calculated from data collected in the first week of the month) showed a 3.2% rise over the March 1987 CPI and a rise of 17.2% over the preceding year.

A listing of the labourers' wage rates included in the June 1987 index can be found in table 5 on pages 37 to 40.

Table 6 (page 42) pinpoints all the changes in hourly rates due since the end of the previous quarter (March 1987), the date of the index table printed in the last issue of the Quarterly Bulletin.

In the three month period April to June 1987, 32 new wage clauses for labourers came into operation in 8 wage determinations and/or labour orders:

- the highest real wage increase (+3.6%) was achieved for "General Workers" in Area A of Wage Determination 436 - Bread and Confectionary Industry (certain Areas). However, this increase came 21 months after minimum wages in the industry were last changed and was thus not great enough to compensate for the 32% rise in the CPI over the same 21-month period;
- the real value of labourers' minimum wage rates fell in 28 out of the 32 new wage clauses, spread over 7 of the 8 determinations and/or labour orders.

**The Median Wage for Artisans:**

At the end of June 1987, the median wage in the listing of artisans'



**DIPLOMATIC CLOUT . . . with British Ambassador to South Africa Sir Robin Renwick at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn on Friday**

## Mandela's *(Times 18/2/90)* got style, says Mr Z

By BOETI ESHAK 11A

THE smart grey suit Mr Nelson Mandela wore as he walked out of Victor Verster Prison was provided by a friend who owns a clothes shop.

Mr Mandela is one of the select clients of Yusuf Surtee, owner of the Gray's men's clothing chain in Johannesburg.

"He has exceptionally good taste when it comes to dressing," said Mr Surtee this week.

"He has been buying clothes from me for years and I know exactly what he wants. I know his likes and dislikes.

"Because of his commitments, I select his outfits and take them to his house for him."

### MYSTERIOUS

Mr Surtee was reluctant to discuss the cost of the clothing supplied to the ANC leader. But he said Mr Mandela paid for everything.

Mr Surtee made international headlines when he was named as the mysterious "Mr Z" in the 1987 probe into pro-ANC advertisements headed by Mr Justice Munnik.

The father of two children, Mr Surtee counts among his clientele such well-known figures as Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta in the United States, millionaires Harry Oppenheimer and Tony Bloom, top-notch advocate Sydney Kentridge, US senator Ted Kennedy, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, tennis champion Arthur Ashe and local politicians.

His circle of friends includes Corretta Scott King, wife of the slain human rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, TV star Bill Cosby, and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

# He's coming to Natal

## Mandela faces a major task: to halt the carnage

By S'BU MNGADI

ON hearing ANC leader Nelson Mandela was coming to Natal next Sunday, a senior political activist remarked jubilantly: "The Bible says 'In the beginning there was the voice', and we say, 'In the beginning there was Nelson Mandela'."

It's against such messianic eulogy that Mandela will arrive in Natal to face a monumental task: stopping the mindless carnage there, a task everyone across the political spectrum has undertaken and failed dismally to bring about.

Even adversaries, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Cosatu president Elijah Barayi, were optimistic this week that peace talks presided over by Mandela were likely to succeed.

Mandela stressed the solution to the strife lay with the UDF-Cosatu-Inkatha peace initiative, on which Buthelezi declared a moratorium in August last year.

Early this week Mandela told his first Press conference in Cape Town the ANC differed fundamentally from Buthelezi on the issue of violence, the attitude towards government structures and economic sanctions, but added it seemed proper to try to settle problems in which Buthelezi was involved amicably because he had a following.

"Nothing would please us more than that they (Inkatha) should join us," Mandela repeated - a suggestion which Buthelezi rejected when first raised by the media before Mandela's release.

"He has shown his agony (over the killings), and the pain of the man is loud and clear in the letter he wrote to me," Buthelezi said, referring to a letter he received in 1988. He said Mandela had chosen to address the issue of the Natal violence through him rather than through the ANC.

Buthelezi hoped Mandela would lobby for his (Buthelezi's) readmission into the MDM

fold, while he expressed reservations that the UDF, ANC and Cosatu would exploit the peace initiative.

Buthelezi also fears, like former general secretary Walter Sisulu and his recently released comrades, Mandela might be "monopolised" by the ANC and its traditional internal allies.

Nonetheless, Inkatha has booked Durban's King's Park Rugby stadium for March 25 to welcome Mandela and other leaders.

The ANC, on the other hand, plans to invite the Zulu King Zwelithini to share a platform at next Sunday's Durban rally with Mandela and other ANC leaders.

The ANC leaders said their Durban rally would precede a crucial meeting between the ANC, Buthelezi and King Zwelithini to discuss the continuing violence.

Mandela's attendance at Inkatha's rally seems likely to depend on whether Buthelezi, and to some extent his KwaZulu Cabinet, will allow the Zulu King to accept the ANC invitation.



KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi



# Toy-toying on Manhattan streets

CP Correspondent

4 pages  
11/2/90

**F**ROM the pulpits of militant black churches to living rooms of white suburbs, from blocks of flats to the White House, the United States exploded in celebration at the news of Nelson Mandela's release.

"Our hearts are so full of joy," the Rev Calvin Butts told an overflowing congregation of more than a thousand worshippers at the historic Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. "Our brother Nelson Mandela is free today," Butts said as a gospel choir sang freedom songs behind him.

In the streets, several hundred people, many wearing "Free Mandela" badges and carrying green-black-and-gold ANC flags, gathered after the news of Mandela's release broke.

At 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, Americans joined South African students toyi-toying in the

streets, oblivious to the zero degree winter chill.

Not far off, in a grim red-brick housing project ravaged by poverty, drugs and violence, Mandela's release gave the people a rare cause for celebration.

"If they let go of Mandela, maybe there's hope for us here," said one resident. "Maybe there's hope for all of us."

Demonstrations were also reported in black neighbourhoods in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Atlanta.

Euphoria even overtook preparations for one of the biggest US sporting events, the National Basketball Association all-star game in Miami.

With millions of Americans watching on national television, rookie basketball sensation David Robinson interrupted the programme commentary with an impassioned statement on Mandela's release.

"It really makes you look at what you're doing," the giant 2,2m tall Robinson said softly. "It makes you want to fight harder



President George Bush.

to see the people of South Africa free."

And the celebrations were not limited to the black community.

On the neat, tree-lined streets of wealthy, mostly-white suburbs, people also rejoiced at the news.

Eight-year-old Thomas Farley raised his fist in triumph as he ran down the stairs of his parents' double-

storey house in Tenafly, New Jersey on Saturday after hearing Mandela was to be freed.

"They're letting him out!" the little boy shouted happily, his long blond hair flying about.

In Washington President George Bush reported that he had invited Mandela to visit him at the White House.

His Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, remarked that "the idea of apartheid as a philosophical principle died today".

Bush and Cohen also held out the possibility that US sanctions could be eased if the South African government continued to take "positive steps".

However, Congressman William Gray, the author of the sanctions Bill and leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, said sanctions would be lifted only if South Africa fulfilled all the conditions in the Act, which include lifting of the state of emergency and the freeing of all political

11A

prisoners.

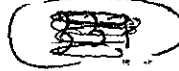
Nevertheless, Gray, a Baptist minister in Philadelphia, told his congregation that "today is a day for celebration".

In Boston, tears welled in the eyes of Mandela's 36-year-old daughter Makaziile as she watched her father walk out of Victor Verster Prison to freedom.

At New York's Columbia University, scores of South African students danced, chanted, and sang freedom songs into Monday morning.

"The students here are all exhilarated," said Danisa Baloyi, President of the South African-Azanian Students' Movement, an umbrella group representing more than 2 000 students in the US and Canada. "It's so rewarding to see one of our demands met."

"It's one small step towards freedom," said Sebastian McKay, another student from Eldorado Park. "Mandela's release represents one man's freedom, but it's not representative of the liberty of the country."



# DP ponders its future

S/Times 18/2/90

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party is holding a series of regional strategy meetings to decide on its future in the rapidly changing order of South African politics.

The meetings began soon after President F W de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC earlier this month.

## Sentiment

Findings of the meetings will soon be discussed by the party's strategy committee, which will make recommendations to the DP management on what identity the DP should adopt.

Discussions in the party have been focusing on the "Gastrow options" — named after four proposals largely drawn up by the party's young Durban Central MP, Mr Peter Gastrow.

These options are that:

- The DP can move closer to the Government in an overtly supportive role;

- The party can move closer to the ANC;

- The DP should seek a formal alliance with the ANC and other groups within the Mass Democratic Movement;

- The party can retain an independent identity in the traditional opposition role of watchdog.

DP MPs say the main opinion emerging from the regional meetings point either to the party retaining its identity, but intensifying interaction with the ANC,

civic organisations and the MDM, or a more assertive move to closer alignment with the ANC, now that the organisation is legal.

It appears there is no sympathy in party ranks for moving closer to the Government.

## Strategy

However, some DP members say there is likely to be a difference of sentiment between the party's official members and its base of supporters whose involvement is relevant only at the polls.

Some suspect that the mood among DP supporters may be far more sympathetic to the Government's dramatic reform moves than the mood in the party's hierarchy.

# MDM VOLUNTEERS KEEP THE PEACE

51 Times 15/2/90  
By KURT SWART

THERE's a new "unofficial" police force disciplining the march to a new South Africa.

And they already have an outstanding record of controlling large and often volatile crowds without resorting to teargas or birdshot.

They are the marshals of the Mass Democratic Movement, and it's largely due to their sweat, dedication and courage that so many protest rallies and marches have gone off smoothly.

They've become a familiar sight, linking arms to keep crowds in check, controlling the traffic flow to ensure the safety of marchers, or policing the hordes of people at political rallies with megaphones and two-way radios.

## ABUSE

MDM marshals are unpaid volunteers and come in all ages, colours, sizes and sexes.

The youngest are in their teens and the oldest, like some of the township residents, are well into their fifties.

Mr Maxwell Moss, Western Cape president of the South African Youth Congress, who was a chief marshal at last Sunday's welcome rally for Nelson Mandela at Cape Town's Grand Parade, said: "Marshals must be willing to stand up to verbal and physical abuse.

"We meet beforehand to discuss the importance of discipline. Marshals must avoid using abusive language and never resort to violence."

They take pride in their work and when things go wrong, as happened at the Grand Parade when extensive looting marred the event, and at Orlando Stadium when several people were crushed, they are devastated.

Marshals and other activists sat against the walls of the city hall after the Cape Town rally, all exhausted and many despondent and upset



KEEPING THEIR COOL . . . MDM marshals share a drink at the rally in Cape Town

at the day's events.

"We lost control. What can we say?" asked a marshal, one of the 400 who were overwhelmed by a crowd estimated at between 100 000-250 000.

Speaking about the rally, Mr Moss said bad elements in the crowd had refused to listen to marshals, and some displayed racist attitudes to the white marshals trying to control them.

## STABBED

Marshals were stabbed when they tried to stop looters and were shot in the crossfire in the war on the fringes of the rally.

The SAP welcomed the assistance from organisers saying that marshals had, on occasions, succeeded in controlling crowds but, had at other times, failed dismally.

Major-General HD Stadler said the organisers of marches and gatherings should take full responsibility for the behaviour and "possible illegal activities" of the crowd.

# Toy-toying on Manhattan streets

CP Correspondent

4 pages  
1/21/90

**F**ROM the pulpits of militant black churches to living rooms of white suburbs, from blocks of flats to the White House, the United States exploded in celebration at the news of Nelson Mandela's release.

"Our hearts are so full of joy," the Rev Calvin Butts told an overflowing congregation of more than a thousand worshippers at the historic Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. "Our brother Nelson Mandela is free today," Butts said as a gospel choir sang freedom songs behind him.

In the streets, several hundred people, many wearing "Free Mandela" badges and carrying green-black-and-gold ANC flags, gathered after the news of Mandela's release broke.

At 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, Americans joined South African students toy-toying in the

streets, oblivious to the zero degree winter chill.

Not far off, in a grim red-brick housing project ravaged by poverty, drugs and violence, Mandela's release gave the people a rare cause for celebration.

"If they let go of Mandela, maybe there's hope for us here," said one resident. "Maybe there's hope for all of us."

Demonstrations were also reported in black neighbourhoods in Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta.

Euphoria even overtook preparations for one of the biggest US sporting events, the National Basketball Association all-star game in Miami.

With millions of Americans watching on national television, rookie basketball sensation David Robinson interrupted the programme commentary with an impassioned statement on Mandela's release.

"It really makes you look at what you're doing," the giant 2.2m tall Robinson said softly. "It makes you want to fight harder



**President George Bush.**

to see the people of South Africa free."

And the celebrations were not limited to the black community.

On the neat, tree-lined streets of wealthy, mostly-white suburbs, people also rejoiced at the news.

Eight-year-old Thomas Farley raised his fist in triumph as he ran down the stairs of his parents' double-

storey house in Tenafly, New Jersey on Saturday after hearing Mandela was to be freed.

"They're letting him out!" the little boy shouted happily, his long blond hair flying about.

In Washington President George Bush reported that he had invited Mandela to visit him at the White House.

His Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, remarked that "the idea of apartheid as a philosophical principle died today".

Bush and Cohen also held out the possibility that US sanctions could be eased if the South African government continued to take "positive steps".

However, Congressman William Gray, the author of the sanctions Bill and leader of the Congressional Black Caucus, said sanctions would be lifted only if South Africa fulfilled all the conditions in the Act, which include lifting of the state of emergency and the freeing of all political

prisoners.

Nevertheless, Gray, a Baptist minister in Philadelphia, told his congregation that "today is a day for celebration".

In Boston, tears welled in the eyes of Mandela's 36-year-old daughter Makazile as she watched her father walk out of Victor Verster Prison in freedom.

At New York's Columbia University, scores of South African students danced, chanted, and sang freedom songs into Monday morning.

"The students here are all exhilarated," said Danisa Baloyi, President of the South African-Azania Students' Movement, an umbrella group representing more than 2 000 students in the US and Canada. "It's so rewarding to see one of our demands met."

"It's one small step towards freedom," said Sebastian McKay, another student from Eldorado Park. "Mandela's release represents one man's freedom, but it's not representative of the liberty of the country."

## Treason charges hold no fear

By CHARLES MOGALE

NELSON Mandela is not bothered by treason charges laid against him by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht. *CPres 18/2/90*

He told a Press conference this week: "When Treurnicht is in government, we may worry about him. Not now."

Last week Treurnicht laid charges of treason against Mandela and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, following the two leaders' pro-armed struggle pronouncements.

In response to a question, Mandela said although the armed struggle would continue, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda was calling for its suspension.

"It is understandable Kaunda should make that call because he is a non-violent person, but the issue here is not the armed struggle. It is apartheid."



**Andries Treurnicht**

# Leaders set for ANC-Inkatha talks

By S'BU MNGADI

THE ANC internal leadership, headed by Nelson Mandela, is set to hold talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the Natal violence this week. *Press 18/2/90*

The talks will precede the big welcoming rally planned for Mandela next Sunday at King's Park stadium in Durban.

Details of the talks were finalised

in Johannesburg on Thursday when Diliza Mji and Willies Mcunu, both members of the UDF-Cosatu committee involved in peace initiatives with Inkatha, met senior ANC leaders - including Mandela.

Mji told *City Press* yesterday the ANC leaders would tour the trouble spots and meet the people affected by the violence before meeting Inkatha.

■ To Page 2

## ANC, Inkatha to talk

From Page 1

On Friday, Buthelezi criticised Mandela's comment that police were supporting Inkatha in Natal.

He said Mandela should question those who had informed him because their information had led to errors of judgment. *Press 18/2/90*

In a statement on Friday he said people in the Indelani area affected by the violence had approached him with allegations of partisan police action.

He had approached Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to investi-

gate the matter "so if there was any truth in the matter, we could act against the stated involvement of the SAP."

"Vlok came, saw, and made a statement. In that statement he pointed a finger at the UDF."

"Now Mandela says there is evidence the SAP is supporting Inkatha in violence against the UDF that the police incite and says: 'One of the clearest illustrations of this was when Vlok met Buthelezi and accused the UDF of being responsible for the violence.'"

Buthelezi stressed he was reacting to Press reports.

"I react cautiously because Mandela is who he is and I have not yet sat down to talk with him on a wide range of issues."

It is thought Mandela will be in Natal for four days after his visit to Lusaka, where he is expected to confer with exiled ANC leaders.

Natal has historical significance for Mandela and the ANC.

Mandela's last public appearance before incarceration was the All-In African People's Conference in Maritzburg, called in response to the white electorate's decision that the Union of South Africa would become a Republic on May 31, 1961.

# The real SA game – with abundance in the goals

Many see South Africa as a global game, pitting "system" v "struggle". The "system" side, wearing blue, orange, and white, is playing by rugby rules. "Struggle", clothed in green, yellow, and black, thinks the game is soccer.

Western experts and critics believe the players all have on blindfolds. They must help the hapless and confused players by shouting instructions from the stands. Occasionally, they throw down nartjies in the form of sanctions or boycotts. Maybe the experts have on blindfolds, too.

Conventional wisdom says it's Captain de Klerk v Captain Mandela. The sides "scrum" over competing economic or political systems, slogans, scenarios, and Utopias. The world's media hovers above the void awaiting the inevitable clash. The future of Africa tips in the balance.

Well, maybe it's time for an entirely different dimension of thinking.

## Integrates

Call it synthesis — the higher and richer order that blends and integrates the best from all views with new insights and discoveries from the rapidly changing environment. System works to preserve or reform the status quo. Struggle seeks to transform society into a new order. Synthesis rejects conflict in favour of creating abundance, the real agenda for all South Africans. If you play the synthesis game, everybody wins.

So, how can greater abundance be created in South Africa — not just of a material nature, but in the quality of thinking, education, problem solving, and nation building? How can the standard of living and quality of life be enhanced for all South Africans? Why couldn't the Sats conflict have been resolved be-

Players in the South African "struggle v system" game should call time out and tell world spectators to find another match to watch, says visiting Texas academic Dr Don Beck, (right). And then both should take off their blindfolds and wake up to an entirely new ball game — the "synthesis" game. The agenda is based on a development and distribution system that provides a greater abundance for all South Africans. And the rules require players to blend the best of all views and reject conflict, says the seasoned SA spectator on his 29th trip to the country.



fore the loss of life and destruction of property? The answer is to replace scarcity management with abundance creation.

South Africa is one of the rare places on the planet Earth where abundance can be created with relative ease. The size of the collective cake can increase in quantum leaps.

What kind of thinking, however, will it take to create abundance? How can this approach replace fear and distrust?

First, may I suggest that South Africans consider co-operative planning of an entire decade of development. Leaders should sit side-by-side in identifying the key issues and problems in the Republic.

Negotiating constitutional models should come after the problems are clearly understood. The gaps between the haves, hads, and have nots are simply too wide to bridge with absolutist thinking from either collective camps of free-market segments.

Economic and political pulses should be in frequency with the evolutionary nature of the society itself. The Great Indaba will be a

long Indaba.

Second, it's critical that, positive thinking South Africans re-evaluate the entire litany of economic, cultural, literary, sports, and technological boycotts and sanctions. The South African Government is not going to come to its knees. To use this leverage as a bargaining chip is to play the struggle game when only synthesis thinking can produce abundance.

Society has quite enough internal pressure on perturbations to keep The Third Trek in motion. It will take a long, long time for the supply lines to impact the society in its quest to maximise abundance. There is not time to waste, not if you're serious about the quality of health care and education.

The world community needs to find other scapegoats for its own internal problems. Moral poses lose their persuasive appeal when they conceal trade advantages and other forms of exploitation of South Africa resulting from sanctions.

Finally, maybe it's time for everybody involved to call "time-out" and consider other approaches.

Jesse Jackson demonstrated his depth of insight when he suggested, during the presidential debates in 1988 in Houston, a novel and creative approach to the problems in the Middle East.

Mr Jackson made two essential points. First, he insisted that the safety and longevity of the Israeli culture, traditions, religion and language be guaranteed. Second, he believed this would release the energy, insight, and flexibility for the Israelis to create a semetic "Hong Kong" in the Middle East.

The same is true with the Afrikanervolk. In fact, I've never thought the struggle industry was being clever by threatening the Volk in its safety and sacred zone. All could benefit from a new and creative initiative. Your children and grandchildren will rise up and call you blessed if you seriously pursue abundance, not power.

The people I know who have met Nelson Mandela report he is in the best tradition of a synthesis thinker. He and other enlightened UDF and ANC leaders face a serious threat from their own revolutionary wing.

## Congruence

They understand far too well that enlightened leaders are often replaced by generals, then sergeants until congruence is reached with the bulk of the population.

It's quite natural for developing societies to opt for one-party states. The massive needs of the "have nots" must be met, quickly. It's in everybody's interest to do so. An abundance-based development and distribution system has the potential to enhance the First World component while uplifting those still suffering from searing poverty and hopelessness.

Synthesis is the best game in town. Nothing else can produce abundance. Everybody can play by the same rules. Western spectators can find another game to watch.

# 20 000 at Alex rally

## remember 'war' dead

Star 19/2/90 By Thabo Leshilo (117)

About 20 000 people yesterday gathered in the Alexandra Stadium to commemorate victims of Alexandra's "six-day war" of 1986.

The "war" refers to the unrest that swept the township from February 13 to February 18 1986, claiming more than 30 lives. The victims allegedly died at the hands of police and vigilantes.

Speaker after speaker called for the revival of community organisations and the intensification of the "struggle".

Mr Jay Naidoo, Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary, told the crowd that the day when the factories would be controlled by workers and the wealth of the country by "the people" was at hand.

"The winds of change and freedom are blowing in our country," declared Mr Naidoo.

United Democratic Front secretary Mr Popo Molefe compared National Party supporters to the proverbial "nation without vision" and said they were destined to perish.

### LEADERS CRITICISED

A speaker from the South African Youth Congress, Mr Ephraim Mogale, attacked American president Mr George Bush and British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher for their stand against the ANC's armed struggle. He said that the time was not yet ripe to abandon the armed struggle.

Banners with the words, "To hell With CP and AWB racists", "History won't forget F W and Mandela", and many others were held high at the service. Shouts of "Viva", "Comrade Jesus viva" and "Long live ANC and SACP, long live" reverberated through the crowd during a church service held before the rally.

Candles symbolic of the spirits of the victims were lit and each victim's name was read out.

There was no sign of police at the meeting.

● On Saturday, more than 50 000 residents of Tembisa on the East Rand marched to the town council offices to demand the resignation of the council.

And in Johannesburg, lunch hour traffic came to a standstill when about 1 000 public sector workers took to the streets to protest against privatisation.

The number of marchers swelled to 2 000 as bystanders joined the protest which began at St Mary's Cathedral and ended at the Jeppe Street Post Office.



I WRITE this in response to extracts from your ANC in-house paper "Preparing Our-selves for Freedom" published in the Cape Times. In particular I address myself to the first extract — on whether ANC members have the cultural imagination for the new South Africa.

I read your paper with pleasure and admiration. It is clear that the trauma caused by the bomb attack on you has strengthened you, and far from embittering has only added to your generosity of spirit. For this I salute you. I recall that when we were students we sometimes took opposing sides on issues such as the usages of art. I note with interest that you have changed your position. You now recognise that to see art only as an instrument of struggle is, in your words, "banal and devoid of real content" and further, "wrong and potentially harmful". It is important that you have recognised this and even more important that you have published your change of viewpoint so that it may become part of a wider debate. You make a distinction between art as a political weapon and what you call real instruments of struggle that admit no ambiguities (like a gun, for instance, that, were it full of contradictions, would fire in all directions). In fact, art — complex and powerful art — does precisely that. It does fire in all directions. The power of art as you concede is that it can deal in contradictions in subtleties that deflate the bubble of conventional wisdom.

A generation of South African artists, writers mostly, have been able to do just that. They have exploited the contradic-

# Open letter to Albie Sachs

Cape Times 19/2/90 11A



NEVILLE DUBOW, professor of Fine Art at UCT, responds to Albie Sachs's ANC in-house seminar paper "Preparing for our Freedom" which was published in three extracts on this page last week.

tory nature of the apartheid state and have made art in spite of it. They have gone further. They have used it as the very raw material from which to make their art. The thrust of your arguments is, in fact, not new. It has been argued by writers, by artists and educators, mostly those outside political organisations, who know that while the art work may appear simple, the process by which it is realised is hardly simplistic.

What is encouraging though is that you are saying it, from a position of influence within the ANC. In a curious way there are parallels with other pronouncements that have shaken the fabric of the apartheid state in recent weeks. What the State President has said, and what his senior ministers are attempting, in their newspeak, to interpret, is also not new. Voices in the democratic opposition have been saying it for years. What is important here is, who makes the pronouncement and this, of course, is bound up with who is likely to listen. In your case I profoundly hope that what you are

saying is heard and understood, not least by the Cultural Desk of your own organisation. It would interest you to hear, and perhaps sadden you too, that many young artists, democratically minded, have been able to withstand the pressures of the state in its hitherto relentless drive towards ideological conformity. But these same artists have considerably greater misgivings about the prescriptions and prohibitions that they perceive emanating from the Cultural Desk of the ANC. They sense that a regulated by edict, will be crippled, whether the edicts come from the ideological right or left. And if we, in the new South Africa, have not learned the lessons of cultural Stalinism then we are doomed to repeat its crushing mistakes. I am greatly encouraged, therefore, by your principled stand. May I guess that your own experience as a creative writer has had some effect on your changed views? I was moved by your call for artists within your ranks to embrace "non-political" themes like

those of joy or love, subjects other than those symbolised by a raised clenched fist. It was Ber-jolt Brencht, you will recall surely, who pointed out the tremendous problems for artists working in times of fierce political struggle where only "protest art" seemed relevant. He was addressing posterity:

"Indeed I live in the dark ages!  
A guileless word is an absurdity.

A smooth forehead be-tokens/ a hard heart.

He who laughs has not yet heard/ the terrible tidings.

Ah! What an age it is/ when to speak of trees is almost

a crime/ for it is a kind of silence about injustice!"

I would have thought that no one would accuse you of having a smooth forehead. And you have clearly shown your refusal to be silent about injustice. Yet I imagine there might well be those, within your ranks, who are disturbed by your paper.

Nevertheless, we must all, in our own way continue to encourage artists in the new South Africa to realise that they have the right (if this is what they feel moved to do) to speak of trees, and love, and joy. Such an art need be neither uncritical nor escapist.

Any art that makes us realise our creative potential, reinforces our human dignity, strengthens our capacity to resist tyranny, is, in its profoundest sense, political. But it is for our artists to find the appropriate forms to express this; and it is for all of us to resist the attempts of politicians to dictate to us what these should be.

Yours in friendship,  
Neville Dubow

L  
fr  
A  
K  
o  
t

b  
o  
s  
b

t  
s  
f  
c  
t

# Sanctions

Sowetan 19/12/90 (11A)

cratic South Africa.

"The international community imposed sanctions against South Africa with the express purpose of ending the apartheid system. There can therefore be no justification for lifting these sanctions at this stage.

"The NEC strongly condemns the positions taken by the British Government on this issue.

"These positions not only hinder the process leading to the speedy liquidation of the apartheid system, but are a betrayal of decisions of the European Community and the UN General Assembly to which the British Government is party, that sanctions would not be lifted until profound and irreversible changes had taken place in keeping with the objectives contained in the UN declaration on South Africa adopted unanimously last December.

"The NEC therefore calls on the forthcoming ministerial meeting of the European Community to reject the call of the Thatcher Government to lift sanctions and thus repulse its efforts to weaken the international struggle to end the apartheid system.

"The NEC reaffirmed that our country's problems can only be solved when South Africa has been transformed into a non-racial democracy in which the fundamental rights of all our people, both black and white, would be guaranteed.

"It therefore calls on all forces committed to

this perspective further to consolidate their unity and continue to act together to advance towards the common goal.

"The struggle continues. The people's victory over the apartheid system is assured. - Sapa.

# SA govt <sup>CPA</sup> cheered <sup>Tint's</sup> by ANC <sup>19/2/90</sup> response <sup>11A</sup>

THE government was encouraged that the ANC had committed itself to pre-negotiations, a top source said at the weekend.

An official response to decisions taken by the ANC's national executive committee at its meeting in Lusaka is expected to be made after the cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

The ANC proposal to send a delegation comprising members of its internal and exiled leadership corps for exploratory talks with Mr F W de Klerk is likely to be welcomed by the President.

The ANC group to meet Mr De Klerk will probably include one or two top external leaders and senior internal leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu.

"We cannot afford not to send (acting president) Mr Alfred Nzo on this trip," a source said.

Mr Nzo would lead the delegation because the ANC did not want to give the government the impression that it was not taking the process seriously. — Political Correspondent, Own Correspondent and Sapa

# ANC to urge exiles to come back home

11B

Sowetan 19/2/90

LUSAKA - The ANC is to encourage the return of exiles to South Africa so they can "contribute to the democratic transformation of our country and make an effective contribution to the reconstruction and development of a post-apartheid South Africa".

This resolution was taken at the National Executive Committee of the ANC, which will soon be sending a delegation to South Africa to meet leaders of the ANC who are inside South Africa, as well as those of the Mass Democratic Movement and other anti-apartheid forces.

This was decided on Friday at the end of a three-day NEC meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, in which the ANC considered the situation arising from the decisions announced on February 2 and 10 by State President FW de Klerk.

"During its deliberations, the NEC benefited from proposals submitted to its meeting by ANC president Oliver Tambo and other leaders of the ANC based in South Africa.

"The NEC recognised the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations as an important factor which contributes to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

## Barbaric

"It also viewed in a positive light other measures such as the partial lifting of the Press restrictions and the rescinding of banning orders affecting various persons.

"It welcomed the suspension of the death penalty as an important first step which must, without delay, lead to the unconditional release of all political activists sentenced to death and an end to the barbaric practice of capital punishment.

"The NEC, however, also concluded that the Pretoria regime had not as yet created a climate conducive to negotiations, as has been called for by the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa and the international community.

"It therefore calls on this regime specifically to release all political prisoners and detainees, end the state of emergency, repeal all repressive legislation, halt all politi-

## FOCUS

cal trials and remove all troops from the townships.

"To help achieve these objectives in the shortest possible time, it resolved to meet Mr de Klerk as soon as possible to discuss with him the need to address these issues so that a climate conducive to negotiations is created.

"Its delegation will be composed of the leaders of the ANC based within the country as well as members of the NEC based outside the country.

"It further resolved that it was important to begin immediately the work of re-establishing the ANC within the country.

## Task

"It has therefore constituted the leaders within the country into an organ under the NEC charged with the task of carrying out this work under the chairmanship of Comrade Walter Sisulu.

"The NEC calls on all members of the ANC as well as those of our compatriots who had already taken steps to constitute themselves into ANC units to work directly with and under this leadership collective.

"The NEC resolved to take immediate steps to prepare for the organised return to South Africa of the leadership and membership of the ANC.

"It also recognised that over the years, a serious brain drain had occurred with the emigration from South Africa of many people who were opposed to the apartheid system.

"In the light of the new development, the NEC resolved that the next national conference of the ANC will be held inside South Africa from December 16 1990.

"The planned National Consultative Conference originally scheduled for June this year will therefore no longer take place.

"Conference preparations will however, continue both inside and outside the country.

"The NEC welcomed the unbanning of the SACP. It reaffirmed the

importance of the alliance of the ANC, the SACP and the organised

"It reiterated its view that at this stage, the UDF and its affiliates should continue to function and mobilise their respective constituencies.

"The NEC is gravely concerned at the continuing violence especially in Natal and Uitenhage. It reaffirmed the necessity to take urgent steps to stop this destructive conflict. It therefore confirmed earlier decisions that the leadership within the country should intervene immediately to end this fratricidal carnage.

"It calls on all those who have previously blocked attempts to find a solution to cooperate with these leaders in the interests of life itself.

"The NEC reiterated the fact that the masses of our people continue to suffer under the apartheid system.

"It restated that even when a climate for negotiations is created, this will not mean that this system will have been abolished. Therefore the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa must and will continue.

## Suspend

"In this regard, it considered with all due seriousness, suggestions that it should unilaterally suspend the armed struggle, workers of our country.

"It resolved that this historic alliance will continue to function with the necessary restructuring having taken place to meet the new situation.

"It also reviewed the relations of the ANC with other democratic and anti-apartheid formations within South Africa. As already indicated, it resolved to enter into discussions with these to assess the recent developments.

"While appreciating the sincerity of purpose underlying these suggestions, it however confirmed that the only just and correct way to approach this question is to adhere to the positions contained in the Harare and UN declarations.

"It therefore reiterates that upon the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations, the ANC will seek to negotiate with the Pretoria regime



WALTER SISULU

a suspension of hostilities by both sides.

"The NEC views with grave concern and strongly condemns the continuing campaign of repression carried out by the South African and bantustan police and armies.

"The state of emergency and repressive legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, which have been maintained, legalise and encourage this campaign of terror against the people.

"The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe have a responsibility to defend the people against this terror.

"There can therefore be no question of a unilateral moratorium or a suspension of the armed struggle in a situation in which the violence of the apartheid system continues unabated.

## Defence

"The Pretoria regime has an urgent responsibility to take all the necessary measures to end this violence and thus create the situation when the present obligation on our part to act in defence of the people, arms in hand, will fall away.

"The NEC reaffirms the need for the continuation of mass political action to achieve the objectives contained in the resolutions of the Conference for a Democratic Future and the January 8 statement of the NEC, to realise the intention of this year of people's action for a demo-

11A

**E**VERYBODY will have a story to tell about the day Nelson Mandela got out of prison. It will be the type of story told with exaggeration and poetic license to generations all over the world.

The events surrounding my professional and personal life those few days merit recording on these lines.

When Mandela was in Cape Town, we in Soweto panicked. People, especially the young, were getting extremely restless about not seeing the leader. The longer he took to make his triumphal appearance, the bigger the chances of an accident happening.

**T**HERE were other problems pertaining to my professional life, but they are not as gripping as what happened in my personal circumstance.

On Friday night my eldest son did not get home. It turned out that my neighbour's eldest son was also not at home.

The extraordinary thing, which taken in combination with the larger political situation, is rather interesting, in that my son does not even support Charterist tenden-

# Personal drama on the day of the Big Release



cies. He is a Black Consciousness supporter.

This, I believe, is interesting and should be recorded because it must show the politicians, who have a tendency to get excited and act in ways that lead to violence, that politics is a total experience in black life.

My family members belong to almost all the

political tendencies of relevance. I have members of my family who are Charterist, who are BC supporters and who are Africanist. While we have our political or ideological preferences, we are one family.

Without being factionous we are also fans of the various soccer teams and the family is not ex-

actly falling apart.

As would happen, my wife blamed me for the eldest boy's absence, which is also par for the course. When the blighter, my son, eventually turned up he spun a story about having been kidnapped, which was the tallest tale I have heard.

**W**HILE other members of the family believed this yarn, I kept my peace for, needless to say, I did not believe a single word the chap was saying.

I knew he was out there celebrating the return of Nelson Mandela.

As we live near the Soccer City stadium we decided to keep the youngest boy away from school. Which was a bit of a mistake. He got caught up in the excitement and was hit by a car.

In fact he was hit by a traffic policeman. That may be an extraordinary thing in itself, but what happened after that was more instructive.

In a panic I took the boy and his mother to the nearest doctor, whose surgery was closed. The next doctor sent us fast to Baragwanath Hospital which was a dreadful mistake.

Bara looked like a war camp hospital. There were children and others littered on stretchers all over the place.

Using part of my clout, and not feeling too bracing about that, I jumped the queue. That did not help at all for we spent hours before we got to the X-Ray department.

It was so packed, so gloomily depressing, that we decided to shoot

straight to better facilities in the city. We hit the first private nursing home and the young doctor sent us to the Johannesburg Hospital. It was like another world, another planet.

**W**HILE you might feel worse after walking into the murky darkness of Baragwanath, you immediately feel better after walking into the fresh, gleaming, airy Johannesburg Hospital.

This is a dream hospital for a black used to the suffocating hell at black hospitals. Two ironies about the Johannesburg Hospital which is a white elephant in more ways than one. It is under-utilised but the bureaucracy is as slow, wasteful and ponderous as at any state emporium.

I had to go through



Mr Nelson Mandela

three to four clerks simply to record who I was and what my business was.

It took less than 45 minutes to get the young boy treated and we sailed out of there feeling tired but exhilarated about the day Mandela was released.



PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng (with tie) was surrounded by supporters as he entered Lekton House to address a rally on Saturday.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

# No compromise, says Mothopeng

Sowetan 19/2/90

11A

By THEMBA MOLEFE

NEGOTIATING with the Government meant compromise and appeasing the colonialists, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said at the weekend.

Addressing a rally of the Steel Engineering and Allied Workers of South

Africa in Johannesburg on Saturday, he said anyone who negotiated with Pretoria would be discrediting the African masses.

"The time for the truth has come and those who stand for it (the truth) will be on our side. The time has not come to com-

promise.

"Negotiations now would mean appeasement which has never won the day throughout history.

## Scorned

"Chamberlain appeased Hitler before World War 2. He is now scorned by history," said

Mothopeng.

He said the PAC considered as non-negotiable the restoration of the land to the indigenous Africans, the redistribution of all resources to the benefit of the majority and one-person-one-vote in a unitary state.

"We cannot negotiate our birthright. PAC's current programme includes preparing the grassroots Africans to stand up for their rights, to unite all Africans and to that end we have opened many branches of the organisation."

"We are in the majority and this is Africa," Mothopeng said to shouts of "Viva Mothopeng", "Viva PAC" from the enthusiastic audience.

## Rebels kill 66

MAPUTO - Mozambican rebels alleged to have killed at least 66 people in a train ambush this week told survivors they planned to carry on fighting, despite diplomatic moves to end the country's bush war.

Survivor Amina Aboobacar quoted the leader of Wednesday's attack as saying: "we don't like the nonsense your president has been saying, so we are continuing the war to liberate the country." Sowetan 19/2/90

## Sisulu is ANC boss

● From page 1

Ramaphosa.

The Lusaka meeting decided that because of Mandela's immense public image and particular talent as facilitator he would fulfil a special role "resuming very much the roving organisational role he played when arrested".

Meanwhile, members of the ANC's executive committee yesterday started flying out of Lusaka to brief other exile communities in the neighbouring Frontline States on the organisation's response to the South African Government.

Mr Tom Sebina, media spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, said several members would be away for two to three days and would return to Zambia for Mandela's expected arrival.

On Thursday Sisulu will lead an ANC delegation to the violence-stricken areas of Natal and consult with various organisations involved in the conflict.

He said the purpose was to lay the foundation to end the violence or at least minimise it.

"The conflict is embarrassing as it continues during a crucial time when we have to rebuild an organisation," Sisulu said.

He said on Sunday Mandela would address a rally on a sports field outside the King's Park Rugby Stadium in Durban. Mandela is not part of Sisulu's delegation.

National Reception Committee member Mr Murphy Morobe said Mandela's trip to Lusaka this week had been postponed.

## Teachers to march on DET

MORE than 400 schoolteachers in Ikageng, near Potchefstroom, are to march to the regional offices of the DET on Wednesday to hand over a memorandum containing their grievances.

Their grievances include poor salaries and alleged maladministration at the Potchefstroom North circuit office. Sowetan 19/2/90

A teachers' spokesman said: "We ask all teachers to assemble at the Ikageng Sports Stadium at 8am. We are going to consult with the student representative council."

**DIPLOMA IN SUPERVISION**

FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME COURSES  
PART-TIME COURSES START 24/2/1990  
DURATION OF THE COURSE 28 WEEKS

- Motivation
- Organisation
- Communication
- Problem Solving/ Decision Making
- Training
- Labour Relations

RECOGNISED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER  
FOUNDATION OF SA MANAGEMENT TRAINING  
2nd Floor, York House,  
Cnr Kerk & Bissik Streets,  
JOHANNESBURG.  
P.O. BOX 8258, JHB 2000.

TELEPHONE GAIL  
834-6291/2 S3963

HOLIDAY



18.00



## 'Personal' history of the ANC

By Joe Openshaw

A new book, "The Struggle — a History of the African National Congress", appeared in South African bookshops for the first time last week.

Written by South African-born Heidi Holland, it is an "easily readable" history of the 80-year-old movement.

The book was passed by the Censorship Board in manuscript form in September last year.

It is the first comprehensive history of the ANC.

"I'm certain it will reverse past government propaganda about the ANC and de-demonise it," was the hope expressed by Ms Holland in an interview with The Star.

She sees the release of the book as timely.

Now that the ANC has been unbanned and Mr Nelson Mandela freed, she feels that many whites will be eager to find out more about the organisation which has been made out to be "a monster with blood on its hands".

Heidi Holland (42) has been a working journalist for more than 20 years and was at one time the London Sunday Times correspondent in Harare.

She began research for the book three years ago and found most of the literature was academic. There was a need for a "simple, easily readable history".



Heidi Holland says her book on the ANC will 'de-demonise' the organisation.

She wanted original material based on personal interviews and she first went to Qunu in Transkei to speak with the Mandela family.

Subsequent interviews with 30 people found her in Lesotho, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Among those she spoke to were Mr Joe Slovo, former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation); Mr Chris Hani, Mr Slovo's successor; Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and Mr Thabo Mbeki, chief spokesman of the ANC.

"My research was inhibited in

the Wits Library where there were books on the ANC, albeit academic. I had to sit there under the watchful eye of the librarian or get permission from the Minister to peruse them. So I went to London where I had freedom of access to material," she said.

Ms Holland neatly summed up the history of the ANC struggle: "At first they came with hat in hand to ask for concessions, now they are recognised as a powerful mass organisation."

Asked what she thought of events here during the last two weeks, she said: "It has been a fantasy of mine that one day two statesmen would emerge — one white and one black — and save South Africa. I think this has happened."

She is optimistic that negotiations for a new South Africa will be successful: "The ANC has always had a pragmatic approach and has made many alliances with many organisations."

To emphasise, she quotes Thabo Mbeki from her book: "The only fortunate thing about the length of our struggle is that we are coming late to our liberation ... we will benefit from studying where others (who achieved freedom on the continent) have tried and failed."

"We aren't going to repeat their mistakes."

# Mbeki argues for nationalisation

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's economy will need restructuring and it would be wrong to avoid considering an element of nationalisation as part of a possible solution, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said in a television interview last night.

"We have to start off from the position that there is an objective to be obtained," said Mr Mbeki. "That objective is, if we are using (SA President) F W de Klerk's words, an improvement in the quality of life for all the people ... then we've got to say well, how do you do it, and one of the first conclusions you would come to is that you need to ensure that that economy continues to grow ... because without that expanding wealth naturally you have a smaller cake to share out."

The SA economy had been built "in the main, with an eye to securing the standards of living of essentially the white popula-

tion".

The system of bantustans had been to exclude, Mr Mbeki noted, "what was in official language 'a surplus population' ... they were not needed by this economy.

"There ought not to be any surplus people in South Africa.

"So the economy would need restructuring and I'm saying it would be wrong from the beginning to exclude consideration of the element of nationalisation or the element of public property," said Mr Mbeki.

He said the recent changes in South Africa had possibly opened the way to a political settlement.

Peaceful means would be most preferable in getting rid of apartheid.

Mr Mbeki said he believed the majority of white South Africans were opposed to apartheid and blacks and whites should therefore be able to unite in doing this. Presumably then, "these people who have acted together to change the past will have suffi-

cient confidence and trust in one another to build the future".

Whites had severe misapprehensions about the ANC — that it was a communist-dominated group which intended imposing itself on the people of South Africa in a one-party state; that it harboured feelings of vengeance against white South Africans.

These misapprehensions needed to be addressed because a peaceful, political solution was otherwise unattainable, he said.

The angry reaction of the right wing at the reforms had been expected, but but they were a small minority. "It is very important that this small minority is not given the right of veto ... it should not be treated as a force that blocks the source of change".

"I think we as South Africans have an understanding that it's not in fact terribly difficult to establish a feeling of common nationhood. You know, to sit and eat pap and vleis together — I mean, those are South Africans," said the ANC leader. — Sapa



# Tembisa (11A) residents march

THE East Rand township of Tembisa came to a standstill on Saturday when about 20 000 people converged at the Jan Lubbe stadium to protest against high tariffs, the state of emergency and inadequate black education.

The crowd, waving ANC and SACP flags, marched to the council offices and the police station to present a petition demanding lower tariffs.

Addressing the crowd, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF, said their march came at an historic time after the unbanning of the ANC, SACP, the PAC, and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

## Tribute

She paid tribute to Mandela's uncompromising commitment and said in spite of President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives, "the apartheid monster was still alive and kicking in the lives of people".

She called on residents to intensify campaigns against existing apartheid measures but urged them not to form ANC branches until they received instructions from the former exiled movement.

Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary of the UDF, described De Klerk's initiatives as meaningless.

"De Klerk, in his changes, has not enacted laws in the statute books, but merely suspended draconian government laws."



Thousands of Tembisa residents gathered at Jan Lubbe Stadium before marching to the local council offices and Police station.



Thousands of people braved the scorching heat yesterday to commemorate the 1986 Alexandra shootings. Story on page 2.

11A

Sowetan

19/2/90

MBUZENI ZULU

# Thatcher to defy EC and lift sanctions against SA

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain will defy its European Community partners this week by lifting investment and tourism sanctions against South Africa.

Although Mrs Margaret Thatcher will formally consult her fellow common market prime Ministers at the Dublin summit, she is determined to press ahead immediately, according to Whitehall sources.

They said Mrs Thatcher believes that the state of emergency will be lifted by President De Klerk within three weeks, at which time she expects the other EC countries to follow Britain.

## STRONG LEAD

She is keen to take a strong lead in encouraging the South African government to find a negotiated solution to the country's future.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, will tomorrow try to persuade his EC counterparts, at a one-day meeting of the EC Foreign Affairs Council in Dublin — chaired by the Irish Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, to abandon investment and other sanctions.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the convenor of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, will today ask Mr Haughey to resist.

The foreign ministers are expected to agree that it is too soon to act. A communique will disclose Britain's lone position.

Mrs Thatcher has already decided that parliament should be informed by written argument this week that the government is immediately lifting Britain's ban on new investment, the promotion of tourism and the establishment of cultural and scientific links.

The Foreign Office may also lift bans on new government loans to South African agencies.

Mrs Thatcher has ruled out removing other voluntary bans for now. Chief among these is the discouragement of sporting contacts which, according to a Thatcher aide, "is too much of a political hot potato to be lifted in the short term".

# Waiting for F.W.

1964  
19/2/90

11A

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress is waiting to hear from President De Klerk if he will meet representatives of the recently unbanned organisation, Mr Walter Sisulu said today.

The ANC leadership-in-exile decided in Lusaka last week to come home for talks with Mr De Klerk.

However, Mr Sisulu, who described himself as "chairman of the core of leadership whose function is to prepare for the emergence of the ANC under legal conditions", said today the movement had not yet heard from Mr De Klerk.

## Suggestion list

"We are planning to talk to Mr De Klerk. We don't know when that will be because it depends on his response."

Mr Sisulu said his first step would be to draw up a list of suggestions about the legalisation of the ANC, to be sent to Lusaka urgently.

"The matter is urgent. Everything has to be done as speedily as possible because we are preparing for the membership of the ANC to be represented at a conference in Bloemfontein on December 16."

The December indaba will be the first legal ANC conference to be held in South Africa since the organisation was banned in 1960.

## Offices in SA

There was nothing provocative about the date and venue, Mr Sisulu said.

"Traditionally the ANC has had its meetings during this period — and always in Bloemfontein, before it was banned."

Asked if the ANC was ready to open offices in South Africa, Mr Sisulu replied: "That is what our function is, preparing for offices and branches in South Africa. We will have representatives in various centres."

● Mandela and his guards — page 3.

# SISULU ANC BOSS in SA

Sowetan 19/12/90

11A

By THEMBA MOLEFE  
and SY MAKARINGE

MR WALTER Sisulu is the new chief of the internal wing of the African National Congress.

The appointment was made at a two-day ANC consultative session in Lusaka at the weekend.

Yesterday Sisulu said his main function was to prepare for the re-emergence of the ANC as a legal organisation.

The job entails opening branches and arranging the organisation's finances, among other "urgent" tasks.

However, Sisulu warned: "We are not going to allow any person to open branches without following procedure."

"A great deal of work has to be put into the reorganisation of the ANC inside the country especially as we have to prepare for a conference in December."

The others appointed to serve on Sisulu's committee are Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Kgalema Molantwa, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Cyril

● To page 2

Sowetan 19/12/90

## Sisulu is ANC boss

● From page 1

Ramaphosa.

The Lusaka meeting decided that because of Mandela's immense public image and particular talent as a facilitator he would fulfil a special role "resuming very much the roving organisational role he played when arrested".

Meanwhile, members of the ANC's executive committee yesterday started flying out of Lusaka to brief other exile communities in the neighbouring Frontline States on the organisation's response to the South African Government.

Mr Tom Sebina, media spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, said several members would be away for two to three days and would return to Zambia for Mandela's expected arrival.

On Thursday Sisulu will lead an ANC delegation to the violence-stricken areas of Natal and consult with various organisations involved in the conflict.

He said the purpose was to lay the foundation to end the violence or at least minimise it.

"The conflict is embarrassing as it continues during a crucial time when we have to rebuild an organisation," Sisulu said.

He said on Sunday Mandela would address a rally on a sports field outside the King's Park Rugby Stadium in Durban. Mandela is not part of Sisulu's delegation.

National Reception Committee member Mr Murphy Morobe said Mandela's trip to Lusaka this week had been postponed.

Sta, 19/2/90 (119)  
Leader of 'Young  
Lions' is released

SESHEGO — The president of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba (31), was released from detention at the Pietersburg police station on Saturday.

He was detained by the security police under the Internal Security Act on January 27.

Mr Mokaba, leader of the "Young Lions", was held after addressing thousands of people who attended the launch of the Seshego Civic Association.

Before his release, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr NM Ramodike, had sent a letter to Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, asking for Mr Mokaba to be released.

Mr W Cronje, Mr Vlok's administrative secretary, had replied that his request was receiving urgent attention. — Sapa.

# Buthelezi

to meet <sup>(11A)</sup>

# Mandela

in bid to

<sup>APL TRIB 19/2/90</sup>  
heal rift

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet soon, a statement at the weekend by the Inkatha leader said.

The planned meeting has been confirmed by ANC sources.

Chief Buthelezi's statement comes after he and Mr Mandela clashed over the reasons for the UDF-Inkatha fighting in Natal.

Mr Mandela had said there was evidence that police were helping Inkatha against the UDF. Chief Buthelezi issued an angry denial on Friday, saying Mr Mandela had not contacted him "to check my side of the story".

The weekend statement says Mr Mandela did telephone Chief Buthelezi on Saturday.

"This was a courtesy I greatly appreciated," Chief Buthelezi said.

"We discussed the reports indicating conflict between us and while I do not want to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela, I say that I am entirely at ease and satisfied that there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there."

### Natal peace effort

When asked at a press conference last week whether he would be prepared to sit with Chief Buthelezi on the same platform and discuss the Natal violence, Mr Mandela said: "If the ANC decides I should be the man to negotiate with Chief Buthelezi, I'd do so with humility and without reservations."

Mr Mandela is due to address a rally in Durban on Sunday. Chief Buthelezi is unlikely to attend.

Mr Walter Sisulu and other key ANC leaders will visit the violence-torn areas of Natal three days before the rally in an effort to bring peace to the area, which has claimed 3 000 lives in the past three years and left more than 70 000 refugees.

The latest violence has been centered around an area called Table Mountain near Greytown. According to estimates 5 000 people have fled the area in the past week.

● The PAC has criticised the ANC's decision to "talk about talks" with the government, and described President F W de Klerk as a nazi.

"I want to say that this is not the time when you can compromise with the enemy. I say negotiation is nothing else but appeasement," said PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng on Saturday.

"You cannot appease De Klerk, he is a nazi," he told a cheering rally in Johannesburg, attended by about 250 supporters.

- Govt 'encouraged' by ANC response — Page 2
- Maggie alone on sanctions — Page 7

# Ex-detainee saves whites from mob

Staff Reporter

DAVEYTON, Benoni, police have confirmed details of an incident in which a former detainee saved the lives of two whites who were attacked in their car by youths celebrating the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Francois Esterhuizen, a farmer, of plot 28 Yzervarkfontein, Bronkhorstpruit, was in a car with his son André driving past Etwatwa township in Daveyton at 7.15pm on Sunday when they ran into trouble.

Crowds initially made way for the car, but then youths shouted that they were "boers" who should be killed.

Mr Esterhuizen said his son tried to drive on, but knocked down and injured four youths. The car was stoned, and youths climbed into the vehicle through the broken back window to try to haul the men out.

Attempts were also made to turn the car over. Father and son were both hit and cut by flying sticks and stones.

Mr Aubrey Nxhumalo, who was in detention for more than two years in 1985-87, and a couple of his friends rushed to help the beleaguered men.

Mr Esterhuizen said Mr Nxhumalo, who is in his 20s, brought the crowd under control and then asked young children to sit around the car so that the unruly youths could not easily get to it again.

He then hailed a minibus, ushered the two white men into it, and took them to safety at the home of Mrs Alinah Monykoseli, joint chairperson of Women for Peace. Mrs Monykoseli confirmed this yesterday.

Thabo Mbeki clarifies ANC view on economy

# Element of nationalisation at least part of a solution

South Africa's economy will need restructuring and it would be wrong to avoid considering an element of nationalisation as part of a possible solution, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said on SATV last night.

"We have to start off from the position that there is an objective to be obtained," said Mr Mbeki.

"That objective is, if we are using (SA President) FW de Klerk's words, an improvement in the quality of life for all the people ... then we've got to say well, how do you do it, and one of the first conclusions you would come to is that you need to ensure that the economy continues to grow ... because without that expanding wealth naturally you have a smaller cake to share out."

The SA economy had been built "in the main, with an eye

to securing the living standards of essentially the whites".

The system of bantustans had been to exclude, Mr Mbeki noted, "what was in official language 'a surplus population'. They were not needed by this economy.

"There ought not to be any 'surplus' people in South Africa.

"So the economy would need restructuring and I'm saying it would be wrong from the beginning to exclude consideration of the element of nationalisation or the element of public property," said Mr Mbeki.

## Peaceful means

He said the recent changes in South Africa had possibly opened the way to a political settlement. Peaceful means would be most preferable in getting rid of apartheid.

Mr Mbeki believed the majority of white South Africans were opposed to apartheid and blacks

and whites should therefore be able to unite in doing this.

Presumably then, "these people who have acted together to change the past will have sufficient confidence and trust in one another to build the future".

Whites had severe misapprehensions about the ANC — that it was a communist-dominated group which intended imposing itself on the people of South Africa in a one-party state and that it harboured feelings of vengeance against the white South Africans.

These misapprehensions needed to be addressed because a peaceful, political solution was otherwise unattainable.

"The ANC should not be demonised in the eyes of the people but I think equally that the National Party should not be demonised in the eyes of the people," said Mr Mbeki.

The angry reaction of the right wing at the reforms had

been expected but they were a small minority. "It is very important that this small minority is not given the right of veto.

"It should not be treated as a force that blocks the source of change."

What had inspired the ANC for years and still did so was the vision of a South Africa which belonged to all its people.

## Springbok team

"A South Africa in which it should be possible that we could all get together and watch a Springbok team whether all blacks or all whites. That we would all of us cheer and all feel that this is our thing.

"I think we as South Africans have an understanding that it's not in fact terribly difficult to establish that feeling of common nationhood. You know, to sit and eat pap and vleis together." That is South Africa, said the ANC leader. — Sapa.

# Bank subsidiary's affairs to be wound down

Staff Reporter

The affairs of Kolektor, Trust Bank's debt-collecting subsidiary, are to be wound down after the discovery of several irregularities which led to the dismissal of its managing director, Mr Vic Lilje, last week.

Trust Bank senior general manager Mr Jan Kuhn said yesterday that an internal investigation had been carried out

after rumours in the media.

"An internal investigation team from our audit division went into the matter thoroughly. They discovered several irregularities which we decided we could not live with, and therefore steps were taken."

Those measures had resulted in Mr Lilje's services being terminated and the suspension of two senior officials of Kolektor,

Mr Cornelius Mostert and Mr Hennie van der Kruit, who now face disciplinary hearings.

Mr Kuhn denied these events were related to the resignation last November of Kolektor chairman Mr Kobus Roetz.

(When asked for comment, Mr Roetz said he had signed an agreement not to talk to the media about his departure.)

Losses incurred were not sub-

stantial and would not affect Trust Bank's profitability.

So far no criminal charges were being investigated.

Mr Kuhn said the irregularities, which occurred in the Bedfordview area, concerned the process used by Kolektor to bring in doubtful accounts.

Kolektor would become dormant. Future work would be referred to the legal department.





**Poll shows 85,7%  
of blacks oppose  
disinvestment**

**GERALD REILLY**

PRETORIA — A majority of blacks polled in a nationwide survey — 85,7% — are opposed to disinvestment. *19/2/90*

The survey, carried out at the end of last year on behalf of the Bureau for Information by a private market research organisation, involved 4 500 blacks over the age of 18. Only 8,1% thought disinvestment was a "good thing".

Main reasons for the strong opposition to disinvestment were the certainty it would increase unemployment — 67,8% — and would aggravate existing poverty and starvation — 11,8%.

In the pursuit of "full equality" 97,5% of blacks supported the proposition that "a good black leader must talk to and meet the white government".

However, 18% thought talking to the white government would be a waste of time.

On violence 83,1% believed inter-racial violence would cause all to lose in the end.

On who should take part in the negotiations 95,3% said blacks, coloureds and Asians should choose the leaders to speak to government.

And asked if they could choose three things to improve the quality of the lives of blacks 33% opted for education, 27,8% for more jobs, 26,5% for equal pay, 22,3% for abolition of apartheid, 21,8% for more and improved housing, and 20,7% for better salaries.

The survey suggests most blacks are more interested in an improvement in their material welfare than in ideological issues.

*19/2/90*

# Coetzee to come home with ANC

**ALAN FINE**

LUSAKA — Former SAP Captain Dirk Coetzee has re-emerged into the open, and says he is waiting for the ANC to contact the Harms commission to arrange a hearing outside SA where he can give evidence.

Speaking at a Lusaka hotel on Saturday, Coetzee said he expected the contact to be made soon and he planned to return home with the rest of the ANC as soon as possible.

He was in the company of his former hit squad colleague David Tshikalange and said another, Vincent Malaza, was in town.

Coetzee praised the ANC for the treatment he had received at their hands, confirmed his membership of the organisation, and claimed he was accepted by the ANC leadership.

One ANC member, though, confessed to feeling a little queasy in dealing with people who had carried out assassinations against them.

Coetzee said he had been in Harare since Vrye Weekblad first published his allegations, and had moved to Lusaka on February 2.

Coetzee originally left SA on November 5, soon after death row prisoner Almond Nofomela first made allegations about the existence of police death squads.

After three days in Mauritius he

spent a week in London before returning to Harare.

He hoped the commission planned to investigate assassinations which had happened outside SA so as "to put the whole thing in perspective".

He said he was in possession of evidence which would refute the alleged efforts of the police, and those of former spy Craig Williamson in particular, to smear his name.

The evidence included the record of the internal investigation which led to his leaving the SAP and would also throw new light on the bombing of the ANC's London offices.

Coetzee said his decision to defect to the ANC had been criticised as an attempt to save his own skin once Nofomela's allegations emerged.

But, he said, it had actually been a personal risk as there was no guarantee the ANC would accept him.

The ANC, he said, was the only organisation with the intelligence capability able to assess his story, which they had done through their records of incidents.

Coetzee said that in September, before Nofomela's allegations became public, his former friend Paul van Dyk had told him that he (van Dyk) had warned Brig Schoon to "help Nofomela or there would be trouble".

Schoon had responded justice (Nofomela's execution) had to take its course and refused to intervene.



● COETZEE

# VIPs flock to meet Mandela

11A  
J. Swartz  
21/2/90

LEADERS of the more than four-million-strong Zion Christian Church are among the many dignitaries filling Nelson Mandela's hectic itinerary this week.

Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyane, head of the ZCC, a normally apolitical church, consulted Mandela at the ANC leader's Orlando West home at 1pm yesterday.

Mandela also met Transkeian Chief Mutirara and 15 other chiefs from 9am to 11am and was due at noon to meet Swedish envoy to South Africa, Mr Jan Lundvik.

A spokesman at the Swedish legation said the meeting was "natural" given Sweden's long-standing relationship with the ANC. The envoy was also interested in speaking to Mandela before the previously jailed leader travelled to Sweden to visit the ANC's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mandela's last public commitment yesterday



LEKHANYANE

was to grant press interviews from 2.30pm to 4pm at Orlando West.

Today from 9am to 10am he will meet Chief Tidimane Pilane from the Rustenburg area and five other chiefs. At 2pm he will meet veterans of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and from 3.30pm to 5pm member chiefs of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Tomorrow the ANC leader will host Mr Victor Sefora of the

Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and will meet unnamed Azapo representatives, the National Reception Committee said.

On Friday from 8am to 10pm Mandela will meet leaders of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party in separate meetings. - Sapa

(11A) ~~3/11/90~~

# ANC hopes to meet FW within weeks

B/D by 19/2/90

LUSAKA — THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) could send a delegation to SA to meet President F.W. de Klerk before the end of this month, NEC sources said at the weekend.

The ANC, which suggested the visit in a statement on Friday, expects government to respond after this week's Cabinet meeting. Should De Klerk welcome the idea of a meeting to discuss remaining obstacles to negotiations, the delegation would be ready to leave Lusaka in a matter of days.

"We want to keep this thing moving," an ANC source said.

Government ministers said they wanted to study the statement before commenting, but see it as a satisfactory initial response to get negotiations underway.

The ANC group, which would probably include one or two top leaders, is to form a joint delegation with internal leaders likely to include Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's initial general view was that since these were to be merely "talks about talks" they did not really call for participation by top-level leaders.

However, a source said: "We cannot afford not to send (acting president) Alfred Nzo on this trip."

The ANC did not want to give government the impression that it was not taking the process seriously.

The NEC delegation would probably also include members from the second-level leadership.

Another source said the group was not concerned that any of their number would be arrested. Nevertheless, it was unlikely the ANC would try to test the waters too vigorously by sending known Umkhonto

ALAN FINE

we Sizwe leaders at this stage.

By Saturday there were the beginnings of frantic activity at ANC headquarters in Lusaka as officials began making arrangements for carrying out the decisions announced by the NEC on Friday.

It appeared the serious work in Lusaka from today would revolve around devising positions on the matters to be discussed with De Klerk.

One NEC member said the ANC would continue to demand the lifting of the emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the other familiar points.

But the ANC would also be ready to offer something in exchange, for example, an undertaking that the ANC would do its

● See also Pages 3 & 10  
● Comment: Page 10

utmost to see that law and order is maintained, as exemplified in Mandela's appeals at rallies for order.

As far as political prisoners were concerned, the ANC, with its Frontline states allies, may be willing to investigate a prisoner swap involving SA agents.

The ANC, too, is said to be holding spies. Meanwhile, uncertainty regarding Mandela's date of arrival in Lusaka continues.

The most likely date according to local ANC sources in February 26.

Mandela's planned address to a Natal rally this weekend is seen fitting in with the NEC statement expressing concern at the Natal violence.

Further factors which may delay Mandela's arrival is that he is seen as almost a

□ To Page 2

## ANC visit

B/D by 19/2/90

(11A) ~~3/11/90~~

□ From Page 1

head of state, and diplomatic protocol involving not only the Zambian state but also other Frontline states would have to be followed, and Frontline heads of state have a meeting scheduled for February 27 in Lusaka.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that government sources said yesterday although senior cabinet ministers were still studying the ANC response they expected talks to take place soon.

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said government had taken note of the ANC's response and a formal reaction could be expected early this week.

Viljoen said in an earlier interview with Business Day that what government expected from the ANC was for the organisation to commit itself to pre-negotiations

about any further preconditions.

The ANC now having met this minimum requirement, the focus of talks will now shift to ending the state of emergency and clarifying the position of political prisoners and exiles.

While some ministers believe the emergency can be lifted soon, others, particularly Adriaan Vlok, believe it has to remain in place at least in Natal where violence has escalated in past weeks.

Government at this stage is still insisting that those prisoners and exiles who have committed serious common law crimes will have to be excluded from an amnesty.

Any relaxation of this stand will require either a suspension or preferably an abandoning of the armed struggle on the part of the ANC.

# Mandela, Buthelezi to discuss unrest

EDYTH BULBRING and  
CHARLENE SMITH

ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed to meet to discuss the Natal violence and other issues, and ANC leaders plan a tour of the province's trouble spots next week. 81029 1912/90

Walter Sisulu and other key ANC leaders will visit the violence torn areas of Natal on February 22 in an effort to bring peace to the area, which is seeing an average of three deaths a day and where unrest has left more than 70 000 refugees.

Sisulu said those in the ANC party would include Ahmed Kathrada, Wilton Mkwayi and Andrew Mlangeni.

Nelson Mandela would arrive in Durban on February 25 where he will address a rally at Durban's King Park.

The ANC leaders would be briefed by the inter-organisational committee, set up by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, on February 22 and would meet other individuals and the families affected by the violence. Sisulu said.

Mandela telephoned KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday to inform him of his arrival in Natal on February 25. Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday.

He said the conversation was cordial and the two agreed to meet when their schedules permitted although a date was not set.

Late last week Mandela accused the

□ To Page 2

## UNREST

912/90

SAP of "inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the UDF" in Natal. He condemned Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok for blaming the UDF for the violence without meeting them.

However, in a statement released on Friday Buthelezi accused Mandela of not checking out the facts either.

Buthelezi said recently residents of the strife-torn areas had come to him "deeply concerned by what they saw as SA Police involvement in the violence against them." He said he contacted Vlok who visited the area and blamed the UDF.

11111 828

□ From Page 1

Tribal chiefs in the Pietermaritzburg area met yesterday to discuss peace moves in the region. Late last week key leaders in Natal, including church leaders, were in Harare discussing the conflict with the ANC after failing to secure a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

A researcher for the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Natal, in Pietermaritzburg, which is monitoring the violence, said there were estimates that 5 000 people had fled the area in the past week. The Pietermaritzburg town council is sheltering 400 refugees.

KIN BENTLEY

## ANC scrutiny of EC meeting

LONDON — The ANC will be keeping a close watch on today's meeting in Dublin of the 12 EC foreign ministers, who will discuss sanctions against SA.

But by last night a dramatic telephone call which Nelson Mandela was expected to make to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on her sanctions policy had not been made, according to a Downing Street spokesman. *Blpaw 20/2/90*

It was clear yesterday that while a token gesture of encouragement could be made by the EC today, the other foreign ministers were unlikely to support Thatcher's intention to relax sanctions.

On Britain's independent television breakfast news yesterday Mandela indi-

cated his wish to talk sanctions with her.

"I have got a suggestion to make and if I get a clearance from the national executive, I will do that immediately," he said.

□ The key sanction likely to be lifted unilaterally by Britain following today's meeting is the voluntary ban on new investment, adopted in September 1986.

□ CHARLENE SMITH reports that Mandela is expected to travel to Lusaka to meet the ANC national executive committee on February 26 or 27, according to informed sources.

# Buthelezi denies (UA) Mandela conflict

Star 20/2/90  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected reports of conflict between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela and says he will be meeting the ANC leader for talks "as soon as possible".

Chief Buthelezi said he had already discussed newspaper reports about the purported conflict with Mr Mandela.

While he did not want to talk on behalf of Mr Mandela, "I say I am entirely at ease and satisfied there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there".

Chief Buthelezi added that the need for black unity of purpose "at this critical juncture of our history" was fully understood by Mr Mandela.

# Buthelezi denies (11A) Mandela conflict

5/10/20/2/40

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected reports of conflict between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela and says he will be meeting the ANC leader for talks "as soon as possible".

Chief Buthelezi said he had already discussed newspaper reports about the purported conflict with Mr Mandela.

While he did not want to talk on behalf of Mr Mandela, "I say I am entirely at ease and satisfied there still is the love and respect between us which has always been there".

Chief Buthelezi added that the need for black unity of purpose "at this critical juncture of our history" was fully understood by Mr Mandela.

# Azapo in Libya

A DELEGATION from Azapo, including its president, Nkosi Molala, and deputy president, Lybon Mabaso, is currently meeting senior officials of the Libyan Government, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, told Sapa yesterday. *Source 20/2/90*

"The delegation, which left at the weekend, is discussing the latest developments in South Africa and is also seeking further support from Libya for the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa."



# Senior ANC seven to fly with Mandela

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

SEVEN senior African National Congress members who were imprisoned with Mr Nelson Mandela on Robben Island will fly with him to Lusaka on Monday.

Next week's visit for talks with ANC leaders will be Mr Mandela's first journey out of South Africa since his release from jail.

From Zambia he will fly to Sweden for his first meeting in more than 27 years with ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is being treated for a stroke.

The group bound for Lusaka with Mr Mandela are Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and his wife Dideka, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and his wife Caroline, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu said today only Mr Kathrada would go to Sweden with Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie. The rest would return home.

## POP CONCERT

Meanwhile The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that a concert to celebrate Mr Mandela's release is to be staged by top US and British pop stars later this year.

Stars who have agreed to appear include Stevie Wonder, Bruce Springsteen, Peter Gabriel and Simple Minds.

Organisers said they hoped Mr Mandela would be able to attend the all-day celebration, unlike last year's concert which celebrated his 70th birthday and demanded his freedom.

Full details would be announced later, a spokesman said. "There are still loose ends to tie up."

● Copies of Mandela — The Road to Freedom, the exclusive four-part special section on Nelson Mandela published last week, can be bought at the front counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, at 60c for each special section.



Mr Nelson Mandela with his new passport.

## DP planning talks with PAC exiles

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party is planning to meet exiled members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Dar es Salaam as a follow-up to the first contact made with the organisation in Soweto last week.

DP spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the Tanzania meeting, and others planned with the PAC inside the country, formed part of the DP's contribution towards a normalised political climate by obtaining first-hand information about the political actors.

### REMAINED MYSTERY

"The PAC, more than the ANC, has remained a mystery to many South Africans, particularly whites, because of its banning and its relatively low profile within the country."

Mr Gastrow said the first contact with the PAC was constructive and informative.

The PAC delegation, led by its president Mr Zeph Mothoeng, outlined its policies, which debunked some of the perceptions the DP held of the organisation.

# Senior ANC seven to fly with Mandela

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

SEVEN senior African National Congress members who were imprisoned with Mr Nelson Mandela on Robben Island will fly with him to Lusaka on Monday.

Next week's visit for talks with ANC leaders will be Mr Mandela's first journey out of South Africa since his release from jail.

From Zambia he will fly to Sweden for his first meeting in more than 27 years with ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is being treated for a stroke.

The group bound for Lusaka with Mr Mandela are Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and his wife Dideka, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Mntsoedi and his wife Caroline, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu said today only Mr Kathrada would go to Sweden with Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie. The rest would return home.

## POP CONCERT

Meanwhile The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that a concert to celebrate Mr Mandela's release is to be staged by top US and British pop stars later this year.

Stars who have agreed to appear include Stevie Wonder, Bruce Springsteen, Peter Gabriel and Simple Minds.

Organisers said they hoped Mr Mandela would be able to attend the all-day celebration, unlike last year's concert which celebrated his 70th birthday and demanded his freedom.

Full details would be announced later, a spokesman said. "There are still loose ends to tie up."

● Copies of Mandela — The Road to Freedom, the exclusive four-part special section on Nelson Mandela published last week, can be bought at the front counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, at 60c for each special section.



Mr Nelson Mandela with his new passport.

## DP planning talks with PAC exiles

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party is planning to meet exiled members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Dar es Salaam as a follow-up to the first contact made with the organisation in Soweto last week.

DP spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the Tanzania meeting, and others planned with the PAC inside the country, formed part of the DP's contribution towards a normalised political climate by obtaining first-hand information about the political actors.

### REMAINED MYSTERY

"The PAC, more than the ANC, has remained a mystery to many South Africans, particularly whites, because of its banning and its relatively low profile within the country."

Mr Gastrow said the first contact with the PAC was constructive and informative.

The PAC delegation, led by its president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, outlined its policies, which debunked some of the perceptions the DP held of the organisation.

11 A

# A Prayer for Africa

**STRONG emotions are** caused by the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter, discusses the effect of this powerful prayer for Africa.

**TO** the uninitiated, the sight of a sea of clenched fists pointing skywards as hundreds of people joined the just-freed Nelson Mandela in singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika on the Grand Parade recently must have painted a grim picture.

The fact that God Bless Africa, regarded by many as the alternative national anthem to Die Stem, was sung in Xhosa must have reinforced this view, added to the angst and insecurity felt in the hearts of many when the hymn was followed by the ominous sounding chant of Amanda Ngawethu (Power is Ours) and more clenched fists.

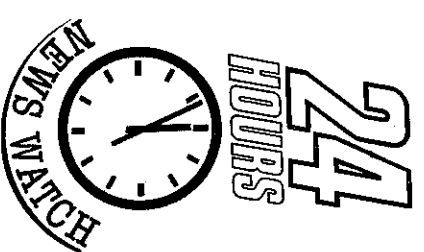
The walkout of Brigadier A K de Jager, OC Western Province Command, and Brigadier Theo de Munnik, OC Southern Air Command, from the annual mayoral church service on Sunday has put the spotlight on this often-misunderstood hymn.

But relax. The end is not in sight and neither does this beautiful, soul-stirring hymn call up the spirits of darkest Africa to destroy whites. It is a prayer asking God to bless Africa, penned by Enoch Sontonga, a teacher at a Methodist Mission school, and was first sung, publicly, in 1899.

## Anthem

It was popularised by the choir of the Ohlange Institute, who sang it at the inaugural meeting of the South African Native Congress in 1912.

In 1925 the African National Congress officially adopted the hymn to be sung as a closing anthem at their meetings. Since then Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika has ended thousands of "struggle" meetings and has been sung at "political" funerals, growing into the national anthem of the struggle for a new, just and democratic South Africa.



Mainly sung by activists before Soweto exploded in 1976, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika received a shot in the arm when Soweto students took a stand on June 16 of that year against being forced to learn Afrikaans.

## Defiance

Since then it has not looked back. Today it is the National Anthem in struggle circles, sung in Lusaka, London, Soweto, Guguletu, East London and wherever South Africans, mainly black, driven into exile by apartheid meet.

Sadly, the hymn which has become the national anthem of African countries ranging from Kenya and Tanzania to the independent homelands of Transkei and Ciskei, has become of this taken on different meanings in the country of its origin.

For many born on the wrong side of the colour line it represents defiance and hope of replacing Die Stem with a new national anthem.

Yet the rendition of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika after anti-



Rev Herbert Brand ... 'Cause for reconciliation'

apartheid meetings conjures up visions of fear, insecurity, despair, black domination and revolution to the uninitiated.

Not to Ned Geretornerde Church minister the Rev Herbert Brand, who proposed at the last circuit meeting of the largest Afrikaner church in September that Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika be considered for inclusion in the church's hymn book.

"I strongly support using Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. It would be an excellent thing if the NG Church started using it or getting people to understand it... this will promote greater unity and serve as a cause for reconciliation."

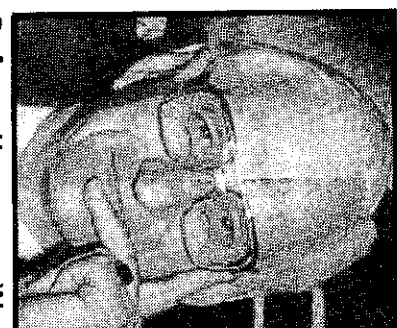
## 'Spiritual'

Mr Brand, minister at St Stephen's Church in Cape Town, strongly believes that Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika is "an excellent spiritual hymn".

Professor Johan Heyns, Moderator of the NG Church, says he has no problems with the Xhosa hymn.

"There is no reason for fear or anxiety because it is a hymn even if it's not sung in English or Afrikaans. It is a hymn and not heresy."

Professor P J Robinson, head of the Department of Missiology at the University of the Western Cape, said he



Professor Heyns ... 'No reason for fear or anxiety'

understood white fears about Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

"However, it is a prayer. I don't think people should be upset by a prayer. Their fears stem from the context in which the hymn is sung. Having worked in black communities, I understand Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika."

Fear, however, is not confined to whites. The Rev Llewelyn MacMaster, of the NG Mission Church in Bishop Lavis, said some members of his congregation feared the hymn and what they thought it represented.

## Disappear

"This fear is mainly because it is sung in Xhosa and because the hymn is associated with political meetings. People cannot understand that you can pray to God at political meetings. These fears will disappear as people understand the meaning of the hymn."

Mr Tlan van der Merwe, the Democratic Party MP for Green Point, is one of a small group of politicians who has sung Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

He believes that Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika must be accepted as a hymn and that many people regard it as a national anthem.

"It is a form of prayer and it should be treated as such. People should keep a cool head about this sort of issue. One of the most short-



Mr Tlan van der Merwe ... 'It is a form of prayer'

sighted things South Africans can do is to allow themselves to be drawn into an acrimonious debate on symbols of nationhood such as a national flag or anthem."

Catholic priest Peter-John Pearson said it was "basically an expression of goodwill of the kind of common human values that promote a more authentic humanity, that we are not frightened in pursuing them."

## 'Blessing'

"It asks for God's blessing. Nobody can possibly not want the common good."

Mr Mazwi Tisani said from Bishops court, official home of the Archbishop of Cape Town, that Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika had been included in the Anglican Church's hymn book. "It is a hymn and not a battle cry... It is a prayer for Africa."

National president of the Black Sash Mrs Mary Burton said: "We are a tragically divided society and it is inevitable that the symbols and loyalties of one sector are alien to another."

"Only when we begin the process of building a united country can we expect that all its citizens will share enough of a common bond and commitment to be able to sing one national anthem and to respect other symbols of their identification with one treasured nationality."

## Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika

The following is an English translation of the African hymn Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. It can only be literal and consequently loses the poetic and melancholy rhythm.

Lord, Bless Africa  
Let us horn be raised,  
Hear Thou our prayers  
And bless us.

Descend, Oh Holy Spirit,  
Bless our Chiefs;  
May they remember their Creator,  
Fear Him and revere Him,  
That He may bless them.

Bless the public men,  
Bless also the youth  
Bless the wives  
And also all young women

Bless the ministers  
Of all the churches of this land;  
Endure them with Thy Spirit  
And bless them.

Bless agriculture and stock raising,  
Banish all famine and disease;  
Fill the land with good health  
And bless it.

Bless our efforts  
Of union and self- upliftment,  
Of education and understanding  
And bless them.

Lord, Bless Africa,  
Blot out all our wickedness  
And its transgressions and sins  
And bless it.

The hymn was written by Enoch Sontonga, a teacher at a Methodist Mission school and was first sung, publicly, in 1899.

It was popularised by the choir of the Ohlange Institute, who sang it at the inaugural meeting of the South African Native Congress in 1912. In 1925 the African National Congress officially adopted the hymn to be sung as a closing anthem at their meetings.

11A

**THE STARS  
WILL SHINE  
BRIGHTER  
TONIGHT . . .  
TOMORROW,  
A BRILLIANT  
FUTURE  
BECKONS.**



# Winnie told me to hide ~~ex~~ member of football club

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A former member of the Mandela United Football Club was encouraged to go into hiding by Mrs Winnie Mandela after he claimed her daughter's lover, Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, had shot and killed a member of the football club, the Rand Supreme Court has heard.

Mr Sithole, the father of Miss Zinzi Mandela's child, was found hanged in a shower at John Vorster Square police station on January 30.

Yesterday Mr Lerotodi Andrew Ikaneng, 23, one of four accused of killing a former club member, gave evidence in his own defence. He told Mr Justice R A Solomon and two assessors that Mrs Mandela told him she would find a hiding place for him as police would want to question him about the death of the club member, Mr Maxwell Madonda who was known as Tole.

She told him Tole had been killed because he had given evidence in court.

Mr Ikaneng, Mr Isaac Mazibuko, 22, Mr Sandilo Blanket, 22, and Mr Sibusiso Chili, 25, have pleaded not guilty to murdering Mr Madonda, who was allegedly beaten to death in Orlando West on February 13 1989.

Three other accused, Mrs Dudu Chili, 47, her son Mr Mpika Chili, 22, and Mr Moses Nhlantla Blanket, 18, were last week acquitted of murdering Mr Madonda.

Mr Ikaneng testified yesterday he had joined the football club in 1986 and lived in Mrs Mandela's house in Orlando West. After an argument with Mr Sithole and the death of Tole he had left the club.

He said he had been arrested and detained for most of 1987. On his release he returned to Mrs Mandela's home. He left in 1988 and was later called an "informer" by Mrs Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, at a meeting of a "disciplinary committee" at the Mandela home in Dube.

He said the meeting appeared to have been led by Mr Sithole.

Mr Ikaneng testified Mrs Mandela had urged him to go into hiding after Tole was killed. He had seen Mr Sithole carrying an AK47 rifle.

(Proceeding).

# ANC to monitor EC meet

CAT  
Trip  
20/2/90  
114

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC will keep a close watch on today's meeting in Dublin of the 12 European Community foreign ministers, who will discuss EC sanctions against South Africa.

By last night a telephone call which Mr Nelson Mandela was expected to make to Mrs Margaret Thatcher on Britain's sanctions policy had not been made, according to a Downing Street spokesman.

All the ministers, apart from Britain's, are unlikely to support Mrs Thatcher's intention to relax sanctions.

On Britain's Independent TV news yesterday, Mr Mandela indicated his desire to discuss sanctions with Mrs Thatcher.

"I have got a suggestion to make and if I get a clearance from the national executive, I will do that immediately. I would like to express my views on this question directly to her," he said.

Mr Mandela declined to discuss what the proposal was, but it seems likely he is seeking some way of avoiding a head-on confrontation with Mrs Thatcher, which would make a future meeting difficult.

Acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo, interviewed on BBC TV last night, said he did not think Mrs Thatcher would change her stance, saying she had never backed sanctions. "It seems the lines are drawn very clearly. There is no middle ground."

The ANC's chief London representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, was part of a delegation from the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee which yesterday met Mr Charles Haughey, the Irish prime minister and chairman of today's meeting of the EC's Council of Ministers.

He will stay on in Dublin until after the meeting, according to the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.

● The key sanction likely to be lifted unilaterally by Britain is the voluntary ban on new investment, adopted in September 1986.

The lifting of voluntary bans on promoting tourism, as well as scientific, academic and cultural links are also likely to be formally announced by Britain after the government has fulfilled its legal obligation to consult its EC partners.

The European Heads of Government agreed last year that "profound and irreversible change" had to be obtained before the community would consider any relaxation of sanctions and other measures.

However, Mrs Thatcher's approach has been that the South Africa government should be rewarded "step-by-step" for changes it makes.

# Uitenhage ceasefire

Sowetan 20/2/90

## Sowetan Correspondent

A CEASEFIRE has been agreed to in Uitenhage following talks between industrialists, the Pan Africanists and the United Democratic Front on Friday after peace calls from Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

Negotiations for a long-term peace accord start early this week.

Business was at a standstill last week when heavy fighting, in which at least 19 people were killed and scores of houses set alight or damaged, led to workers joining a Cosatu stay-away that demanded immediate Government action on the township conflict.

The Midland Chamber of Industries (MCI) stepped in as a mediator on Thursday.

Pan Africanists accepted the



POPO MOLEFE

proposals of Uitenhage industrialists, while the UDF waited until after a report-back rally on Friday, addressed by its secretary-general Mr Popo Molefe and the ANC's Mr Raymond Mhlaba, before going back to the chamber for further talks.

The police public relations division in Pretoria reported no inci-

dents of violence in Uitenhage in weekend unrest reports. The situation was quiet yesterday as workers streamed back to major employers like Volkswagen.

After Friday's meeting, MCI president Mr Brian Rayner said the chamber, represented by the senior industrialists with factories in Uitenhage, had held separate meetings with both sides "in an attempt to facilitate a restoration of peace and stability in Kwanobuhle".

Molefe said it was the democratic right of Ama-Afrika to organise and it was wrong of UDF-affiliated workers to demand that Ama-Afrika members be dismissed from their places of employment. Such an attitude was contrary to the guiding UDF principle of democracy, he said. All had a right to propagate their views.

Peace talks between the UDF and Ama-Afrika began at an undisclosed venue in Uitenhage yesterday.



ADRIAAN VLOK

is meeting senior officials of the Libyan govern-  
ment, a spokesman said yesterday.

*Cmt Toms 20/2/90 (11)*  
**Mangope says no to ANC**

MMABATHO. — President Lucas Mangope yes-  
terday said Bophuthatswana would never be re-  
incorporated into South Africa and said the  
ANC could not be allowed to mobilise there.



11A

# Cape Town erupts into unruly chaos

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday was not the dignified affair government requested it to be — Mandela supporters had waited too long to contain their delight at seeing him free after 27 years in prison and Cape Town erupted. *8/10am 12/7/90*

At Victor Verster prison outside Paarl thousands of supporters walked about four kilometres past police blockades to join Press crews who had been positioning themselves since early in the morning.

MDM marshalls and the National Reception Committee worked hard at disciplining the crowds of supporters and Press crews.

By about 3pm — when Mandela was supposed to be released — a fairly disciplined crowd which had been formed by MDM marshalls in a semi-circle around the gates to the prison, were softly chanting freedom songs and waving ANC flags.

The crowds became more excited as cavalcades, friends, associates and legal advisers of the Mandela family entered the prison gates.

## Marshalls

Shortly before 4pm a police cavalcade moved slowly towards the entrance which was lined on both sides by police. Police, who had previously formed a blockade across the entrance, moved to the side.

The crowd shouted "it's him ... it's him", broke through the human chain which the marshalls had formed and surged towards the oncoming cars.

At 4.16pm Mandela, who was to have walked from his car to the entrance to greet the crowds, was seen walking next to Winnie. He punched the air firmly with his fist as he marched towards the oncoming masses.

They were quickly ushered back into the waiting car and whisked off on the N2 highway towards more welcoming crowds in Cape Town.

Chaos ensued when part of the crowd pushed forward and a melee broke out when photographers and TV cameramen rushed forward to film Mandela. MDM marshalls tried to control the crowd but did not succeed.

The crowd surrounded the small car Mandela was in and jubilant people bearing ANC flags lined the road leading away from Victor Verster.

While driving away, Mandela's car collided with a kombi parked near the prison gate but it was not seriously damaged and the cavalcade left for Cape Town.

Traffic on the N1 and N2 highways came to a near standstill as crowds who had lined the highways waiting for the cavalcade, ran into the traffic shouting "Viva Mandela. Viva ANC".

On the N1 near Kraaifontein hundreds of people of all races lined the side of the road and at one stage the road was blocked by people.

# Mandela wants urgent talks with Thatcher

11A  
Soweto  
20/2/90  
D

LONDON - ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he urgently wanted to make a direct telephone call to British Premier Margaret Thatcher, to discuss her attitude to sanctions against South Africa.

"I have got a suggestion to make," he said in a live satellite television interview from his Soweto home.

Mandela said he would first consult the ANC National Executive Committee as well as the National Reception Committee on this, to get their clearance, and declined to give details of what he would tell Thatcher.

## Partial

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd is due to put Thatcher's case for a partial lifting of sanctions against South Africa when European Community ministers meet in Dublin today.

The 11 other EC countries have reacted more cautiously with a "wait and see" attitude to the unbanning of the ANC and Mandela's release, and Thatcher's moves to



MANDELA

lift some sanctions, including that against new investment in South Africa, has enraged anti-apartheid campaigners.

Reiterating the demand that sanctions should remain, the ANC leader said "as soon as the Government creates conditions for negotiations we will seize that with both hands . . . we are an organisation of peace."

Commenting on Thatcher's views that President F W de Klerk's Government needed encouragement now from



THATCHER

the international community, Mandela said:

"We are well aware of the problems Mr de Klerk may be facing, and we will try to make things as easy as possible." The ANC, he said, had been "very considerate" so far, and it had to be recognised that the precondition of "total dismantling of apartheid" had been dropped.

"This was removed so that he (De Klerk) could meet our demands without the necessity of first going to Parliament," he said.

## 'Police not in favour of Inkatha'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The police have on a number of occasions been attacked by members of Inkatha, and were not in any way biased in favour of that organisation, a member of the riot unit said in papers before the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

Lieutenant Daniel Meyer was replying to allegations of complicity with Inkatha, which were made by Mpumalanga residents in support of an urgent interdict calling on the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police to show why the police should not be restrained from assisting in, permitting, or encouraging any unlawful attack on Mrs Rebecca Gumede and Miss Mano Cebekhulu or their families.

Mrs Gumede described in her affidavit how on November 27 a group of Inkatha supporters armed with "weapons of all shapes and kinds" had looted homes while police stood by.

Mr Roy Ainslie of the Democratic Party described in a supporting affidavit how he had visited the area on November 28 and seen a group of about a hundred people swarming over a field and into nearby houses.

He saw an SAP vehicle arrive but the police appeared to take no action against the gangs.

In his opposing affidavit, Lieutenant Meyer denied any unlawful conduct on the part of any member of the SAP, and denied that they stood by and did nothing to prevent any alleged looting. He also denied that police presence in the township was contributing to the undermining of law and order.

The case was adjourned by consent to March 26.

## n SA news bureau

he Australian Broadcasting Corporation to capitalise on the changing South Africa and plans to open a almost immediately. Mr David director, is expected to meet the ssador, Mr David Tothill, this t Mr Hill said wanted the bureau Johannesburg, and he hoped it ickly as possible. — The Star's

## d to SABS board

ave been appointed to the board Bureau of Standards. They are . deputy director general (indus- at of Trade and Industry, and Dr

# Lusaka visit scheduled for Monday

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela will visit Lusaka next Monday to meet ANC colleagues he has not seen for 27 years, a source close to the Mandela family disclosed yesterday.

The source said Mr Mandela would leave for ANC headquarters in Lusaka after addressing rallies at the Kings Park Stadium, Durban, and in Bloemfontein on Sunday.

He would not disclose further details about Mr Mandela's trip to Lusaka.

After interviews and photographic sessions with the foreign media at his Orlando West home yesterday he met a West German diplomatic representative, representatives of the American civil rights movement and singer Harry Belafonte.

Today he is due to meet chiefs from the Transkei, host a group of Swedish diplomats, and also meet Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the Zion Christian Church. This will be followed by interviews with the local press.

STAK 20/2/90 (11A)

# I've an urgent message for Thatcher — ANC leader

STAK 20/2/90 (11A)

LONDON — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he wanted to make an urgent direct telephone call to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to discuss her attitude to sanctions against South Africa.

"I have got a suggestion to make," he said in a live satellite television interview from his home in Soweto.

He would first consult the ANC national executive committee to get their clearance. He declined to give details.

He said such matters had to be discussed directly with her, and not via the mass media.

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd is due to put Mrs Thatcher's case for a partial lifting of sanctions when European Community ministers meet in Dublin today.

The 11 other EC countries have reacted more cautiously with a wait-and-see attitude to the unbanning of the ANC and Mr Mandela's release, and Mrs Thatcher's moves to lift some sanctions, which have enraged

anti-apartheid campaigners.

One of the first things Mr Mandela said on his release more than a week ago was that sanctions had to remain.

Reiterating this demand in the live interview, he said: "As soon as the Government creates conditions for negotiations, we will seize that with both hands. We are an organisation of peace."

Asked about today's EC Foreign Ministers' meeting, he said: "My intention is to phone and speak to Mrs Thatcher ... we regard the attitude of the British government on sanctions as of primary importance."

"I am going to consult the executive committee in Lusaka as well as the National Reception Committee in Johannesburg about communicating urgently with Mrs Thatcher, because I have a suggestion to make."

Commenting on her views that President de Klerk's Gov-

ernment needed encouragement now from the international community to move farther away from apartheid and to bolster it against a white rightwing backlash, Mr Mandela said:

"We are well aware of the problems Mr de Klerk may be facing, and we will try to make things as easy as possible."

## Meet demands

It was imperative, however, that Mr de Klerk "must first comply with the preconditions (for negotiation) we have set out".

The ANC had been "very considerate" so far, he said, and it had to be recognised that the precondition of the total dismantling of apartheid had been dropped.

"This was removed so that he (Mr de Klerk) could meet our demands without the necessity of first going to Parliament. — Sapa.

## Mandela passports approved

Applications for passports for the ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie have been approved.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said the Mandelas had applied for passports yesterday morning.

Mr Mandela indicated last week he wanted to visit the ANC leadership in Lusaka, as well as the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in Sweden from a stroke. Mr Mandela has also accepted an invitation to visit Canada. — Sapa.

# Lusaka visit scheduled for Monday

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela will visit Lusaka next Monday to meet ANC colleagues he has not seen for 27 years, a source close to the Mandela family disclosed yesterday.

The source said Mr Mandela would leave for ANC headquarters in Lusaka after addressing rallies at the Kings Park Stadium, Durban, and in Bloemfontein on Sunday.

He would not disclose further details about Mr Mandela's trip to Lusaka.

After interviews and photographic sessions with the foreign media at his Orlando West home yesterday he met a West German diplomatic representative, representatives of the American civil rights movement and singer Harry Belafonte.

Today he is due to meet chiefs from the Transkei, host a group of Swedish diplomats, and also meet Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the Zion Christian Church. This will be followed by interviews with the local press.

SPAK 20/1/90  
(1/9)

## 'Police not in favour of Inkatha'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The police have on a number of occasions been attacked by members of Inkatha, and were not in any way biased in favour of that organisation, a member of the riot unit said in papers before the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

Lieutenant Daniel Meyer was replying to allegations of complicity with Inkatha, which were made by Mpumalanga residents in support of an urgent interdict calling on the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police to show why the police should not be restrained from assisting in, permitting, or encouraging any unlawful attack on Mrs Rebecca Gumede and Miss Mano Cebekhulu or their families.

Mrs Gumede described in her affidavit how on November 27 a group of Inkatha supporters armed with "weapons of all shapes and kinds" had looted homes while police stood by.

Mr Roy Ainslie of the Democratic Party described in a supporting affidavit how he had visited the area on November 28 and seen a group of about a hundred people swarming over a field and into nearby houses.

He saw an SAP vehicle arrive but the police appeared to take no action against the gangs.

In his opposing affidavit, Lieutenant Meyer denied any unlawful conduct on the part of any member of the SAP, and denied that they stood by and did nothing to prevent any alleged looting. He also denied that police presence in the township was contributing to the undermining of law and order.

The case was adjourned by consent to March 26.

# Disapproval of nationalisation

Star 21/2/90 (11A)

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the financial rand have clearly signalled disapproval of Nelson Mandela's statements on nationalisation and the continuation of the armed struggle, says San-corp chief executive Marius Daling.

Mr Daling told the conference that although the threat of nationalisation was an important deterrent for investment, it certainly was not a foregone conclusion that large parts of the SA economy would be nationalised.

He pointed out that President de Klerk was committed to a market orientated economy. Surveys among blacks show too that the majority were also committed to such an economy, and lately even in ANC circles, Joe Slovo, head of the SA Communist Party said that there may be better methods than nationalisation for the state to achieve its aims.

"ANC spokesman for foreign affairs

Thabo Mbeki also made a public statement that the creation of wealth is a prerequisite for achieving a better quality of life for all in SA."

In Mr Mbeki's view, nationalisation was not yet accepted as the best route, although it could not at this stage be removed from negotiating table.

Mr Daling said that those who believed that SA offered attractive investment opportunities should enter the debate and become involved.

Commenting on the economy, he said that it was in a cyclical downturn which would probably last for at least another 12 to 18 months before there was any real improvement.

"Looking beyond this inevitable short-term downturn, I believe that the conditions for a better growth rate during the Nineties than in the Eighties are falling into place."— Sapa.

# Afrikaner rights to be protected in the new SA, says Kathrada

DANIEL FELDMAN

ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday the rights of Afrikaners would be protected in the new SA.

Addressing more than 1 000 students at Wits University, Kathrada said the language, religion, and cultural rights of all people would be fully protected, including those of Afrikaners.

"All of SA's people must enjoy full democratic rights."

He said the ANC refused to advocate majority rule by any racial group, including black majority rule. It had stood for non-racialism even at the risk of alienating its own people, as occurred when the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, he said.

Kathrada said that wrong ideas about the ANC had circulated for decades in the media, primarily due to the fact that its members could not be quoted.

He added that the ANC had always wanted a peaceful solution to SA's problems. It acted from its inception in 1912 in non-violent ways, and only resorted to a violent struggle when all other means had failed.

He said the ANC was still "totally committed to a political solution, but a proper climate for fruitful dialogue" must first be established.

Regarding the issue of education,

Kathrada said it was a complete lie that the ANC had ever called for "liberation before education".

A more accurate view of the ANC would be "liberation through education", he said.

But the ANC also believed that syllabuses must not reflect only Euro-centric views, but the history of all the people of SA.

While he welcomed and appreciated the steps that President F.W. de Klerk had made, Kathrada called on him "for more action and less words", because there were only a "few cracks in the apartheid wall".

He said only one of the six Harare Declaration points had been met so far, and though the NP spoke of reform, it was still wed to group rights.

"It has only white interest and white privilege at heart," he said.

To help create change, Kathrada called on the students to involve themselves in the historic events that were occurring in the country.

Kathrada joined the SACP at the age of 14, and was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial. He was released in October 1989.



B/DAY 21/2/90.

11A (circled) (circled) (circled)



Freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela signs autographs for schoolchildren who came to his Soweto home to meet him yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

## 'Mandela-Benz' under consideration

THE management of Mercedes-Benz SA has reacted to conflicting reports about a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle for Nelson Mandela.

In a statement released yesterday the company said it was important to note that the request to build a Mercedes-Benz for Mandela came from the workers who indicated that this would show their admiration and respect for him as their leader.

"Management responded to this request by acknowledging the pride and esteem in which the majority of its workers hold Nelson Mandela and was accordingly prepared to agree to a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle being built for him to mark the important occasion. The questions of whether Mandela

### Business Day Reporter

would accept a Mercedes Benz motor vehicle, the type, the model and how the motor vehicle was to be paid for were still matters under consideration, the statement said.

Numsa shop stewards, representing the workers, had undertaken to revert to management in this regard.

The Mercedes-Benz statement confirmed that the initial discussions had been cordial and reports in certain newspapers indicating that there was a dispute as to who would foot the bill and also that workers would not go to work until the company agreed to provide Mandela with a car for his personal use, were not correct.

A  
in  
ANC  
terd  
prot  
-At  
at W  
lang  
of a  
inch  
"I  
dem  
H  
maj  
clud  
stoc  
of a  
whi  
AN  
E  
the  
the  
its  
I  
wa  
ler  
in  
to  
m  
co  
pr  
m

... troubles to 28%



# 27 years' jail 'traagic, but rewarding'

**The Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Twenty-seven years in jail were "a very tragic experience", but in many ways rewarding.

This was Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday speaking out for the first time about his years in jail and what it is like now.

He said it gave him time to reflect on his life, political activities and commitments.

In his Orlando West lounge, filled with bouquets, a relaxed Mr Mandela answered ques-

tions about his experiences.

He has not been in a time warp. Especially during his last five years behind bars, he had the opportunity to catch up on political developments.

He read a variety of newspapers — English and Afrikaans, conventional and alternative. He had a radio and a TV set.

"I had time from morning to sunset to study the news. Of course, when I was negotiating with the government about the release of political prisoners and trying to set up a meeting

with the ANC it became difficult to read as much as before.

"These two issues kept me very busy. Every week, I had a meeting with government officials and some times with Ministers."

Johannesburg has changed much, he says.

"Highways, new buildings, even new thoughts. The facilities for various population groups to come together; de-segregated hotels, restaurants and travel facilities."

Sadly, the injustices he fought all his life still remain.

The critical lack of houses, inferior education, insufficient medical services. While the police have concentrated on preventing political activities, criminals have gone on the rampage.

"I see many changes, some of which are good, but the harrowing problems which have faced us all these years are still there," he says.

He dismisses observations

from psychologists that adapting to family life could be difficult after the long separation.

"I read that article. That might be true of whites, but not in my culture. According to our customs, you marry the village and not the human being."

He saw his wife, Winnie, regularly during his imprisonment.

"She has been my main support and she has done wonderful work. There is nothing that pleases me more than to be at

home with her, give her dignity, security, and help her with various things in the house."

He does not regard himself as the Messiah who will solve the country's problems.

"That perception has not worried me. I was produced by the struggle. I am part of a team of very capable, experienced leaders.

"I am not overawed at all because this is not a task that can be fulfilled by a single person. I will make my contribution as part of a very successful team."

Will he accept the luxurious Mercedes Benz the company's workers have offered to build him? And will such offers not cause friction between him and his people?

"Not at all. You must remember this is a gift from the workers themselves. It would be very difficult for me to refuse an offer from the workers. But the decision is not mine; it is a decision of the organisation. They will decide whether I accept it."

# Congratulations, Comrade Mandela

DEAR Comrade Nelson Mandela,

I want to thank you for inviting me to your house on Saturday and for your positive remarks regarding the role played by *Sowetan* in the struggle.

You also commended its stance in serving all political interest groups, in downplaying our differences and highlighting areas of common concern.

The hour I spent with you was most rewarding and I hope the whole nation will find your wisdom equally rewarding.

I am writing this

letter to congratulate you for your comments in your homecoming speech at Soccer City, particularly with regard to education.

My colleagues and I have been particularly disturbed by the systematic collapse of family structures that have in yesteryears produced leaders of your calibre, the calibre of Sobukwe and Biko in our community.

The collapse of these structures has lost us the respect of our children. Some of us have, in a somewhat cowardly fashion, surrendered part of our parental duties

to our children who, because of their lack of foresight and maturity, have at times only facilitated the demise of discipline in our community. This has led, in some cases, to a counter-revolutionary type of anarchy.

## Drugs

As a result, during school hours, some of our children can still be seen on street corners, in town or in shebeens, dressed in school uniform. If they go to school at all, they don't learn.

The use of dagga and drugs have be-

come fashionable. Teachers are assaulted, sworn at and their authority is flouted almost every day.

Some children are serious about their education. But they are prevented from learning by those who think the struggle is a game and who seem to derive a lot of pleasure from boycotting classes.

Our children have access to all kinds of weapons including guns, pangas and knives, which are used at random within and outside the classroom.

At the slightest suggestion of classroom discomfort, even if unrelated to education, classes are boycotted. These boycotts have at times lost their effectiveness as a tactic for drawing the authorities' attention to the grievances of pupils.

## Apartheid

A lot of precious time has been wasted, at times, on activities

that do not advance our struggle. Slogans such as "liberation first and education later" were at one stage given a place on the agenda of our struggle.

This does not necessarily apply to all children. I am also fully aware that all these actions are manifestations of a greater problem created by apartheid education itself.

But problems are to be solved and not perpetuated. Halting the process of learning by leaving the classroom to roam the streets and fight in shebeens is definitely not the best way to change our education system.

I appreciate the efforts of some educational, religious and other organisations to get our children back to school.

But we aren't courageous and assertive enough to assume our parental and leadership role. We often say what we think the children

## Sam's NOTEBOOK



By SAM MABE

want to hear - things that have the potential to draw applause at public meetings.

## Flinched

As you said, a number of criminal acts have been committed in the streets in the name of the struggle. I have maintained that leaders who failed to condemn such acts were as guilty as the people who perpetrated them. My colleagues and I have tried to intervene. And we lost a few friends among some leaders. But we have not flinched. We have said that schools are sites of struggle and that in the process of creating a new society, we need to acquire control of structures of power.

Some structures have to be discredited and isolated. But others, such as schools - for which we cannot create sufficient and effective parallels - have to be taken over, transformed and used to advance our cause.

We have said that every institution has to be used as an institution of learning so that education can be broad-based and not confined to the conventional school only.

That is why I was delighted to hear you talk about the infrastructure we cannot

allow to go to waste. After all, the schools, though built by a Government we have disagreements with, were built through our labour and our tax money.

## Respect

We are not educationists, but we are parents who appreciate the importance of education in the process of social reconstruction and who are concerned about the future of our children - white children too - who in the not-so-distant future will together be leading our beloved country.

Our challenge to parents, teachers and priests is that they take their places as leaders of the nation so they can command the respect that made it possible for the thousands of children who greeted you last week to obey your orders that they return to school.

Once again, we are grateful for what your imprisonment has done in uniting the masses around a number of issues of concern in this country. May God bless you and the non-racial nation we hope to see your leadership helping to create.

Yours truly,  
Sam Mabe.

## ANC to help solve Natal violence

*Skv 21/2/90 (117)* (✍️)  
DURBAN — Senior ANC members, among them Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, will visit strife-torn areas of Natal today.

They will make a personal assessment of the violence which has claimed more than 3 000 lives and displaced at least 60 000 people.

A congress of the UDF, Cosatu and Mandela Reception Committee says it is to make an all-out effort to restore peace.

It has also decided to set up local peace committees in a bid to stem the faction violence and combat crime.

The congress thinks the skirmishes are being stirred by an organised element. — Sapa.

# Mandela not overawed by image as SA's problem-solver

Star 21/2/90 (11A)  
By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Mr Nelson Mandela does not regard himself as the Messiah who will solve the country's problems.

Interviewed in his Soweto home yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "That perception has not worried me. I was produced by the struggle. I am part of a team of very capable and experienced leaders.

"I am not overawed at all. This is not a task that can be fulfilled by a single person. I will make my contribution as part of a very successful team."

Mr Mandela said he had not been in a time warp. Especially during his last five years behind bars, he had had the opportunity to catch up on political developments.

He had read a variety of newspapers — English and Afrikaans, conventional and alternative. He had a radio and a television set.

"I had time from morning to sunset to study the news. Of course, when I was busy negotiating with the Government about the release of political prisoners, and trying to set up a meeting with the ANC, it became very difficult to read as much as I used to."

Johannesburg had changed much, he said. "Highways, new buildings, even new thoughts. The facilities for various population groups to come together; de-segregated hotels, restaurants and travel facilities."

Sadly, the injustices he had fought his whole life still remained: the critical

lack of houses; inferior education; insufficient medical services. While police had concentrated on preventing political activities, criminals had gone on the rampage.

If it were possible to escape from the limelight, what would be the first thing he would do?

He replied spontaneously: "Kiss my wife."

He dismissed psychologists' observations that adapting to family life could be difficult after the long separation.

"I have read that article in The Star. That might be true about whites, but not in my culture. According to our customs, you marry the village and not the human being."

He saw his wife Winnie regularly dur-

ing his imprisonment.

"She has been my main support and she has done wonderful work. There is nothing that pleases me more than to be at home with her."

Would he accept the Mercedes Benz the company's workers had offered to build him? And would such offers not cause friction between him and his people?

"Not at all. You must remember this is a gift from the workers themselves. It would be very difficult for me to refuse an offer from the workers. But the decision is not mine; it is a decision of the organisation."

● Mr Mandela yesterday met a representative of the Swedish legation to prepare for his visit to Sweden.

# ANC leader says more concrete action needed

Star 21/2/90  
By Dawn Barkhuizen

(11A)

While the ANC appreciated the steps taken by State President F W de Klerk so far, and had no doubts about his honesty and integrity, it has asked that he give members more concrete action and less words to allow them to approach the negotiating table with more confidence.

Recently released ANC and SACP member, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, yesterday told this to a group of about 800 students at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said there seemed to be considerable disappointment and criticism among whites because "we haven't been dancing with joy at the unbanning and the releases and moreover because we have reiterated our loyalty to our organisations and also because we are not rushing to the negotiating table".

He told students that only one of the six preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration for facilitating negotiations had been met.

"The bulk of political prisoners are not being released; repressive security legislation is still in force, ... there is no guarantee that exiles would be free of persecution on their return. We insist these shortfalls inhibit our march to the negotiating table."

Mr Kathrada said that the ANC and SACP was also conscious that government leaders still spoke of guarantees for minority rights and were still wed to the concept of groups. There were no indications that the cornerstones of apartheid, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act would be repealed, he said.

---

# Sansco sets aside 2 days for protests

star  
21/2/90  
(11A)  
DET

Staff Reporter

The SA National Student Congress (Sansco) will hold a two-day national protest next week as part of their "Back to School Campaign".

Sharing a platform with recently released ANC and SACP member, Mr Ahmed Kathrada at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, Sansco spokesman Mr Mogo-motsi Mogodiri said a day of national action in which pupils boycotted classes and held rallies was planned for February 27.

The following day there would be marches on DET offices throughout SA in which demands which included the formation of a single non-racial education department would be presented.

Mr Mogodiri called for the radical transformation of the education system, saying it was unfair for universities to evaluate black students by white standards.

Unlike the University of the Western Cape, Witwatersrand was doing little to transform itself into a people's university, he said.

# ANC bid to block FW's safari

Agenda 21/2/90 114

## ... but letter asks for talks with government

Staff Reporter DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,  
TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency  
and Sapa-Reuter

THE African National Congress is moving to block the meeting in Zaire on Saturday between President F W de Klerk and leaders of some African states.

The ANC's head of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the meeting was contrary to the Organisation of African Unity's objectives of isolating the South African government.

"We have asked the OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa to get the meeting in Zaire cancelled ... (it) is contrary to the OAU ad hoc committee on South Africa," he said.

### Confident of meeting

The secretary-general and acting president of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, said from Lusaka today:

emptive to what we are saying that apartheid is still in place and, therefore, the need for the continued isolation of the apartheid regime is still there.

"The question of doing away with boycotts and sanctions will come about only if there is an irreversible process towards democracy in South Africa."

South African government sources were confident today, however, that the meeting would go ahead.

The sources expect that the heads of state of Zaire, Rwanda and possibly Burundi and the Central African Republic will gather to receive President De Klerk. It is possible that Gabon also will be represented.

The Zaire meeting, hosted by President Mobuto Sese Seko, would be the first time African states had allowed South Africa to attend one of their summits.

In spite of the ANC's hostility to the planned talks, Mr Nzo also indicated that the organisation's "internal wing" would be drafting a letter to President De Klerk to ask for a meeting to talk about talks.

The South African Cabinet meets in Cape Town today, still without an official communication from the ANC following their communique in Lusaka on Friday which indicated they wanted to meet the government.

### "Half measures"

Mr Walter Sisulu, leader of the ANC in South Africa, confirmed today the official letter was being drawn up and would be posted soon.

Mr Nzo said: "The meeting will be to clear up obstacles standing in the way of a climate conducive to negotiations."

Some of the obstacles were "half-measures" such as the partial lifting of the state of emergency, said Mr Nzo.

Spring 12 Finance 13-1 Lett

The Zaire thing is counter-productive and pre-





**AUTOGRAPH HUNTERS . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela signs his autograph for three Johannesburg schoolboys yesterday. *CAPC 2/12/90 (118)*

Picture: REUTERS

## 'Workers requested Mercedes for Mandela'

PRETORIA. — The request to build Mr Nelson Mandela a Mercedes-Benz had come from the workers who had indicated this would show their admiration and respect for him, the management of Mercedes-Benz said in a statement here yesterday.

Reacting to conflicting reports about the vehicle, management said the workers also wanted Mr

Mandela personally to receive the car at the Mercedes-Benz plant in East London.

"Management responded to this request by acknowledging the pride and esteem in which the majority of its workers hold Mr Mandela and was accordingly prepared to agree to a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle being built for him to mark the important

occasion of his release."

It said the questions of whether Mr Mandela would accept a Mercedes-Benz, the type, the model and how the vehicle was to be paid for were matters under consideration.

The Numsa shop stewards, representing the workers, had undertaken to revert to management in this regard. — Sapa

## Four killings: Senior politician in court

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — A KwaZulu deputy cabinet minister appeared in Pinetown Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the killing of four people, and one of attempted murder.

Prominent Clermont resident Mr Samuel Jamile, 60, was not asked to plead and no charges were put to him when he appeared before Miss C Murray.

He is in custody at the Pinetown police cells pending an application for bail lodged at the attorney-general's office.

Also alleged to be involved in the series of killings is a 17-year-old youth also of Clermont.

# Mandela sees Swedish delegate

CAF Times  
2/2/90  
117

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met a representative of the Swedish legation, Mr Jan Lundvik, and 15 chiefs from Tembuland in Transkei in separate meetings at his home.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Lundvik said the Swedish legation had called for the meeting to make preparations for Mr Mandela's coming visit to Sweden where he will also see ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Wide-ranging matters, including the South African political situation, were discussed.

Mr Lundvik said the Swedish government and its people were confident the ANC leader would make a great contribution to the South African political scene.

The Swedish official, who posed for pictures with Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, after the meeting, added that they warmly welcomed his visit to Sweden.

A leader of the delegation of chiefs, Chief Anderson Joyi, said they had come to see Mr Mandela to discuss the situation in the country.

They had also requested that the ANC patriarch visit the graves of dead relatives in Transkei.

Chief Joyi said Mr Mandela indicated that his visit would take place later as he was now attending to political matters in Johannesburg.

The head of the four million-strong Zion Christian Church, Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyana, also met Mr Mandela yesterday.

Tomorrow the ANC leader will host Mr Victor Sefora of the Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and will meet Azapo representatives, the National Reception Committee said.

On Friday Mr Mandela will meet leaders of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party in separate meetings. — Sapa

(11/1) (11/1)  
T'kei to meet  
ANC, PAC

UMTATA. — Senior Transkei military officers are to meet executive members of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, among other groupings, to ascertain their views on Transkei's future political role.

Transkei military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday that following a meeting of the Military Council it had been decided that a Defence Staff Council (DSC), comprising senior military officers, would meet the executive committees of the ANC and PAC and any other relevant organisations, to ascertain their perceptions on political developments in Transkei. — Sapa

## Public debate on reforms

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation's north eastern Transvaal sub-region is to host a public debate on President FW de Klerk's initiatives and their implications for the struggle for black emancipation on Saturday. *Sowetan*

21/2/90  
Azapo's regional information officer, Phosakuwa Mashele, yesterday said the debate would take place at the Lenyene stadium starting at 2pm. *(11A)*

Mashele said Azapo members from Bojobedu, Giyane, Nkowankowa and Lenyene would also be briefed about preparation for the 13th annual congress which is to take place on March 3 and 4 at the Shareworld centre in Johannesburg.

# DP to meet with PAC

THE Democratic Party is planning to meet exiled members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Dar-es-Salaam as a follow-up to the first contact made with the organisation in Soweto last week.

DP spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the

Tanzania meeting, and others planned with the PAC in the country, formed part of the DP's contribution towards a normalised political climate by obtaining first-hand information about various political actors. *Sowetan 2/12/90*

"The PAC, more than the ANC, has remained a mystery to

many South Africans, particularly whites, because of its banning and its relatively low profile within the country. We want to know the PAC for what it is and not what we are led to believe. **11A**

## Policies

"Every South African has the right to know the policies of the PAC - and all other political groups - to make their political choices," he said.

Mr Gastrow said the first contact with the PAC was constructive and informative.

"There is a perception that the PAC is racist. The contrary is true. The cornerstone of their policy is one of non-racialism," he said.

# VIPs flock to meet Mandela

11A  
J. Swartz  
21/2/90

LEADERS of the more than four-million-strong Zion Christian Church are among the many dignitaries filling Nelson Mandela's hectic itinerary this week.

Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyane, head of the ZCC, a normally apolitical church, consulted Mandela at the ANC leader's Orlando West home at 1pm yesterday.

Mandela also met Transkeian Chief Mutirara and 15 other chiefs from 9am to 11am and was due at noon to meet Swedish envoy to South Africa, Mr Jan Lundvik.

A spokesman at the Swedish legation said the meeting was "natural" given Sweden's long-standing relationship with the ANC. The envoy was also interested in speaking to Mandela before the previously jailed leader travelled to Sweden to visit the ANC's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mandela's last public commitment yesterday



LEKHANYANE

was to grant press interviews from 2.30pm to 4pm at Orlando West.

Today from 9am to 10am he will meet Chief Tidimane Pilane from the Rustenburg area and five other chiefs. At 2pm he will meet veterans of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, and from 3.30pm to 5pm member chiefs of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Tomorrow the ANC leader will host Mr Victor Sefora of the

Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and will meet unnamed Azapo representatives, the National Reception Committee said.

On Friday from 8am to 10pm Mandela will meet leaders of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party in separate meetings. - Sapa

# PEACE PACT

South  
22/2-28/2/90

From  
ZOLA NTUTU  
and JUSTICE  
SIGONYELA

11A

11/250

PORT ELIZABETH. — Peace committees are being set up in Uitenhage to end the bloody feud which last week claimed the lives of at least 20 people.

This decision is part of an historic pact in which warring factions agreed to work towards "lasting peace".

After a marathon two-day meeting attended by ANC leader Raymond

Mhlaba and the PAC's Jeff Masemola, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) signed a peace pact aimed at bringing an end to a two-year battle which has claimed many lives.

The parties in a joint statement agreed to dedicate themselves to building a lasting peace in Uitenhage, saying the past feud

was a "grave disservice to the ideals and aspirations of the struggle for democracy and total liberation".

"We are engaging ourselves in the task of developing workable guidelines for peaceful co-existence so that our energies can be employed to seize the historic moment for the final march to freedom and justice," the organisations said in the statement.

Recognising the need for peaceful coexistence between the different ideological tendencies, the or-

ganisations agreed on a major programme of political education which will form the basis for democratic principles and practices.

It was agreed that both PAM and the MDM would set up five-member peace committees.

A joint committee of 20 delegates would also be set up.

## Fierce battle

Representatives at this week's meeting included delegates from the ANC, United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Uitenhage Youth Congress, Uitenhage Civic Association, Uitenhage Students Congress, PAM, Pan Africanist Students Organisation, Azanian National Youth Unity and the Ministers' Fraternal.

When SOUTH's correspondents visited the township of Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage, a fierce battle was being waged, with several bodies strewn on the ground.

A pensioner and a 14-year-old youth are among those reported to have been killed. PEN



## SACP says it wants talks with govt

31 Day 22/2/90  
LUSAKA — The SACP announced yesterday that it would send a delegation to SA for talks with government, but not as part of the ANC's negotiating team.

The SACP made the announcement after a meeting of its central committee in Lusaka, Sapa-AP reports.

"We shall be announcing a public SACP leadership core within our country and we shall also be despatching Communist Party members into the country to strengthen this core as soon as possible," the committee said. (111) (22/2)

Nelson Mandela is due to arrive in Lusaka next Tuesday for consultations with the exiled leadership.

□ Our political staff reports from Cape

Town that government plans to respond this week to the ANC's proposals released at its Lusaka conference last week, a spokesman for the President's Office said yesterday.

The spokesman said government had still not formally received the ANC's proposals or its request for a meeting with F W de Klerk but the President would nevertheless react by the end of the week.

However, it appeared last night that the Press conference that De Klerk had been expected to hold for the past two weeks might not materialise.

The spokesman said that De Klerk would "most probably" react to the ANC's proposals in a statement.

# Song for Mandela (11A)

THE South African Musicians Alliance said this week that in the light of the overwhelming zeal shown by various musicians to record a song for Nelson Mandela, it (Sama) has agreed to record an album under its banner.

Sama said it had met and agreed that it was significant to record an album dedicated to Comrade Mandela. The envisaged song will be performed at various concerts dedicated to welcome Mandela.

The nature and content of the lyrics are still to be decided. An ad-hoc committee will co-ordinate the entire project and this comprises: Victor Ntoni, Ray Phiri, Jennifer Ferguson and Rachid Lani. Sowetan 2/2/80

Sama has asked the Association of South Africa Music Industries (Asami) to document the whole production.

# BUSINESS

## Mixture of East and West may be the cure

*Sowetan 22/2/90*  
I WELCOME the release of Nelson Mandela who, at 71, with the likes of Walter Sisulu and Zeph Mothopeng is a living monument of our determination to be a free people.

For a change we are living in times of hope, and State President F W de Klerk has to be commended.

What, however, seems to be the debate in black townships these days is nationalisation. Two weeks ago I said I would not join this age-old debate over the "isms". As it, however, continues to rage in shebeens, trains and so on, I might as well throw in a few thoughts.

The redistribution of wealth is a non-negotiable in the new society being envisaged but, is wholesale nationalisation of major industries the way to go about it?

Activities such as education, health, aspects of public transport, housing and social services are a responsibility of the State and MUST be nationalised. But when it comes to industries which generate wealth and thus revenues for the State, *aikona, wag 'n betjie*. The nationalisation of industries has been tried throughout the world with very few successes, if any.

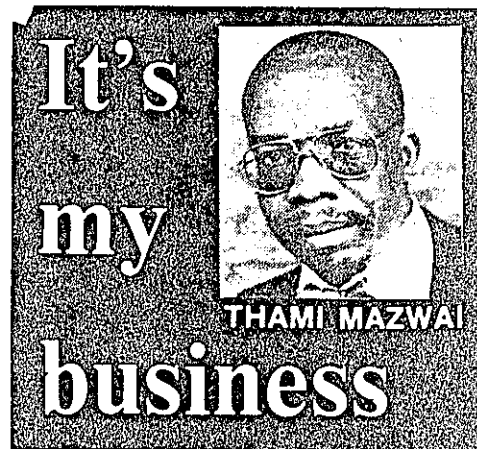
The most recent examples are the collapse of East European economies.

### Will of majority

If these countries have failed to make nationalisation work, what will make it succeed with us? If we are keen on nationalisation, and I will bow to the will of the majority, let us first study what made others fail. Our system will then be based on a blueprint that overcomes previous and exposed shortcomings.

Two years ago I had the good fortune to be on the programme for management development at Harvard University. Among the students were two officials from the Peoples Republic of China. I befriended one, Fan Kaishi, who is vice-director of the Foreign Economic Relations and Trade Department in Hubei. According to him, his Government was now sending scores of its officials on management and business courses in universities in the Western world in an effort to improve productivity in their system. The Chinese, as Fan said, are, however, nowhere near abandoning socialism despite their hardships thus far.

Productivity in their country has taken a dive and there was a wastage of human and physical resources. Lack of growth has been a symptom of collapsed socialist economies. That is why most have disintegrated.



With socialism so far having failed to make a convincing case for itself, various options have now been suggested for South Africa. As the ANC's Thabo Mbeki said on TV on Sunday night, it is one of the issues to be negotiated.

One of the options that have been thrown around is Africanisation. It must be properly controlled, of course, to ensure the maintenance of standards.

For instance, its protagonists argue, if Iscor's management is 100 percent white at the top, middle and lower levels of management, the company will have to be given a period in which it must ensure lower and middle management conforms to population ratios.

As blacks are more than 80 percent of the population, Iscor must be told that within five to six years four-fifths of its lower management must be black, and in the following five years middle management must be 80 percent black.

Given natural attrition there should be some bronze faces in top management in a matter of time.

This may be less revolutionary than nationalisation, say its supporters, but it is a sure way of transferring control from white South Africans to South Africans.

For many this will be reverse racism while for others it will be perpetuating the capitalist system. What should, however, be clear is that no system is perfect. Just as socialism has been proved to have serious defects, capitalism is no paradise. It is just as defective. Being a member of the old school I believe the one solution likely to succeed is what was proposed by Mangaliso Sobukwe: take what is good from the East and what is good from the West and mix with your own.

Mandela  
Mercedes  
car still  
subject of  
discussion

11A  
Sowetan  
22/2/90



NELSON MANDELA

MERCEDES-BENZ, the German prestige car manufacturer, yesterday denied that they had agreed to give Mr Nelson Mandela a luxury limousine.

At the same time, they announced that the price of their locally built 500 SEA, which would be suitable for Mandela, would be increased by R10 000 to R211 535 and the 300 SEA from R145 690 to R152 975.

PRO Mrs Wendy Hoffman confirmed that initial discussions had been held between workers and management.

"It is important to note that the request to build Mr Mandela a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle came from the workers who indicated that this would show their admiration and respect for him as their leader," said Hoffman.

Esteem

"Management responded to this request by acknowledging the pride and esteem the majority of its workers held for Nelson Mandela and was accordingly prepared to agree to a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle being built for him to mark the important occasion of his release.

"The questions on whether Mr Mandela would accept a Mercedes-Benz motor vehicle, the type, the model and how the motor vehicle was to be paid for, were still matters under consideration. The Numsa shop stewards, representing the workers, had undertaken to revert to management in this regard."

Hoffman said the initial discussions had been cordial and reports in certain newspapers indicating that there would be a dispute as to who would foot the bill and also that workers would not go to work until the company agreed to give Mandela a car for his personal use, were not correct.

# Heading for home

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

(L) (IIA)

By CHIARA CARTER

THE first ANC exiles to return home are due to arrive in Cape Town next week — marking the beginning of an anticipated stream of homeward-bound ANC members.

A massive reception is being planned for ANC veterans Ray Alexander, 76, and Jack Simon, 83, who are due to arrive at DF Malan airport next Friday afternoon after 25 years in exile.

Alexander, a former general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, is a prominent

member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and Simon has played a key role in formulating the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

The South African Communist Party this week announced that its Central Committee had decided to send members back to South Africa to assist the SACP "core leadership"

within the country in building a strong mass-based party.

Several exiled artistes will also be returning to South Africa shortly.

Cape Town-born musician Dollar Brand has indicated that he will return from exile in New York.

Musicians Russell Hermann and Mervyn Africa have also said that they will come back to Cape Town soon.



RETURNING: ANC veterans, Ray Alexander and Jack Simon at Lusaka airport. The couple are expected to arrive in Cape Town from Lusaka next week.

\* See page 3 for an exclusive interview with Ray Alexander.

Thousands of ANC members are expected to return home later this year following the decision of the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting in Lusaka last week that the organisation would return to South Africa where it would operate openly.

Acting ANC president Alfred Nzo said the ANC was taking steps for an "organised return" of its members to

South Africa.

Nzo said that the ANC would also call on all exiles to return home.

The ANC is to hold its consultative conference inside South Africa on December 16.

Barney Desai, the first exiled Pan African Congress supporter to return to South Africa, arrived in Cape Town earlier this month with his family.

## ANC spies speak

# No money, no ride

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

## Ambulance 'snub' for penniless patient

By NOSIPHO KULATI  
GRAHAMSTOWN. — The ambulance service refused a Fort Beaufort man desperately in need of medical ser-

vices at East London's Frere Hospital a lift because he did not have money.

Mr Debanisile Stofile, 50, has been an out-patient of Frere

Hospital since he sustained head injuries while employed at a bakery as a casual worker last year.

He subsequently was unable to work and earn an income.

Stofile now needs regular weekly medical attention in East London.

### Return trip

Last week the Regional Services Council Ambulance Services in Grahamstown refused to take Stofile to East London because he did not have R12 for a return trip.

The Head of the RSC Ambulance Services in Grahamstown, Mr Mike Roux, said they were not allowed to refuse their services to anyone in the community needing them.

When asked why Stofile was refused a lift, he said: "That's impossible, it is not true."

According to the Fort Beaufort Advice Office, Stofile went to a magistrate to enquire whether the ambulance services were bound to transport him, even if he was unable to pay.

Stofile was allegedly told that R12 was not too much to raise and that he could borrow the money.

He is still waiting for money from the Workmen's Compensation Fund.

Mr AJ Botha, the manager at the bakery in Fort Beaufort where Mr Stofile had worked, confirmed that Stofile would receive money from the Fund. — ANA



**DOCKSIDE DEMO:** Noliza Ngqungwana, aged 3, calls for the release of her father, Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, serving a life sentence on Robben Island. Noliza was among about 100 relatives and friends of political prisoners who held a demonstration at the Robben Island ferry in the Cape Town docks last Saturday (253).  
PIC: BENNY GOOL

## Incorporation reprieve for Border villages

From LOUISE FLANAGAN

EAST LONDON. — South Africa has dropped plans to hand over three areas to Ciskei after community representatives met with government officials.

The move is seen as a victory for the communities, but the fight is not over for other communities fighting against incorporation.

Until this week, the areas of Hanover, Silverdale Farm and East Chalumna were on a list of land which South Africa planned to hand over to Ciskei.

The list was gazetted late last year and is currently being discussed by a parliamentary committee. After it has been passed by parliament, it will be included in the Borders of Particular States Extension Act.

All the other areas still on the list when it becomes part of the Act will then be available to be handed over to homelands whenever South Africa wants to

do this.

Last week many communities from the nationwide "Stop Incorporations Campaign" — including representatives from Silverdale and Hanover — protested in Cape Town against the possible incorporations.

They met with the parliamentary standing committee and explained why they opposed incorporations. They told officials they had never been consulted on whether they wanted to become part of the homelands.

They also handed over a petition of 45 000 signatures opposing the incorporation of Hanover, Silverdale and Chalumna.

This week the committee dropped the three areas from the list of places to be handed over.

Recently attempts to incorporate Peeltion into Ciskei failed completely, while an anti-Ciskei march took place in January by Silverdale and Needs Camp residents.

## Moscow visit for Mandela

MOSCOW. — Freed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela is to be invited to the Soviet Union.

At a meeting of Soviet Public Representatives (SPC) here to mark the unconditional release of Mandela last week, People's Deputy of the USSR and chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC), Mikhail Kapitsa, announced the decision of the SPR "to invite Mandela to the Soviet Union at any time suitable for him".

Both men called for continued sanctions against South Africa. — ANA

## Thousands at funeral

OUTDSHOORN. — A local activist who was shot by a kitskonstabel, was buried last weekend — days before he was to appear in court on a charge of attempted murder.

The trial, which dates back to 1988, was abandoned in the Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court on Tuesday when a death certificate for Moses Mvimbi, 30, was handed to the court.

Shot by a kitskonstabel in Bhongolethu in January 1988, Mvimbi spent several months in hospital, but never fully recovered. Last month he suffered a relapse and died.

About 4 000 people attended the funeral of the Bhongolethu Youth Organisation activist.

His family now plans to lodge a damages claim against Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

# MANDELA

## NADEL

**We salute our honorary life president, Comrade Nelson Mandela, and welcome him back in our midst.**

**We also salute the brave fighting spirit of our people, and the supporters of our struggle throughout the world, who fought so hard for the release of our leaders.**

**Comrade Mandela has always been, and always will be, an inspiration and a model for all lawyers committed to justice, peace and democracy.**

**Freedom in our lifetime!**

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS**



(11A)

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

# Nelson Mandela free!

We congratulate the struggling people of South Africa on this great victory in their continued fight against Apartheid.

We will not cease to urge for international comprehensive mandatory sanctions until Apartheid is abolished and South Africa is transformed into a united democratic and non-racial country.

Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement

#### With the support of:

Progressive Organisations, Socialist Workers Party, Swiss Communist Party,

Southern Africa Working Group/Association of Churches and Missions, Christian Women South Africa Working Group, Group of Grassroot Theologians,

Cultural Group Afrikarabik, Left Voice Singers, Group Video Shop, Printing Workers Union, Building Workers Union, Teachers Union, Trade Union Federation of Grison,

Swiss Labour Assistance, Swissaid, Declaration of Berne, Swiss Sanitary Centre, Central American Solidarity Movement of Switzerland, Swiss Peace Council, Christian Movement for Peace, Women for Peace, Cooperative Shop for Biological Food, Comedia Bookshop.

#### Members of Parliament (MP's)/Ministers

Helmut Hubacher, Leader Social Democratic Party; Pierre Aguet, Rosmarie Bar, Peter Bodenmann, Hansjörg Braunschweig, Cynil Brugger, Esther Bührer, Rosmarie Dormann, Angeline Fankhauser, Herman Fehr, Valentine Friedli, Ursula Hafner, Andreas Herzog, Franz Jaeger, Ernst Leuenberger, Susanne Leutenegger Oberholzer, Rene Longel, Ursula Mauch, Thomas Onken, Francoise Pitteloud, Laurent Rebeaud, Paul Rechsteiner, Monika Stocker, Ursula Ulrich, Lilian Uchtenhagen, Jean Ziegler, Jacques Stadelmann, Dominique Aubry, Jean-Pierre Boillat, Christaine Bolanz, Alain Gonthier, Noe Graff, Anick Merat, Georges Peters, Alphonse Poupon, Elisabeth Ruess, Hans Ruckebacher, Marie-Therese Sautelin, Michel Stiefel, Rudolf Strahm, Sylviane Zulauf.

#### Church Representatives

Marga Buhrig, President World Council of Churches; Waller Monika and Anderfuhren Monique, President and Vice-President Federation of Protestant Women; Charles Allemant, Leni Altwegg, Franziska Bangerter Lindt, Sitta Campi-Revillard, Francine Carrillo, Claude Curchod, Helge Fiebig, Beat Fischer-Volz, Andre Fol, Dominique Froidevaux, Hansruedi Guyer, Albrecht Hieber, Renata Huonker, Hans Walter Huppenbauer, Elisa-Maria Jodl, Andre Laporte, Alan Perrot, Rudolf Renfer, Paul Rutishauser, Jacob Schaedelin, Andreas Schmutz, Fritz Schneider, Vreni Schneider Biber, Peter Schule, Jean-Pierre Thevenaz, Peter Walss.

#### Artists

Ernest Ansorge, Gisele Ansorge, Barrigue, Jean-Daniel Bloesch, Jakob Dimitri, Hans Erni, Peter Fahr, Rene Genoud, Martin Gerhard, Gardi Hutter, Elisabeth Jeanmonod, Dani Konig, Lilo Konig, Claudia Peyer, Amelie Plume, Madeleine Santschi, Anita Schlegel, Daniel Schneider, Yvette Theraulaz, Tom Wiess c/o Trolli, Tamar Zehnder.

#### Trade Union Representatives

Eric Decarro, Chairman Trade Union Federation of Geneva; Francois De Vargas, General Secretary CSCT; Jacques Forster, Chairman Trade Union Federation of Vaud; Martin Jager, Chairman Trade Union Federation of Chur; Yvonne Lenzlinger, General Secretary SSM; Tiziana Mona, Chairwoman SSM; Michel Pilonel, Central Secretary PTT-Union; Andreas Rieger, Secretary VPOD; Jacques Robert, Secretary FOBB; Paul Sautelin, Chairman of a Workers Commission; Urs Zuppinger, Secretary VPOD.

#### Education/Science

Marc-H Blanc, Francious Blum, Sophie Blum, Maryelle Boudry, Francois Bovon, Claude Calame, Charles Carrillo, Rene Chappuis, Marina Decarro, Elizabeth Feldmeyer-Christo, Jean-Jacques Feldmeyer, Walter Huber, Philippe Junod, Martin Lenzlinger, Bernhard Lindt-Bangerter, Daniele Martinoli, Dominique Martinoli, Emmanuel Martinoli, Marie-Claire Martinoli, Ruedi Meyer, Henry Mottu, Claude Revillard, Hans Saner, Johanna Schneider-Britt, Andre Signori, Francoise Thevenaz, Claudio Valsangiacomo, Elisabeth Wandtler, Martin S. Walte.

#### Journalists

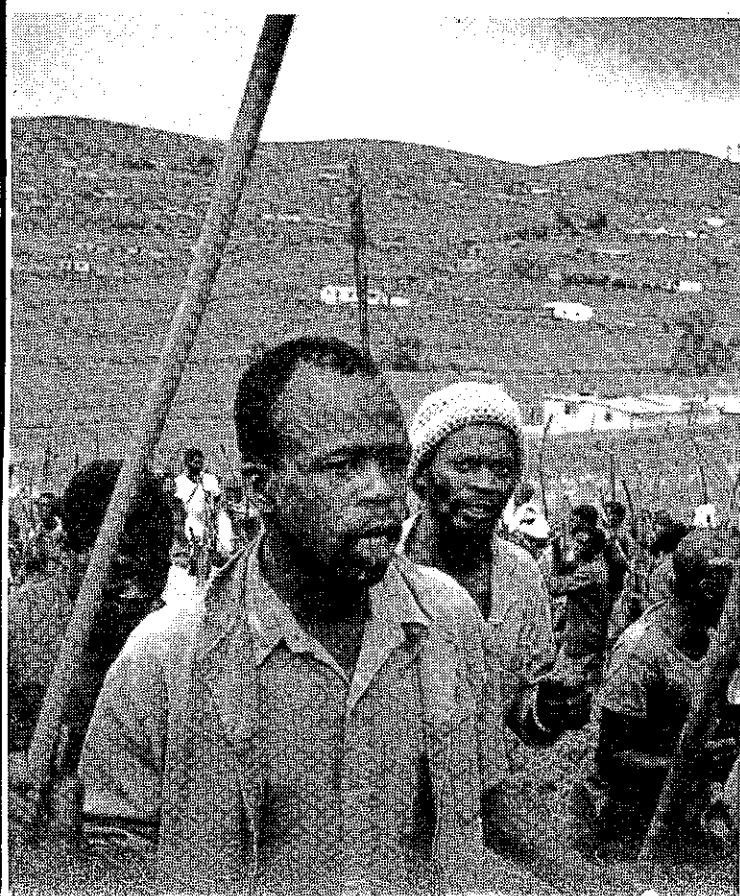
Jean-Michel Berthoud, Charles Biber, Simone Hauert, Verena Schmid, Elisabeth Schneider.

#### Solidarity Groups/Aid Organisations

Monique Bauer-Lagier, President of Protestant aid organisation "Brot fur Bruder"; Marco Mona, President of Solidfonds; Geneva Signer, Coordinator of Solidfonds (Solidarity fund of Swiss labour movement); Nelly Brandt, Karin Ernst, Ruedi Tobler.

#### Others

Helmut Britz, Anne Coidan, Patrick Coidan, Doris Erni, Dorothee Fischer-Volz, Koni Frei, Rainer Guldin, Ursula Guyer, Ursula Hoerstkamp, Gisela Huber, Nick Konig, Christian Nanchen, Diane Perrot, Margrit Pfister, Dorothea Rusch, Corinne Schneider, Fredi Schneider, Sybille Schneider, Francine Signori, Ursi Weilenmann, Ann Wolfe, Christophe Zbinden.



# Top ANC leaders to tak message of hope to Na

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

**DURBAN.** — The dove of peace will wing its way through the ANC message to its Natal constituency at Sunday's mass rally here.

But one of the main players in the three-year civil war will not be standing in the King's Park cricket and rugby fields to hear Mandela's words on ending the violence.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi left for abroad on Tuesday and will not return in time for the rally, Ulundi sources said.

Speculation has it that Buthelezi will make political mileage out of the apparent refusal of the ANC in Natal to

issue an individual invitation.

Last Friday, Nelson Mandela phoned the Inkatha leader after Buthelezi had complained that the ANC leader had not contacted him since his release from jail.

Residents in UDF areas such as the Durban township of Ntuzuma have invited Inkatha squatters from Lindelani shackland (population 300 000) to the rally.

Walter Sisulu and other released ANC leaders are due on Thursday to begin a fact-finding tour of the trouble-torn townships of KwaMashu and Inanda and Durban as well as Maritzburg.

The ANC leaders, to be joined by

Mandela on Sunday, are also planning to visit the grave of the late ANC president and Nobel Peace Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli in Groutville on the Natal North Coast.

Groutville, where Luthuli was banished until his death, adjoins Stanger, site of the country's first ANC office, administered by former Robben Island prisoner Justice Mpanza.

The rally is likely to be a focal point for moves to end the violence, with organisers considering unprecedented headline steps to ensure quiet.

Neighbourhood marshalls will accompany township youths to prevent the outbreak of violence triggered by Mandela release marches which left

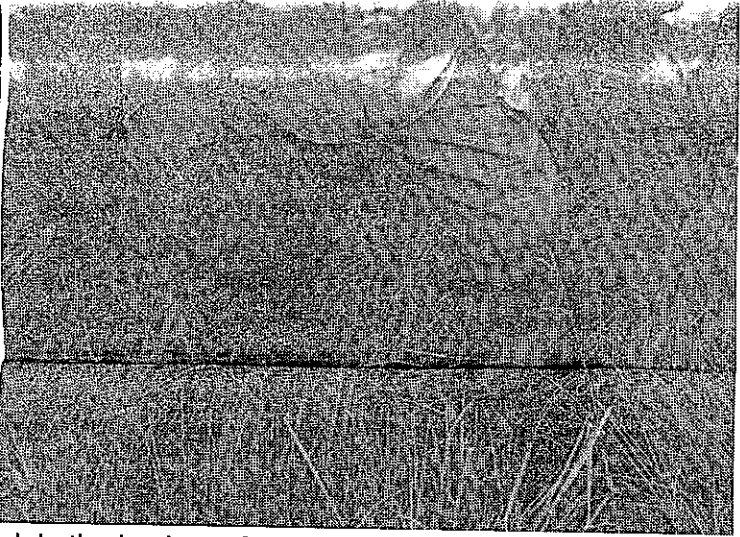
50 dead.

Bus passengers, and the 2 may be a undergor about ste member c

The Kir rock cor 70 000 Ir ber, has t the ANC.

Organis although the massi quarter o BANews

# Peace



IT is a tale of three of the most violent patches of land in Natal: Mpumalanga, half-way between Durban and Maritzburg, next-door Shongweni and KwaMakhutha on the South Coast.

The first had a peace pact, which failed.

The second had a peace pact, which succeeded.

The third is in the laborious process of hammering out a peace pact.

How is it that some commitments to peace succeed and other crumble?

**Residents of Natal's battle-weary townships this week kindled bloody violence, which has claimed thousands of lives in the past, but a mission to bring lasting peace to the area has been brought to an end.**

**The entire ANC leadership in the country, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, will visit the area on a mission to bring lasting peace to the area. Correspondent CHRISTINA SCOTT reports on their formidable task:**

Inkatha impi at a funeral in Elandskop near Maritzburg



Comrades defending K Section, Kwamashu, following an Inkatha revenge attack after about 60 shacks at Richmond Farm were petrol-bombed

pic: CHRISTINA SCOTT

## SHONGWENI

PRETORIA police captain Ray Harrald returned armed and in uniform on Tuesday to Shongweni, once called the Valley of Death, to

celebrate the success of "his" peace pact.

He was trailed by a contingent of SAP publicity minders — some of whom doubled as an SABC camera crew — proud that in his five-month tour he had brought together two warring factions after all but 15 percent of the 40 000 Shongweni population had fled the fighting.

Residents were obviously glad to see him.

At Mkhize's Supermarket, toffees were marked "Our Captain's Favourite — four cents" and old men drinking utshwala (sorghum beer) on the bench outside lined up to say hello. Children at a school re-opened after the fighting faded, sang to welcome him.

"I've kept my promise, you've kept yours — I'm very pleased," said captain Harrald.

The Shongweni Youth Congress (SYC) saluted his facilitator role but slammed the police for making "propaganda" out of the work of an individual and refused to be filmed by the SAP/SABC crew.

"Comrade Gaddafi," the former leader of the UDF fighters, said they "objected to the manner in which members of the SAP are operating in other areas, such as Mpumalanga".

Outside the police strongpoint at Charles Memorial School, where UDF slogans have been painted over, SYC executive leader Thaddeus Sithole said the 17th peace attempt worked because "the people were exhausted of war".

Inside the classroom strongpoint, a policeman read a James Hadley Chase thriller in front of a blackboard chalked with the message, "Remember the Police - The Friends of the Nation".

Peace "is possible anywhere", said Harrald.

## MPUMALANGA

The bulk of Natal's peace-keeping defence force sent into the townships this week went to Mpumalanga.

The pe danger: turn of c

Last w bisiwe l were pu cause the

He disp wave of an Inka Woody ( dozens burnt and

A furti weekend

Nkehli were bar 8 000 pe siege as exit roac

An Inka member a BMW and the comrade said.

His op burnt fr Inkatha. pact afte vamped none of.

"I'm ne way whe ous, I k he sight move ou legedly controlle

Nkehli pact if t leaders control.

"I'm v. Sisulu c. criminal.

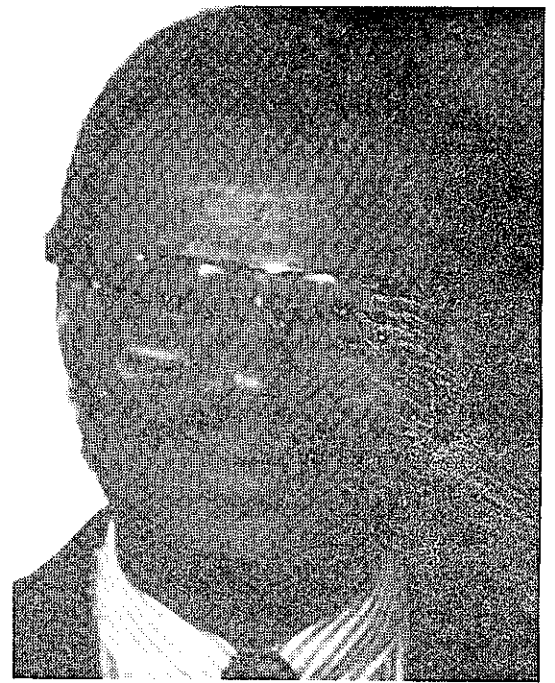
The tim.

A sect expoun last we Makhutu clergyn. nior Kw



e  
119  
tal

sengers will be frisked for which will be confiscated, 000 rally marshalls — who med with sjamboks — have e "no mercy" workshops n discipline, according to a f the organising committee. g's Park rugby stadium and cert venue, which housed atha members last Novem- een rejected as too small for rs are predicting 100 000, he sports fields surrounding e 10-metre stage can hold a million people. — DUR-



ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela

Inkatha's Buthelezi: Won't be at the rally

# mission



South 22/2-28/2/90

new hope that the t few years, will be

andela and Walter he region. SOUTH task as peacebro-

ace pact held over times of e Christmas holidays, the re- ildren to school.

ek, Inkatha chairman Nqo- ehli announced that Inkatha ing out of the agreement be- UDF were "not sincere".

uted reports that the current rital killings was sparked by ha vigilante attack from len squatter camp in which f houses were stoned and four people died.

er 17 people died on the of Mandela's release.

ointed out that the schools ed to Inkatha people and that ple in one unit were under omrades controlled the only

ha bus was hijacked and one illed and an Inkatha man in as placed beneath the wheel andbrake released as unit 3 enforced the siege, Nkehli

onents claimed 10 houses lowing a decision at an ally to pull out of the peace the UDF delegation was re- for the third time, leaving e original voters.

going to stand in Inkatha's h they are attacked. It's seri- ow. It's very bad business," before going gradually. It of the range of R1 rifles al- ossessed at a nearby UDF- hilltop.

aid he would reconsider the UDF could provide credible h a demonstrated ability to air followers.

y sceptical if Mandela and i have any influence on the hooligan element," he said.

## WAMAKHUTHA

s they are a-changing. ity branch policeman was ng on the need for trust at k's meeting of the Kwa- a Youth League, concerned n, Inkatha members and se- Zulu police.

As an example, he singled out a member of the KYL who refused to give his right name or address when they first met.

"Derek, you wouldn't even look me in the eyes," said Major L Botha. Derek looked him in the eyes. "You were detaining me," he reminded him pointedly.

The talks-about-talks in Kwa-Makhutha are off to a shaky start. Leading Inkatha councillor Ephraim Buthelezi was hospitalised after his house was petrol-bombed last week.

Seven KYL activists were buried in a mass funeral last weekend following violence triggered during marches celebrating Mandela's release from prison.

And the secretary of the Inkatha del- egation, SP Mazibuko, confessed that his role was an unofficial one. His position was not one where he could enforce discipline on fellow Inkatha members.

Still, the frank discussion as 18 peo- ple sat on beige plastic stack chairs in the middle of an auditorium was a start.

"This point that everybody is afraid of the ZP should be discussed," a UDF delegate said in the form of ZP Lt Col VA Dube.

"The former station commander said he rejected peace talks because he was not allowed to be involved in peace talks," said a minister.

"Inkatha has a problem with the SAP also — they raid the houses of Inkatha members, kicking children," respon- ded an Inkatha member.

"It's not good just saying, 'he's a warlord'. It serves no purpose if you say that this man here has killed. I want the facts. I want to help," said the SB Major. — DURBANNEWS



The remains of middle-aged woman's house in Mpumalanga after an attack by Inkatha vigilantes. This week, comrades took revenge by blockading Inkatha suburbs  
PIC: CHRISTINA SCOTT



Comrades, with home-made weapons, guard houses in Maritzburg

## Refugees return to Table Mountain

South 22/2-28/2/90

THE 1 000 refugees who fled the recent fighting in Table Mountain, outside Maritzburg, have begun to slowly trickle home.

However, fighting has been re- newed in nearby Elandskop, another rural village outside Maritzburg.

One man was shot dead and five bus passengers were injured when UDF supporters allegedly attacked nine buses in celebration of a ru- mour that a local warlord had been

arrested on Tuesday.

The warlord, Inkatha leader David Ntombela, said he was busy trying to defuse an armed impi of 1 000 men who guarded his house and wanted to mount a revenge attack.

The fighting has underlined unrest monitors' predictions that although the increased troop presence in the township has made for a quiet week, the fighting has migrated to rural areas.

## Moscow visit for Mandela

MOSCOW. — Freed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela is to be invited to the Soviet Union. *Start 22/2 - 22/2/90*

At a meeting of Soviet Public Representatives (SPR) here to mark the unconditional release of Mandela last week, People's Deputy of the USSR and chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC), Mikhail Kapitsa, announced the decision of the SPR "to invite Mandela to the Soviet Union at any time suitable for him".

Both men called for continued sanctions against South Africa. —

ANC

(11A) (201)

# ANC veteran Ray Alexander hopes to see Mpetha

By CHIARA CARTER

WHEN legendary ANC exile Ray Alexander returns home next weekend after 25 years in exile, one of the first people she intends to visit is her old friend and comrade, Oscar Mpetha.

"I'm overjoyed to be coming back. I can't wait to see Cape Town and meet all my friends again," Alexander told SOUTH in an exclusive interview from her Lusaka home.

"Ever since we heard that the ANC was unbanned and that exiles could return, the whole exile community has been counting the days to come home," Alexander said, the excitement in her voice rising above the crackle of the telephone wires between Lusaka and Cape Town.

Alexander, 76, is due to arrive in Cape Town next Friday, accompanied by her 83-year-old husband, ANC constitutional expert Jack Simon, and their daughter, Mary Simon, a lecturer at the University of Cape Town.

Alexander, who was general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union until she was banned in 1960, has been working in the South African Congress of Trade Unions while in exile.

She is also an active member of the ANC's womens' section and hopes to work in women's organisations in South Africa.

## Impressed

The distance from home has not blunted the legendary veteran's enthusiasm for trade union work.

"I intend to help the Food and Allied Workers' Union in whatever way I can," she said.

"I will also be at the service of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"We in Sactu are very impressed with the work Cosatu has been doing at home. Sactu will not be coming home as Sactu; instead we will be part of Cosatu," Alexander said.

She sees the unbanning of the ANC as a new challenge politically.

"Both Jack and I intend to work hard at building the ANC at home. We have devoted our whole lives to the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Now we are coming back home to continue this work," she said.

Alexander was very distressed when told that Mpetha was still ill after a stroke he suffered after being released from prison last year.

"I hope Oscar is able to see me. I intend visiting him on Saturday. I can still remember his old Nyanga home. I wonder if it has changed much," she said.

Alexander is confident about returning and does not think she will find that 25 years has made her a stranger in her own country.

"Of course, there will have been changes and new things that we will have to get used to, but there are so many people that we still know back home and so many others whom we met in Lusaka. We don't anticipate feeling out of place. Instead, we are eager to get on with finding a house and building a new South Africa," she said.

## SACP to surface

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) has decided to emerge from underground and will operate legally inside South Africa.

The Party's leadership core within the country will be named soon and members in exile will be sent into the country to strengthen the core "as soon as possible", its central committee announced after a meeting last week.

The CP is consulting members underground to implement its legal status. *Southern 22/2 - 28/2/90*

"A major objective of the coming months will be to build a strong, legal SACP, rooted among the working masses of our people," the central committee said.

## March on Stoffel

STUDENTS at universities and colleges plan to march to the offices of the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, next week to protest against the exclusion of students of colour.

*SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK SOCIAL  
WORKERS ASSOCIATION*

11A

South 2/2 - 28/2/90

The South African Black Social Workers Association applauds and welcomes the unconditional release of Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

The release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the Organisations of the people are the results of the dedicated and continued struggle of the oppressed and freedom loving people of South Africa and the continued support of / by the universal friends of the oppressed people of South Africa.

We believe this is the beginning of a new era where for the first time South Africans will know what it means to live in a democratic country, where the family paranthood, Childrens Rights, will be protected and respect of human reign.

**LONG LIVE COMRADE  
NELSON MANDELA!**

# Crucial summit on (11A) ANC's Heroes' Day

South 22/2-25/2/90

HEROES' Day — as the anniversary of the launching of Umkhonto we Sizwe on December 16 is known — this year will have a poignant flavour.

The African National Congress (ANC) plans to hold its first national congress inside the country since its banning on that day.

Burning questions such as its strategies as a legal organisation, nationalisation, possible alliances with homeland leaders, and other issues which will not have been resolved by then will have to be tackled.

It was decided at the last national consultative conference, held in Zambia in 1985, that the conference would take place every five years, when elections for president, secretary general and treasurer general would be held.

The role of Nelson Mandela will therefore be mapped out at this year's meeting at the latest. The question of Oliver Tambo's ability to lead the ANC, if he has not sufficiently recovered from his stroke suffered last year, will also have to be resolved.

There were rumours before the 1985 conference that the younger generation, personified in the level-headed and polished diplomat Thabo Mbeki, would try to elbow out the "Old Guard". This did not happen.

## 'Generation gap'

The ANC at present sees itself at a crucial point in its and the country's history, and is unlikely to quibble over the "generation gap" in the leadership stakes when elections come up.

The ANC's 1985 national consultative conference, its second, was attended by 250 democratically-elected

**The ANC's national congress, planned for December 16 at a venue inside South Africa, will be the organisation's most crucial in years. While December 16 marks the anniversary of the ANC's banning and the launch of its armed struggle, the national congress will be focusing on peace. NOEL BRUYNS reports:**



ANC president Oliver Tambo

delegates from every country where it has members. (The first consultative conference was held in Morogoro in 1969).

They included the ANC leaders, its diplomatic functionaries, commanders and other members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, trade unionists, youth and women's representatives, peasants and intellectuals.

"What has convened here," said ANC president Oliver Tambo in his opening statement, "is more than a conference of the ANC. It is nothing less than a South African National Congress, a true parliament of all the people of our country."

The NEC in the introduction to its political report said the conference would be remembered as "the penultimate convention that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war to a condition of peace, democracy and the fulfilment of our people who have already suffered far too much and far too long".

The latest developments in South Africa, and the promise that the now unbanned ANC will hold talks with

Pretoria and meet inside the country for its December 16 congress give those words a prophetic ring.

Delegates made recommendations to various commissions and on changes to the constitution.

It was also decided the national consultative conference should take place every five years, when the president, secretary general, treasurer general and 30 NEC members would be elected.

The NEC and the ANC internal underground were also opened up to "coloureds", Indians and whites.

## 'Council of war'

Tambo said during the conference: "The momentous importance of this occasion makes us feel all the more acutely the absence of comrades who are very dear to us and beloved among our people.

"I refer to the leaders and activists of our movement who are on Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Pretoria and Kroonstad, comrades who should have been with us as we meet here to discuss the future of our country and our people.

ANC chief representative; Robert Conco, Steven Dlamini, Sactu president.

The late Moses Mabhida, SACP general secretary; Henry Makgothi, education director; Joe Modise, MK commander; Florence Mophosho; John Nkadimeng, Sactu general secretary; Mzwai Piliso, special aid to the president; Gertrude Shope, ANC women's section head; Dan Tloome, deputy treasurer and secretary general.

Oliver Tambo was re-elected president. Alfred Nzo secretary general and Thomas Nkobi treasurer general. They are also on the NEC.

"We must and will surely ensure that, next time we meet in conference, they too will be present as delegates" — more prophetic words.

The 1985 consultative conference was described as a "council of war" because it chartered the way forward for the intensification of the armed struggle.

"The delegates agreed that it was vital that we take all necessary measures further to strengthen the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe inside our country, exactly to meet the demands of our people and our situation for a heightened and co-ordinated political and military offensive," Tambo said in a communique after the conference

This year's meeting, in contrast, promises to have a more political than fighting tone, as evidenced in the almost friendly manner in which the ANC's international affairs spokesperson, Thabo Mbeki, and South African foreign minister Rik Botha complimented each other in Ted Koppel's recent American television programme, Nightline, which was relayed also on the SABC-TV's Network recently.

## 'De-racialise'

The 1985 decision to open up ANC ranks to non-Africans paid off politically, as support for the movement has grown within all sectors of the South African society. (Mandela himself said he was surprised at the number of cheering whites he saw on his way from Victor Verster prison on the day of his release).

The next move, which probably will be tackled at this year's consultative conference, is to draw up an active programme firstly to win the confidence of jittery whites, and then to increase and consolidate support for the movement from all sectors of society.

It will certainly be a challenge to the consultative conference to plan a re-education programme to "de-racialise" the popular mentality, so that not only a non-racial attitude but also non-racialism in practice can be promoted.

Unhappily, white South Africans do not have a monopoly over racist attitudes.

Several incidents of racism were reported at Cape Town's Grand Parade at the rally to welcome Nelson Mandela.

These included some people being told, with a touch of antagonism: "You're coloured/white. Mandela's our leader — he's African."

The ANC has a major task to undo the harm apartheid has caused the country and all its people. Its December conference will be decisive.

## Who's who of the ANC

THE following appointments to the ANC's National Executive Committee were confirmed at the 1985 conference. Some of them come up for election in December:

Reg September, former leader of the Coloured People's Congress and former ANC chief representative in Britain; James Stuart, former MK cadre, now member of the presidential secretariat; Mac Maharaj, former Robben Island prisoner and later senior official in the political department;

Aziz Pahad, a London-based exile; Joe Slovo, senior SACP official; Dr Sizakele Sigxashe, former MK cadre and former

ANC director of information; Dr Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's department of research; Dr Francis Meli, head of the ANC's external publicity and information; Anthony Mongalo, former MK cadre and representative to East Germany; Cassius Make, senior MK commander assassinated in Swaziland in 1987; Ruth Mompati, former ANC London Representative; Thabo Mbeki, ANC foreign affairs spokesperson;

Chris Hani, MK political commissar; Simon Makana, administrative secretary; Johnny Makatini, international department director; Joe Nhlahlaha, Jacob Zuma, former Robben Island and Mozambique



# War & <sup>11A</sup> *South 22/2-24/90* peace

**PEACEMAKERS:** ANC and PAC leaders this week joined forces to end the internecine bloodshed in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township. Sealing the peace pact are (from left) the PAC's Zifozonke Tshikila, ANC leader Raymond Mhlaba, PAC leader Jeff Masemola and the UDF's Edgar Ngoyi.

GIVE peace a chance!  
This is the message the ANC leadership will take to trouble-torn Natal townships this week.

Their mission to restore peace was given a boost by the success of the initiatives in the Eastern Cape.

- \* Feuding factions in accord - Page 2
- \* Peace mission for Natal - Page 8

## News in brief

### Mandela visit <sup>118</sup>

HARARE - Zimbabwe Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Elleck Mashingaidze said on Tuesday he could neither deny nor confirm reports that recently released African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would meet President Robert Mugabe in Harare next Monday. *South African 22/2/90*

"I have nothing to say in confirmation, but what we know is Zimbabwe has extended an official invitation for Mandela to visit at any time and date convenient to him," Mashingaidze said.

On the reported forthcoming weekend meeting in Zaire of some Francophone African countries and South African President Mr F W de Klerk, hosted by Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko, Mr Mashingaidze said that so far no invitation had been extended to Zimbabwe.- Sapa.

# ... killed by 'inhuman brutes'

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

11

At 9 o'clock on an already hot Namaqualand morning, a band of Boer commandos led by a hard-nosed commandant named Charles Nieuwoudt galloped into the northern Cape town of Calvinia.

It was January 10 1901 — and the inevitable had happened — the town had been captured without a shot being fired.

And yet, things could so easily have been different...

For several weeks, Abraham Esau, a prominent black local businessman, had warned officials a Boer invasion was inevitable. "Arm us," he begged them, "and we'll defend both the black and white residents of the town."

But his appeal fell on deaf ears. The best he could get out of the decision-makers was a consignment of old sabres. And most of them were blunt!

The Boer sweep into the town was obviously well-planned. Within an hour of the arrival of Nieuwoudt, two further groups — one from the north, the other from the west — came riding in.

Even without weapons, black residents stoutly resisted the invaders. Armed only with stones and a variety of other missiles, they launched a series of daring attacks on the new

masters of the town. But they were merely prolonging the inevitable. Knowing they couldn't lose, the Boers were spoiling for a fight — and for several hours Calvinia echoed to the crack of rifle fire and the thump of sjamboks.

Nieuwoudt himself was involved in an angry exchange with an Indian trader who had "dared" to stone three Boer soldiers whom he had caught trying to loot his shop.

Nevertheless, by noon, after the resistance of the townsfolk had been crushed, people began moving around the town, taking away the dead and the wounded.

Later that night, Boer commandos captured Esau and threw him into jail with other officials of the town.

At 3 o'clock the next afternoon, Nieuwoudt declared himself the new landdrost and announced the immediate promulgation of republican native law.

This included tax payments and labour tribute from all "Hottentots and Kaffirs"; the establishment of a special court to punish "idle" and "disorderly" blacks; and a year's labour service on a white farm for all unmarried males.

Furthermore, severe penalties were

imposed for "unlawful" gatherings, the breaking of curfew, the singing of songs (especially Anglo-Boer war songs) and the use of English by any black or coloured people.

To ensure that these orders were obeyed, Nieuwoudt appointed several local Boer sympathisers as field-cornets, granting them extraordinary powers to flog or expel "criminals" — alternatively, to confiscate their goods.

Later, when messages were sent to local farmers, inviting them to identify any disobedient or troublesome natives, the response was unbelievable.

The Diamond Fields Advertiser reported, that every Dutchman in the district who had a grudge against his native employees brought them before the landdrost. In 10 days, more than 100 labourers were tried, convicted and sentenced to beatings, hard labour and to have their children "confiscated" so that the children could be sent to serve as "apprentices" for Boer families.

Having done all this, Nieuwoudt turned his attention to his star prisoner, Esau.

But no amount of beating could persuade Esau to divulge the names of

the informers who had pointed out Boer activist farmers to the British. And not even torture could persuade him to say where an alleged arms cache was hidden.

On January 14, a contingent of farmers approached Nieuwoudt with a new list of accusations against Esau. He had encouraged their labourers to commit arson and to maim stock of farmers who supported the Boers, they claimed.

Esau's imprisonment, meanwhile, had failed to quell resistance. On January 12 and 13, large crowds ignored Nieuwoudt's curfew, and gathered outside the prison to sing hymns. On the morning of January 14, two dogs belonging to a prison guard were poisoned. On the same day, a horse owned by a Boer commando was maimed.

Nieuwoudt's reaction to these displays of defiance was swift and vicious: first, he grabbed three people at random and flogged them. Next, on his orders, Esau was dragged out of his cell and taken to the front of the prison where he was beaten up and spat upon.

Then, as he lay helpless outside the jail, his captors smeared him in offal

and chained him to a stake for more than three hours in the intense midday heat.

But still the people refused to be intimidated: women threw Esau flowers, children brought him water and large crowds assembled near the jail and sang hymns.

On January 15, when Esau was again hauled before Nieuwoudt, he was sentenced to 25 lashes for having spoken out against the Boers. He was tied to a gum tree, and Nieuwoudt himself administered the punishment, stopping at 17, when Esau fainted.

In the next fortnight, the unfortunate prisoner was lashed several more times, before being kicked, spat upon and stoned.

On February 5, Esau was put in leg irons, tied between two horses, and dragged at a brisk pace for more than a kilometre to the outskirts of town. There, he was shot several times.

• Later, when the full story of Esau's imprisonment and murder became known (to the embarrassment of the republicans), the pro-Boer "Het Zuid-Oosten" newspaper suggested the Boer commandos had shot Esau in self-defence "after he had charged down upon them".

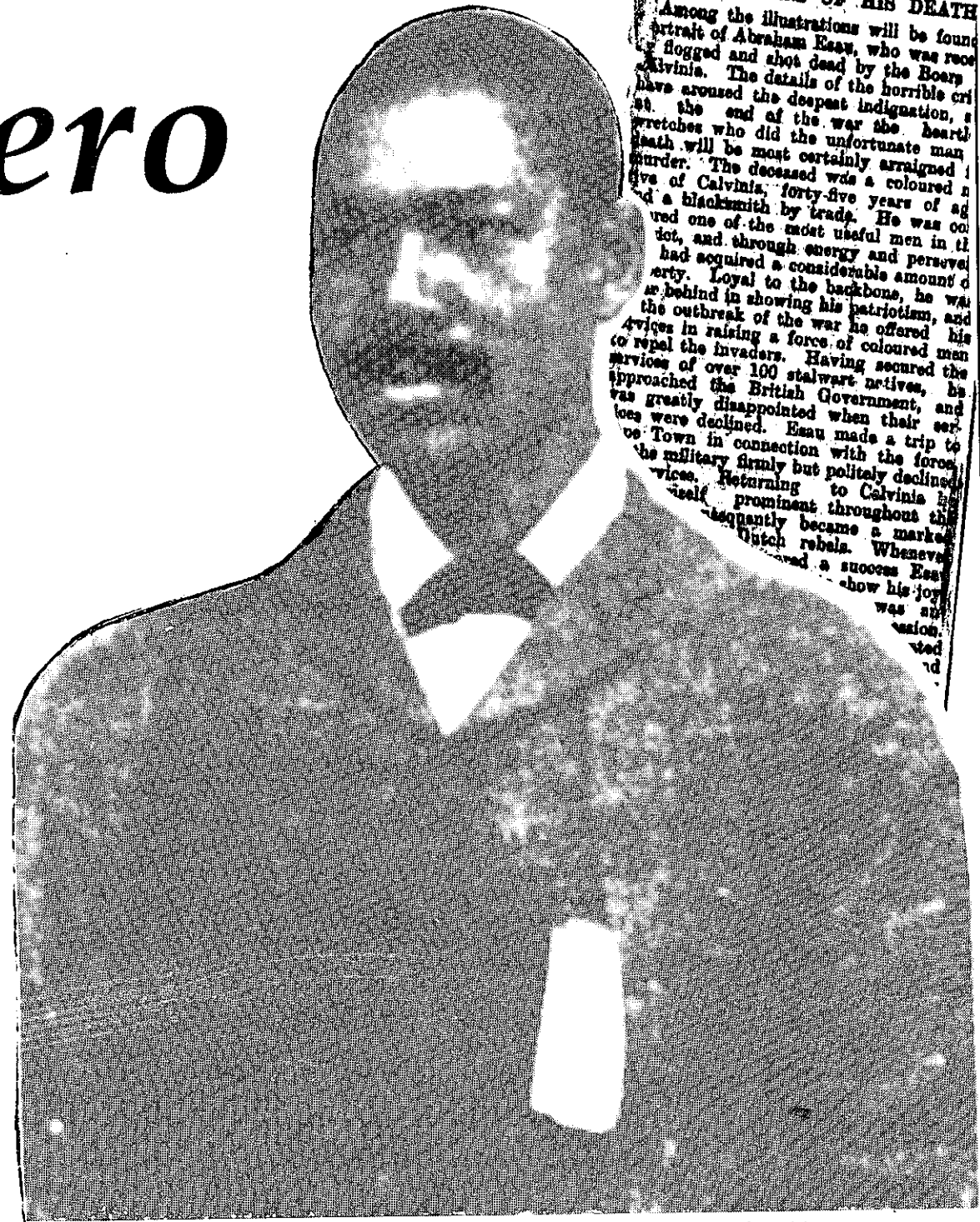


# Calvinia's 'Boy' Hero

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

11

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS  
 THE MARTYRED ESAU.  
 PARTICULARS OF HIS DEATH  
 Among the illustrations will be found a portrait of Abraham Esau, who was recently flogged and shot dead by the Boers in Calvinia. The details of the horrible crime have aroused the deepest indignation, and at the end of the war the Boer republicans who did the unfortunate man's death will be most certainly arraigned in a court of law. The deceased was a coloured man of Calvinia, forty-five years of age, and a blacksmith by trade. He was considered one of the most useful men in the district, and through energy and perseverance had acquired a considerable amount of property. Loyal to the backbone, he was always behind in showing his patriotism, and on the outbreak of the war he offered his services in raising a force of coloured men to repel the invaders. Having secured the services of over 100 stalwart natives, he approached the British Government, and was greatly disappointed when their services were declined. Esau made a trip to Cape Town in connection with the force, but the military firmly but politely declined his services. Returning to Calvinia he was prominent throughout the district, and consequently became a marked man of the Dutch rebels. Whenever he was seen a success Esau would show his joy and satisfaction.



# This photograph of Abraham Esau appeared in the Cape Times, March 1901.

Hidden away between the yellow, dog-eared pages of a scrapbook in London's National Army Museum is a photograph of one of Southern Africa's forgotten martyrs — a Calvinia blacksmith named Abraham Esau.

Although the caption under the photo describes him as "the Cape Boy Hero of Calvinia", Esau was anything but a boy when he was brutally murdered by Boer republicans in 1901.

Abraham Esau was born around 1855 (which would have made him about 46 years old at the time of his death). His parents were Kenhardt farm labourers Martha April and Adam Esau.

Like the majority of black families in the northwestern Cape, the Esaus — mother, father and many children — eked out a poverty-stricken existence from the land. And yet, in one crucial respect they were different from their neighbours: their home language was English.

The reason was simple; father Adam Esau was so impressed with the work of local Methodist missionaries, he considered them ideal role models for his large family.

This meant English had to be spoken at home; only an English-language Bible could be read in the house; and the little schooling father Esau could afford for his children had to be taken at an English-language school.

All these factors helped to plant the seeds of political activism in young Abraham.

And yet, after having attended school just long enough to have mastered the basics of reading and writing, he seemed quite content to earn his living as a carpenter in the Kenhardt, Prieska and Fraserburg districts.

Sometime in the 1870s, however, his life changed: In what proved to be an inspired decision, he opened a blacksmith's shop in Calvinia. From then on, his stature in the district grew so rapidly that by the time the first shots of the South African War were fired in 1899, he had become a leading light of Calvinia's small "coloured" community.

As the Boer forces swept from victory to victory in the early stages of the conflict, Esau became the official spokesperson (and chief activist) of Calvinia's black inhabitants.

It took a lot of courage to campaign in the manner in which he did: local Afrikaner farmers would boast every day about what republican rule would mean to uppity 'kaffirs'. Horrific tales of beatings, summary executions, confiscation of goods and property and forced labour that were filtering in from other parts of the country were enough to strike fear in the stoutest heart.

But Esau's tireless campaigning kept his comrades' morale high. Sadly, even though the loyalty of the black inhabitants was beyond question, Cape authorities refused to arm them.

To give a gun to a black man was an option many officials considered too ghastly to contemplate: it would surely turn local farmers from being passive supporters of the republican cause to active campaigners, they argued.

And so, even as Boer forces began circling Calvinia, ready to occupy it, all the black defenders of the town received from the local magistrate were a few old swords.

This lack of protection was to cost Esau his life...



# DP leaders' talks with Mandela, ANC

ARKUS  
22/2/90

11A

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leaders Dr Zac de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Dennis Worrall will meet Mr Nelson Mandela and the internal committee of the African National Congress executive in Johannesburg tomorrow for talks on negotiations.

The DP leadership — forging what they believe will be a decisive role in the negotiating process — will be accompanied by the head of the party's interaction group, Mr Peter Gastrow MP.

The main item on the agenda will be persuading the ANC to accept the principle that it will

be necessary to have an independent facilitator or co-ordinator to manage the negotiations and to create a democratic negotiating structure in which any aggrieved party can appeal in the interests of fair play.

Tomorrow's appointment with the ANC follows a comprehensive four-hour meeting just over a week ago with senior Pan Africanist Congress officials.

The DP's overriding objective in pre-negotiation contacts is to ensure there is a commitment to democratic principles.

Mr Wynand Malan said the meetings — and the DP's determination to play a direct role in setting up negotiations — showed the party had “al-

ready joined the pre-negotiation talks”.

Announcing details of the talks at a meeting in Sea Point last night, Mr Malan said: “This is serious stuff, it is not just symbolic.”

“We will be discussing policy and hope to find agreement and come out with a joint statement on what we hope to achieve.”

## “Holy war”

He added: “You will see in the weeks to come the DP becoming more active in the sense of a power-player and we will be recognised in this role by the other major actors in the political process. We are on our own turf now ... it is no longer a holy war between the system and the struggle.”

“The first thing is to find an independent co-ordinator to achieve this. Dr Worrall has already suggested the Chief Justice for this role. We will have to explore this.”

● The SA Chamber of Business, concerned over ANC statements about nationalisation and sanctions, disclosed today that a meeting with Mr Mandela is expected to be held soon to discuss future economic policy and constitutional issues.

## ANC's pace is slow — Leon

DURBAN — The ANC seemed to be even more slow-moving than government in its response to recent events, DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon said yesterday. <sup>3000</sup> <sup>(3000)</sup> <sup>22/2/90</sup>

He told the Durban Women's Zionist League that the

fact that the movement was only convening a congress in 10 months' time to choose a leader and attend to its affairs indicated it was not expecting to attain power soon. (11A)

He said it was unlikely that the country and its people would stand still while "the various parties get their acts together".

Leon said he thought "strangely enough" that the CP could play a constructive role in negotiations.

He said the fact that it could mobilise a large element of the white community proved that the unconditional demand of one man one vote in a unitary state was unlikely to be attainable without massive and violent resistance from this powerful minority. <sup>104</sup>

He said they injected an element of reality into the debate and should take part in negotiations. — Sapa.

# Churches monitor change

South 22/21 - 22/2190  
THE World Council of Churches (WCC) is to establish a "visible mechanism" to mobilise international support for, and monitor, the process of change in South Africa.

Some 50 representatives of churches and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, the Frontline States and overseas countries requested this at a WCC conference held in Harare last weekend, according to a statement released by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The new developments since the unbanning of various organisations and Nelson Mandela's release provided "some light at the end of the tunnel, and vindicate the people's faith against faith and hope against hope", said WCC general secretary Emilio Castro.

However, the conference warned "the present euphoria should not blind us to the unchanged realities which continue to exist".

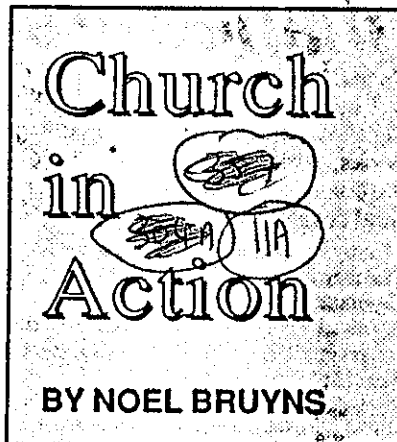
"The churches, both in South Africa and abroad, will need to exercise maximum vigilance in this critical period to ensure the early and rapid transformation of South Africa into a united, non-racial and democratic state."

Other aspects which would necessitate vigilance on the part of the churches were the mechanisms for the drawing up of a new constitution, and the agreements about arrangements for a transitional government and the holding of elections.

## German solidarity

CHRISTIANS could not celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela without re-dedicating themselves to the struggle of the South African majority as long as all the conditions of the Harare Document had not been met.

This was said by South African



Robert Kriger when almost 200 people met at the Protestant Academy Bad Boll in West Germany to celebrate Mandela's release last weekend.

The Rev Manfred Fisher, the academy's first director, said it would assist "to keep up international pressure for especially financial sanctions against the South African government and to continue informing the general public of the political machinations and brutal killings perpetrated by the Inkatha movement - which enjoys respectability among especially business circles here in West Germany".

A group of young church and trade union members who had been to South Africa at the invitation of members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) made an audio-visual report.

The academy, in partnership with Diakonia, the ecumenical institution in Durban, will host a South Africa Week in October. Issues dealing with labour, education and culture will be addressed.

The academy said it would look at ways in which it could support these issues.

242990

## FW 'yes' to talks expected

Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk, is expected to announce today or tomorrow that he is prepared to meet a delegation from the African National Congress to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

A Tuynhuys spokesman said today there would be a statement soon.

Although no official communication has yet been received by President de Klerk after the statement by the ANC executive in Lusaka last Friday, the matter was considered at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

The ANC has said its internal leadership would send a letter to Mr de Klerk.

Among the obstacles mentioned by the ANC is the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the halting of all political trials and the removal of all troops from the townships.

The SA Communist Party has announced in Lusaka it wants to send a delegation to the Government for talks. This will not be part of the ANC's team.

The SACP also said it would soon announce a leadership core within the country and would send members into the country to strengthen this core.

4/10/90 22/2/90

(S) (S) (11A) (S)

# Pupils 'expel' more school principals

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Two more township secondary school principals and a deputy head have been "expelled" by pupils as the crisis in black education in Cape Town grows.

A Department of Education and Training (DET) spokesman has confirmed the "expulsion" of Gugulethu Comprehensive head Mr T Slabbert and his deputy, a Mr Veers.

He said they were ordered to leave last Thursday by angry pupils who accused them of racism.

He said the third, Ms VC January, a black principal of Malizo Secondary School in Site B, Khayelitsha, was "expelled" on Monday.

A pupil and a member of the Students' Representative Council at Malizo, who wished to remain anonymous, said the principal was expelled because of her "close association" with vigilantes.

The DET spokesman said a meeting to address the crisis would be held with the National Education Co-ordinating Commit-

tee today.

● It is reported from Grahams-town that the SA National Students' Congress (Sansco) is to embark on mass action next week to demand the immediate re-admission of students excluded and expelled on academic and political grounds from various colleges, technikons and universities around the country.

● Sapa reports that the Department of Education and Training has suspended classes for 10 days at 17 schools in the Free State following week-long boycotts by about 20 000 black pupils in two townships.

## Demands

Confirming the decision, the regional chief director for the DET in the Free State, Mr Nic Botha, said yesterday that the institutions were shut down in Thabong, near Welkom, and Meloding, near Virginia.

He said he could not agree to some of the demands behind the boycotts.

He had repeatedly asked for

firm accusations from pupils against teachers and principals, but these had not been forthcoming.

However, the general secretary of the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), Mr Lawrence Nquandela, who is mobilising support for pupils in the area, said attempts to meet DET officials had been met with silence.

● About 72 000 pupils at Department of Education and Training secondary schools were involved almost every day in stayaways between January 24 and February 13, Deputy Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid, Mr Piet Marais, said in Pretoria yesterday.

This meant that about 15 per cent of pupils had had no teaching for three weeks or more.

At many schools there was a complete lack of discipline, he said.

Indications were that there were about 60 000 more secondary pupils this year than in 1989 — an increase of 14 per cent.

There was currently a backlog of 6 000 classrooms.

# Inkatha, ANC meet for peace

CNT  
Tm/s  
22/2/90

DURBAN. — ANC and Inkatha leaders are to meet today in historic peace talks to discuss the Natal violence.

The ANC leaders will visit troubled townships and speak to people directly affected by the fighting. The mission will end with an ANC rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on Sunday, which will be addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela.

ANC leaders including Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Andrew Mlangeni will meet representatives of Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance "as a preliminary step to further negotiations".

The Inkatha representatives are Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary-general and KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, and Dr Frank Mdlalose, KwaZulu Minister of Health and Social Welfare. The Cosatu/UDF representatives are Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association, and Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Police, in their 24-hour unrest report, said the only incident in Natal occurred when a man was shot dead at Imbali, near Maritzburg, after a house was attacked. A woman and a youth were also wounded in the incident.

Meanwhile, thousands of Inkatha supporters, who gathered at the home of Inkatha leader and member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Mr David Ntombela, at Elandskop yesterday in the wake of an attack on buses in the area on Tuesday night, resolved yesterday to request Mr Mandela to call on his followers in Natal to stop the killings and particularly intimidation of Inkatha members.

Police have confirmed that one man was killed and that five others were injured when nine buses transporting workers home were ambushed and attacked with stones, firearms and petrol bombs by a large group at Inadi on Tuesday night.

However, residents say at least two people were killed, five were seriously injured and many others received minor injuries.

There was a strong police presence at yesterday's meeting which was attended by thousands of angry people.

● Mr Mandela will visit Lusaka next week and meet the leaders of the six frontline states, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday.

Mr Mandela is also expected to brief the ANC on his talks with the SA government and the intensive array of discussions he has had with diplomats, church, tribal and political leaders since his release. — Sapa and Own Correspondents.

● 'Cops let killing escalate' — Page 5

# ANC says Brits broke their word

LUSAKA - The African National Congress yesterday accused the British government of breaking its word on economic sanctions against South Africa. *Southern 22/2/90*

By lifting a ban on British investment in South Africa, Britain violated the sanctions agreements of the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community that it once vowed it would honor, said ANC information chief Pallo Jordan.

"The British Government has gone back on its word," Jordan told reporters at the ANC's external headquarters in Lusaka.

Britain announced on Tuesday that it was ending the investment ban to encourage reform by South African President FW De Klerk.

Jordan said the British move was part of a pattern set by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, favouring South Africa's white minority Government.

"She has been quite prepared to be out of step with the rest of the world in her anxiety to accommodate the Pretoria regime," said the head of the guerrilla-backed organisation's information department.

He said Britain was party to international agreements that specified there would be no easing of trade and investment boycotts until irreversible change occurred in South Africa to end the apartheid system of racial separation.

"We don't think by any stretch of the imagination the measures announced by De Klerk are irreversible," Jordan said.

He said the ANC was appealing to British business interests not to take advantage of the lifting of the investment ban.

The ANC has repeatedly said Thatcher's opposition to sanctions risked delaying change in South Africa by reducing pressure on the Pretoria Government. - Sapa-Reuter.



LUSAKA, Zambia - For thousands of ANC activists the long, hard years of political exile are all but over. They are going home, probably before year-end.

Most exiles at the ANC's external headquarters are expected to return well before a national conference scheduled for December 16, the organisation's first full-scale meeting inside South Africa since it was outlawed there in 1960.

"I can't wait to smell the coal smoke of Soweto," said Chris, an ANC mechanic in Lusaka who refused to give his full name.

The 28-year-old black South African grew up in the sprawling Soweto township where the dawn horizon is laden with smoke from tens of thousands of coal fires.

## Fugitives

He said he headed a militant youth group before he fled to Zambia to escape arrest by South African police for alleged sabotage in 1979. He did guerrilla training in neighbouring Tanzania before being attached to the motor pool in Zambia to work variously as a mechanic, driver and bodyguard to top ANC officials.

Christie, one of many ANC fugitives - estimates run as high as 3000 - who came to Zambia, one of Africa's poorest nations, and made their homes in run-down brick shacks in Lusaka's unkempt, decaying suburbs.

As part of a sweeping reform programme, President F W de Klerk on February 2 lifted a 30-year ban on the ANC. On February 10, he freed one of its leaders, Nelson Mandela, who had served 27 years of a life sentence for plotting the violent overthrow of the white-controlled Government.

The reforms cleared the way for the external wing of the ANC, long the target of bomb attacks and retribution, to return home and reorganise itself openly as a political force inside South Africa.

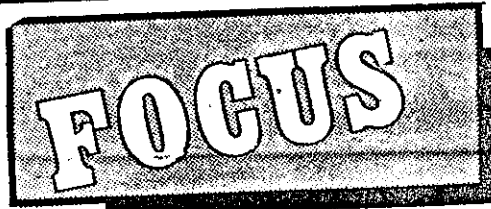
## Small offices

"Everyone is extremely excited about going home," said ANC information chief Pallo Jordan. "We have lived with all sorts of threats for such a long time it would be pointless to worry about our safety now."

The exiles will be leaving behind the peeling-paint walls of a handful of small offices located on a garbage-strewn alley behind a used car lot and second-hand fur-

# Anxious exiles are eager to return

*Samuel 22/2/90*  
Many fugitives live in squalor



niture store in downtown Lusaka.

The dingy headquarters is a far cry from the slick corridors of power in South Africa, the continent's richest nation.

A lone telex machine functions sporadically, and one of the two telephones at ANC headquarters recently was dead for more than six weeks, adding to persistent criticism of chronic inefficiency and general malaise that is ascribed to the would-be government-in-waiting.

## Infiltration

The ANC says it first set up in Zambia in the early 1970s to tap its courier networks from South Africa through Botswana and Mozambique.

As the number of exiles grew - and many were in transit for military training in Angola, Tanzania and the Soviet Union - so did the threat of attacks and infiltration by South African agents.

The organisation, explains spokesman Tom Sebina, spread its living quarters around the Zambian capital so as not to concentrate its people in large groups. He believes this may have been why there were injuries but no

deaths in a score of bombings over the past decade.

Ranking political officials and guerrilla leaders were split up and assigned separate safe houses in a city where just one third of dwellings are connected to water-borne sewer systems. Few of the 35 members of the national executive committee have home telephones.

## Chongela farm

Exiled South Africans opened a clinic and nursery for their families, and the ANC acquired a 3 000-acre (1 250-hectare) farm once owned by a Polish countess about 40 km north of Lusaka.

Chongela farm, near the Chongela river, aimed to but did not always succeed in making the ANC self-sufficient in corn, eggs, vegetables, meat and poultry.

When there were times of surplus, an Angolan government cargo plane collected the corn once every two weeks for distribution at ANC camps in northern Angola, Sebina says.

Sebina (52), who knew Mandela before his imprisonment, last saw his own family and the

township of his childhood in 1965.

"I have been away so long I've forgotten what I miss," he said. "When you leave, you are separated from everything you love and enjoy. That is the hard part."

## Cholera

First in Senegal and then in Lusaka, Sebina and fellow South Africans found it difficult to adjust to other African cultures. In Zambia he laments the pervasiveness of "bubblegum pop music" and Japanese karate movies - as well as the fact that uncleared garbage and broken drains have left more than 70 Zambian city dwellers dead from cholera so far this year.

Like all full-time ANC officials, Sebina receives a food ration and free medical care but no salary. Instead, as a middle-level official, he gets a monthly spending allowance of about 900 Zambian Kwacha (about R88) and lives frugally in a cramped two-room township-style brick house.

The ANC's international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, has a rented suburban home paid for mainly by his wife Zanele, a staffer at the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, while Chris Hani, the urbane military chief of staff who holds an arts degree, shares a bungalow with two bodyguards. When militant Steve Tshwete is not roaming foreign capitals garnering support, his driver doubles as a general assistant.

As ANC leaders began preparing for their first preliminary talks with the Pretoria Government to clear obstacles to full-scale negotiations, a new conciliatory mood also emerged at Radio Freedom, the organisation's Lusaka-based station.

## Realistic

Most of the hostile rhetoric has gone, says announcer Siphon Malata, but one signature tune, a revolutionary song calling the masses to arms and punctuated by automatic gunfire, is still beamed daily into South Africa from Zambian government transmitters.

"We are pursuing a realistic approach. We don't want to be over-zealous but we don't want to be overwhelmed by euphoric either," said Malata. - Sapa-AP.

# Chiefs ask Mandela to visit graves

South 22/2 - 28/2/90

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Chiefs from Tembuland in the Transkei have asked freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela to visit the graves of dead relatives there.

The leader of the delegation of chiefs, Chief Anderson Joyl, said they had visited Mandela also to discuss the developments in the country and in the homeland.

Bishop Barnabas Lekhanyane, head of the Zionist Christian

(11A)  
Church (ZCC), met Mandela at the ANC's leader's Orlando West home in Soweto on Tuesday.

A Swedish delegation also met Mandela, to prepare for his forthcoming visit to Sweden, where he will also see ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a brain spasm.

Mandela will address two big rallies on Sunday — in Bloemfontein and in Durban.

He will meet Zimbabwean presi-

dent Robert Mugabe in Harare on Monday, according to a spokesperson for the National Reception Committee (NRC).

He is to meet Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, in Lusaka on Tuesday, where he is to hold discussions with the exiled leadership of the ANC.

After talks with the ANC in Lusaka, Mandela will fly to Stockholm to visit Tambo.

# ANC spies speak

From MONO BADELA

PRETORIA. - Three released ANC cadres convicted of spying on the SAP this week told of their "double life" as security policemen. *South 22/2 - 28/2/90*

"It was a very risky piece of work," said Cédric Rabuli.

Rabuli, Matshwenyego "Swenki" Mokgabudi and Lucas Mabe were released last week in terms of president FW de Klerk's opening of parliament announcements. (11A)

"We were at the mercy of both the system and the comrades. We threw Molotov bombs (petrol bombs) at the homes of some of our colleagues helping to do the work of the comrades. The comrades themselves hated us and we faced their wrath all the time," said Rabuli.

As double agents they continued to carry out the instructions of Umkonto We Sizwe, without activists suspecting anything.

At the time of their arrest in 1986 the three were members of the secu-



'Swenki' Mokgabudi

rity police based at Compol, the SAP's Pretoria headquarters.

The three men were convicted in the Pretoria Central prison on December 3 1987 on charges of being members of the ANC, furthering its aims and of disclosing sensitive security information to the ANC. (250)

On appeal their 14-year sentence was reduced to six years.

"Our organisation is now legal. Our task is to work hard during the time of its restructuring," said Makgabodi.

**TO PAGE THREE**

## Spies speak of double life

FROM PAGE ONE (251)

On their release from Diepkloof Prison last Thursday they declared their support for the organisation they served for so long in secret.

Makgabudi said he and the others collected "top security information" and passed it to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka. This information had helped save high officials of the movement from possible assassination attempts. (11A)

In the time that Swenki served as a "policeman" his house was attacked and fire-bombed. His father is an ex-policeman. *South 22/2 - 28/2/90*

The three are among at least 11 others released last week from jails throughout the country.

# ANC brings Inkatha and Cosatu to peace talks

6/10/91 22/7/90

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — ANC and Inkatha leaders will discuss the Natal violence for the first time at a meeting here today, as part of the ANC's "peace mission" to the strife-torn province.

The mission will include visits by ANC leaders to troubled townships and discussions with people directly affected by the violence.

It will end with a mass ANC rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on Sunday. The rally will be addressed by Nelson Mandela.

Organisers said yesterday that between 175 000 and 250 000 people were expected.

ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni arrive at Louis Botha airport this morning and will meet representatives of Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance this afternoon.

Leading the Inkatha delegation is secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

The Cosatu/UDF representatives are Dr Dilliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association, and Numsa education officer Alec Erwin.

One of the organisers Anne McKay estimates costs for the rally as approaching the R175 000 mark.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that

unrest victims admitted to Natal/KwaZulu hospitals are stretching health services to their limits and officials may call for help from the SA Defence Force.

Northdale Hospital medical superintendent Dr L Dwartkapersad told reporters yesterday trauma-related cases had more than doubled over the past few years.

## Severe wounds

Trauma-related cases came from all over the Edendale valley. Many patients were afraid to go to the Edendale Hospital.

Whereas in the past the hospital had dealt with between 350 and 450 cases a day, the Northdale Hospital was dealing with more than 800 cases a day, he said.

"About 50% of our black out-patients

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:	668
February 1983 — February 20 1990:	628
Past 24 hours' official toll:	1
TOTAL:	1 297

come in with severe wounds and have to be admitted," he said.

ACHMED KARIEM reports that the spate of faction killings in Johannesburg since last March, in which at least six people have died, originated in the Msinga area of Natal, according to Natal University (Maritzburg) adult education head John Aitchison.

Aitchison, a prominent researcher on the Natal conflict, said yesterday land pressure had been a problem at Msinga — an impoverished area bordering white-settler land — since the turn of the century.

"The tribal dispute has no political content in the real sense, and has been exacerbated by the way SA has been ruled," said Aitchison.

Johannesburg's most recent faction fight, witnessed by a Business Day reporter, flared on the streets of Hillbrow this week and involved at least 10 people from rival Zulu groups.

The incident, in which a 24-year-old man was gunned down, took place on Tuesday night around 8pm outside the Mimosa Hotel in Louis Botha Avenue.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said police found nine spent cartridges at the scene of the murder.

He said it was a tribal matter "and these groups believe nobody should interfere".



ERWIN... Numsa delegate



DHLOMO... Inkatha leader

SADF contingents sent to

# Urgent ANC bid to block Zaire summit

B/DM

22/2/90

11A

~~2~~

~~3~~

CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC has urgently appealed to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to prevent this weekend's planned summit between President F W de Klerk and five African leaders in Zaire, the ANC said in a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday.

Senior members of the ANC yesterday contacted the OAU which is meeting in Addis Ababa for a ruling on the matter.

In the statement the ANC said the national executive committee was very disturbed at the news of the Zaire meeting.

The meeting, which was hailed by SA government sources as an important diplomatic breakthrough, will see presidents Hissen Habre of Chad, Maj Gen Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda, Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Gen Andre Kolingba of the Central African Republic meeting De Klerk at a summit hosted by Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko.

However, the Chadian Embassy in France last night denied Chad had received an invitation to the summit.

The meeting would be the first time African heads of state have initiated a multi-lateral meeting with an SA head of state. However, the ANC said the OAU had a well-known policy to "isolate the apartheid regime".

It said the ANC's negotiation document, the Harare Declaration, which had been endorsed by the UN and OAU, reaffirmed this position.

"The steps taken by President Mobutu Sese Seko are premature. The African states concerned have not consulted the ANC, Nelson Mandela or other leaders. Their action is contrary to positions publically stated by all our leaders", the statement said.

ANC officials in Lusaka seemed confident that the OAU would rule against the summit which apparently does not have the backing of key African leaders, including some of the Frontline presidents.

The ANC is concerned that euphoria about De Klerk's unbanning of organisations and release of Mandela has led to a more amenable disposition towards SA by African leaders and some Western leaders, who are reconsidering the political and economic isolation of SA.

The ANC has repeatedly stated it is concerned that this isolation should continue until a new apartheid free constitution for a unitary SA has been negotiated, a senior ANC official said.

Although the ANC has said it may be prepared to consider the lifting of cultural and sports boycotts if positive moves continue to be made by government, it wants to control this momentum and ensure that Western and African leaders "do not jump the gun", one official said.

The Saturday summit is expected to deal with economic co-operation between SA and other countries in the region.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the SA government is moving ahead with plans for the summit at the town of Goma, despite moves by the ANC to block the the meeting.

A spokesman for the State President's office in Cape Town did not wish to comment on whether the Africa trip would go ahead and referred all inquiries to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the meeting was still on course and arrange-

□ To Page 2

## ANC bid

B/DM 22/2/90

11A ~~2~~ □ From Page 1

ments were being finalised for the one-day summit.

□ Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that Angolan government sources said yesterday a visit to Luanda by Foreign Minister Pik Botha originally expected today had been postponed for a week.

Sources at the Angolan Foreign Ministry, who requested customary anonymity, said they had been informed of the postponement by a telex from SA's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Botha's aide at the Foreign Affairs Department Pieter Swanepoel also denied the

minister would make the trip today.

The Luanda sources originally said Botha would arrive today for talks with his Angolan counterpart Pedro de Castro van Dunem, as bitter fighting continued between government troops and Unita rebels around the strategic Mavinga airstrip in southeastern Angola.

Botha was also to have met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the sources said.

They added the ministers would try to set a possible date for a meeting of Angolan, Cuban and SA officials here to discuss the military situation around Mavinga - Sapa-AP.

● Comment: Page 10

# Mandela flies to Lusaka Monday to brief ANC on meetings

NELSON Mandela will travel to Lusaka on Monday to meet the national executive council of the ANC, after which he will travel to Zimbabwe to see President Robert Mugabe, said ANC spokesman Tom Sebina. *15/04 22/2/90*  
Mandela is expected to brief the ANC on his talks with the SA government and the intensive array of discussions he has

**CHARLENE SMITH**

had with diplomats, church, tribal and political leaders since his release.

He may meet other Frontline leaders in Harare.

Thereafter he and his wife will travel to Sweden to see ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Today Mandela meets Victor Sefora, leader of the Bophuthatswana opposition party, Seopasengwe, and he will also meet Azapo representatives.

*11/1* Tomorrow he will meet a DP delegation led by co-leader Wynand Malan, which will include Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer, reports Sapa.

# Time to de-demonise our enemies, build on truth

(IIA) stor 2/2/90

The tentative rapprochement between the Government and the ANC signals a dramatic new departure in South African politics.

For many years the NP and the ANC as the two main political forces in South Africa thought that the country could be governed only by totally excluding the other.

When that proved to be impossible, they attempted to seize or retain power by co-opting sufficient numbers of the "moderate" wing of their opponents.

Now for the first time both the NP and ANC are moving beyond exclusion or co-option and are contemplating becoming the two main pillars in a new ruling coalition.

While sanctions have exerted constant pressure on government, the main reasons for the fundamental shift in NP policy must be sought elsewhere.

When the Government, at the beginning of the 1980s, started out on its co-option policies, its calculation was that it would pick up enough support in the form of brown and black junior partners to compensate for the losses it expected as a result of defections from the white right wing.

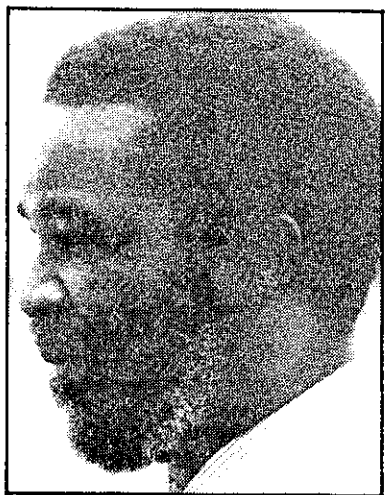
By the mid-1980s, it had become clear this gamble had failed. During the unrest of 1984-86, very few of the Government's putative allies in the townships or the homelands proved to be of much worth in stabilising the situation.

## Transformation

For the whites as a shrinking minority it had become imperative to find credible partners in the black population to launch the major political and economic transformation which South Africa would have to undergo in the next decade or two.

When black leaders, during the second half of the 1980s, consistently rejected government invitations to "negotiate" unless the ANC was unbanned and its senior political leadership released from jail, the co-optation game was up.

University of Cape Town Professor of Political Studies **HERMANN GILMEE** analyses the new climate of politics in South Africa and suggests that the best route for the main parties to take is one that builds up prospective partners rather than demonises them. A promising start in this "two-way traffic" approach was made by Mr Thabo Mbeki (right) when he said: "The ANC and NP must not single out the other as the black sheep. It is time they told the truth about each other."



Insiders in government say that by the time of the 1987 election, Mr de Klerk had already come to this conclusion. To President Botha's chagrin, he refused to fight the election purely on a security platform and instead addressed the issue of a common citizenship for all.

The ANC similarly found its strategy of "dividing the ruling bloc" only yielded limited returns. Undoubtedly the 50-odd conferences overseas organised by Idasa and other bodies had a positive impact on the public perception of the ANC, but very few individuals with a significant internal following among whites aligned themselves to the ANC.

The ANC's main constitutional proposals still have virtually no support among whites.

In a 1989 nation-wide poll among a representative panel of whites, even among Democratic Party supporters there was only 5 percent support for the concept of "one person, one vote in a unitary state".

The overwhelming majority of whites persistently appear to insist on maintaining their political coherence in some form or another and the right to choose their own leaders.

What this means is that there is no non-aligned, unaligned "soft" centre in South African politics on which to base a new system. It will have to rest on the major political movements.

During a visit in January to Northern Ireland and Israel, I found in conversations with political leaders that some of them have come to a similar conclusion. As Mr John Hume, the remarkable leader of the main Catholic party in Northern Ireland remarked to me: "You cannot build a bridge from the middle of the river."

And Mr Faisal el-Husseini, the emerging leader of the internal Palestinian resistance, said: "We increasingly will have to engage the mainstream Israeli politicians to pursue our quest for a separate state. The days of talking only to world bodies or left-wing Israelis are over."

The Government's game plan appears to put in place a leadership cartel of five or six political heavyweights representing the main political movements in the country. It is this body which will have to steer the country out of the apartheid order.

The Government's policy is prob-

ably to position this cartel in a similar power relationship as the United Nations Security Council. If the Government has its way, any legislative body chosen in South Africa on a common voters' roll will probably not have more power than the General Assembly of the United Nations.

## Self-definition

Both the ANC and the NP will have to unlearn some old bad habits if they wish to come to an understanding. It above all means they will have to address the other party in terms of that party's own self-definition rather than some stereotype or caricature.

In essence, this means building up a prospective partner rather than demonising him as an evil and destructive force. In an SABC interview, Mr Thabo Mbeki made a promising start in this direction when he said: "The ANC and NP must not single out the other as the black sheep. It is time they told the truth about each other." Obviously this suggests a two-way traffic in which both the ANC and the NP will have to get involved.

But it is ultimately deeds which will count more than anything else. There will be no significant progress towards peace unless both the ANC and NP manage to stem the violence in our society. Not only must the Government bring the police under firmer control but the ANC will also have to make its stand on violence more unambiguous.

Over the past week, the white right wing has shown it is a more formidable force than most observers previously thought. It could become an unstoppable force should violence and mayhem continue while the NP and ANC are sitting down for negotiations. It is in the interests of both these movements to settle the issue of violence to their mutual satisfaction as soon as possible.

# ANC 'peace mission in Natal today

DURBAN — The ANC's "peace mission" to unrest areas in Natal begins today with a visit to townships around Maritzburg.

It will end with a mass rally at Kings Park Stadium in Durban on Sunday.

Organisers yesterday gave details of the mission.

ANC leaders — among them Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Andrew Mlangeni — will visit Mpumalanga township between Maritzburg and Durban, which has been the centre of much of the fighting between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu supporters.

Mr Nelson Mandela will not be in the party.

A meeting of Inkatha officials and UDF/Cosatu leaders and the ANC representatives has also been arranged for today. — Sapa.



## Back among friends and family

By GAYE DAVIS in Lusaka  
AFTER a quarter of a century in exile, veteran African National Congress members Jack Simons and Ray Alexander are returning home.

When their flight lands in Johannesburg next Friday, the couple will be the first ANC cadres to re-enter the country with the blessing of both the ANC and the government.

"We have been separated from our children, grandchildren and friends for 25 years," Simons said yesterday.

"We have been committed to ending apartheid for the past 60 years. Now we feel there is a new mood in South Africa. It doesn't mean that it will happen overnight, or even next year, but we're on the way to bringing about a non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Her husband added: "Don't think it's all one way. We think there are great dangers lying ahead — there may be a backlash, there could be repression even worse than before.

"But we don't want to sit here and see things unfold. We want to be a part of it."

Their request for permission to return home early — made immediately after the unbanning of the ANC earli-

er this month — was readily granted by the ANC's national executive committee. W/Mad 23/2 — 1/3/90

The couple have been offered honorary fellowships at the University of Cape Town, which will allow them to continue with work they have in progress.

Simons intends writing a book, *The Common Society*, which will document black and white conflict in South African history.

Alexander, an honorary life president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, intends continuing with the task she set herself in 1940: establishing a single union for food workers and "organising the unorganised".

For Simons, it will be "a return to my roots".

He lectured in African government and law at UCT from 1937 until 1965 when a banning order imposed by then Minister of Justice, BJ Vorster, forced him to stop work and barred him from writing for publication and attending public gatherings.

Alexander, the first national secretary of the Federation of South African Women and a founder of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, was banned from trade union activity in 1953.

# UDF ready to see sanctions lifted before full democracy

B/D 23/2/90

117

117

CHARLENE SMITH

IT was against the interests of SA for the economy to be smashed and the United Democratic Front (UDF) was prepared to see sanctions lifted before a democratic constitution was implemented, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota said yesterday.

Lekota, who was speaking at a Press conference after returning from a visit to the US and Britain, is the second opposition figure in less than a week to make conciliatory gestures toward businessmen and government.

Earlier this week Nelson Mandela told Business Day the ANC was prepared to discuss the issue of nationalisation with businessmen and that no "drastic measures" would be taken without consultation.

Lekota said it was "in our interests for the economy to be in full swing, it is not in our interests for the economy to be smashed."

But for the present "nothing should be done to disrupt the unfolding process of

negotiations, pressure must be maintained on the government to speed up the process of dismantling apartheid".

He said the removal of sanctions would not necessarily be only after a new constitution had been adopted as in Namibia. Lekota said the road to a new SA constitution would not follow the Zimbabwean and Namibian models.

Lekota said the lifting of sanctions "must be weighed against whether the process of negotiations is irreversible.

## Afrikaner

"We are not dogmatic about this issue. The process of lifting sanctions may begin slowly before full democratisation takes place."

However, Lekota said nationalisation was the policy of the "movement".

"The Afrikaner government maintained the economy with major sectors of the economy nationalised. This is how the Afrikaner solved the problem of

poverty among their people and helped them occupy meaningful jobs.

"We won't do anything new, although we may add a bit. The question is how we will set the process in motion.

"We are fortunate in that we can study the experiences of other African and third world countries and the lessons of Eastern Europe. Our other advantage is that the people who have been running the economy of this country are citizens who belong here.

"Before they were inspanned to serve the interests of a small sector of the country, now they will be inspanned to work for the great majority.

"It surprises us that they say when we ascend to power the economy will collapse, it shows a racist attitude. We are entitled to take something otherwise we cannot transform the lives of the poor, the squatter dwellers ..."

Lekota said the UDF was not the internal wing of the ANC although both supported the Freedom Charter and held common views on certain issues.

# UDF debating merger with ANC, says Molefe

90-23/2(9) By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter (UA)

The United Democratic Front would not disband following the unbanning of the African National Congress, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said yesterday.

Despite earlier indications that the UDF and some of its affiliates would amalgamate with the ANC, the exiled leadership had instructed internal organisations to maintain their structures, he said.

"The fact that the Government has shown a willingness to negotiate should not be equated to full freedom.

"President de Klerk may mean well, but he has not been able to carry the entire National Party with him. The NP has not yet made fundamental policy changes, which indicates that they are not clearly committed to a non-racial democracy."

Mr Molefe said although it was unlikely

that the Government could in future decide to ban the ANC again, this option could not be ruled out. Laws to ban organisations were still on the statute books.

"We're not taking chances. The UDF and Mass Democratic Movement have no tradition of being involved in the 'armed struggle' and it would thus be difficult to ban us. We could dismantle our structures, but what will happen if the Government again bans the ANC?"

Mr Molefe stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity since UDF affiliates were currently debating the issue of amalgamation with the ANC at grassroots level. A final decision would be taken at the UDF's national general congress starting on April 6. Affiliates could decide to disband.

He added that the UDF and MDM — the latter of which was a broader coal-

tion of anti-apartheid forces including organisations which did not necessarily subscribe to the Freedom Charter — acknowledged the leadership of the ANC.

"There is no tension and no leadership struggles. The ANC's role is unquestionable. We draw from its proud history and great experience of the struggle. Our approach not to disband is simply tactical and strategic."

● The South African Youth Congress (Sayco), a firm adherent of the ANC's Freedom Charter, has expressed its readiness to place its structures in the fold of the ANC once it received word from the ANC's leadership.

"We will wait for the outcome of discussions by the recently constituted ANC organ headed by Walter Sisulu," it said in a statement.

# Lekota claims he persuaded US to maintain sanctions

3/2/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter (11A)

A top United Democratic Front official said yesterday that he had persuaded United States officials of the need to maintain sanctions against South Africa until the process of negotiation was irreversible.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, who returned from a visit to the US yesterday, said at Jan Smuts airport that the US would fail in its duty if it lifted sanctions now.

"The role of the US as a leading democracy is to keep the process of negotiations alive and to ensure that that process yields a democratic constitution.

"I put the view that while nothing should be done to disrupt the unfolding process towards negotiation, pressure should be maintained to speed up the process."

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen had earlier expressed



UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota wants pressure kept on SA.

the hope that sanctions could be lifted following recent Government reforms.

But Mr Lekota said he had persuaded Mr

Cohen of the need to keep up the pressure on the Government.

He added that the freedom movement's position on sanctions was not dogmatic. "Our situation will develop along its own path. We are conscious of the lessons from other struggles."

Despite earlier demands that all apartheid laws had to be scrapped before negotiations could start, the ANC was prepared to put laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act on the negotiating table. It could call for a lifting of sanctions before these laws were scrapped because "it is in our own interest that the economy gets into full swing".

Mr Lekota said he had allayed US fears about the ANC's nationalisation policy. He had assured officials that the movement had learnt from the history of South Africa's economy, as well as those of Eastern Europe and Africa.

# Workers' charter campaign planned

By Drew Forrest

The Congress of South African Trade Unions is to launch a major workers' charter campaign as a way of building unity and organisation.

The charter, which Cosatu intends adopting at a congress later this year, aims to flesh out clauses on worker rights in the Freedom Charter and the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

It would strengthen workers' claims in talks on South Africa's future, said Cosatu education secretary Mr Khetsi Lehoko.

The campaign decision, taken at a weekend meeting of Cosatu's central executive committee which was attended by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, gives effect to a resolution taken at the federation's national congress last year.

## QUESTIONNAIRES

Mr Lehoko said draft workers' charters issued last year by the SA Communist Party and the SA Council of Trade Unions, the ANC's labour wing, would be distributed as a basis for discussion.

Workers' demands would be gleaned through questionnaires, and the campaign would involve rallies and demonstrations in all regions.

Other sectors of the Mass Democratic Movement would be consulted, Mr Lehoko said. The plan was to adopt a document at a special congress in September or October this year.

The question of whether the charter should be embodied in a future constitution would also be debated, he said.

● See Page 15.

been  
st of  
Chir-  
adio-  
e nu-  
e So-  
say  
result  
ation

# Govt shifts focus to crucial future summit with ANC

Star 23/2/90 (11A) (3)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government appears to have abandoned attempts to break through into Africa until it can strike a deal with the ANC and other black groupings internally.

There were indications that this crucial policy shift was made yesterday in two important announcements by President de Klerk. He welcomed the ANC national executive's decision to send a delegation to discuss obstacles to negotiation with him.

He also announced that the mini-summit with African leaders in Zaire had been postponed.

Government sources said the summit was unlikely to take place at all as it was unnecessarily provocative to the ANC and to Africa at a time when South Africa was seeking reconciliation.

The "postponement" is seen as a blow to SA's attempts to revive African diplomacy, but it also suggests the Government has finally accepted that the route back to Africa and the world lies through first addressing issues in SA.

The sources made it clear that a mixture of political pressure from the ANC and OAU, and technical problems and over-confidence on the part of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had led to the meeting being called off.

On SABC's "Network" programme last night, Mr de Klerk conceded that ANC pressure could have played a part in the meeting being called

off. The Government had accepted the need to seek a broader consensus within the country before undertaking such ventures.

The Government is now focusing its attention on the all-important impending summit with the ANC inside South Africa.

It is likely that the ANC will meet at least a delegation consisting of the Government's seven-man negotiation committee — Mr de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Mr Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Development Aid and Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr de Klerk has stressed that these will not be negotiations, but talks about negotiations.

The ANC will discuss the composition of its delegation at a special meeting of the national executive committee in Lusaka next Thursday which Mr Nelson Mandela will attend.

Other probable ANC delegates will be acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the director of international affairs, Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Pallo Jordan, the director of information, senior NEC member Mr John Nkadi-meng, as well as internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM.

or

per-  
food  
been  
erall  
ures  
vices  
n the  
cent.  
uary  
with  
medi-

re 17

e  
each  
use  
the-  
was  
eur-  
day  
nt's  
ate  
fac-

if a  
sun-  
ged  
s, a  
lane  
rob-

## Mandela to talk to Relly and Bloom

By Michael Chester

(11A) (3) should be nationalised

Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to hold talks in Soweto on Monday with two key South African business leaders to exchange views on possible new economic scenarios.

The first session will be with Anglo American's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, who has reacted with alarm to Mr Mandela's suggestions that such business sectors as the mines and banks

Most businessmen are also disturbed by Mr Mandela's suggestion that sanctions be maintained to continue pressures for faster reform.

The second round of discussions will be with the Premier Group's former chairman, Mr Tony Bloom, an ardent supporter of reform who left South Africa last year to settle in Britain.

He is expected to arrive at the weekend.

cookbook

F  
t  
f

CA  
to  
AJ

st  
ag  
ta

A  
W

ei  
te  
al  
ci

p  
b

p  
li  
a

r  
f

c

# Wembley concert planned to celebrate Mandela release

15 May 23/2/90

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — A concert and rally to mark the release of Nelson Mandela is being planned for London's Wembley Stadium.

Easter Monday, April 16, is being mooted as the most likely date for the event, which will be the second of its kind in honour of Mandela.

ANC senior representative in London Mendi Msimang said yesterday that Mandela had expressed his support for

the event, but details would probably be finalised only by the end of next week.

Msimang said the International Reception Committee had given careful thought to an appropriate international event to celebrate the release.

"One proposal is for an international concert at Wembley in the near future.

"It has been discussed with Mr Man-

dela and the ANC who have expressed their support for such a project. No arrangements have been finalised.

"We hope to be able to make any announcement by next weekend."

□ The concert is expected to be even more impressive than the one held at Wembley in 1988 to mark Mandela's 70th birthday. It attracted some of the world's top musicians and was beamed live on television around the world.

# Will the ANC ever pardon the hit squads?

*It may find that it has no option*

AN amnesty for African National Congress fighters as well as security force members involved in death squads is likely to be a major issue on a difficult agenda when the ANC meets President FW de Klerk.

All indications are that the African National Congress and the government will have to hammer out an amnesty before all exiled members of the recently unbanned liberation movement can come home.

It seems likely that if the ANC raises this demand, De Klerk will ask for a *quid pro quo* in which death-squad members who took part in covert actions against ANC activists be granted immunity from prosecution.

Recent press reports on alleged South African Defence Force involvement in death squads are likely to place the issue squarely on the table when the two sides get together after 50 years of conflict.

A date for the meeting has not been set but it seems certain that the two parties will meet at the ANC's request within weeks.

It is also certain that both sides will have to overcome a number of difficulties in order to clear the way for the return of exiles and the normalisation of the political climate.

Can the ANC afford to pardon those involved in the killing of some of its members, like Ruth First, whose husband Joe Slovo could well be talking at the table?

What will the supporters of the ANC think of a free Barend Strydom?

Can the government afford a blanket clemency to all those involved in armed acts against the state?

What would white South Africans feel if they bumped into Robert MacBride at a shopping centre?

One of the ironies of negotiations is that the ANC may provide FW de Klerk with a pretext to slip out of the 'hit-squads' fiasco. If the ANC calls for amnesty for its guerrillas, De Klerk may insist on a deal in return: clemency for policemen accused of murder

**By THANDEKA GQUBULE  
and KHEHLA SHUBANE**

Communist Party chief Joe Slovo may land at Jan Smuts Airport as part of the ANC delegation.

If he can meet with FW and then climb on to South African Airways plane back to Lusaka, will this mean a blanket clemency for all? What would become of the Yengeni and other political trials?



SACP's Joe Slovo

If the political climate is to be normalised along the lines proposed by the Harare Declaration, all political trials and executions will have to cease.

The declaration firmly holds that such measures are essential for creating a climate in which free negotiations can take place, despite the difficulties that may arise.

But South Africans of all persuasions seem to have jumped the gun and are due to meet before the government

has satisfied the demands of the Harare Declaration — the State of Emergency is still in force, political prisoners are still in detention and political trials continue. Troops are still deployed in the townships, as in Giyani this week.

The government has raised the possibility of releasing political prisoners and amnesty as bait to get the ANC, under

pressure at home and abroad to make some gesture and join the negotiating process.

Under the Harare Declaration, the first step towards negotiations is an agreement on a ceasefire.

But although the question of hostilities may arise in the forthcoming talks, it is unlikely that a mutually binding ceasefire will be agreed upon at this stage.

What is certain is that preliminary negotiations will not strictly follow the programme outlined in the Harare Declaration as each move towards a political settlement creates problems of its own.

But despite the difficulties and contradictions, the ANC is nevertheless expected to stick to the declaration as its guideline in dealing with government pressure to drop the sanctions campaign and at least suspend the armed struggle.

While the declaration provides some clarity on what an end to hostilities could mean for the ANC, it is more difficult to determine what this would mean for the police force, the SADF and other state instruments.

For the ANC, it may mean the suspension of armed attacks on government installations and other acts of sabotage.

It will not mean the denouncement of armed struggle as a political strategy. It will also not include disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

Slovo summed up his attitude up when he said in Lusaka last week: "You can not go to a negotiating table pointing a gun, but you've got to keep it over your shoulder."

According to the Harare Declaration, armed hostilities will only be deemed to have formally ended after the adoption of a new constitution by all parties.

The ANC is now likely to ask De Klerk for a timetable for further initiatives and, with its huge constituency accustomed to discussing all issues at the most local level, it will need all the time it can get.



11A

# Communists will return home and work above ground in SA

W/Mail 23/2-11/3190



By EDDIE KOCH and GAYE DAVIS

EXILED leaders of the South African Communist Party plan to quit their clandestine role and come home to build an above-board socialist movement inside the country.

Emigre communists — together with cadres who run the party's internal underground — hope to build a democratic party that will "provide a home for all socialists who accept its policies", SACP secretary general Joe Slovo told the *Weekly Mail* this week.

A delegation from the refashioned party will ask for a meeting with President FW de Klerk — separate to that planned by the African National Congress — as a matter of urgency.

The SACP homecoming, after being outlawed for 40 years, was decided at a special meeting of its central committee in Lusaka and spelled out in a statement released on Tuesday.

The news comes at a time when a range of Marxist and socialist groupings (in the trade union movement, the black consciousness movement and academic circles) have been holding ardent debates about the SACP's new political direction.

Consultations were already underway this week between the party leadership and its underground structures to discuss the logistics of the move, said Slovo.

The Communist Party, like the ANC, would set up a leadership core inside the country but would not immediately move all its cadres into open political work inside the country — "although hopefully our return will not be a matter of years".

SACP members inside the country will form the core of the new party and exiled leaders will be despatched to strengthen it. Names will be announced shortly.

Slovo last month urged the party to turn its back on its Stalinist past and move in the direction of democratic socialism. His vision of local *glasnost*, now accepted by the SACP executive, was outlined in a discussion paper called "Has Socialism Failed?"

The document, drafted in a bout of collective soul-searching during the wave of revolutions that swept Eastern Europe, committed the party to multi-party democracy long before this was adopted in the Soviet Union.

"Where a single party is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability in the party, it becomes

a shortcut to a political tyranny over the whole of society. And at different points in time this is what happened in most socialist states," the document says.

It insists on the need for an independent press, freedom of speech, religious rights for all and an independent trade union movement that has the right to strike.

These ideas have opened the way for independent socialists, who feared that SACP policies were outmoded and tainted by Stalinism, to throw in their lot in with the party.

Last week Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the powerful Metalworkers Union of South Africa, said the time was right for all socialist groupings in South Africa to unite.

And yesterday a delegation from the black consciousness movement, fresh from a visit with Nelson Mandela to talk about closer ties with the ANC, welcomed the return of the new-look party.

"If what is being said by the leadership of the SACP today is not rhetoric and if they will be committed to democracy, then we see the party playing a major role for all leftwing socialists in a post-apartheid South Africa," said the BCM.

But there are aspects of policy that have not yet been clarified for individuals and organisations that would consider joining or backing the SACP.

● Will the CP abandon the classic vanguard role it has chosen for itself now that it is committed to a multi-party democracy?

● Will it open its ranks to all those who want to join after it sets up office in South Africa? Will such members be able to influence policy decisions and elect new leaders?

● How will an internal wing that uses open and democratic methods relate to the leaders and cadres that will retain elements of clandestine organisation if they remain underground?

● How will the SACP relate to independent trade unions? Will it remain completely autonomous or seek a formal relationship, like that which exists between workers' parties and labour federations in Europe, whereby unions fund the party and have a say in choosing its leaders?

The central committee statement issued this week dealt only partially with these questions and they will continue to be hotly debated in the weeks to come.

# After six years as a spy sell-out and security cop, Comrade Swenki comes home as a hero

Report and picture by VUSI GUNENE

FOR years activists in Atteridgeville township hated the security cop they called a sell-out. This week they welcomed him as one of their own, the ANC spy who infiltrated the South African Police.

Matshwenyego "Swenki" Mokgabudi, 31, once a sergeant with the security police unit in Pretoria's Compol Building, returned to the township nearly four years after he and ex-colleague Cedric Rabuli were arrested for spying on their white masters.

The two were released from Diepkloof Prison last week under President FW de Klerk's partial amnesty for political prisoners.

In an interview with the *Weekly Mail* Swenki said he did not regret the six years he spent channelling top secret SAP information to Lusaka.

"I did it with a clear conscience and I would do it again until we attain a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa," he said, adding that he had joined the Mass Democratic Movement and was awaiting instructions from the ANC on "what to do next".

His former "victims" — the activists and comrades who once branded him a sell-out — flooded his parents' home this week, and joked about days when he used to jail them.

None of them, including his family and relatives, knew of the six years he spent smuggling out information from Compol Building.

"I am obviously delighted to be home, but bitter about the comrades that I have left behind. They are also political prisoners and I think they should enjoy the kind of privilege we have received."

Swenki, and Rabuli spent three years and eight months in detention, including 19 months awaiting trial. They were sentenced by the Pretoria Regional Court to an effective 14 years in jail, which was later reduced to six years on appeal.

Fellow spy Vincent Malaza escaped at the time of Swenki and Rabuli's arrest and is now believed to be in Lusaka.

Swenki first became involved in political activities in 1976, when he joined protests at Bopedi Bapedi

**No regrets ... after spending four years in jail for passing on SAP secrets to the ANC, ex-security cop Swenki Mokgabudi says he would do it all again, for democracy and a non-racial South Africa**

boarding school in Pietersburg against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

He and others were accused of setting fire to the school, although he was not arrested or charged for the offence.

He was expelled in 1978 and prevented from writing his matric exams.

He then found a job with Capital Motors in Pretoria, where he worked for a year before joining the South African Police.

He joined Rabuli and Malaza at Pretoria's security police headquarters in Compol in 1980 — the same year he joined the ANC.

But many of his former school-friends, not knowing his real loyalties, branded Swenki an *impipt* — a sell-out.

Swenki said it was not easy for him

to expose himself even to "trusted comrades" because of his "underground political activities".

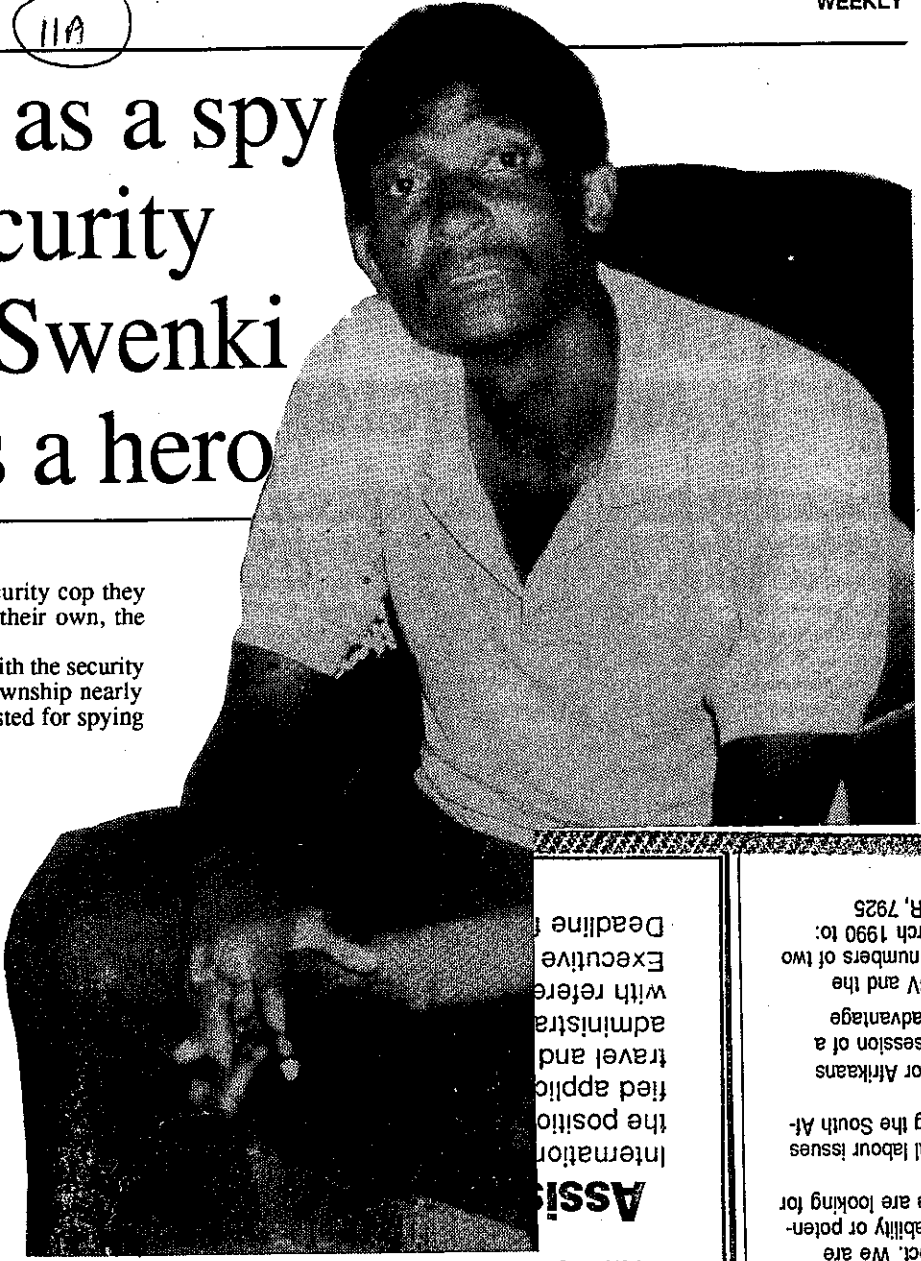
His work for the ANC included smuggling top security security files on activists to Lusaka, including information on defectors from the ANC.

"I had to be disciplined and not leak any information to anyone except the comrades I was working with within the security branch," he said.

On several occasions his parents' home was attacked with petrol bombs by activists who thought they were acting against a security policeman.

Such incidents soon created a rift between him and his brothers and sisters, who urged him to leave the police for the sake of his family's safety.

"At times I would get threatening letters, accusing me of being a sell-



Deadline  
Executive  
with refer  
administra  
travel and  
fied applic  
the position  
Internation  
**ASSI**

Deadline  
developmen  
with refer  
standards  
Salary col  
programs,  
are a know  
tion, prefe  
pline, and  
at a minim  
South Afri  
and manag  
to join a di  
position of  
Information

to expose himself even to "trusted comrades" because of his "underground political activities".

ASS

ER, 7925  
arch 1990 to:  
numbers of two  
CV and the  
advantage  
session of a  
for Afrikaans  
ing the South Af-

al labour issues  
re are looking for  
ability or poten-  
ect. We are  
given to the  
ng accessible  
ecting informa-  
quires the de-  
h education  
tions and other  
res and making  
volves re-  
f education unit

HER  
TOR

PRIL 1990



(11A)

~~288~~~~152~~~~166~~

# A new era for union politics

THE unbanning of the ANC and other political changes may lead to the removal of some economic constraints and a new approach by trade unions to certain issues.

So says Mr Richard

**By LEN MASEKO**

Cooke, manager of Juta's Law Publishing Division, who predicts that recent political developments will influence events on the labour front in the near future.

"Black leaders

empowered with legal political platforms could change the nature of union politics," Cooke says.

A new era in industrial relations is unfolding in the wake of State President Mr FW de Klerk's landmark announcements,

according to Cooke. "The exiled Sactu, for instance, is now free to return to South Africa and engage openly in labour organisation," he says.

"Important developments are happening daily (in the labour arena), considering that the Industrial

Court became a reality 10 years ago and the Industrial Appeal Court only two years ago," he says.

Juta is hosting several seminars on labour law and the role of trade unions in a changing South Africa.

Speakers at the meet-

ings include Mr Halton Cheadle, assistant director of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Mr Clive Thompson, director of the University of Cape Town's Labour Law Unit, Professor Adolph Landman of the University of South

Africa, and Prof PAK le Roux, an attorney.

The seminars will take place at the Sandton Sun Hotel (Johannesburg) today, Elizabeth Sun Hotel (Port Elizabeth) on March 1 and Royal Hotel (Durban) on March 5.

# Homeland leaders ready to talk to ANC

11A  
Soweto  
23/2/90

PRETORIA HOME-  
LAND leaders are poised  
to negotiate with the ANC  
and other political  
organisations, according  
to the Lebowa Govern-  
ment.

A delegation of the  
Lebowa Government met  
the Minister of Constitu-  
tional Development and  
Planning, Dr Gerrit Vil-  
joen, and the Minister of  
Education and Training,  
Dr Stoffel van der  
Merwe, met this week in  
Cape Town for discussions  
on negotiations and mat-  
ters of mutual interest.

## Forum

The Lebowa govern-  
ment has decided on a  
programme of action,  
which will include the  
launch of a black  
homeland leaders' Con-  
sultative Forum "for the  
co-ordination of  
responses to the various  
efforts to settle the South  
African question".

The homeland's  
government is also plan-  
ning on drawing up a  
joint declaration on



Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

negotiations for signature  
by all black homeland  
leaders.

The Lebowa govern-  
ment further vowed to  
take the constitutional  
debate to a grassroots  
level.

In a statement issued  
after the one-day meeting,  
the Lebowa government  
said it believed that the  
efforts of the South Afri-  
can Government on the  
one side and the efforts of  
the Organisation of Afri-  
can Unity, the United Na-  
tions and the ANC on the  
other hand, have opened a  
real possibility for a nego-  
tiated political settlement  
in the country.

# Sisulu holds peace talks in Maritzburg

~~11A~~  
11A  
Sowetan  
23/2/90

**THE ANC peace delegation to Natal yesterday met representatives from the troubled areas around Maritzburg.**

The delegation led by Walter Sisulu met about 40 people from areas such as Ashdown, Taylors Halt, Sweetwaters and Elandskop, where scores of people have died in the past three years.

The meeting in Edendale outside Maritzburg was attended by Sisulu's delegation, his wife Albertina, UDF leader Mr Archie Gumede, Dr Diliza Mji and Mr Alex Erwin of the working committee set up to resolve the conflict in Natal.

Earlier, Sisulu said

criminal elements who were exacerbating the situation in Natal were the result of poor social conditions.

They would have to be put right by providing people with adequate education.

The delegation was

also expected to visit some of the worst-hit areas around Maritzburg before returning to Durban for a meeting with In-

katha and UDF/Cosatu representatives.

Sisulu described the meeting as an historic occasion.- Sapa.

# ANC and Inkatha meet in 'historic' peace talks

b/Day 23/2/90, 2/26, 11/11

DURBAN — The first steps towards peace in Natal were taken yesterday when ANC leaders met Inkatha leaders in Durban — a meeting described by all concerned as historic.

And, in a surprise move, Inkatha central committee members in the greater Durban area encouraged their members to attend the ANC rally on Sunday to welcome Nelson Mandela as a "hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation".

Both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who is also KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, were positive about the meeting and said they hoped it would lead to peace in the province.

Dhlomo said it was the first time the ANC component of the peace talks had become directly involved, and that this was "very significant".

ANC leaders arrived in Durban yesterday and toured townships outside Maritzburg, meeting community leaders to discuss the violence.

Despite steady drizzle enthusiastic ANC supporters in the townships

## Own Correspondent

chanted and waved ANC flags and banners.

A meeting was held behind closed doors at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre with about 50 township representatives from areas which have been the scene of death and destruction for the past three years.

Sisulu said criminal elements exacerbating the situation in Natal were the product of poor social conditions.

These conditions would have to be put right by providing people with adequate education.

Meanwhile, Inkatha central committee members in the Durban area said in a statement that Mandela's visit to the strife-torn province was "highly welcome".

"We accordingly expect that most people, black people in particular, will go to greet this hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation,

## NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — February 21 1990.....	629
Past 24 hours' official toll.....	1
TOTAL.....	1 298

after 27 years of incarceration for the noble ideals of our struggle for freedom."

They appealed to everybody for calm as "we are concerned that fresh violence may break out" as emotions build up closer to the day of the rally.

They called on rally organisers not to let enthusiasm and emotions lead them to act in a provocative and offensive manner which would lead to violence.

"We call upon every self-respecting black patriot to render the historic visit by Dr Mandela to Durban an honourable and memorable event in the history of our country."

□ In their unrest report yesterday, the SAP said a man was killed and two men and two women wounded when shots were fired by people who attacked buses with stones and petrol bombs in several incidents at Edendale in Natal, Sapa reports.

The police said the death and injuries occurred in one of the incidents in which shots were fired by the attackers.

A man was wounded by unidentified attackers in a shooting incident at Taylors Halt in Natal.

4/Mant 23/2 - 11/3/90

11A

# Welcome back Nelson Mandela!

---

*The French Anti-Apartheid Movement and the organisations belonging to its National Council share the immense joy of your family and your organisation, the ANC, and of all the South African people to see you free after so many years in the apartheid's jails.*

We pledge that we will not forget the hundreds of political prisoners still incarcerated.

We know that apartheid is still there, in all its horror and injustice, that troops are still in the townships, that the state of emergency as well as the security and censorship laws are still in force.

We reaffirm our full support to you and to your companions in your struggle for democracy and freedom in a non-racial and united South Africa.

We say that we will not spare our efforts to make France and European countries keep maximum pressure on the South African government until the day of freedom and democracy arrives.

## **Down with apartheid !**

*Vive la liberte, l'egalite et la fraternite !*

Mouvement Anti-Apartheid Francais (MAA)  
UNEF-ID (Syndicat etudiants)  
Federation de l'Education Nationale (FEN)  
Syndicat National des Instituteurs (SNI)  
Ligue des Drois de L'Homme  
Freres des Hommes  
Terre des Hommes  
Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR)  
Mouvement des Jeunesses Socialistes (MJS)  
Mouvement pour une alternative non-violente (MAN)  
Centre d'Etudes anti-imperialistes (CEDETIM)

TS

## Shirley Valentine seeks freedom within the walls of sanity

FILM: Shirley Valentine  
DIRECTOR: Lewis Gilbert

SHIRLEY VALENTINE (Pauline Collins) bangs her head against the wall. It's not a sign of insanity, but it does mean to keep it at bay, an expression of loneliness, an escape from her dreary life and the expression of unquenchable

longing. So one of the means by which the one-woman play *Shirley Valentine* makes a triumphant transition to cinema. After all, if it's just a talk to the wall, why not talk to the wall as well?

Lewis Gilbert is thus able to portray Shirley's relationship with the audience through a theatrical device which is usually awkward. But we still get to enjoy all the spill-over of the play's story into a real, photographic world.

The contrast between Shirley's drab, rigidly ordered domestic existence and the gloriously unbridled and unpredictable holiday world which she bravely escapes just begs for the intervention of a camera. So do the variety of characters she knows and gets to meet: her joyous husband, wealthy neighbour, selfish friend and of course the romantic Greek innkeeper Costas, played with great charm by Michael Caine.

*Shirley Valentine* is about a woman finding herself but first needing to find the courage (and a trigger) to seize an opportunity for a

change. Half the movie is spent documenting the process in which Shirley has over 20 years lost her essential and "real" self. It could be bleak, but not for Shirley's perky sense of humour.

The setbacks often slow the pace, but the excitement into Shirley's schoolgirl past is utterly fulfilling, providing some of the funniest moments in the movie — as well as insight into the character Shirley.

The suppressed rebel within seeks liberation, and Shirley must put herself increasingly at risk to finally achieve it.

Shirley is already 42, there are limits to what she can achieve: all those years of "lost life" (as she puts it) can never be recovered. But who could resist a woman who is "in love with life"? Especially when it comes to her face, as it does here, with wit, charm and grace.

Peter Goldsmid

## Macbeth of conceptions

From PAGE 21

...nely bad. The ample spots of radiance flicker in the gloom of despond. Mitzi Booyesen is a tough, magnificent Lady Macduff, although she is disconcerted by the fact that she is called upon to deliver her lines while playing with her rugby ball. Jonathan Rands has dignity, authority and pathos as Macduff, and Dale Gribble in all his roles, is especially engaging as a flamboyantly churlish Porter.

Would you like to see what Rands and Booyesen do in *Macbeth and Lady Macbeth*, but I fear the flesh, let alone the spirit, will not survive a second viewing of this travesty.

Digby Ricci

## Treasure-chest of African artefacts

THE CAN Collection is a shop in Cresta Centennial — it is not, manager Janine Tinsley states emphatically, a curio shop. Nor, she insists, is it a jewellery or clothes shop — although all these things are stocked.

There is a host of artefacts from all over Africa. There is a range of chamois and beaded clothing, handmade jewellery, batiks and appliques. There are "naive" paintings and sculp-

## In a dangerous world, love is shelter.



James Borthwick as Die Mens looks on as the love of Grethe Fox and Tertius Meinjies gets muddled

THE arms race, so the myth goes, has brought wisdom to mankind, the wisdom of "mutual deterrence" in war. That at least was the catchphrase behind the Strategic Defence Initiative, and Ronald Reagan's ostensibly magnanimous offer to share Star Wars secrets with the Soviets.

So what if, say, a scientist working on the atomic bomb had this wisdom right at the beginning of the race? Wouldn't the appropriate thing be to share secrets with the opposite side? Become a spy, in other words?

Times were very different then, of course. To achieve the wisdom of mature years, a younger Reagan believed he had to become the ultimate screen cowboy and — on the side — make notes on his fellow actors for the McCarthyites. And the only people able to become informers were those who had pasts — people who were closet communists, or Oedipal rebels, or schizophrenics.

Flemish playwright Jozef van Hoeck's *Koue Oorlog* (Cold War), or director Ilse van Hemert's rendition of it, turns such a traitorous turncoat into a hero with the above-mentioned bit of rationalisation.

Stephan Oster (played by Tertius Meintjes) is a bitter ex-communist, who fled Nazi Germany while studying nuclear science, only to be interned by the British for being a German. He is forced to make Nazi salutes by internment officers who admire Hitler more than Churchill.

These experiences, along with a good deal of old-fashioned idealism, motivate him to supply information to the Soviets when he eventually lands up at Alamogordo as a member of the Allied team which exploded the first atomic bomb.

The play is based loosely on the life of Klaus Fuchs, who was convicted as an informer in 1950, when Britain and Russia were allies no longer. Van Hoeck uses a little detail; the testimony of Fuchs' wife of signs of schizophrenia, to introduce a third character, Die Mens (The Man), into the play.

The Man (James Borthwick) seems to have been intended in the first place as an easy theat-

THEATRE: Koue Oorlog  
VENUE: Windybrow

rical device, to supply necessary bits of information that the interchanges between Oster and his wife Ilse (Grethe Fox) cannot.

But Van Hemert turns him into all the different incarnations of power that muddle up the simple and straightforward love between Stephan and Ilse. She gives him a bowler and a brolly, and lets him make small Chaplinesque movements in a slow *danse macabre* of power that is carried out right through the play.

He turns from a waiter into a camp sergeant and then into a pontificating academic, and on. All the time the set pieces remain on stage or are prodded about by *The Man* in an artfully nonchalant way. His role as a stagehand moving pieces in order for the play progress, mirrors the way in which the Oster couple is pushed around by a relentlessly unfolding history.

Integrating dance into acting has become Van Hemert's trademark, and once again she demonstrates her unique ability to open up a host of supplementary meanings in this way. She never allows the dance to intrude, though. Everything is kept on the level of suggestion, unobtrusive, semi-submerged. Even the colours are subdued.

The result is a series of theatrical images that shimmer with potential. The hints of passion, a bit of tango music here, a silky petticoat there lead the viewer to what is, perhaps, Van Hemert's ultimate statement in her production: the shelter that love provides in a world in which power always acts in arbitrary and dangerous ways.

Van Hoeck's text is not a great one. But Van Hemert's exciting direction, and the inspired acting of all three actors, has turned it, for this reviewer, into a rather memorable evening theatre.

Hans Piens

### 5 Oscar Nominations

including

Best Picture

Best Actor — DANIEL DAY LEWIS

Best Director — JIM SHERIDAN

### DANIEL DAY LEWIS

WINNER OF BEST ACTOR AWARD

MONTREAL FILM FESTIVAL

1989 UK CRITICS CIRCLE FILM AWARDS

NEW YORK FILM CRITICS CIRCLE

LOS ANGELES FILM CRITICS ASSOCIATION

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF FILM CRITICS

### BRENDA FRICKER

WINNER OF BEST SUPPORTING ACTRESS

LOS ANGELES FILM CRITICS ASSOCIATION



**MY LEFT FOOT**  
THE STORY OF CHRISTY BROWN

DANIEL DAY LEWIS RAY McANALLY BRENDA FRICKER

PRODUCED BY NOEL PEARSON

DIRECTED BY JIM SHERIDAN

## this week at the MARKET

### MARKET THEATRE

**CURL UP AND DYE** by Susan Pam  
"Curl up and Laugh"  
Directed by Lucille Gillwald  
Fri: 8.00pm  
Sat: 6.00 & 9.00pm

### THE LAAGER

Patrick Myrhardt - Another sip of jergigo by public demand  
"The experience can be savoured again and again"  
Mon-Sat: 8.00pm

### UPSTAIRS THEATRE

Vanessa Cooke is  
**THE BELLE OF AMHERST**  
by William Luce  
Radiant, touching, absorbing  
Mon to Fri: 8.15pm  
Saturdays: 6.15 & 9.15pm

### WAREHOUSE AT THE MARKET

**SAKHILE** - live - Launch of a new album  
From 28 Feb - 3 March 7.45 for 8.30pm  
From 6 March **BLUES FOR AFRICA**  
**CAFE** - Matsemela Manaka  
"A spiritual journey in search of African food"  
Tues - Sat: 7.00 for 8.30pm  
Sunday: 6.00 for 7.30pm

### KIPPIS AT THE MARKET

**COUNT JUDGE**  
Tues-Sun: 9.00pm onwards  
832-1645

### THE MARKET GALLERY

Large Gallery: "The Jol Series" by Gillian Solomon



# Crimes of thought and the sincerest form of denigration

SIMON BARBER in Washington

**A**NDY Rooney is the television equivalent of a favourite eccentric uncle. Until recently, he appeared every Sunday evening at the end of 60 Minutes, the extremely popular CBS news magazine programme. His speciality was the banal little puzzles of everyday life — for example, what to do with the cotton wool packing in pill bottles.

A couple of weeks back, Rooney was charged with thought crime. The Advocate — a small, alternative journal for homosexuals — quoted him as saying that black Americans had “watered down their genes” because the least intelligent ones procreated the most children. He emphatically denies saying anything of the kind. Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that The Advocate was out to smear him because of remarks he did in fact make to the effect that homosexual AIDS was a largely self-induced disease.

**L**ike the profession of Protestant faith in the reign of Queen Mary, or the fact of having been born Jewish in Nazi Germany, the actual or even merely alleged expression of impermissible views on race is an offence for which there is no due process. Rooney was promptly suspended from his duties at CBS. A number of newspapers cancelled his regular syndicated column.

Incidents of this kind are all too common here. The pronouncements of every public figure are routinely deconstructed for the slightest hint of impure thought on matters racial. Two years ago, a CBS sports commentator known as Jimmy The Greek was banned from the airwaves for life after attributing the prowess of black athletes at least in part to the breeding practices of slave owners. This was neither an endorsement of eugenics nor a defence of slavery, but from the outcry you would have thought The Greek had exposed himself as the reincar-

nation of Josef Mengele.

The effect of such witch-burnings is to chill rational discussion of anything having to do with race. Well, almost anything. It is quite acceptable to cast ethnic aspersions on Japanese or Iranians or General Manuel Noriega. Catch Washington's Mayor Barry in the act of smoking crack cocaine, however, and one is immediately suspected of the grossest racial motivations. Worse, even if such suspicions are manifestly groundless, the facts become irrelevant. What matters is the “perception”. The federal prosecutor who investigated and caught Barry now stands accused of being “perceived” to be racist, itself a crime of the same enormity as the real thing.

The chill factor has to be borne in mind when considering the saturation coverage US television has accorded South Africa over the past fortnight. On the whole, it has been dismal, though not for want of money, access or airtime. The South African authorities appear to have let America's television pashas do pretty much what they pleased. No, the coverage has been disappointing because it was censored by the on-air personalities themselves in confor-

mity, conscious or unconscious, with the diktat of the thought police.

In his interview with President F W de Klerk, ABC's Ted Koppel went out of his way to prove that he would take no guff or doublespeak. His questions were peppered with that tell-tale phrase “with all due respect”. He wanted De Klerk's bottom line and he wanted it this minute regardless of how devastating such a revelation might prove to the course of negotiation overall. Not surprisingly, the American audience received little insight into the man, his motivations or sincerity. Koppel, I am told, was deeply impressed by the president. What he gave his viewers was another sternly evasive South African strongman.

**H**is conversation with Nelson Mandela could not have been more different, except that it was scarcely more enlightening. No “with all due respects” on this occasion. Instead, we were treated to a deeply moving half-hour with Nelson, the boxing commentator and fan of Carmen Miranda. The best that can be said is

that Koppel did not quite sink to the level of his CBS colleague Dan Rather and ask Mandela to name his single fondest memory of imprisonment. This was like asking Mrs Lincoln to review the play she and her husband were watching when he was shot.

Mandela himself had clearly placed no constraints on what the American interviewers could ask. NBC's Tom Brokaw, to his credit, at least broached the subject of armed struggle. But Koppel, who was granted considerably more time than either Brokaw or Rather, kept things strictly personal. Serious questions cried out to be raised: How did Mandela reconcile developments in Eastern Europe with his own call for nationalisation? Did he sense any discrepancy between his emphasis on education and the continuance of sanctions that starved South Africa of funds for better schools and teachers? Was the ANC the only party that could genuinely negotiate with government? Did he see the National Party as the sole authentic representative of white South Africa? On all these, and more, there was silence.

Brokaw and Rather have a partial excuse for the lightness of their ques-

tioning. They were on hand for their own glory and that of their networks, not because they had any special clue about the place that would enable them to enlighten their audiences. For them, South Africa was just one more stop on a travelling roadshow called Megahistory 1990 in which network anchormen hop around the globe to parade their faces in front of historic backdrops and get in the way of correspondents on the ground who may actually know something. Brokaw even managed to show up in South Africa and Colombia (for the drug summit) in a single broadcast.

Koppel is supposed to be something of an expert on South Africa, however. Indeed, he fancies himself as a kind facilitator of dialogue between the races, using satellites to reconcile the supposedly irreconcilable — as in, gee, Mr Mbeki, Foreign Minister Pik Botha just called you brother — what do you say to that? He was weak because he is bound, whether he publicly admits it or not, by the same iron laws that Rooney is alleged to have broken.

**T**hou shalt be sensitive. Thou shalt, in thought, word and deed, commit affirmative action. Thou shalt treat all black people (unless they happen to be called Mangosuthu Buthelezi) with the softest and most caressing of kid gloves. And thereby, though nobody ever says this, demean and denigrate them.

Mandela is a man, possibly a very great one. It does him no service to turn him into celebrity pabulum for American viewers, or to protect him from having to reveal himself in ways that many in the outside world might find disturbing.

For a long time, he has been a fly in amber. He needs to discover as fast as possible the parameters of the world into which he has been released. He needs to see markets react and admirers recoil. After 27 years in which to exercise pure intellect, he needs to be confronted with facts and contradictions — not to be deprived of them by adulation.

# FW to the ANC: Let's talk

W/MAIL 23/2 - 1/3/90

By GAVIN EVANS

THE first meeting between the government and the African National Congress is on.

State President FW de Klerk yesterday welcomed the decision of the ANC's National Executive Committee to send a delegation to meet him, signalling that "talks about talks" could begin soon.

However, in a press statement released on his behalf yesterday afternoon, De Klerk also criticised the ANC for its continued support for armed struggle and its "pre-conditions" on negotiations.

De Klerk described the decision by the NEC to send a delegation to meet the government as a "positive step" which was "consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means".

Last week the NEC decided that it would send a delegation to discuss setting a "climate for negotiations" through the release of political prisoners, removal of troops from the

townships and lifting of the Emergency.

But De Klerk's statement also raised the possibility that the meeting between the two sides could be delayed.

"Obviously, legal uncertainties which members of the National Executive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa will have to be addressed beforehand," he said.

The state president went on to express "disappointment" that the ANC leadership continued to set preconditions:



Tony Bloom ... jetting in

# A 'first team' to sing THE Mandela song

By MICKEY DUBE

FOUR South African musicians were appointed this week by the South African Musicians Alliance to present a concept for a Mandela song. 4/11/90 23/21 - 11/3/90

The song, described by guitarist and vocalist Ray Phiri — one of the four — as one of "victory and celebration", is to be premiered at a Mandela concert next month.

Others on the team are bassist Victor Ntoni, singer and composer Jennifer Ferguson and composer/pianist/arranger Rashid Lanie.

Sama called a meeting to look into the possibility of a single Mandela song after a number of individual musicians approached the organisation with demo tapes.

The Sama representative said Sama was seeking "wider discussion within its ranks, both to democratise decision and to attempt a collective effort, rather than an individual one". Individuals were, however, free to do their own projects.

As it is, there is already a song on Mandela, written and arranged by Cape Town producer Sam Wingate and recorded by Bright Blue. The song was produced three weeks before Mandela's release. A song by Lana Green is in the pressing studios, and Des and Dawn Lindberg have updated their earlier tribute. One record company alone had recorded 13 demonstration tapes by Friday.

The idea of a massive collaboration like the USA for Africa's *We Are The World* was mooted, but was quickly rejected as "obvious". The meeting favoured a project "with integrity" and one that was completely South African to embrace the diverse musical styles abounding in South Africa, from Afro-jazz to *mbube* to *mbaqanga*.

It was decided elements of a song by Ferguson and Monwabisi Sibani, a traditional musician from Grahamstown, might be used; but that the final concept lay in the agreement between the four commissioned musicians and Sama.

The concert at which the song will be presented is planned for March 17 at a venue still to be determined. Sama expects Mandela to attend the concert.

The South African Mandela concert is to coincide with other overseas ones organised by anti-apartheid movements in France, the United States and Britain. The group Midnight Oil is also expected to stage an event in Australia.

The concert is planned to raise funds for Mandela welcome rallies and to highlight and protest against censorship by the SABC. For only in the past few days have songs about Mandela been heard on local airwaves, despite many overseas musical tributes and the fine *Asimbonanga* by Johnny Clegg and Savuka.

NATAL VIOLENCE FIM 23/2/90

**High stakes** ~~SECRET~~ IIA

A meeting between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi has yet to be announced. Mandela will address the first rally of the unbanned ANC in Natal — Inkatha territory to many — on Sunday.

For this reason, as well as the backdrop of the Natal violence, there is great interest in the event and in what Mandela will say.

Relations between Mandela and Buthelezi are supposed to have been cordial over the years but the chief's relationship with the ANC in exile is another matter. ~~SECRET~~

Replying to journalists' questions last week, on government's decision to send 1 000 troops into Natal (while the ANC calls for troops out of the townships), Mandela said he didn't think more troops would help; a judicial commission of inquiry was needed.

He claims one of the problems complicating the situation is the role of police. "There is evidence that they have been actually inciting and supporting members of Inkatha against the UDF."

Buthelezi responds: "Sadly, the facts do not tally with the interpretation Mandela places on them and he should seriously question those who give him the kind of background information which leads him to make these kind of serious errors of judgment. . . I am on the telephone and he is on the telephone but he did not even pick up the 'phone to check my side of the story." Recrimination against him and Inkatha "by no less a person than Mandela are just intolerable," says the KwaZulu leader.

He adds: "The ANC, which Mandela wants to instruct him, has done nothing about the violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region." His letter suggesting a meeting with the ANC president was not acknowledged.

According to Buthelezi: "The Inter-organisational Committee set up by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to explore ways of organisational co-operation in eliminating violence, is only teetering on because UDF and Cosatu have just not got any answer back from the ANC about the issues we have tabled. ANC Lusaka cuts us dead, cuts the peace process dead. I wonder whether Mandela will receive any instructions at all."

He adds: "Where, Dr Mandela I ask, is your hand of friendship?"

Answers to such questions could emerge at King's Park stadium, Durban, on Sunday.

Mandela is also due to address a rally in Bloemfontein later on the same day. He is likely to travel to Lusaka next week, then on to Dar es Salaam and Sweden, for talks with the ANC's national executive committee and ANC president Oliver Tambo..

The question of Mandela's formal post in the ANC does not appear to be a problem for the ANC or himself. Insiders scoff at any suggestion of a problem over leadership. Secretary general Alfred Nzo recently described Mandela as a "national leader as well as one of the leaders of the ANC." In his first

speech after release Mandela observed that the leadership of the ANC gets elected at a congress.

Since the ANC's next national conference is to be held in SA on December 16, perhaps the leadership issue will be cleared up then.

In its formal response to President FW de Klerk's initiatives the ANC executive announced last Friday that it would send a delegation (including ANC figures already here) to meet him to discuss obstructions to the start of negotiations.

For the moment, Walter Sisulu has been appointed chairman of a largely technical committee to arrange the ANC's re-establishment in SA. ■

## Finding a role

In keeping with democratic tradition, the Democratic Party is going on the road to ask party formations to help decide where it goes from here. (~~22/2/90~~) (11A)

President F W de Klerk's initiative has seriously eroded DP ground. Politically it sounds fine to say the National Party has hijacked DP policy and thereby proved its worth, but it leaves the party groping for a new relevance. MPs are certainly aware of their situation. There have been intense discussions on which line the party should take (*Current Affairs* February 9 and 16) and deep soul-searching is under way.

Troika leader Denis Worrall has denied reports of "deep divisions" (and labelled the *FM*'s February 16 report of possible defections as "misguided"), but he confirms a strategic reassessment at grassroots level.

The reassessment will centre on discussion of a series of options produced by Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle. His four areas of possible movement for the DP are:

- Closer ties with government in a supportive role;
- Closer ties with the ANC;
- An alliance with the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups in the MDM; and
- An independent "watchdog" role over the government of the day.

Meanwhile, the DP is organising a pro-reform demonstration to be held in Johannesburg on Friday February 23. Party spokesman and MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal, says there will be a march from the Harrison Street bridge to the city hall starting at 1pm.

Participants will include academics, businessmen, politicians, students and workers who favour a non-racial democratic society. A meeting in the city hall at the end of the march will be addressed by DP parliamentary leader, Zach de Beer. Permission for the march has been granted. ■

# Zambia to have holiday to mark Mandela's visit

w/ Mand 23/2 - 1/3/90

11/19

ZAMBIA'S President Kenneth Kaunda has declared a national public holiday on Tuesday, the day Nelson Mandela arrives to meet leaders of the Frontline states and the African National Congress.

The arrival of Mandela and other ANC leaders — in a jet specially laid on by Kaunda — promises to be a spectacular reunion of African leaders.

Waiting on the tarmac will be the heads of five Frontline States. Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Mocambique's Joaquim Chissano, Botswana's Quett Masire, Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Angola's Jose Eduardo Dos Santos are expected to arrive in the Zambian capital on Monday.

To mark the occasion, Kaunda has declared Tuesday "Nelson Mandela Day".

Mandela, his colleague Walter Sisulu, and two others members of the group set up to oversee the restructuring of the movement as an above-ground organisation, Cyril Ramaphosa and Kgalima Molanta, both of the National Union of Mineworkers, are expected to meet the Frontline states leaders after a reception at State House on Tuesday.

On Wednesday, they begin a meet-

By GAYE DAVIS, Lusaka

ing with the ANC external leadership. National executive committee member Aziz Pahad said he expected the meeting to last "a minimum of two days — but it could go on for longer," he said.

Heading the agenda will be the composition and strategy of the delegation the ANC has is sending to see State President F W de Klerk to clear obstacles in the way of negotiation.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's secretary for foreign relations, said the meeting with De Klerk would not deal with "how to get the process of arriving at a new constitution going" but rather aim at "creating a situation of equal opportunity among all the parties involved."

One of the delegation's main aims will be to win the release of political prisoners convicted of, or facing trial for, acts excluded from De Klerk's recent amnesty.

A second ANC delegation is to follow that intended to meet De Klerk. It will hold talks with democratic anti-apartheid forces, including the Democratic Party, Mbeki said.

# History's made as Inkatha, (IA)

## ANC in talks

W/ Mand 23/2-11/3/90  
By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

AS a major new drive for peace gets under way in Natal, officials of the African National Congress and Inkatha sat down together last night for their first encounter in over 10 years.

The meeting, described as "historic" by delegates of both organisations, was a four-sided briefing on the Natal violence, in which two senior Inkatha delegates and two from the UDF and Cosatu, told an ANC delegation led by Walter Sisulu their perspectives of the conflict, and their suggestions for a resolution.

Coming at the end of a long day of ANC fact finding in the violence-torn townships, the meeting marked the culmination of many, so far unsuccessful, efforts to get the ANC and Inkatha engaged in face to face discussions about the violence.

Both sides appear to be throwing their weight behind peace efforts, and are urging their supporters to give the peace process a chance.

Speaking at a news conference after the ANC delegation arrived in Durban, Sisulu said he regarded the meeting as historic and that it was a very wise decision for all parties to meet.

"My message is one of peace," he said. "We want to do everything to bring about that unity, that peace in Natal."

Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlo-mo agreed.

"This is the first time the ANC component of the peace talks has become involved, and that involvement is critical to the success of the peace process.

"It is very significant that we are meeting, and we hope much will come from it by way of finding how to end the Natal violence, and how to permit political peaceful co-existence in the region."

Hard on the heels of Dhlo-mo's comments, the Inkatha Central Committee issued an unprecedented statement last night, urging their supporters and everyone in Natal to "welcome Mandela" and to make his visit to Durban "an honourable and memorable event in the history of our country".

The ICC statement also appears to encourage its members to attend Sunday's rally, which, if the message is heeded, could push the numbers at the rally to an unprecedented size.

ten rule that you never ask anyone's name, and even if you know it, you never use it.

"My parents do not sleep at night. Each time I come back I have to reassure them I have not killed anyone. I do not think I am ready to do that."

11A

On the occasion of

---

**Nelson Mandela's**

---

release the University of Amsterdam wishes to convey its congratulations to the South African people, and to the anti-apartheid movement in particular.

The University Council urges the South African Government to revoke all apartheid legislature and to lift those elements of the state of emergency that are still in force.

*University Council  
University of Amsterdam Holland*



As attention shifts to the possible return of ANC exiles, an interview with a young woman who left Soweto as a teenager during the uprisings of June 1976 and who now, for the first time in years, allows herself the luxury of thoughts of home

By GAYE DAVIS  
in Lusaka

**W**HEN Thandi K left her Soweto home on a June morning in 1976, her mother believed that her 14-year-old daughter was off to spend the day with a friend.

And when Thandi K climbed into the car she knew would take her across South Africa's borders, she thought she was going for a brief period of training which would equip her to return to "fight the whites".

Instead, she embarked on a journey which would take her not only through the frontline states and beyond, to Romania and Russia, but to a new political understanding.

Thandi is not her real name: she agreed to tell her story on condition her real name was not used. The African National Congress might be unbanned, but her own fear — and the need to protect "people at home" — still lingers.

Her story is that of thousands who fled South Africa in 1976 and after. She was among the first generation of youngsters whose departures were motivated by the desire for revenge. Like many others, she found her life — and her attitudes — taking a radically different course.

Likewise, the influx of thousands of young exiles had an impact on the ANC itself, resulting in, among other things, the creation of its Mazimbu Centre in Tanzania, home of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

Thandi describes it as "like a city — with schools, child-care facilities, libraries, a sports centre, a farm, a garment factory producing school uniforms".

When she got there, it was a transit camp: "just a few old buildings". "We helped build it," she says.

Born in Soweto "some 30 years ago" to a mother who was a trained nurse and a father who worked as a labourer, Thandi was sent to high school near Zeerust in the Western Transvaal as a boarder.

A bright pupil, she was only 14 when she entered matric in 1976. In that year, the decision was made to enforce the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for some subjects in black high schools. It was the catalyst of the Soweto revolt.

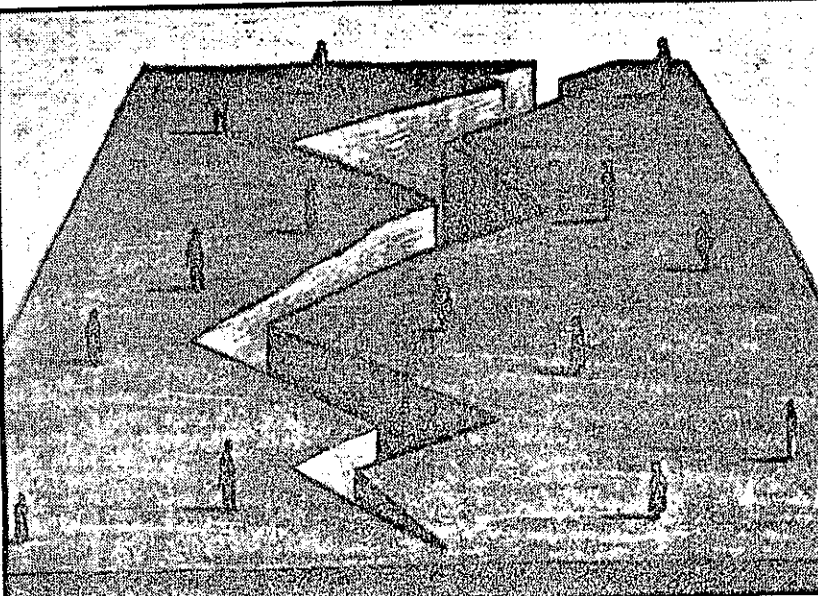
"We hated it, all the textbooks changed — we were in matric and had this new language to deal with. It made it difficult for us to study well.

"We heard what happened in Soweto on June 16, and we also started striking and demonstrating. They closed the school, and I returned home to Soweto.

"There was great excitement, but for me there was also sadness, for my sister, the last-born after me, had been stabbed and killed.

"Many terrible things were happening. A boy I'd grown up with was shot in the back — he ran to the house of a friend and fell, dead, in the toilet.

"I remember a woman who locked her two children into her coal box to keep them safe. The police fired tear-gas and when she came to them, they



The exiles: Divided from their own people by geography and fear, joined by mutual longing

**I cried, my mother cried ... I said 'I'm studying somewhere, I'll phone again in three years'**

had suffocated.

"Such things made me very angry: I wanted only to leave the country and return and avenge these deaths. Most of us wanted only to go out and then come back and fight.

"I didn't know much about the ANC, except for Nelson Mandela and that it was banned. I was part of a cell set up by some people, but I didn't know then that it was a cell or that they were ANC.

"But we knew there were cars in the country transporting people, especially if you had problems with the police, charges and so on.

"My political awareness you could say was very low.

"In Soweto, everyone was leaving the country. I got to Soweto from Zeerust late in June and by September I was out of the country.

"I still remember it; it was a Saturday morning and I'd left the house with a girlfriend. When I saw the car I told her 'There's my boyfriend,' and she still said to me, 'But he's so old!' I had only the clothes I was in, my Wrangler jeans.

"The whole day was spent picking up people in Soweto and then we drove to Swaziland for a week before travelling through Mozambique to Tanzania.

"When we got there we were very angry to find that some of the people had been in exile for years and years. We thought, 'What have they been doing all this time?'

"We went through an orientation programme where they explained ANC history and policy — and that struggle was not a question of attacking whites, but rather the system. We were told of people like Bram Fischer, who died in prison for the cause.

"Then we were given the choice of going to school or going for military training. It was up to you, but people tried to persuade the young ones to rather go to school. That's what I chose.

During the three years she spent in Tanzania, Thandi helped build the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafco), and studied. Then she came to Lusaka and worked in the women's section of the ANC, compiling articles and helping edit its publication, *Voice of Women*, before being posted to Dar-es-Salaam, over-

#### Portrait of a home-sick ANC exile in Zambia

seeing the production of ANC literature and media on a printing press owned by the Organisation of African Unity.

Her application to study journalism granted, she went in 1980 to the Stefan Giorgio Academy in Bucharest, capital of Romania, and then in 1982 to the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow.

She was there for six years, emerging with a Master of Arts degree in journalism.

Learning the language was just one of the problems she encountered: she says she "still thinks in Russian". In winter, temperatures plummeted to below 30 degrees Celsius. Students had a meagre 90 roubles a month for clothing, transport, food and exercise books. "It was really very little, it was a problem."

But she had a chance denied to many: to study.

"There were some of our people doing medicine, others doing engineer-

ing — we used to talk about those back home denied the chance to study in their own country.

"And I met people from all over the world, from Asia, Latin America, African countries, the Arab states. I made good friends there, friends I still have.

"And the subjects I studied really opened my mind — philosophy, logic ... The way we were taught was also good, not to see ourselves as better than others with less education."

The contradictions of Soviet society did not escape her.

"When I got there I expected to see a free society. All I found was bureaucracy."

The first contact she had with her family in nine years was in 1985, when she returned to Lusaka to fulfil a practical requirement of her course and worked as a cadet reporter on the *Zambian Daily Mail* and phoned home.

"I was crying, my mother was crying — they couldn't believe it was me. I couldn't tell them I was studying in the Soviet Union because the phone might have been tapped. So I only said, 'I'm going to complete my

studies — and that I'd phone again in three years.'

"The Boers (police) used to trouble my people — in 1979 they detained my father and beat him up."

In 1988 she returned to Africa. "I was supposed to go on and do my Doctorate but I just couldn't. I wanted to come home, communicate with my people — you couldn't even write a letter unless you had contact with people in Western Europe."

She reported back at Mazimbu in Tanzania. "When I left there were just a few buildings, now it was like a city. I was so surprised, it was wonderful. There were schools, hostels, houses for teachers, a clinic, a library, dining halls. On the farm, producing food for everyone, were people who had graduated in veterinary science. There was a nursery for the little kids, a garment factory producing uniforms.

"There was no television in Tanzania but we had videos — films, news clips to keep us informed of what was happening. There were cultural activities, plays and so on and a recreation centre for sports."

After four months she was posted to ANC Headquarters in Lusaka, where she has been ever since.

Sometimes during those years an image of her mother would fill her mind, the mother she left without bidding farewell, at a time when she was still mourning the loss of Thandi's younger sister.

"When that picture enters my mind, I don't want to communicate with anyone. I just lock myself up in my room, and I cry."

Now, for the first time in 14 years, she is allowing herself the luxury of thoughts of returning home.

"There are many problems in exile: for one, you are not at home. When we left, many of us were still very young, still under the protection of our parents.

"We grew up without our childhoods. Even as students we were always giving talks about the political situation in South Africa.

"We have lived knowing we could be killed at any time. In a way we have sacrificed our lives, trying to build a better system.

"Even now, I wonder whether it is enough. There is a lot to be done to help people understand.

"When I hear about the white rightwing, it conjures up in my mind images of the rise of fascism in the 1930s.

"I can understand those fears. Now we have a lot of work to do to help those people adjust to the situation."

"I don't want them to leave the country, the Afrikaners. Where can they go? They were born there.

"For me, the most important thing is for right to be done by all. Because by cheating anyone, we would only be cheating ourselves."

## OKAVANGO TOURS & SAFARIS

PLACES STILL AVAILABLE ON OUR 30 MARCH, 12 APRIL DEPARTURES

Shop 23 Galleria Mall  
cnr Cradock & Biermann Ave  
Rosebank. Telephone 011 788-5549  
Telex 422302  
Fax 7886575  
Johannesburg

**Shrinking asset** (11A)

In prison, Nelson Mandela was one of the most marketable names in the world. He sold record albums, T-shirts and bumper stickers without raising a finger. His name brought thousands of people to rallies and reaped millions of rands for his cause.

Now, Mandela magic is bound to fade. "External support will diminish," says Eric Louw, of the University of Natal's Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit.

For many people around the world Mandela was *the* issue but soon the eyes of the world could glaze over as the situation in SA becomes more complicated.

Last year in the US alone 49m dozen T-shirts were produced to generate sales of \$3,5bn. Mandela was on many of them. The music world, especially, aligned itself with Mandela.

Sales of American Tracy Chapman's album *Crossroads* soared when the SABC banned her song "Freedom Now," even though it never mentions Mandela by name.

One of the biggest money-spinners was the 1988 Mandela birthday concert at Wembley, London, sponsored by the UK-based Anti-Apartheid Movement. Even the Soviet

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 23 1990

Union coughed up R120 000 for the right to screen the concert.

It was reported that the money would go to victims of apartheid — also known as a vast bottomless pit no one dare question. When the last chord faded, R5m in profits was ready to be divvied up and the movement took half of it to support its role as a lobbyist for sanctions, disinvestment and Mandela's release. It already had a hefty R3m/year budget.

"We're not a charity," says Sain Bakewell, an AAM fund-raiser. "We're a political pressure group. The money is ploughed back into the movement. The money stays in Britain."

But already the 30-year-old group, headquartered at 13 Mandela Street in London, is feeling the pinch of a fickle public. It lost 5 349 members between March — when it hit a peak of 19 410 mostly white supporters — and October. Like other sanctioneers, the

AAM will have to work harder and demand more money in the face of declining interest and more sympathy for the De Klerk government.

What happened to the other R2,5m from the concert? The AAM isn't sure. Bakewell says the money was distributed to seven London charities with operations in Africa. Beyond that the details become vague.

Though SA charities were originally touted as gaining from the profits, the majority of funded programmes were in the Frontline States, including one that paid a child psychiatrist in Mozambique. Some of the money went to "an abandoned children's centre" in Mexico, says Bakewell.

One local charity that did get concert money was the Pinetown (Durban) Child Welfare Society, which received about R64 000 from the London branch of Save the Children. The money was used to fund three extra black social workers.

continue p. 54.

P.T.O

It was about the time of the 1988 concert that Robert Brown, a black American businessman and PR executive, appeared on the scene. With Winnie Mandela at his side, Brown said that he had power-of-attorney to protect the Mandela name from exploitation. "People around the world are using the painful history of the Mandela family to benefit themselves," she said. "This situation has reached scandalous proportions and must be handled in a firm manner."

Within days Brown was out of the picture after Nelson Mandela put the brakes on from inside Pollsmoor jail. Lawyers, ANC leaders and anti-apartheid activists all professed to be shocked and horrified to think that anyone was ripping off Mandela, or that his name needed protecting by some American businessman.

"I resent bitterly," said AAM president and Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, "anyone questioning the motives of

those who have dedicated themselves to securing Mandela's freedom."

At the time, Brown backed down gracefully. But that doesn't mean that he removed himself from the picture totally. Armstrong Williams, who works for B & C Associates, Brown's PR firm in North Carolina, says the rift strengthened Brown's ties with the family, including Nelson and Winnie's daughter Zenani. Brown pays all the living expenses for Zenani, her husband and their three children. He managed to arrange scholarships at Boston University.

Brown was heading the Coalition for Southern Africa (Cosa), a group of anti-sanctions American churchmen supported by corporate donations, when the organisation gave about R50 000 towards the construction of Winnie Mandela's 15-room Soweto mansion. The organisation came under fire when its supporting companies, including Mobil and Johnson & Johnson, said they



**Selling Mandela T-shirts ...  
for how long?**

did not know what happened to the R1,75m that went to Cosa, which denied any wrongdoing. Brown resigned from the organisation "a year or two ago," Williams says.

B & C handles the publicity for Zenani at no charge but Williams says there is no business arrangement.

Another friend Zenani has made in the US, where she studies marketing, is millionaire TV chat-show presenter Oprah Winfrey. Through her charity fund, the black American actress paid for Zenani and family to fly to SA to be with her father after his release. The fund is administered by Winfrey's boyfriend, Steadman Graham, and his business partner — Armstrong Williams of B & C, who accompanied them to SA.

Williams says that Winfrey also made a R28 000 down payment on the Diepkloof, Soweto, house that Winnie Mandela moved into after her Orlando West house was torched by high school pupils seeking revenge against her bodyguards.

Of course, the Mandela connections she is now cementing could help Winfrey to secure Mandela's first chat-show appearance when he visits the US — but Williams says that isn't her aim.

Williams also scoffs at the idea that B & C will be the obvious choice to handle Mandela's lucrative publicity and business arrangements in America. He suggests that the ANC with its "contacts everywhere" will handle the world's most famous ex-prisoner.

How much handling the man and his funds will need once the initial euphoria wears off remains to be seen.

For as surely as "Free Nelson Mandela" and other records will be relegated to the "oldies but goodies" bin; so, too, will the foreign aid providers start looking around for another hero to support.

## NOT HORATIO

11A

Nelson, the seagull of the song that brought fame and fortune to Des and Dawn Lindberg, has been unmasked. Though not originally written (by Briton Peter Bennett) with Nelson Mandela in mind, the Houghton duo say they used *The Seagull's Name is Nelson* for many years as a tribute to the jailed ANC leader. *FM 23/2/90.*

Now that Mandela has been released, Des 'n Dawn have decided to re-record the number they first sang in 1971. Des has rewritten the words and a cassette of the new version has already been sent to Mandela.

"While Bennett intended the song to make people aware of conservation — it deals with a hurt seagull — to us it was symbolic of Mandela's detention, something which has always concerned us deeply," says Dawn. "In later years, we would always remind audiences of the jailed Mandela when we sang it. At first people frowned on this, especially in the *platteland*. In later years the applause grew wilder."

Dawn says they have received word from Winnie Mandela that her husband often listened to their hit song in jail.

"We hope we will soon be able to sing to him."

*Now the legend has grown  
And Nelson's name is known  
In every land across the sea  
And our seagull still sings  
Of the joy that freedom brings  
Now that Nelson like the seagull is  
free."*



Nelson Mandela's Soweto home was still being swamped this week by diplomats, political colleagues and rivals, businessmen, journalists — and white schoolchildren, eager for an autograph

Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

## Mandela and Azapo discuss 'solidarity'

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

IN its meeting with Nelson Mandela yesterday, the Black Consciousness Movement proposed setting up a consultative network of ideologically different organisations to provide a common front against the government.

The Soweto meeting — the second in a week between the African National Congress leader and members of the BCM — focused on "solidarity among the various ideological perspectives in the liberation movement".

Included in the six-man Azanian People's Organisation delegation were Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza, a senior BCM member from Natal, Strini Moodley and former Azapo president Kehla Mthembu.

Also present at the meeting were United Democratic Front publicity secretary Terror Lekota and the organisation's assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe.

The BCM also proposed the recognition and acceptance of mutual organisational integrity on the grounds that all the organisations of different ideological leanings had been de-restricted.

Myeza said: "Mandela is going to consult with the internal and external wings of the ANC on the proposals. Further meetings in this regard are expected in the near future."

The meetings with Mandela have led to speculation that Azapo is planning to merge with the ANC. Myeza, however, crushed such rumours, saying the extent to which unity was discussed with Mandela was "to emphasize the common base shared by resistance organisations".

The type of unity envisaged by the BCM does not seem to include the ANC only. In earlier interviews, Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa, indicated that unity between the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress would benefit the "struggle".

"If that should happen we would not want to stand outside the unification process. There is definitely a reason to come together if all forces unite but we will not side with either the PAC or ANC."

The talks are seen as part of a major move by Azapo to revive its consti-

tuencies after the government imposed restrictions on it in February 1988.

The Mandela meeting comes a week before the organisation's first national congress in two years to be held next weekend at the Shareworld complex in Johannesburg.

More than 3 000 delegates from 12 regions and 89 branches countrywide are expected to attend next weekend's congress, said an Azapo representative.

Besides being the first time since December 1987 that members will officially meet on a national level, a report back on last year's Conference for a Democratic Future will be presented to the constituencies and recent political events in the country will be discussed.

A week before this top-level congress Azapo has intensified its African diplomatic offensive. A two-man delegation of Azapo president, Nkosi Molala, and deputy president, Mabasa, left on Saturday to meet Libyan government officials, and to consult with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare.

w/Mand 23/2 - 1/3/90

11A

# FW replies to Lusaka statement

# ANC talks on

## Political Staff

### President F W de Klerk yesterday welcomed an ANC decision to send a delegation to meet him.

In the government's first official reaction to last week's statement by the ANC's national executive committee in Lusaka, Mr De Klerk said:

Legal uncertainties which some ANC executive members might have about entering the country were receiving immediate attention. Arrangements for the first meeting between the two political adversaries were well under way, he added.

He expressed disappointment at the ANC leadership's continued listing of pre-conditions to negotiations and its talk

of "armed struggle and hostilities". Mr De Klerk's statement came against the background of the postponement of his trip to Zaire to meet African leaders following pressure on the leaders from the ANC and frontline states.

In his response to the postponement, Mr De Klerk said "now is not the time to create further divisions".

In an interview on SABC TV last night Mr De Klerk welcomed the ANC approach. He said the government was not "bluffing" about change and peaceful negotiation, but it was also not a "two-man show". "Negotiations must be between representatives of all circumstances," he said. Asked if the government wanted to negotiate the retention of apartheid at future talks, Mr De

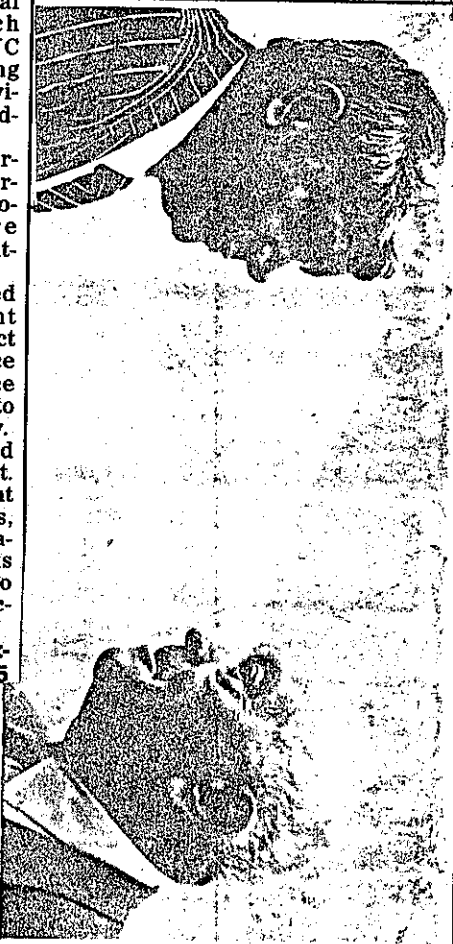
Klerk said the government was "not adhering to apartheid" and did not want to bluff those entering "no negotiation that is wanted to retain apartheid in any sense of the word". "We are moving away from apartheid inasmuch as anyone can say it still exists. He said, however, that the first official talks could not be regarded as real negotiations.

"This is a preliminary discussion to address impediments in the way of negotiations. Real negotiation must be between people who are committed to peaceful negotiation."

He also said it was generally accepted that South Africa had a crucial role to play in Southern Africa and that it would be "a pity" if the ANC continued its

UNITY? ... The president of the SA Rugby Union, Mr Ebrahim Patel, shakes hands with his SA Rugby Board counterpart, Dr Danie Craven, after their first meeting in South Africa in 15 years.

## HISTORIC MEETING FOR SA RUGBY



From page 1

attempts to prevent South Africa from having dialogue with Africa.

Mr De Klerk said earlier yesterday that the ANC's commitment to talks with the SA government on ways of getting negotiations off the ground was a positive step "and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means".

"I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this. Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere."

Mr De Klerk said legal uncertainties which members of the ANC might have regarding visits to SA would "obviously" have to be addressed beforehand.

"These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention."

Mr De Klerk warned that the government would continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise the country.

"We have the will and ability to do just that. Besides a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation."

● De Klerk's Zaire meeting postponed — Page 5

CPK 7/11/85 22/2/89 (11A)

CPK  
7/11/85  
22/2/89  
11A

# FW talks with shape up

AKG 23/2/90

111A

Staff Reporter DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
and TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PREPARATIONS began today for the next dramatic step in the South African peace process — a meeting, probably on South African soil, between State President F W de Klerk and an official delegation of the African National Congress.

The purpose of the talks will be to try to clear the way for full-scale negotiations between the government, the ANC and other bodies on a future constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Today's activity follows the welcome issued by President De Klerk last night to the ANC's decision in Lusaka, Zambia, to send a delegation to meet him.

No venue has been decided, nor has the ANC indicated who it will include in the delegation for the historic first meeting with the South African President. Mr Raymond Mhlaba, a senior ANC leader inside South Africa, today called reports that Mr Nelson Mandela would lead the ANC delegation "pure speculation".

He said seven internal leaders of the movement, including national chairman Mr Walter Sisulu, would be accompany Mr Mandela to Lusaka on Tuesday next week. "There we will decide on the composition of the delegation."

## Touring Natal

Mr Sisulu could not be reached today. He was touring wartorn areas of Natal — areas where ANC supporters and followers of the Zulu movement, Inkatha, have been engaged in increasingly bloody clashes.

Senior ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Joe Slovo affirmed in a telephone interview from Lusaka last night that no decision had been taken on who would be included in the ANC delegation and where in South Africa the talks would be held.

Mr Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, described as "utter rubbish" reports that the party would try to meet President De Klerk.

"Actually, the central committee of the party had decided to endorse the ANC national executive committee's decision. We are not trying to talk to Mr De Klerk on our own. Naturally we're hoping to be part of the delegation chosen to talk to him."

Government sources also indicated today that "certain arrangements" would have to be made before the talks could commence. According to President De Klerk legal uncertainties which members of the national executive of the ANC may have with regard to visits to South Africa would have to be addressed beforehand.

## Find formula

It appears that the government will have to find a formula to assure the exiled ANC leaders that they could return to South Africa for the talks even if they had been involved in the planning of violence.

Another sticking point to even pre-negotiations at this stage is the government's attitude that only political prisoners who were convicted merely because of their membership of banned organisations will be released, not those who were involved in acts of violence.

The ANC is insisting on a general amnesty.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that there is a strong chance that when Mr Mandela arrives in London in April a meeting with Mrs Thatcher will be on the agenda.

ANC sources have indicated that "out of courtesy" Mr Mandela will "make contact" with the British authorities.

Unlike previous ANC leaders, who have had to make do with junior ministers or officials at the Foreign Office, he is likely to be given red carpet treatment all the way to Downing Street should he desire it.

The British Government, although hesitant to recognise the ANC, has undisguised admiration for Mr Mandela and leading members have expressed a willingness to talk to him.

ANC

11A

✓ Mail 23/2 - 1/3/90

# NELSON MANDELA FREE!

We congratulate the struggling people of South Africa on this great victory in their continued fight against Apartheid. We will not cease to urge for international comprehensive mandatory sanctions until Apartheid is abolished and South Africa is transformed into a united democratic and non-racial country.

#### Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement

##### With The Support Of:

Progressive Organisations, Socialist Workers Party, Swiss Communist Party;  
Southern Africa Working Group/Association of Churches and Missions, Christian Women South Africa Working Group,  
Group of Grassroot Theologians;  
Cultural Group Afrkaribik, Left Voice Singers, Group Video Shop;  
Printing Workers Union, Building Workers Union, Teachers Union, Trade Union Federation of Grison;  
Swiss Labour Assistance, Swissaid, Declaration of Berns, Swiss Sanitary Centre, Central American Solidarity  
Movement of Switzerland, Swiss Peace Council, Christian Movement for Peace, Women for Peace;  
Co-operative Shop for Biological Food, Comedia Bookshop.

#### Members of Parliament (MPs)/Ministers

Helmut Hubacher, Leader Social Democratic Party; Pierre Aguet, Rosmarie Bar (check spelling), Peter Bodenmann, Hansjörg (check) Braunschweig, Cyrill Brugger (check), Esther Bühler (check), Rosmarie Dormann, Angeline Frankhauser, Hermann Fehr, Valentine Friedli, Ursula Hafner, Adress Herczog, Franz Jaeger, Ernst Leuenberger, Susanne Leutenegger Oberholzer, Rene Longet, Ursula Mauch, Thomas Onken, Francoise Pitteloud, Laurent Rebeaud, Paul Rechsteiner, Monika Stocker, Ursula Ulrich, Lilian Uchtenhagen, Jean Ziegler, Jacques Stadelmann, Dominique Aubry, Jean-Pierre Boillat, Christiane Bolanz, Alain Gonthier, Noe (check) Graff, Anick Merat, Georges Peters, Alphonse Poupon, Elisabeth Reuss, Hans Ruckebacher (check), Marie-Therese (check) Sauterin, Michel Steuffel, Rudolf Strahm, Sylviane Zulauf.

#### Church Representatives

Marga Buhrig (check), President of World Council of Churches; Walter Monika and Anderfuhren Monique, President and Vice-President Federation of Protestant Women; Charles Allemant, Leni Altwegg, Franziska Bangerter Lindt, Sitta Campi-Revillard, Francine Garrillo, Claude Curchod, Helge ..... (see original) Guyer, Abrecht Hieber, Renata Huonker, Hans Walter Huppenbauer, Elisa-Maria Jodi, Andre Laporte, Alain Perrot, Rudolf Renfer, Paul Rutishauser, Jacob Schaedelin, Andreas Schmutz, Fritz Schneider, Vreni Schneider Biber, Peter Schule (check), Jean-Pierre Thevenaz, Peter Walss.

#### Artists

Ernest Ansoerga, Gisele Ansoerga, Barrigue, Jean-Daniel Bloesch, Jakob Dimitri, Hans Erni, Peter Fahr, Rene Genoud, Martin Gerhard, Gardi Hutter, Elsbeth Jeanmonod, Dani Konig (check), Lilo Konig, Claudia Peyer, Amelie (check) Plume, Madeleine Santschi, Anita Schlegel, Daniel Schneider, Yvette Theraulaz, Tom Weiss c/o Troll, Tamar Zehnder.

#### Trade Union Representatives

Eric Decarro, Chairman Trade Union Federation of Geneva; Francois De Vargas, General Secretary CSCT; Jacques Forster, Chairman Trade Union Federation of Vaud; Martin Jager (check), Chairman Trade Union Federation of Chur; Yvonne Lenzlinger, General Secretary SSM; Tiziana Mona, Chairwoman SSM; Michel Pilonel, Central Secretary PTT-Union; Andreas Rieger, Secretary VPOD; Jacques Robert, Secretary FOBB; Paul Sauterin, Chairman of a Workers Commission; Urs Zuppinger, Secretary VPOD.

#### Education/Science

Marc-H. Blanc, Francois Blum, Sophie Blum, Maryelle Boudry, Francois Bovon, Claude Calame, Charles Carillo, Rene Chappuis, Marina Decarro, Elizabeth Feldmayer-Christe, Jean-Jacques Feldmeyer, Walter Huber, Philippe Junod, Martin Lenzlinger, Bernhard Lindt-Bangerter, Daniele (check) Martinoli, Dominique Martinoli, Emmanuel Martinoli, Marie-Claire Martinoli, Ruedi Meyer, Henry Mottu, Claude Revillard, Hans Saner, Johanna Schneider-Britt, Andre Signori, Francois Thevenaz, Claudio Valsangiacomo, Elisabeth Wandeler, Martin S. Wolfe.

#### Journalists

Jean-Michel Barthoud, Charles....., Simone....., Elsbeth Schneider (see original)

#### Solidarity Groups/Aid Organisations

Monique Bauer-Lagier, President of Protestant aid organisation "Brot fur Bruder" (check); Marco Mona, President of Solifonds; Ginevra Signer, Co-ordinator of Solifonds (Solidarity fund of Swiss labour movement); Nelly Brandl, Karin Ernst, Ruedi Tobler.

#### Others

Helmut Britz, Anne Coidan, Patrick Coidan, Doris Erni, Dorothea Fischer-Volz, Koni Frei, Rainer Guidin, Ursula Guyer, Ursula Hoerstkamp, Gisela Huber, Nick Konig (check), Christian Nanchen, Diane Perrot, Margrit Pfister, Dorothea Rusch (check), Corinne Schneider, Fredi Schneider, Sybille Schneider, Francine Signori, Ursi Weisenmann, Ann Wolke, Christophe Zbinden.



# FW agrees to meet the ANC

Sowetan 23/2/90

IIA

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has agreed to meet a delegation from the African National Congress, clearing the way for the first formal talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

He announced yesterday that he welcomed last Friday's decision by the ANC's National Executive to send a delegation to meet him.

The ANC said then the aim of the talks would be

## SOWETAN Reporter

to discuss the remaining obstacles to formal negotiations, including the state of emergency, the continued holding of political prisoners, troops in the townships and remaining "repressive" legislation.

## Positive

Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting ne-

gotiations off the ground is a positive step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means.

"I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this.

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere".

"Obviously legal uncertainties which members of the National Exec-

● To page 2

Sowetan 23/2/90

# FW to meet ANC

IIA

IIA

● From page 1

utive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa, will have to be addressed beforehand.

"These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention".

However Mr de Klerk pointed out that it was disappointing that the ANC persisted in listing preconditions despite the new climate created by the Government's recent decisions.

This contrasted with the enthusiasm and impatience of all other leaders in South Africa to get negotiations going.

## Struggle

It was also disappointing that the ANC continued to talk about the armed struggle when most South Africans - supported by the world - wanted peace.

"The South African Government is committed to a new dispensation which offers peace and justice for all.

"An armed struggle and hostilities do not fit into this pattern.

"The Government will continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country.

"We have the will and the ability to do just that. Beside a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation".

Soweto 23/2/90

11A

# Mandela to spend Easter at Wembley

LONDON - Nelson Mandela is to visit Britain in April, according to the BBC.

Early yesterday, a TV newscast quoted a member of his family in Soweto confirming that he had decided on a date to visit Britain.

There was no indication yet whether he had decided to take up British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's invitation to meet her at her country home, Chequers.

But plans are underway for a major rally, organised by campaigners for his freedom, to welcome the ANC leader at Wembley Stadium over the Easter weekend.

\* President Kenneth Kaunda has said Mandela will visit Lusaka next week to meet with leaders of the six Frontline states.

# Mandela looks to the future

11A  
Sowetan  
23/2/90

# 'Pool resources for a united front'

WHEN he addressed a rally in Johannesburg on January 13 Mr Nelson Mandela said the primary task was to unite all blacks against the "dark hell of apartheid" but he did not spell out what he meant by unity in relation to other liberation organisations.

He told the *Sowetan* that the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, Black Consciousness Movement - the three mainstream political movements in South Africa - were linked together by their opposition to apartheid and racial laws.

This formed the basis for unity as the organisations were unanimous in their demand for one-person-one-vote and a nonracial SA.

## Unite

"It is necessary to pool our resources as we (the ANC) are prepared to unite with everybody who is against racial oppression."

Asked to be specific on how he saw unity being forged, Mandela said the fact that the organisations had made clear their demands meant a step in the direction towards forging a united front.

"We are moving in that direction as we see the need for a united South Africa.

"I see the goal of a non-racial South Africa being attained but this is a long process which cannot be achieved overnight."

He has been visited by PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng and the Azanian People's Organisation's leadership.

"We have spoken about unity," Mandela said but did not wish to elaborate as he saw this question as "very broad" and which needed to be addressed thoroughly by him, the *Sowetan* and other black publications.

On his role since his release from Victor Verster prison in

**SINCE his release from prison on February 11 Mr Nelson Mandela has had a hectic schedule; receiving visitors from various corners of the world and granting interviews to local and foreign journalists. In a tight 15-minute session with the *Sowetan* this week in which he spoke about the prospects of unity with other movements, he also emerged as a humble person who took decisions not as an individual but as part of the larger whole.**

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Paarl, Mandela said he saw himself as part of the broad ANC structure.

When he spoke he rarely gave views from a personal perspective and said he did not see himself in isolation - even on personal matters.

For instance, when asked whether he had any plans to move out of his four-roomed house to the mansion in the plush Diepkloof Extension, he said: "I have no plans to move.

"This house is of sentimental value to my wife and I. We were married here and have had

## FOCUS

pleasant moments here. But everything depends on my family who have other plans about where I will stay," Mandela said.

During the interview he endeavoured to shift attention from himself.

QUESTION: "Mr Mandela, the ANC leadership in Lusaka has decided to appoint Mr Walter Sisulu as chief of the internal mission of the organisation. Don't you think, as many people do, that you should have assumed that role?"

## Decision

MANDELA: "That was a very wise decision and I support it fully. Comrade Sisulu has considerable experience and is a former general secretary of the ANC. Many of us have learned from him and this is a position he deserves.

"I am a member of the ANC and will support and abide by all the decisions taken by the organisation's leadership."

When he walked out of Victor Verster prison a free man on February 11 the world rejoiced and many South Africans thought it meant freedom for all.

During subsequent interviews with the media Mandela repeatedly said he was not a prophet who would solve the country's prob-



NELSON MANDELA

lems.

The ultra-Right Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging said his release meant war and the beginning of a revolution. The police have opened a docket after the Conservative Party laid treason charges against Mandela.

QUESTION: "What is your vision of a future South Africa?"

MANDELA: "I think we are achieving the goal of a united South Africa. The ANC is open to all racial groups and people of other races have joined the organisation. It seems everything is moving towards the achievement of our goal of a nonracial South Africa."

# UDF won't merge with the ANC yet - Molefe

11A

Sowetan 23/2/90

THE United Democratic Front would not disband following the unbanning of the African National Congress, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said yesterday.

Despite earlier indications that the UDF and some of its affiliates would amalgamate with the ANC, the exiled leadership had instructed internal organisations to maintain its structures, he said.

"The fact that the Government has shown a willingness to negotiate should not be equated with full freedom.

"President De Klerk may mean well, but he has not been able to carry the entire National Party with him. The NP has not yet made fundamental policy changes which indicates that they are not clearly committed to a non-racial democracy."

Molefe said although it was unlikely that the Government could in future de-

side to again ban the ANC, this option could not be ruled out. Laws to ban organisations were still on the statute books.

"We're not taking chances. The UDF and Mass Democratic Movement have no tradition of being involved in the "armed struggle" and it would thus be difficult to ban us. We could dismantle out structures, but what will happen if the Government again bans the ANC?"

Molefe stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity since UDF affiliates were currently debating the issue at grassroots level. A final decision would be taken at the UDF's national general congress starting on April 6.

He added that the UDF and MDM - the latter of which was a broader coalition of anti-apartheid forces including organisations which did not necessarily subscribe to the Freedom Charter - acknowledged the leadership of the ANC.

ay February 23 1990

# Durban prepares for Mandela

AHEAD of the largest crowd ever expected to gather in Durban, organisers of the Nelson Mandela rally on Sunday are frantically making special arrangements to cope with the huge crowd.

Research done by the Natal Reception Committee indicates that between 175 000 to 250 000 people could attend the rally at Kings Park which will start at 9am and is scheduled to end at 4.30pm.

Portable toilets are

being brought in from other provinces as there are not enough in Natal to cope. And, to slake people's thirst, there will be about 20 000 cases of cold drinks on sale.

The organisers are also hoping to arrange for the temporary provision of 300 water taps in the grounds. If this cannot be arranged with the Durban

City Engineer's Department the organisers say they will provide bulk water tankers.

## Souvenirs

There will be vending areas in the grounds where T-shirts and other ANC souvenirs will be on sale. Vendors will be expected to contribute five percent of their takings to the Reception Committee.

Everyone attending will also be asked to con-

tribute R1 towards the costs of mounting the rally which is expected to total R200 000.

These costs include: Sound system R16 000, stage R11 000, venue R50 000, and insurance R24 000 (half of which is to be paid by Durban City Council).

Squads of marshalls have been in training for several weeks and 3 300 of them will be handling crowd control. Senior

marshalls will be dressed in the khaki uniform and black beret of the ANC last seen in South Africa 30 years ago.

## Rally

Mr Mandela will arrive at 11am and, after being introduced by Mr Walter Sisulu, will speak at noon. He will leave shortly thereafter for Bloemfontein where he will address another rally.

11A  
Souvenir  
23/2/90

thought.

...coming with Moshoeshoe on major executive and legislative decisions.

Lekhanya is South Africa

Now the monarch of this southern Af-

1986 coup w

# UDF won't merge with the ANC yet - Molefe

-11A

Sowetan 23/2/90

THE United Democratic Front would not disband following the unbanning of the African National Congress, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said yesterday.

Despite earlier indications that the UDF and some of its affiliates would amalgamate with the ANC, the exiled leadership had instructed internal organisations to maintain its structures, he said.

"The fact that the Government has shown a willingness to negotiate should not be equated with full freedom.

"President De Klerk may mean well, but he has not been able to carry the entire National Party with him. The NP has not yet made fundamental policy changes which indicates that they are not clearly committed to a non-racial democracy."

Molefe said although it was unlikely that the Government could in future de-

side to again ban the ANC, this option could not be ruled out. Laws to ban organisations were still on the statute books.

"We're not taking chances. The UDF and Mass Democratic Movement have no tradition of being involved in the "armed struggle" and it would thus be difficult to ban us. We could dismantle out structures, but what will happen if the Government again bans the ANC?"

Molefe stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity since UDF affiliates were currently debating the issue at grassroots level. A final decision would be taken at the UDF's national general congress starting on April 6.

He added that the UDF and MDM - the latter of which was a broader coalition of anti-apartheid forces including organisations which did not necessarily subscribe to the Freedom Charter - acknowledged the leadership of the ANC.

# Mandela becoming a jetsetter

23/490

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela, joins the jet set in earnest on Sunday.

For the next two weeks, the 71-year-old ANC leader is bound by a tight schedule involving local rallies and trips abroad.

He will address what is expected to be another huge rally at the King's Park Stadium in Durban at 10 am on Sunday, and at 1 pm he will fly to Bloemfontein where another crowd will be waiting for him at the Free State rugby stadium.

A rally that was scheduled for tomorrow in Port Elizabeth has been cancelled.

Mr Mandela will be back in Johannesburg on Monday.

He will fly on Tuesday to Lusaka where he is to spend three days. Mr Mandela will meet the ANC national executive committee and the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

He will then fly to Harare where he will meet President Robert Mugabe.

His Harare visit will be followed by a trip to Sweden to meet ANC president and long-time friend, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating in a private clinic after suffering a stroke last year.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to stop over in Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa.

Since his release less than a fortnight ago, Mr Mandela has had numerous TV, radio and press interviews with foreign and local journalists and has met many prominent people.

The jetsetting comes after hectic interviews and photographic sessions.

He has met numerous interest groups in the past few days, ranging from the Democratic Party to Azapo.

He was scheduled to meet a Labour Party delegation today.

(119)

## Smiles after Natal meeting

# Talks raise hopes for end to violence

STC 23/2/90 (11A)

### Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The smiles on the faces of ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo after an historic two-hour meeting in Durban last night raised hopes for peace prospects in Natal's strife-torn black townships.

A short statement, read by Dr Dhlomo to journalists, said the spirit of the meeting between the two organisations "was a very firm commitment to end the violence in Natal".

### Obstacles

Mr Sisulu flew to Durban yesterday morning at the head of an ANC "peace delegation". He told a press conference at the airport that the meeting, arranged with a working committee of Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu representatives for later in the day, was in his view a historic occasion.

The statement released after last night's talks said Mr Si-

sulu and his delegation were briefed by Inkatha representatives Dr Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose and by the UDF/Cosatu's Dr Diliza Mji, and Mr Alec Erwin.

The obstacles to peace talks had been fully canvassed.

"All concerned felt that the discussions were very constructive and the spirit of the meeting was a very firm commitment to ending violence in Natal.

"It is firmly hoped that such co-operation will expedite the peace process."

Dr Dhlomo told journalists he was satisfied with the meeting.

Asked what the next step in the peace process would be, he said: "The statement is self-explanatory. The agreement was that we would not elaborate on it. The (ANC) leaders are still on their mission. It is not yet accomplished."

The ANC delegation is due to visit Mpumalanga and other townships today and to have discussions with church leaders and business leaders.





President Mobutu

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's summit with African leaders has been postponed for several weeks.**

The summit's host, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, said yesterday that the meeting would take place "very soon" in Kinshasa.

The seven-nation summit was originally scheduled to take place in Goma tomorrow, but was delayed following pressure from the frontline states and the ANC.

The timing of the Goma summit also sparked controversy because it had been arranged just ahead of the massive welcome home celebration for Mr Nelson Mandela in Lusaka on Tuesday.

The Lusaka event is to be attended by frontline heads of state and politicians from a number of Commonwealth countries --

# De Klerk's Zaire meeting postponed

CAPL TWP 23/2/90

HA

many of whom remain committed to the isolation of Pretoria in line with ANC policy.

In his response to the postponement, Mr De Klerk hinted that the issue was a sensitive one by noting that "now is not the time to create further divisions".

He then added: "Africa cannot afford more controversy within its own ranks."

Mr De Klerk said he had no doubt that Mr Mobutu had arranged the meeting "in good faith and in line with public statements by several African leaders to the effect that the time has come to normalise relations with South Africa.

"I agree with these statements. Moreover, I agree with the reported warning recently sounded by the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity concerning the necessity for African states to unite on a joint strategy to address the implications

for Africa of European economic unity in 1992, as well as the consequences of the events in Eastern Europe."

Mr Mobutu offered "technical reasons" as the explanation for the postponement of the talks which should have been attended by Zaire, South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Togo and Gabon.

SA government sources said last night that it appeared that "a couple" of the countries had at the last minute withdrawn from the summit, increasing pressure on the others to do likewise.

However, there was confidence that the next summit could be "bigger and better".

● Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has postponed visits to Kenya and Angola set for this week, but would travel to the two countries at another time, a spokesman said yesterday. — UPI



Own Correspondent

# 'Historic' ANC-Inkatha talks

DURBAN. — The first steps towards peace in Natal were taken yesterday when ANC and Inkatha leaders met here in what all concerned heralded as a "historic occasion". And in a surprise move, Inkatha central committee members in the greater Durban area encouraged their members to attend the ANC rally on Sunday to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela as a "hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation".

Both ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu Minister of

Education and Culture, were positive about the meeting and said they hoped it would lead to peace in the province.

Dr Dhlomo said it was the first time the ANC component of the peace talks had become directly involved, and that this was "very significant".

ANC leaders arrived in Durban yesterday morning and toured townships outside Maritzburg, meeting community leaders to discuss the violence.

Steady drizzle did nothing to dampen the enthu-

siasm of ANC supporters in the townships, who emerged from their houses chanting and waving ANC flags and banners.

A meeting behind closed doors at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre was held with about 50 township representatives from areas such as Ashdown, Caluza, Haza, Mpumalanga, Gezibuso, Sinathingl, Slangspruit, Taylor's Halt and Elandskop, which have been the scenes of death and destruction for the past three years.

Mr Sisulu said criminal elements that were exacerbating the situation in Natal were the result of poor social conditions.

He said they would have to be put right by providing people with adequate education.

Inkatha's central committee, in their call for support of the Mandela visit, appealed to everybody for calm as "we are concerned that fresh violence may break out as emotions build up closer to the day of the rally".

They also called on rally organisers not to let

enthusiasm and emotions lead them to act in a provocative and offensive manner which would lead to violence.

Recalling incidents the organisation claim were perpetrated by the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance during the release of Mr Mandela, they called on the three organisations to "openly warn" their members and supporters against:

- Singing derogatory songs against Inkatha and its leaders.
- Attacking houses of Inkatha members and of all those who do not wish

to be forced into activities of the ANC/UDF and Cosatu.

● Verbally abusing other organisations by calling their supporters and leaders names.

● Harassing, intimidating and forcing people to go to the rally.

● Acting in any provocative manner whatsoever.

The statement claimed that on the day Mr Mandela was released, derogatory songs and slogans were chanted denouncing some of Inkatha's local leaders and Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, and that houses of some of the organisation's members and leaders were attacked, that people were harassed and verbally abused and that cars were stoned.

The committee appealed to both the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and Inkatha supporters for calm in view of the prevalent tension in areas surrounding Durban.

"We call on every self-respecting black patriot to render the historic visit by Mr Mandela to Durban an honourable and memorable event in the history of our country," said the committee. — Sapa

# Breyten unlikely to settle in SA

By PETER DENNEHY

POET and author Breyten Breytenbach says he might never settle permanently in South Africa again, although he would like to spend time here and take part in debate about the future.

Mr Breytenbach, who spent seven years in jail after a Terrorism Act conviction in 1975, told students at Stellenbosch University this week that he had become "too used to the cosmopolitan character of Europe".

Mr Breytenbach was on a brief visit to South Africa with the British Channel Four television network, who were making a programme on a post-apartheid South Africa.

He addressed about 200 students and academics in the students' union amphitheatre during a break in filming on Wednesday.

He urged everyone to become involved in the process of change. By becoming involved, he said, Afrikaners would lose their fears and find that the building bricks for the new South Africa already existed.

He supported the ANC's line on sanctions remaining in place, but said it was important that the international community be given a clear cut-off point on when to lift them.

Mr Breytenbach said he wanted to see a future system which was as representative as possible, with guarantees of political and economic freedom.

## Exiled ANC couple to return and join UCT

*Cape Times 7/2/89*  
Staff Reporter (11A) (50) (89)

THE first two ANC exiles due to return home next week, Professor Jack Simon, 83, and his wife Ray Alexander, 76, will be appointed Associate Fellows at the University of Cape Town.

Ms Alexander told the Cape Times in a telephone call from Lusaka yesterday that she and her husband were looking forward to returning home, after 25 years in exile, where they would join the Centre for African Studies at UCT.

"It will be wonderful to return to South Africa, we are very happy, we have been waiting for this a long time," she said.

UCT vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders said: "The university is delighted that Prof Simon and his wife are able to return and that they will have links with the Centre for African Studies and thus contribute to scholarship."

# Mind over apartheid

## Black psychologists have a big task ahead

**BLACK psychologists have an enormous task reversing the damage caused by Verwoerdian ideologues who have used psychology to bolster apartheid, says Dr Saths Cooper.**

Cooper, who is a clinical psychologist and lecturer at the University of Western Cape, said Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, a trained psychologist himself, was a key social engineer and an architect of South African society.

In keeping with the teachings of Verwoerd many researchers and institutions still justify apartheid laws by advising policy makers in the country, Cooper said.

He said the time has come for black psychologists to play a role to ensure that apartheid apologists are

blocked in their attempts to practice and maintain the status quo.

"Today when everybody is talking of reform and pseudo-freedom, the works of thinkers like Steve Biko and Frantz Fanon need to be looked at and actualised," he said.

Biko and Fanon stressed the importance of psychological liberation as a tool for transforming the perception of a society.

Cooper said one of the most neglected aspects of black people's search for freedom and empowerment has been the area of psychological oppression. He said oppression has a tendency to create problems for both

the oppressed and the oppressor.

Black psychologists should investigate the dehumanisation caused by apartheid and play a role in restoring self-esteem in black people.

"At the rendezvous of victory you cannot have half human beings. You need full human beings to dictate the pace of events in the struggle," he said.

Black Americans are still worse off than they were before their non-violent struggle, Cooper said.

It is a pity, said Cooper, that South Africa has 27 000 psychologists of whom fewer than 500 are blacks. He called on blacks to fight hard to change the system to eradicate the imbalances.

HEALTH NEWS



By MOKGADI PELA

# ANC's nationalisation 'policy' only guideline

By KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

THOSE who have not understood the African National Congress (ANC) policy on nationalisation can cheer up — the truth is the ANC does NOT have a nationalisation policy.

The organisation's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said shortly after their national executive committee meeting last week that what the organisation had were "guidelines", according to Mr Mbeki.

The foundation for these devolve to the 35-year-old Freedom Charter.

They are not hard enough to be called a "policy", he says — and to judge by the varying statements on the topic by various ANC leaders in past weeks — not even the guidelines are universally agreed.

## VAGUE IDEALS

Most of the ideals included in the Freedom Charter are vague enough to be interpreted virtually any way one wants, with the exception of those pertaining to nationalisation.

These paragraphs read: "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

"All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

While Mr Mbeki says nationalisation is not mentioned anywhere in the Freedom Charter (the word itself is, indeed, not mentioned), the above paragraphs unambiguously mean nationalisation.

Privately, many leading members of the ANC's "new guard" dismiss the nationalisation bogey.

Mr Mbeki says: "The reality is that 99 percent of South Africans have nothing that could be nationalised," implying that

they have, therefore, nothing to fear from nationalisation.

He says the present economic system has been distorted by monopolies and cartels and the system has gross inequalities and imbalances that have produced great poverty within the black sector.

"Any democratic government will have to alter the structures inside the economy to create a system that can redress these imbalances.

"The issue is: who controls the wealth in order to effect more equitable system of distribution. The Afrikaners understood this when they used the helpmekaar programme to build their power bases such as Sanlam."

He says nationalisation remains an ANC option in the restructuring of the economy.

"I have been told that the economy is so finely balanced that both nationalisation and increased taxation will derail it and the only way to effect a re-distribution of wealth is to create more wealth that can then be re-distributed — but I cannot accept this argument."

## TAKEN BY SURPRISE

The initiative of President F W de Klerk has taken the organisation almost completely unawares, events have moved faster than anyone could have imagined, especially for an organisation such as the ANC, dedicated to long-winded, theoretical conferences leading to group decisions.

So, Mr Mbeki's candid admission is seemingly correct: taken by surprise, the ANC does not have an economic policy capable of being trotted out.

The result could be that nationalisation could be one of the first topics for debate when any negotiation process finally gets under way — and one of the first casualties.

# ANC's nationalisation 'policy' only guideline

By KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

THOSE who have not understood the African National Congress (ANC) policy on nationalisation can cheer up — the truth is the ANC does NOT have a nationalisation policy.

The organisation's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said shortly after their national executive committee meeting last week that what the organisation had were "guidelines", according to Mr Mbeki.

The foundation for these devolve to the 35-year-old Freedom Charter.

They are not hard enough to be called a "policy", he says — and to judge by the varying statements on the topic by various ANC leaders in past weeks — not even the guidelines are universally agreed.

## VAGUE IDEALS

Most of the ideals included in the Freedom Charter are vague enough to be interpreted virtually any way one wants, with the exception of those pertaining to nationalisation.

These paragraphs read: "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

"All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

While Mr Mbeki says nationalisation is not mentioned anywhere in the Freedom Charter (the word itself is, indeed, not mentioned), the above paragraphs unambiguously mean nationalisation.

Privately, many leading members of the ANC's "new guard" dismiss the nationalisation bogey.

Mr Mbeki says: "The reality is that 99 percent of South Africans have nothing that could be nationalised," implying that

they have, therefore, nothing to fear from nationalisation.

He says the present economic system has been distorted by monopolies and cartels and the system has gross inequalities and imbalances that have produced great poverty within the black sector.

"Any democratic government will have to alter the structures inside the economy to create a system that can redress these imbalances.

"The issue is: who controls the wealth in order to effect more equitable system of distribution. The Afrikaners understood this when they used the helpmekaar programme to build their power bases such as Sanlam."

He says nationalisation remains an ANC option in the restructuring of the economy.

"I have been told that the economy is so finely balanced that both nationalisation and increased taxation will derail it and the only way to effect a re-distribution of wealth is to create more wealth that can then be re-distributed — but I cannot accept this argument."

## TAKEN BY SURPRISE

The initiative of President F W de Klerk has taken the organisation almost completely unawares, events have moved faster than anyone could have imagined, especially for an organisation such as the ANC, dedicated to long-winded, theoretical conferences leading to group decisions.

So, Mr Mbeki's candid admission is seemingly correct: taken by surprise, the ANC does not have an economic policy capable of being trotted out.

The result could be that nationalisation could be one of the first topics for debate when any negotiation process finally gets under way — and one of the first casualties.

Attention to legal uncertainties

# FW moves to clear way for ANC talks

B/Day 23/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday paved the way for government's first formal talks with the ANC by welcoming its recent decision to send a delegation to meet with him as positive step.

De Klerk, in a statement, also disclosed that arrangements for the first meeting between the two leading political adversaries in SA were well underway.

Legal uncertainties which some ANC executive members might have about entering SA were receiving attention.

De Klerk is likely to be accompanied by his chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha at initial talks with the ANC.

De Klerk said it was disappointing that the ANC leadership continued to list pre-conditions despite the climate created by recent decisions by government.

This attitude, he said, was in stark contrast to the enthusiasm, if not impatience, on the part of all others leaders in SA to get negotiations going.

He added: "It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by

## FW's Africa summit 'soon', says Mobutu

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's postponed summit meeting with African leaders in Zaire will take place very soon, according to the host President Mobutu Sese Seko.

In an official statement the Zairean government said: "The African summit meeting has been postponed to a later date for technical reasons and will take place very soon in Kinshasa."

The summit was postponed after the

the rest of the world, want peace."

De Klerk added government would continue to act firmly against violence "from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country".

Beside a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order was of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiations, De Klerk said.

In an interview on television last night De Klerk said that as long as unrest such as that in Natal continued government could not lift the state of emergency.

De Klerk said certain arrangements had to be completed before he would be in a position to announce a date for the meeting with the ANC delegation.

He said the talks with the ANC did not constitute negotiations but were preliminary discussions to improve the climate for negotiations and to address valid problems impeding people from participating.

De Klerk stressed that negotiations would not take place just between the ANC and government, but between all leaders committed to peaceful solutions.

MIKE ROBERTSON

ANC pressured the leaders of Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville, Cameroon and Gabon, who were to have attended to summit at Mobutu's summer palace at Goma.

In an appeal to the OAU earlier this week the ANC called on it to block the summit meeting.



# Supreme court to decide on rights of section 29 detainees

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE Supreme Court is to decide whether a section 29 detainee is allowed legal advice and whether a memo sent to her containing such advice amounts to prohibited access.

Section 29 of the Internal Security Act allows the arrest and incommunicado detention of a person for interrogation.

Margaret Stofile was detained under this section in August last year. Colliert Stofile, on behalf of his wife,

brought an application on the subject of access against Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok.

Stofile was released last week and charged with possession of weapons, but argument on the merits of the application began before Mr Justice Weyers in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The court was told that the police re-

fused to give the lawyer's memo to Stofile because it constituted access to a section 29 detainee.

One of the reasons advanced by the Commissioner for refusing to give the memo to her was that it might contain a coded message and to give it to her was "taking a chance".

Counsel for Stofile, Ismail Mohamed SC, argued that the meaning of access in the Act meant physical access and

not the transmission of a memo informing her of her legal rights.

He said the Commissioner's contention that the memo might contain a coded message was paranoid.

"If there is a secret message in the memorandum then there is also a secret message in the Statute because it is doing nothing more than repeating the statute," said Mohamed.

"What the police have begun to be-

lieve is that the person who becomes a detainee becomes a non-person.

"That is a wholly impermissible view of a citizen in a democratic state."

Mohamed submitted that by application of the Act a belief had insidiously developed that, once detained, a person was not allowed any kind of contact.

"The police have ceased to exercise a discretion," he said.

# ANC brings Inkatha and Cosatu to peace talks

6/04 22/2/90

Dwn Correspondent

DURBAN - ANC and Inkatha leaders will discuss the Natal violence for the first time at a meeting here today, as part of the ANC's "peace mission" to the strife-torn province.

The mission will include visits by ANC leaders to troubled townships and discussions with people directly affected by the violence.

It will end with a mass ANC rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on Sunday. The rally will be addressed by Nelson Mandela.

Organisers said yesterday that between 175 000 and 250 000 people were expected.

ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni arrive at Louis Botha airport this morning and will meet representatives of Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance this afternoon.

Leading the Inkatha delegation is secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

The Cosatu/UDF representatives are Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association, and Numsa education officer Alec Erwin.

One of the organisers Anne Mckay estimates costs for the rally as approaching the R175 000 mark.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that

unrest victims admitted to Natal/KwaZulu hospitals are stretching health services to their limits and officials may call for help from the SA Defence Force.

Northdale Hospital medical superintendent Dr L Dwarkapersad told reporters yesterday trauma-related cases had more than doubled over the past few years.

## Severe wounds

Trauma-related cases came from all over the Edendale valley. Many patients were afraid to go to the Edendale Hospital.

Whereas in the past the hospital had dealt with between 350 and 450 cases a day, the Northdale Hospital was dealing with more than 800 cases a day, he said.

"About 50% of our black out-patients

NATAL UNREST DEATHS	
September 1987 - January 1988	668
February 1989 - February 20 1990	628
Fast 24 hours official toll:	1
TOTAL	1 297

come in with severe wounds and have to be admitted," he said.

ACHMED KARIEM reports that the spate of faction killings in Johannesburg since last March, in which at least six people have died, originated in the Msinga area of Natal, according to Natal University (Maritzburg) adult education head John Aitchison.

Aitchison, a prominent researcher on the Natal conflict, said yesterday land pressure had been a problem at Msinga - an impoverished area bordering white-settler land - since the turn of the century.

"The tribal dispute has no political content in the real sense, and has been exacerbated by the way SA has been ruled," said Aitchison.

Johannesburg's most recent faction fight, witnessed by a Business Day reporter, flared on the streets of Hillbrow this week and involved at least 10 people from rival Zulu groups.

The incident, in which a 24-year-old man was gunned down, took place on Tuesday night around 8pm outside the Mimosa Hotel in Louis Botha Avenue.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said police found nine spent cartridges at the scene of the murder.

He said it was a tribal matter "and these groups believe nobody should interfere".



ERWIN... Numsa delegate



DHLOMO... Inkatha leader

# Villagers look at the Allied's rescue offer

6/04 22/2/90 LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN - Members of the troubled Heiderberg retirement village yesterday considered an offer by the Allied Group of R7.7m additional loan funds to help complete the village and restore its financial health.

The Allied's offer follows a number of unsatisfactory or conditional financial rescue offers and legal attempts either to liquidate Heiderberg's management company or have it placed under judicial management. If accepted, the offer would increase the financial institution's exposure to the development to R12m.

The villagers have been divided on how best to solve the cash flow problems which the retirement village ran into at the end of last year.

While the majority have supported attempts to boost the financial resources and restore liquidity by completing the development and selling more units, others have opted for provisional liquidation to save at least some of their investments.

After a board meeting yesterday, Dennis Lehmann, chairman of the Heiderberg Retirement Village Share Block Company, which has been managing the village since late last year, said there were several issues which the Allied would be asked to clarify before shareholders were asked to approve it.

He said the villagers would be given 21 days to consider the offer.

Unless it was rejected outright, a meeting would be called after 21 days to put the offer to the vote. Official approval at the meeting would depend on a quorum of 75% of the villagers, 75% of whom would have to vote for the offer.

If it were approved, the Allied would insist that requests for payouts of the additional funds be endorsed by representatives of each of the two main bodies of opinion in the village. Each villager would then be asked to sign surety for their quota of the loan.

# SADF contingents sent to Gazankulu as three die in violence

MATTHEW CURTIN

TZANEEN - Contingents of the SADF were deployed yesterday in several Gazankulu towns as violence erupted in the homeland.

At least three people have died and 60 have been injured in a week of violence in the homeland.

In Ngowa, a crowd pelted troops with stones as they were told their march was unlawful.

An SADF spokesman in Giyani confirmed troops had fired teargas and warning shots to disperse the crowd.

He said they had threatened to burn down the Chief Minister's home and added there had been injuries to several protesters.

By evening, Ngowa's main street was littered with stones and glass. A small crowd had looted the bottle store. Cafe owner Robert Mhlari said 300 people stoned a dozen troops defending the store who fired teargas and shotguns in return. He believed at least

two people had been killed.

There was a heavy SADF presence in Giyani and permission for demonstration was refused.

A Giyani Youth Congress (Gyco) leaflet which was circulated called on Giyani residents to maintain until Sunday their stayaway - which has closed shops, post office and government offices.

Protesters have presented a petition of detailing grievances to the government and have called for the redress of

educational problems and the dismantling of government organisations.

Youth leaders have also condemned the death in Dzumeri of schoolboy Lawrence Mabunda. Gyco spokesman Barry Golele said the youth was last seen alive on Sunday when police raided homes of those involved in a march earlier that week.

Gazankulu Commissioner General Herman Monig said a small SADF contingent was in the homeland at the request of its government.

# Homeland leaders ready to talk to ANC

1111  
Sowetan  
27/4/90

PRETORIA HOME-  
LAND leaders are poised  
to negotiate with the ANC  
and other political  
organisations, according  
to the Lebowa Govern-  
ment.

A delegation of the  
Lebowa Government met  
the Minister of Constitu-  
tional Development and  
Planning, Dr Gerrit Vil-  
joen, and the Minister of  
Education and Training,  
Dr Stoffel van der  
Merwe, met this week in  
Cape Town for discussions  
on negotiations and mat-  
ters of mutual interest.

## Forum

The Lebowa govern-  
ment has decided on a  
programme of action,  
which will include the  
launch of a black  
homeland leaders' Con-  
sultative Forum "for the  
co-ordination of  
responses to the various  
efforts to settle the South  
African question".

The homeland's  
government is also plan-  
ning on drawing up a  
joint declaration on



Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

negotiations for signature  
by all black homeland  
leaders.

The Lebowa govern-  
ment further vowed to  
take the constitutional  
debate to a grassroots  
level.

In a statement issued  
after the one-day meeting,  
the Lebowa government  
said it believed that the  
efforts of the South Afri-  
can Government on the  
one side and the efforts of  
the Organisation of Afri-  
can Unity, the United Na-  
tions and the ANC on the  
other hand, have opened a  
real possibility for a nego-  
tiated political settlement  
in the country.

## Road safety project

THE South African Long  
Distance Transport Asso-  
ciation has embarked on a  
new road safety project to  
curb the high rate of acci-  
dents.

A Johannesburg meet-  
ing of the organisation's  
members was this week  
told that all taxis belong-  
ing to Saldta will be fitted  
with travellers machines  
which will record the  
speed of a vehicle and the  
use of brakes.

Saldta president Mr  
Peter Rabali said that in a  
case where a vehicle is in-  
volved in an accident, the  
machine will record at

By MZIKAYISE  
EDOM

what speed the vehicle  
was travelling and for  
how long, including the  
distance, "dead brakes"  
were applied.

"We hope this new  
scheme will help us solve  
the high accident rate,"  
he said.

Meanwhile, Saldta  
meets Minister of Trans-  
port, Public Works and  
Land Affairs Mr George  
Bartlett on March 7 to  
discuss problems facing  
taxi owners.

The meeting will be  
held in Cape Town.

# The ANC view of a new SA culture and society

Star 23/2/90 (11A)

We all know where South Africa is but we do not yet know what it is. Ours is the privileged generation that will make that discovery, if the apertures in our eyes are wide enough.

The problem is whether we have sufficient cultural imagination to grasp the rich texture of the free and united SA that we have done so much to bring about.

For decades now we have possessed a political programme for the future — the Freedom Charter. More recently the national executive of the ANC has issued a set of constitutional guidelines — a basic constitutional approach to a united SA with free and equal citizenship.

What we have to ask ourselves is whether we have an artistic and cultural vision that corresponds to this phase in which a new South African nation is emerging. Can we say we have begun to grasp the full dimensions of the new country and new people that is struggling to give birth to itself, or are we still trapped in the multiple ghettos of the apartheid imagination?

For the sake of livening the debate on these questions, this paper will make a number of controversial observations.

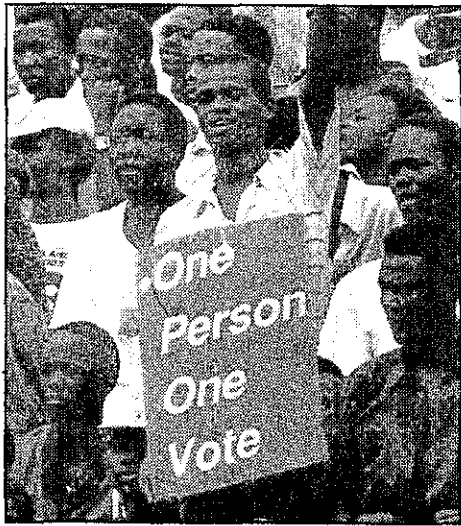
The first proposition I make and I do so fully aware of the fact that we are totally against censorship and for free speech, is that our members should be banned from saying that culture is a weapon of struggle. I suggest a period of, say, five years.

## Impoverishment

Allow me, as someone who has for many years been arguing precisely that art should be seen as an instrument of struggle, to explain why suddenly this affirmation seems not only banal and devoid of real content, but actually wrong and potentially harmful.

In the first place, it results in an impoverishment of our art. Instead of getting real criticism, we get solidarity criticism. Our artists are not pushed to improve the quality of their work, it is enough that it be politically correct. The more fists

What is the ANC's idea of South Africa's culture and nationhood? Former Cape Town advocate **ALBIE SACHS**, a London-based member of the legal and constitutional department of the ANC, offers some insights and emphasises that the ANC will not be the only voice in post-apartheid South Africa. This article contains extracts from an in-house ANC paper he wrote, entitled "Preparing ourselves for Freedom".



and spears and guns, the better.

The range of themes is narrowed down so much that all that is funny or curious or genuinely tragic in the world is extruded. Ambiguity and contradiction are completely shut out, and the only conflict permitted is that between the old and the new, as if there were only bad in the past and only good in the future.

Afrikaans literature evolved around suffering and patriotism. Many of the early books, written to find a space in nature to make up for lack of social space, have since become classics of world ecological literature.

At another level, the language has been hijacked by proponents of racial domination to support systems of white supremacy, and as such been projected as the language of the baas.

In principle, there is no reason at all why Afrikaans should not once more become the language of liberty, but this time liberty for all, not just liberty for a few coupled with the right to oppress the majority.

At this point I would like to make a statement that I am sure will jolt the reader: white is beautiful.

Allow me to explain. I first heard this from a Mozambican poet and former guerilla, whose grandmother was African and grandfather

Portuguese. Asked to explain Frelimo's view on the slogan "Black is beautiful", he replied: black is beautiful, brown is beautiful, white is beautiful. I think that affirmation is beautiful. One may add that when white started saying black was ugly it made itself ugly.

Shorn of its arrogance, the cultural input from the white communities can be rich and valuable. This is not to say that we need a white consciousness movement in South Africa — in the context of colonial domination, white consciousness means oppression, whereas black consciousness means resistance to oppression. But it does establish the basis on which whites participate in the struggle to eradicate apartheid.

Whites are not in the struggle to help blacks win their rights; whites are fighting for their own rights, the right to be citizens of a free country, and to enjoy and take pride in the culture of the whole country.

They are neither liberators of others, nor can their goal be to end up as a despised and despising protected minority. They seek to be ordinary citizens of an ordinary country, proud to be part of SA, proud to be part of Africa, proud to be part of the world.

Without doubt, the ANC will continue to be the principal architect of

national unity after the foundations of apartheid have been destroyed and the foundations of democracy laid. Yet this does not mean the ANC is the only voice in the anti-apartheid struggle or that it will be the only voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

We want to give leadership to the people, not exercise control over them. This has significant implications for our cultural work, not just in the future, but now.

We think we are the best (and we are), that is why we are in the ANC. We work hard to persuade the people of our country that we are the best (and we are succeeding). But this does not require us to force our views down the throats of others.

On the contrary, we exercise true leadership by being non-hegemonic, by selflessly trying to create the widest unity of the oppressed and to encourage all forces for change, by showing the people we are fighting to give them the right to choose the kind of society and government they want.

Finally, the ANC constitutional guidelines couple the guarantees of individual rights with the necessity to embark on programmes of affirmative action.

## Duty

This too has clear implications for the sphere of culture. The South Africa in which individuals and groups can operate freely, will be a South Africa in the process of transformation.

A constitutional duty will be imposed on the State, local authorities and public and private institutions to take active steps to remove the massive inequalities created by centuries of colonial and racist domination.

This gives concrete meaning to the statement that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened. We can envisage massive programmes of adult education and literacy, and extensive use of the media to facilitate access by all to the cultural riches of our country and of the world. The challenge to our cultural workers is obvious.

# Relly and Bloom to meet Mandela

w/Mail 23/2 - 1/3/90

11A

By SHAUN JOHNSON

NELSON MANDELA is to meet Anglo-American Corporation chief Gavin Relly and former Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom at the African National Congress leader's Soweto home on Monday.

Mandela is scheduled to receive Relly on Monday morning, and Bloom — who arrives in South Africa from London this weekend — is expected in Orlando West later in the day.

It will be the first face-to-face meeting between the recently-released ANC stalwart and representatives of big business, and comes after a week in which Mandela and the ANC have made a point of stressing the need for consultation with South Africa's jittery business community.

Mandela told the *Weekly Mail* he was to have seen Relly at Victor Verster Prison earlier this month, "but the same day I was told he was to come down, I was released.

"I therefore felt that I should contact him and indicate that if he still wanted

**Why ANC talks may let FW  
off the hit-squad hook**  
PAGE 13

to take it up, I was ready to receive him." This led to Monday's scheduled meeting.

Anglo-American chief communications officer James Duncan said yesterday that Relly "would not like to pre-empt what might be raised in the discussions with Mr Mandela". However, he added, Relly "has been looking forward for some time to the meeting, and was very pleased to accept Mr Mandela's invitation."

Interviewed by telephone at his London home, Bloom said he was "excited and delighted" at the prospect of meeting Mandela.

"I have been watching the process unfold from here, on television," he said. "Now my meeting will make the whole thing come alive."

Bloom said he had been "overwhelmingly impressed" by Mandela's actions since his release.

"He has been absolutely remarkable. I believe he hasn't put a foot wrong. It has been a magnificent performance."

●To PAGE 3

## Bloom, Relly to meet Mandela

●From PAGE 1

Bloom said the discussions would be open-ended, and discounted speculation that he might be considering a return to South Africa. "I said at the time of my departure for London (in 1988) that there were several personal reasons for leaving, besides politics. That hasn't changed," he said.

However he retained a strong interest in developments within South Africa, and did not rule out the possibility that if he were approached to "help" in some advisory capacity, he would consider it.

In the interview with the *Weekly Mail* this week, Mandela came out strongly in favour of dialogue with businessmen and bankers.

Asked if he thought such discussions could be useful, particularly with regard to conditions for future investment, he said: "Why not? It is a natural thing to have discussions with businessmen ... And our struggle has been supported by (some) businessmen from all over the world. There is nothing so logical as meeting them, exchanging views and trying to allay their fears." w/Mail 23/2 - 1/3/90

Sanctions and disinvestment were specific political tactics, he said, but "once this situation is settled, investment in the country is the normal development — which we will want."

# PAC to hold 3-day meeting in Harare

510-2312190 Staff Reporters

(11A)



The Pan Africanist Congress will hold a consultative conference in Harare from Friday until Sunday, it was announced yesterday.

The Pan Africanist Movement's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said 40 delegates from South Africa, including PAM national executive members and leading education and business leaders, would attend the conference. (Formed last December, the PAM is independent of but ideologically allied to the PAC.)

The PAC central committee and members of its diplomatic mission would also attend, Mr Alexander said.

Issues to be discussed included the unbanning of the PAC, the role of the PAM, the position of exiles, economic policies, negotiations, and strategies and tactics.

---

# Home! sings Mama Afrika

ROME. — There was no sleep the night a free Nelson Mandela telephoned to thank South African singer Miriam Makeba for her life-long battle against apartheid.

The soft-spoken 58-year-old Makeba, exiled 30 years ago from the land she symbolises to millions of admirers worldwide, chuckled when asked whether her singing contributed to his release.

"You tell me. I spoke to him last night and he told me he was very proud of me. He told me I'd been an ambassador for my people. After that I just couldn't sleep," said Makeba,

known fondly as Mama Afrika to her fans.

And on returning to the country she holds as home in her heart, she said she would be "on the first on the plane home" — when the time is right.

Reflecting on that special telephone call, she said it had made her feel that the years of exile, and the hostility to her marriage with black militant Stokely Carmichael which drove her out of the US where she had sought refuge, were not in vain.

"Mandela was so kind. I feel that if he says that to me, and if all the people at home think as he does, then it was all worth it."

Makeba, the first black South African singer to gain international fame, said she "just fell to my knees and cried" when she first heard Pretoria had announced a

## Mandela phones Makeba with a warm thank you

firm date for the black nationalist leader's release.

Makeba began her singing career with protest songs in school and church choirs in South Africa before being taken to the United States in the late 1950s by West Indian singer Harry Belafonte.

She found immediate success there and her international hit "Pata, Pata" (Touch, Touch) started a dance craze.

But when her mother died in 1960, Pretoria cancelled Makeba's passport to prevent her returning home and she has not been allowed back since.

She doggedly continued to sing out against Pretoria's policy of racial segregation, although her records were banned at home. She has said she would like to die on stage "because I will be dying like a soldier on the battlefield".

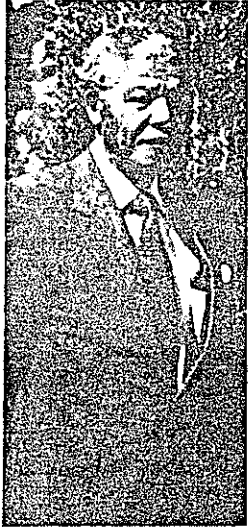
"I live to sing and I don't sing politics. I sing truth," she said, the first South African singer to take the tight harmonies and township melodies of her country's stirring folk music to an international audience.

Makeba was critical of American singer-songwriter Paul Simon and white South African singer Johnny Clegg.

"Simon goes to South Africa, makes *Graceland* with black artists there, and then people say he made its music known to the world. That really gets me.

"Clegg may be selling more records than me, but he's allowed to speak out and go in and out of South Africa. I'm the one who carried the cross."

Makeba said her first song calling for Mandela's release was in the 1960s, shortly after he was jailed.



ANC leader Mandela

In addition to her singing career, Makeba has become a roving ambassador, making diplomatic and cultural trips from her adopted home in the West African state of Guinea, where she settled in 1968 and which she represented at the United Nations in the mid-1970s.

For Makeba, the release of Mandela is only a first step: "Apartheid's still there. There are many more political prisoners still in jail. But maybe this is the beginning of the end."

That "end" for her will be coming home and she be-

lieves reforms in South Africa have made that more likely.

And when Mama Afrika arrived on her own soil? — "I'll kneel at my mother's grave and tell her: 'I'm back'." — Weekend Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuters.

# Four steps to bridge a chasm

THE charisma and courage of two men — Nelson Mandela and Frederick de Klerk — are largely responsible for South Africa being poised at this moment at one of the more promising crossroads in history.

I mean world history. Where else do you recall the leaders of two warring factions announcing their willingness to negotiate peace before battle is properly joined?

Where else have you observed a government in power voluntarily moving towards its own demise?

Where else have we witnessed two forces willing to avoid the normal path of self-destruction and aggressive testing of strength?

Yet today we see a government, whose dominant physical strength remains unchallenged, ready to talk to a liberation movement with a potential "people power" which may eventually be irresistible and is, as yet, hardly tested. The two sides are short-circuiting history. This is the highpoint. It has been reached through both sides taking risks.

Now we shall descend into pettiness as both sides manoeuvre for advantage. And we must expect a long series of crises as negotiations are attempted.

But no matter. The triumph is that two courageous leaders have agreed to take the broad high road to the future. It will be harder now to turn back. South Africa has achieved something which most ana-

lysts never thought was possible in any society.

The key to the future lies in a clear statement made by Mandela on SATV to the nation, and uttered in different words on different occasions by SPFW:

*"Everything is negotiable. Not just the peripherals. Everything."*

With that in mind, let me propose a provocative plan. It consists of four concise proposals which, taken together, cut across the basic principles of every political party and orthodox ideology everywhere.

Taken together (they stand united) my four-point proposition is:

- 1) Make Nelson Mandela executive State President while he still has capability as well as stature.
- 2) Make SPFW his Prime Minister of a federal government.
- 3) Grant any extreme isolationists their right to their own state within the federation, provided it is not racialistic or infringes the rights of others. Also tolerate ethnic diversity within the constitution, providing it does not allow exclusivity or political advantage for any group, or combination of groups.
- 4) Let socio-economic forces, by themselves, work out the economic policies of this country, rather than try to impose, or compromise on, different ideologies.

Undercurrent Affairs

HARVEY TYSON



● Mr Mandela for SP.

If you have analysed each and every utterance he has made since emerging from more than a quarter of century of imprisonment, you will see that he has confounded his critics; his supporters; friends and enemies.

His consummate skill is matched by his clear integrity (a rare quality which he, in turn, attributes to SPFW). His loyalty to his lifelong cause is matched only by his unorthodox and independent way of thought.

One of his closest "organisers" complained the other day: "The Old Man does things his way ..."

● SPFW.

The National Party leader has shown, despite the record of his party, the kind of courage and flexibility, bounded by integrity, which fits him as a leader of a much greater South Africa — or Azania if you will — which could play a major role, not only in Africa, but in First-Third World affairs.

● Morgenzon.

The vision of an *ei boerestaat* is not

peculiar. It was achieved by the Mormons in Utah, and still exists there. It is the dream of terrorist Basques in Spain and in many parts of the USSR. Why build terrorism into the new South Africa by suppressing the bitter nationalistic soul of ultra-isolationists?

For heaven's sake, give them their Morgenzon, their so-called holy, promised land. Let them go. Let them build their new *volkstaat* out of the desert. So long as they do not take what belongs to all the people; so long as they do not trespass on the rights of others, let the Oranje Republic live within a federation. Like the Basters of Namibia, they will soon rejoin their country.

● The economy.

Quite clearly, there will have to be readjustments in the allocation of national resources. Nationalisation need not be one of them. But then frantic privatisation of resources, milked for half a century by an NP sectional government, need not be one of them, either.

Businessman Sam Motsuenyane has suggested several alternatives to nationalisation. Big Business, that part of it not too Far Right, also has a number of "adjustments" in mind.

In any case, many adjustments will just happen, when a new government with a new majority comes to constructing the annual budget and having it ap-

proved by a new Parliament.

The negotiating parties need agree on just two principles: the tests for any economic policy should be that (a) it is fair and (b) it must increase the national wealth within a year of implementation.

I wanted to talk to you about words. Words like "jubilating" and seagulls' names, and others of grave moment. But I have not a moment to spare, except to leave you with some words of Shakespeare, who speaks with time-tested truth about the current scandal which The Star is investigating:

*For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak with most miraculous organ.*

(Hamlet).

*And you all know Security is mortal's chiefest enemy.*

(Macbeth).

*A thing too bad for bad report.*  
(Cymbeline).

Meanwhile, our investigation has prompted a telephone call from a well-spoken English-speaker who informs us very calmly that he is going to kill the editor.

I mention it only because I happen to be rushing off to Communist China to view a billion people and a bad economic system.

Sorry to delay anyone's plans. See you all in about three weeks.

# Mandela must douse the flames

MR Nelson Mandela's reputation for statesmanship and non-sectarian breadth of vision will be tested to the full tomorrow.

It is then that he, as a leader of the ANC, addresses 150 000 or even more people at King's Park Stadium in Durban, most of whom will be supporters of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

He will do so at a critical juncture in the war which has been raging in black townships and squatter settlements around Durban and Natal's capital city of Pietermaritzburg.

The savage conflict has left entire communities in a state of bereaved exhaustion; in many cases life in Natal's black areas has been reduced to a supplicating desire for revenge or a terrifying premonition that another attack is imminent or a combination of both.

Since 1983, but particularly since September 1983, people have been shot, axed, stabbed and burnt to death in the on-going war between pro-ANC forces — drawn from the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — and loyalists of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

More than 2 500 people have died in an undeclared war which has not spared women or children; so far peace-makers from the churches, from big business and even from the ranks of the adversaries themselves have failed to end the conflict.

Mr Mandela has defined himself as "a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC". He is thus, at one level, not a neutral observer. At the same time, however, he has abhorred the appalling violence and called for an end to the strife in the name of black unity.

## Challenging task

He has committed himself to unity in a letter to Chief Buthelezi.

"The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity," he says. "I consider it a serious indictment against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives."

He now has the chance to deliver the same message in person to what ANC organisers expect to be one of the biggest political gatherings in South African political history.

Judging from his judicious comments at the rally in Soweto on February 13, he will certainly add the immense authority of his voice to the growing clamour for peace.

When Mr Mandela speaks, 3 000 ANC marshalls will keep a watchful eye over the huge crowd. They will be dressed in the brown uniforms and wear the black berets which characterised the ANC in the 1950s under the leadership of that humble but great

## Faced by a crucial test: can he stop brother slaying brother in Natal?

Zulu, Chief Albert Lutuli.

Observers will be struck by a curious irony: the uniforms and the berets will be similar to those worn by Inkatha members; the colours on their scarves or sleeves — black, green and gold — will be identical to those used by Inkatha devotees.

The similarity between ANC and Inkatha uniforms and their identical colours helps to explain the fratricidal nature of the strife. To understand it fully, however, a little history is in order.

Inkatha was originally founded in 1922 by King Solomon ka Dinizulu to promote Zulu culture and advise him on political matters. It became moribund soon afterwards.

It was revived as a national liberation movement in 1975 by Chief Buthelezi and his top lieutenants. They did so with the encouragement of the ANC. During its first four years of life, Inkatha enjoyed cordial relations with the ANC. No objections were raised, publicly at any rate, over Inkatha's adoption of ANC colours.

The split came in late 1979 after a meeting in London between top leaders of Inkatha and the ANC. Thereafter relations became bitter and deteriorated into physical war.

Chief Buthelezi, who describes himself as loyal to the tradition of the ANC's "founding fathers", gives an account of the quarrel between Inkatha and what he calls the ANC External Mission, or ANC (EM), in a 28-page affidavit presented to court in 1988.

It was generated, Chief Buthelezi says in the af-



NELSON MANDELA: He will need all his statesmanship to achieve unity.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Loyal to ANC tradition.



Dr OSCAR DHLOMO: 'Inkatha pro-capitalist'



MR OLIVER TAMBO: words over Inkatha.

## PATRICK LAURENCE

fidavit, by an ANC (EM) bid to "hijack" Inkatha and reduce it to a "surrogate" organisation. When he resisted the ANC's bid to take over Inkatha, he was criticised and Inkatha attacked in an attempt to destroy its power and influence, he adds.

"The ANC (EM) proclaims itself the sole and authentic representative of the people... It aims at a total take-over and control. It is ruthless in its dealings with those who are not its supporters."

"The ANC offers a different version. It does not deny it encouraged Chief Buthelezi to form a "mass democratic organisation". It admits that it hoped Chief Buthelezi, as a former member of the ANC, would help mobilise "the masses" in the fight for a united and nonracial South Africa.

## 'Personal power-base'

"We failed to mobilise our own people to take on the task of resurrecting Inkatha," the ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo says in a report to the ANC national executive.

"The task of reconstituting Inkatha therefore fell on Gatscha Buthelezi himself, who then built Inkatha as a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised.

"Gatscha Buthelezi dressed Inkatha in the clothes of the ANC, exactly because he knew that the masses to

whom he was appealing were loyal to the ANC and had for six decades adhered to our movement as their representative and their leader.

"Later when he (Chief Buthelezi) thought he had a sufficient base, he used coercive methods against people to force them to support Inkatha."

To Mr Tambo's charges Chief Buthelezi retorts: "You cut a pathetic figure when you stand up... and claim that you told me to form Inkatha. I had to form Inkatha because you were doing nothing for my people."

The formation of the UDF in 1983 was another critical point in the genesis of the conflict.

Chief Buthelezi describes the UDF as "a surrogate of the ANC", an organisation which was launched as an internal ANC after Inkatha, determined to retain its independence, had refused to serve as an ANC ancillary.

The UDF, he contends, strove to fulfil a mandate from the ANC to make the townships ungovernable and to turn strategic localities in Natal into "no-go areas" for Inkatha. "From the moment the UDF was formed trouble erupted in Natal's townships," Chief Buthelezi says.

The UDF counters with an accusation of its own: Chief Buthelezi regards kwaZulu and Natal as his private fiefdom where his opponents raise their voices at their peril.

The UDF asserts that it was formed specifically to oppose the 1983 tri-racial constitution; it does not deny, however, that it is ideologically aligned to the ANC.

The verbal skirmishes led to open fighting after five students were killed at the University of Zululand by impis chanting the praises of Chief Buthelezi. The students are alleged to have incensed the stick-wielding impis by making scatological references to Chief Buthelezi.

The fighting has continued ever since, fed by underlying sociological forces — manifest starkly by envious squatters bivouacked on the periphery of established towns and even townships — the conflict has grown in intensity and ferocity.

The adversaries, however, have a great deal more in common than their black, green and gold colours. Their war is a fraternal war. But brothers locked in strife remain brothers and, therefore, potential allies.

As Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha, says: "I don't think there are unbridgeable differences."

They are minimised by their converging aims. Central to both the ANC and Inkatha is commitment to universal adult suffrage and establishment of a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa.

There are, of course, differences. Dr Dhlomo identifies some of them:

- Inkatha is pro-capitalist; the ANC leans toward socialism as its programme to nationalise banks, mines and "monopoly industry" shows.

- Inkatha suspects that the ANC's declared intention — in its "constitutional guidelines" — to outlaw the advocacy of "racism, fascism and nazism" or incitement of "ethnic or racial exclusiveness", may be abused to proscribe opposition parties and establish a dictatorship.

## Distribution of wealth

- The ANC attaches, in his view, greater importance to state power than Inkatha, thus tilting it against the devolution of power and decentralisation.

But, Dr Dhlomo reiterates, these are not insurmountable differences.

Thus the ANC's rationale for nationalisation of sectors of the economy is that it will facilitate redistribution of wealth to the black proletariat; Inkatha agrees that if liberation is to be meaningful to blacks there must be a reallocation of wealth, but it thinks that privatisation and heavier taxation of the rich are a better means of achieving it.

Chief Buthelezi's response to Mr Mandela's release is worth quoting. "Let our tribute to him be the tribute he would most want — the tribute of black unity."

Mr Mandela has declared: "My fervent hope is to see, in due course, the restoration of the cordial relations which existed... between the two organisations in the seventies." Judging from his remarks since his release from prison, it remains a top priority.

The meeting at King's Park is critical to the expressed hopes of both men and to peace in the war-torn townships of Natal's beautiful hills.



Star 24/2/90 (11A)

# Mbeki - tough man of dialogue and diplomacy



**ORIGINAL THINKER:** Thabo Mbeki appears to be one of the directors of ANC policy.

"HE'S very impressive," said one Mandela watcher, "but I find Thabo Mbeki even more so."

That must have been the reaction of many people who saw last Sunday night's TV interview with the ANC's urbane director of international affairs.

Nelson Mandela, admittedly, is at less of an advantage at the moment. He is not really in a position to speak his mind, being tied as a mere member of the party to its dogmatic line.

Mbeki, on the other hand, is senior enough within the organisation to be more flexible in what he says. And not only does he emerge in conversation as an original thinker, he also appears to be one of the directors of ANC policy.

It was Mbeki who indicated to me 17 months ago that the organisation would be prepared to drop its stipulation about "no normal sport in an abnormal society" because such an insistence was counter-productive.

ANC spokesmen in London and Tanzania strongly denied the report when it appeared. But at the meeting with the South African rugby chiefs a month later it was proved correct.

Whether Mbeki previously had

discussed the matter with his president, Oliver Tambo, is difficult to say. But it seemed like a spontaneous response prompted by a question.

Charming is the word most people who meet him use to describe Thabo Mbeki - particularly white South Africans unprepared for such polished reason.

Certainly he is nobody's typical revolutionary. But what he is instead, one feels, is what he has carefully groomed himself to be.

Reasonable, composed, shrewd. But also deceptively tough.

Contrary to the popular view that they live high off the hog on funds mugged from soft Nordic governments, members of the administration in exile in Zambia subsist on a paltry stipend.

Thabo Mbeki is better off than most because his wife works. Zanele Mbeki is an organiser with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka.

Mbeki's dress is usually distinctive: a hound's-tooth sports jacket alternating with Cuban shirts. And always a pipe, underlining a look of either humour or contemplation.

Whether by study or not, being charming is what Thabo Mbeki does extremely well. When the rugby chiefs met an ANC group in

## Personality

**THABO MBEKI**

Written by:  
**JOHN RYAN**

Harare in October 1988, Mbeki soon wowed them with his erudition and bonhomie. Within minutes, he was calling Danie Craven "Doc".

At one point after the meeting, Transvaal Rugby Union president Louis Luyt grabbed Mbeki in a bear hug and said with mock alarm: "I'm just a little fellow. You must protect me from the press."

Thabo Mbeki's future in internal South African politics seems assured, now that the ANC has been unbanned. He is likely to be one of the first leaders to return to the country and will certainly be a member of the delegation selected to meet Mr F W de Klerk.

Mbeki's rise last year from director of information and publicity to head of the department of international affairs effectively moved him from fourth position

in the ANC hierarchy to third. At 47, he has youth on his side. And considerable political nous.

For some years he has doubled as political adviser to Tambo. The two are very close. To begin with, there is a relationship through Mandela. Govan Mbeki, Thabo's father, was a co-accused with Mandela in the Rivonia Trial. Tambo was Mandela's partner in a law firm.

Mbeki was born in Idutywa in the Transkei on June 18 1942, and began his education at Lovedale College, Alice, and St John's College, Umtata. It is understood he moved to Port Elizabeth at the age of 13 when his father became Cape leader of the ANC and he went to school in New Brighton.

By 1959, at 17, Mbeki was active in black student politics. He became a member of the African Students' Organisation (ASO), forerunner of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso).

He ran the ASO in 1961, and organised widespread protests against Bantu Education. This led to him being detained for six weeks before he left South Africa in 1962. He eventually went to the United States.

What happened during his time in exile is sketchy. But in the early 1970s, Thabo Mbeki ob-

tained a degree in economics from the University of Sussex.

When the 1976 student riots sparked an exodus of hundreds of black students from South Africa, Mbeki was already active in the ANC. And his experience as past leader of the ASO was invaluable to the organisation.

From then on, he worked his way through the ranks and was appointed director of information and publicity in 1984.

During the township unrest of the mid-1980s, the ANC leadership became worried about the level of anti-white violence and the fact that radical elements among the township youth seemed to be moving beyond control.

Mbeki was assigned to co-ordinate a diplomatic campaign to involve more white South Africans in the anti-apartheid drive to try to offset the hatred of young blacks for them.

The dialogue that has followed between the ANC, white academics, churchmen and politicians, organisations like the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) - and the SA Rugby Board - has been an extension of that campaign.

And Mbeki has been present at just about all these discussions.

# Split response on ANC economics

CALLERS to **Speak Out** last night were divided on whether to support the economic suggestions made by the ANC.

**James Davies, Hillbrow:** The ANC must come forward and explain to the people what nationalisation means. Will it mean that workers from other African states won't be able to take out money they earn here?

**Ebrahim Amlo, Vereeniging:** Free enterprise must be our system but it must be taxed to the limit to narrow the gap in the standard of living between blacks and whites. Business enterprises will have to part with some wealth or else there will be no peace. Our problems won't disappear at once but it is a reasonable start towards a normal society.

**John Nel, Alberton:** Nelson Mandela must stop talking war and talk to the real people in this country about nationalisation as he does not know what he is talking about. He hasn't spoken to the workers. He must stop acting like a State President.

**Bryce Pollock, Benoni:** We must de-monopolise this country by breaking the private and Government monopolies that dominate our economy.

**Umbagogou Limbert, Lawley:** When upliftment of the Afrikaner folk was necessary the wealth of this country was nationalised or semi-nationalised. Through job protection laws and other discriminatory legislature, the Afrikaner and other whites had the advantages of work, education and housing. Now history has come a full circle and it is time to decide what we will give those who had nothing all these years. Nationalisation is the only option.

**E Davies, Sandhurst:** Redistribution of wealth will of course be necessary because of 40 years of apartheid. White South Africans who kept the Nats in power are now jumping up and down like kangaroos. They are afraid that the ANC will do to us what we did to them. Too bad that we who try to talk sense to them will have to share the consequences of their blind stupidity.

**S Ragoo, Lenasia:** Years ago I was refused permission to run a business in Kensington and lost what I had spent years building up. I'm too old now to start again but I would like to see nationalisation putting right the imbalances perpetrated by the Group Area Act and job reservation.

**C Malino, Kompton Park:** The mines and big institutions should be nationalised because at the moment the golden loaf is divided between the State and a few private businesses. Nationalisation would mean dividing the loaf between the State and the people.

**A Logan, Alberton:** Nationalisation hasn't been successful in other countries. A solution is for workers to buy shares in companies and have members on the boards. Unions should become shareholders of the companies.

**J W Chambers, Benoni:** Does nationalisation mean confiscation (robbing the rich to help the poor) or purchasing equity? As these corporations pay enormous taxes, what is the purpose of nationalising them? Surely Mr Mandela is capable of a more intelligent ideology than socialism/communism to fund and make good his promises!

**Motsepe Matlala, Springs:** Although the black people in this country are angry over the unfairness they have received from their bosses, nationalisation is not an answer as we do not know the views of the ANC and that of the Government. It will only be fair if the two parties debate and come to a fair and reasonable agreement.

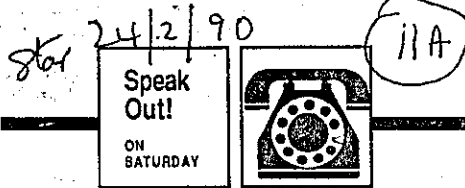
**Ned Pillay, Lenasia:** The Government has already nationalised many industries and the ANC just wants a more fair distribution. Most important is redistribution of land as at present 87 percent of land belongs to whites.

**M M Chiba, Pretoria:** Nationalisation of vital industries is essential in a country like South Africa where great economic and social disparity exists between the various population groups. However, when the country once again becomes free of all the legacies of apartheid, de-nationalisation must once again be the policy of the day.

**Brian Cohen, Florida:** The following areas need to be nationalised: black taxis, SAP canteens, the traffic departments and black education.

**R Roux, Bellevue East:** After 1948 the Nationalist Government improved white standards of living by nationalising key sectors. Why can't we do the same for the majority of Africans?

**Cornelius Radebe, Pretoria:** There is nothing wrong with



nationalisation. Big conglomerates own so much while blacks die in their mines and millions of people are starving. One man can own a piece of land the size of Soweto while people crowd into tiny shacks.

**Elias Telekisha, Katlehong:** If blacks, whites and everyone else come together we can work out a solution.

**Matlatsi Mooketse, Diepkloof:** Nationalism under the ANC will not benefit the working class as the ANC is a movement controlled by the bourgeois capitalist class. Their nationalism is a ploy to fool the working class which should be aware of the hoodwinking of the ANC capitalists.

**Dave Ballantyne, Randburg:** I've just returned from a nationalised mine in Zaire and it is the biggest mess I've ever seen. Our country would do itself a great injustice if it nationalised our natural wealth.

**Geoff Schretner, Yeoville:** I strongly support nationalisation as it will be necessary to restructure the economy to provide housing and jobs for the majority of South Africans. If we don't nationalise there will be significant resistance from business to the necessary restructuring.

**Tim Groom, Windsor:** The radical social engineering that our society needs is dependant on a booming economy. This means no nationalisation, increased foreign investment and individual domestic incentives, a psychological shift by business in its social responsibility such as voluntary price freezes and increases in company tax and doing away with the bureaucracy as we know it.

**Mitchell Launspach, Krugersdorp:** Socialism is as bankrupt as apartheid. It has impoverished blacks in other African countries and it will lower rather raise the standard of black people here.

**A Danelutti, Bez Valley:** In an African country where I lived the Government nationalised the banks and took our money. That is no good and if they do it in this country I will leave.

**C Steinberg, Yeoville:** Health and education are rights and not privileges and those sections at the very least should be nationalised so the state can take responsibility for them.

**Judy Fovish, Mayfair:** I support nationalisation because the apartheid system has benefited a tiny sector of the population while the majority of people have been forced to live in poverty. The future state will only be able to address the problems that have arisen if it has resources to restructure the economy.

**Mark Tshabalala, Joubert Park:** I think nationalisation is a very positive idea as it will put all people on a level footing. I think the ANC is the party to develop it.

**Andy Mosemola, Witbank:** I don't favour nationalisation. The best alternative is a social democracy — a compromise between capitalism and socialism. This can operate until blacks and whites are on a level footing and then we can return to capitalism.

**Coco Cachalia, Mayfair:** Without nationalisation there would be no fundamental restructuring of the economy and that would mean that the majority of South Africans will continue to live in poverty and therefore I would like to support nationalisation in the strongest possible terms.

**Anita Mansukh, Pretoria:** To give everyone a fair chance to succeed economically, vital industries should be nationalised for a predetermined number of years. This is the only way to avoid being disillusioned in a capitalist system.

**John Capel, Yeoville:** Afrikaners nationalised many industries in the Thirties and it was a question of power. Privatisation is the removal of public wealth into the pockets of an elite few and I think we should move away from that. To redistribute some of this country's wealth we need some form of nationalisation, particularly of large industries.

**Arthur Gold, Rustenberg:** Nationalisation etc. has brought chaos and destruction to the economies of black African countries. When in power the ANC should make minimum wage requirements compulsory.

**Michael Kaplan, Witpoortjie:** Nationalisation is further "povertisation" with no incentive to increase bottom-line profit. The so-called poor masses with floor sweepers earning R1 000 a month with a Std 4 education need to be educated on how to help themselves. Where else in Africa for the same job and education is half that amount earned? But it's their self-pity and greed that suits their aim of portraying to the world their so-called sium conditions. Nationalise black taxis and make megabucks.

**R C Shuttlewood, Berea:** I am surprised that The Star should ask this question because the editorial policy of the newspaper has always been to the discerning reader that the wealth of this nation should be handed over unconditionally to the Mandela family. We will, whatever system is taken into account, be totally under the domination of a convicted terrorist and his spouse.

**Hassen Mohamed, Lenasia:** Since the Nationalists took over in 1948 South Africa has seen the consolidation of state enterprises. In the SA experience these enterprises have benefited the growth of Afrikaner economic power, side by side with the growth of their political power. If we have lived with state-owned enterprises like Eskom and Armscor for so long, why the bogey image today?

**Robert Brown, Sandton:** Any form of nationalisation or socialism is simply legalised theft and totally intolerable. It is unthinkable to try to maintain or introduce that type of system. If there was a referendum and nationalisation was explained to the grass roots, I believe the majority of people, black and white, would oppose it vehemently.

**Peter Farmer, Brackenhurst:** Redistribution of wealth is necessary but it must be a redistribution of increasing wealth not a redistribution of poverty. Nationalisation makes no more sense than privatisation. All that happens is that a public monopoly is changed for a private one or vice versa. In my view the ANC's reservation about privatisation motives are correct.

**Gilbert Seiso, Soweto:** Nationalisation looks like a very bright idea but it has its shortcomings. You can nationalise and, as with the railways, more of the taxpayers money goes to prop up these institutions. The pace of the education system must be increased so that literacy is uplifted and there must be progress over the next five to 10 years.

**Yair Lewis, Hillbrow:** In order to keep the rich getting richer in the present economic order (President F W de Klerk will effectively destroy the skilled white minority by accepting the one man, one vote "democracy" of the ANC and the DP.

**Mandla Radebe, Soweto:** There is not much wrong with nationalisation. In Soweto you find three families packed into a three or four room house. We also need decent schools for our kids. A lot of people can benefit from nationalisation.

**Dennis Malchamowitz, Bramley:** If they are going to nationalise the banks to redistribute money I will take my money and keep it in a shoebox under my bed. They should borrow money from the countries who have sanctions against us. I worked hard for my money and did not steal it from anyone.

**Raymond Phiri, Saulsvlei:** I don't understand nationalisation but I think redistribution is necessary. I suggest that in the near future sanctions should be lifted and the multinational companies should come back and establish training centres.

**Barney Segal, Yeoville:** I don't believe in nationalisation of industries, especially not in the free enterprise system. But I feel that millions of unnecessary rands are wasted on rebel tours and other sporting events whereas these monies could be put to better use in creating more industries and businesses and in this manner affording many out-of-workers fairer and better distribution of wealth in the economy.

**Russell Sadowsky, Hillbrow:** Let big business and the Government make all living necessities affordable by eliminating the inequities of the entire social structure.

# The greatest obstacle to negotiation

W/E ARGUS 24/2/90

11A

By DAVID BREIER  
Political Correspondent

THE government believes the African National Congress demand for the release of all political prisoners is developing into the greatest obstacle to negotiation.

This week President F W de Klerk welcomed the ANC proposal to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss obstacles to negotiation. The pioneering visit could take place within weeks. But he criticised the demand for preconditions and talk of armed struggle.

There are hopes that the state of emergency could be lifted within weeks in line with the ANC's other major precondition for negotiation.

## Consternation

Other preconditions in its Harare Declaration appear to be negotiable, such as the scrapping of the Internal Security Act.

But the ANC stated in London this week that the release of all

political prisoners was an absolute pre-requisite for negotiations. The government's current position is that it is releasing only those prisoners jailed purely because their organisations had been banned.

There was consternation in the government this week over the implications of this demand, including the release of "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom, ending the Harms Commission investigation into police and army hit squads and releasing ANC cadres convicted of murderous attacks on soft targets.

Several solutions to the impasse over political prisoners are now being debated in parliamentary circles.

These include a suggestion that a committee of senior jurists be appointed to investigate the precise definition of a political prisoner and who would qualify under the definition.

This committee would have to be acceptable to both the government and the ANC and could include one or more judges as well

as eminent senior counsel who have credibility with the ANC.

The final definition would have to include reciprocity applying to people with leftwing as well as rightwing sympathies, according to current debate.

## Ceasefire

It could also necessitate the release of South African agents jailed in Zimbabwe and Botswana for taking part in attacks or espionage on the ANC.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, national chairman of the Democratic Party and a law and order spokesman, said a general amnesty for political prisoners and people still sought for political crimes, would probably go hand-in-hand with a ceasefire.

He said that even the hit squads and Strydom could be part of the equation, however much that stuck in the throat.

"Amnesty will involve a degree of generosity asked for in very unusual circumstances. Political horse-trading may also play a major role," he said.

from the left  
al, Johanna  
e Malay Tea  
cture: ANNE LAING

pensionable salary adjustment from April 1.  
The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and  
Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said it  
would not exceed 10% of the Post Office's salary bill,  
and would be calculated on a differentiated basis.  
● Public servants not happy — Page 3

COPY TIMES 24/2/90 11A

# Queen queues to meet Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — With details of Mr Nelson Mandela's planned trip to Britain not yet off the drawing board, already the highest and lowest in the land are queuing to shake his hand.

Politicians, celebrities, pop stars, veteran anti-apartheid activists and ordinary Britons are all eagerly jostling to get on to the, as yet unofficial, list of introductions.

According to some sources, even the Queen would not be averse to having her name added.

A palace spokesman said yesterday that at present he knew

nothing of any suggestion of a proposed meeting "during Mr Mandela's forthcoming trip to London".

A report in yesterday's London Evening Standard, however, said that the Queen had kept a close eye on South Africa since it left the Commonwealth in 1961 and would "entertain the idea" of the Republic rejoining.

Labour Party MP Mr Robert Hughes — an ardent anti-apartheid campaigner who is in contact with Mr Mandela — told the newspaper: "It would be more logical for him to meet the head of the Commonwealth than the Prince of Wales."

CO  
● Fir  
thr  
● Wt  
● M

4-M  
210 x

6-M  
270 x

8-M  
270 x

s-  
to  
as  
ay  
l-  
of  
go  
ad  
s-  
pt  
e-  
n  
it-  
st  
re  
y-  
n-  
in





Mr Mandela

## Focus on political co-operation

CAP 111/24/2/90 11A

# Mandela meets with DP, LP

## Relly to talk with ANC leader

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglo American Corporation yesterday confirmed that their chief executive, Mr Gavin Relly, would meet ANC patriarch Mr Nelson Mandela for wide-ranging discussions early next week.

An Anglo public relations spokesman said the meeting was due to take place on Monday.

It has also been indirectly confirmed by the National Reception Committee that former Premier Group chief executive Mr Tony Bloom will fly out from London at the weekend for a similar meeting with Mr Mandela between 2.30pm and 3.15pm on Monday.

Meanwhile, it was reported from Dar es Salaam that Mr Mandela will visit Tanzania from March 6 to 8 for talks with government leaders.

Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, will also visit ANC farming and educational settlements near Morogoro 280km west of Dar es Salaam and is expected to inspect ANC training camps in southern Tanzania, according to the Mandela reception committee and diplomatic sources.

The trip will also include a visit to the ANC's headquarters in the Zambian capital, Lusaka. — Sapa-Reuter

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

BOTH the Democratic Party and the Labour Party achieved common ground yesterday in separate talks with Mr Nelson Mandela on the need for greater co-operation among political groups in forging a non-racial democracy.

Further meetings between the two parliamentary parties and the ANC are planned following yesterday's exploratory talks in Johannesburg.

LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said after a 40-minute meeting that Mr Mandela had "acknowledged our past differences but indicated that the time has arrived for these to be forgotten and emphasised the need for a greater togetherness in the striv-

ing for the creation of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa".

Mr Hendrickse said the meeting had been "extremely cordial and personal".

Mr Hendrickse, who headed a four-person LP delegation, said it was agreed to meet again to discuss various strategies and options for achieving social justice.

Agreement was reached to meet again and Mr Mandela said he would convey the contents of their conversation and the LP's "greetings" to the ANC executive meeting in Lusaka next week.

Mr Mandela asked the LP delegation to convey his "greetings" to the LP's executive who meet in Cape Town today.

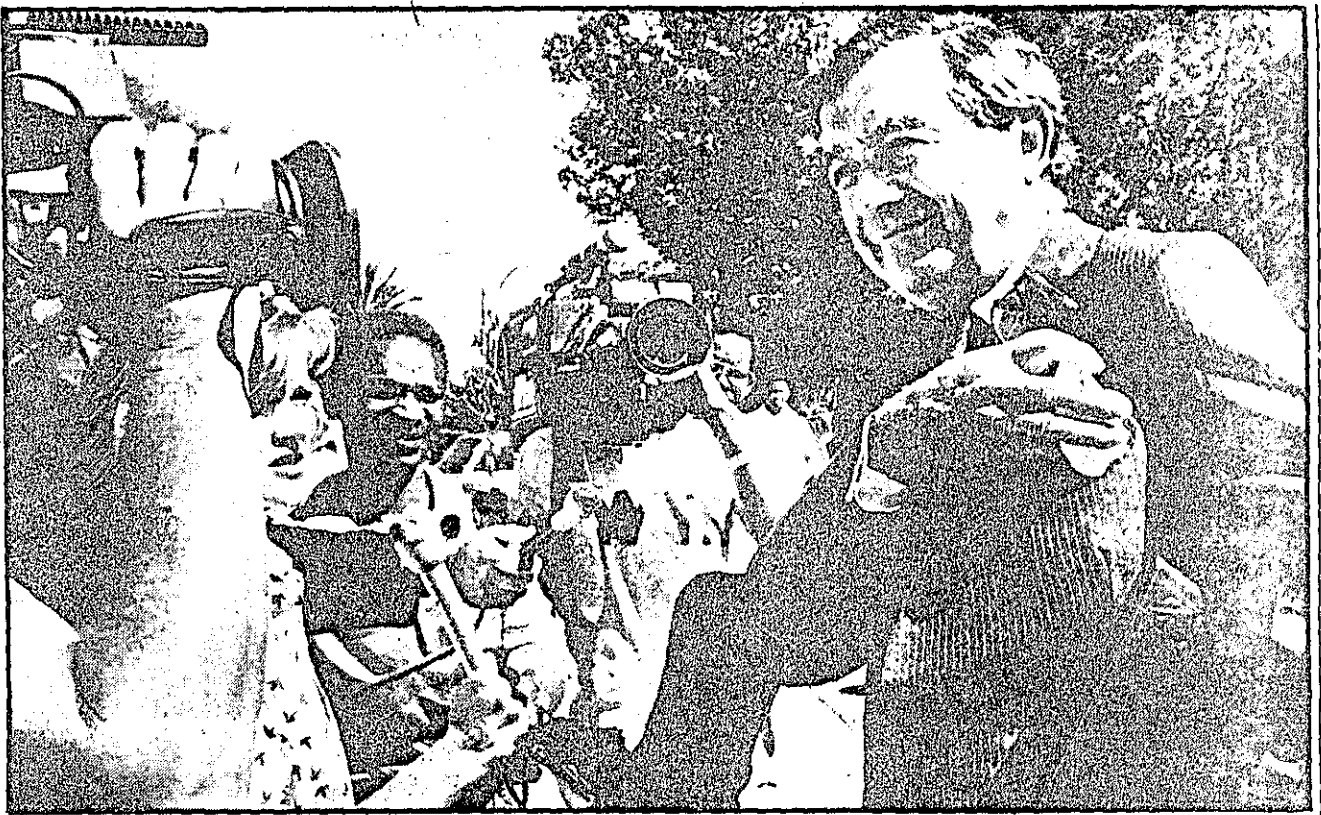
Mr Hendrickse said: "To us, he (Mr Mandela) is a symbol of hope. We see him as a person who has the standing, stature and ability to bring together all forces dedi-

cated to the destruction of apartheid."

Mr Mandela was accompanied at the meeting by Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Murphy Morobe. Mr Hendrickse was accompanied by the LP's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, the party's PRO, Mr Peter Hendrickse, and MP Mr Donald Mateman.

Earlier, Mr Mandela, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Mohammed Valli met for over an hour with a DP delegation consisting of Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Peter Gastrow.

Dr Worrall said in a statement afterwards that the delegations discussed their relative positions "and talked more on the basis of co-operation in the future than policy matters". He said a discussion on policy matters would come with a "more fully representative delegation" of the ANC.



DP leader Dr Zac de Beer leaves Mr Mandela's Soweto home.

# Mandela may call on Downing St

MR Nelson Mandela conferred with parliamentary Opposition leaders yesterday, and aides released details of his forthcoming overseas trip.

Aides also confirmed that Mr Mandela, who has endorsed the nationalisation of certain key industries, planned to meet the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, on Monday.

Mr Relly will apparently visit the ANC leader's house in Soweto.

Mr Mandela, whose last trip abroad began with a clandestine border crossing in 1962 shortly before his imprisonment, plans to fly to Lusaka on Tuesday. There, he will meet leaders of several African countries and confer with the ANC's exiled leadership.

He then plans to spend three days in Zimbabwe and six days in Tanzania before flying to Sweden on March 12 to visit ANC President Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a stroke in a Stockholm clinic.

At his home yesterday, Mr Mandela met the three co-leaders of the Democratic Party. He also met the Labour Party's the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The ANC has urged boycotts of elections for the houses of Delegates and Representatives, saying their creation was part of an effort to entrench the exclusion of blacks. But Mr Hendrickse said after his meeting

800  
24/2/90  
DAVID CRARY  
in Johannesburg  
SUE LEEMAN  
in London

with Mr Mandela that the ANC and the Labour Party would be able to work together.

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the Democratic Party leaders, said his delegation and Mr Mandela had agreed on the need for universal voting rights, but differed over the ANC's support for guerilla violence, economic sanctions and nationalisation.

Since his release on February 11 after 27 years in prison, Mr Mandela has reaffirmed his support for the ANC's economic policies, which supports nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries.

His initial remarks lowered prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Subsequently, Mr Mandela and other ANC officials have sought to reassure white businessmen, saying economic issues should be subject to negotiation and compromise.

Mr Relly has spoken out frequently against apartheid, and in 1985, when the Government was condemning all contact with the ANC, he was among a group of South African businessmen who travelled to Lusaka for talks with the movement's leaders.

Another member of that delegation, Mr Tony Bloom, is also scheduled to meet Mr Mandela on Monday.

Mr Bloom was formerly chairman of the Premier Group, one of South Africa's biggest food companies, but he left the country in 1988 to work in London.

It is reported from London that there is a strong chance that when Mr Mandela arrives in London in April a meeting with Mrs Thatcher will be on the agenda.

ANC sources have indicated that Mr Mandela will, "out of courtesy", make contact with the British authorities.

Unlike previous ANC leaders who have had to make do with junior ministers, he is likely to be given the red carpet treatment all the way to Downing Street.

The British government, although hesitant to recognise the ANC, has undisguised admiration for Mr Mandela.

A Downing Street spokeswoman said this week that the invitation still stood for Mr Mandela to visit Mrs Thatcher.

She declined to say whether Mrs Thatcher would now be writing to Mr Mandela to specifically invite him for April.

However, she added that if he did ask to see the Prime Minister, "and if her diary permits it", the meeting would take place.

Observers believe Mrs Thatcher would be happy to make room in the busiest of diaries for Mr Mandela.

ANC  
February 21, there was a... line in a... the most...  
February 21, there was a... line in a... the most...

# PAC 'close to re-uniting' with ANC

*W/E MABUS 24/2/90 11A*

**DAR ES SALAAM.** — A Pan Africanist Congress leader said here today the PAC and the African National Congress were close to re-uniting following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Joseph Renene, a leader of the recently formed PAC internal wing, said: "We hope we will be mature enough to resolve this issue. We are addressing it and we are not far from reaching a solution."

The PAC broke away from

the ANC in 1959, saying the ANC's 1955 freedom charter offered too many concessions to whites and deprived blacks of their full rights.

The Organisation of African Unity has repeatedly urged the two movements to settle their differences to make the campaign against the government and its apartheid policies more effective.

Mr Renene said Mr Mandela's release on February 11 af-

ter 27 years in jail had raised hopes for unity.

"He is one of the most prominent Africanists in the ANC and he is going to be important in the re-unification of the ANC and PAC."

Mr Renene, in Tanzania as part of a three-man delegation from Transkei, said Mr Mandela had sent signals to both groups on unity.

Mr Mandela is a close personal friend of PAC leader Mr

Johnson Mlambo and diplomats have speculated that the two may meet when Mr Mandela visits Tanzania next month.

Mr Renene and the other members of the delegation flew to Tanzania unannounced yesterday for talks with PAC leaders at the movement's headquarters here.

Tanzanian government officials have declined to comment on the visit. — Sapa-Reuter.

# THABO MBEKI, RISING STAR

By JOHN RYAN  
Argus Africa News Service  
in Johannesburg

WJC  
ARGUS  
24/2/78

**"H**E'S very impressive," said a Mandela watcher, "But I find Thabo Mbeki even more so."

That must have been the reaction of many people who saw last Sunday night's TV interview with the ANC's urbane director of international affairs.

Nelson Mandela, admittedly, is at less of an advantage at the moment. He is not really in a position to speak his mind, being tied as a mere member of the party to its dogmatic line.

Mbeki, on the other hand, is senior enough within the organisation to be more flexible in what he says. And not only does he emerge in conversation as an original thinker, he also appears to be one of the directors of ANC policy.

**I**T was Mbeki who indicated to me 17 months ago that the organisation would be prepared to drop its stipulation about "no normal sport in an abnormal society" because such an insistence was counter-productive. It suggested nothing in South African society should change until everything changed.

ANC spokesmen in London and Tanzania strongly denied the report when it appeared. But at a meeting with South African rugby chiefs a month later it was proved correct.

Whether Mbeki had discussed the matter with his president, Oliver Tambo, previously is difficult to say. But it seemed like a spontaneous response, prompted by a question.

Charming is the word most people who meet him use to describe Thabo Mbeki, particularly white South Africans unprepared for such polished reason.

**R**EASONABLE, composed, shrewd. But also deceptively tough. There may be a statement of rebellion in the beard although even top executives of the ANC need to watch what they spend on razor blades.

Contrary to the popular view that they live high off the hog on funds mugged from soft Nordic governments, members of the administration in exile in Zambia subsist on a paltry stipend.



Thabo Mbeki — original thinker.

Thabo Mbeki is better off than most because he has a working wife. Zanele Mbeki is an organiser with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka.

Mbeki's dress usually is distinctive: a hound's tooth sports jacket alternating with Cuban shirts. And always a pipe, underlining a look either of humour or contemplation.

**M**BEKI'S rise last year from director of information and publicity to head of the department of international affairs effectively moved him from fourth position in the ANC hierarchy to third. At 47, he has youth on his side. And considerable political nous.

For some years, he has doubled as political adviser to Tambo. The two are very close. To begin with, there is a relationship through Mandela. Govan Mbeki, Thabo's father, was a co-accused with Mandela in the Rivonia Trial. Tambo was Mandela's partner in a law firm.

Mbeki was born in Idutywa in the Transkei on June 18, 1942, and began his education at Lovedale College, Alice, and St John's College, Umtata. It is understood he moved to Port Elizabeth at the age of 13 when his father became Cape leader of the ANC and he went to school in New Brighton.

**B**Y 1959, at 17, Mbeki was active in black student politics. He became a member of the African Students' Organisation, forerunner of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso).

He ran the ASO in 1961, and organised widespread protests against Bantu Education. This led to him being detained for six weeks before he left South Africa in 1962. He eventually went to the United States.

What happened during that period of his life in exile is sketchy. But in the early Seventies, Thabo Mbeki obtained a degree in economics from the University of Sussex.

When the 1976 student riots sparked an exodus of hundreds of black students from South Africa, Mbeki's experience as past leader of ASO was invaluable.

From then on, he worked his way through the ranks and was appointed Director of Information and Publicity in 1984.



# De Klerk will face no ordinary opponent in ANC

w/te ARBUS 24/2/90

11A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

**W**HEN President F W de Klerk meets an African National Congress delegation for official talks he will be dealing with no ordinary political opponents.

He will be facing representatives of an emerging giant in South African politics if the ANC's strength is measured in terms of its worldwide influence and sheer tenacity as a successful underdog.

It has proved it has political and diplomatic leverage, especially in Africa. And in South Africa the mass support it has received since the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders has been unequalled in the country's political history.

And it will speak from a position where it knows it has the sympathy and backing of world leaders, governments, churches, trade unions, African states and of a considerable part of South Africa's population.

**L**IKEWISE Mr De Klerk knows the ANC holds the key to South Africa's future relations in Africa and the world. Most political experts agree that no future plan for South Africa can work without the ANC's blessing and participation.

From Moscow to London, Bonn, Washington, New Delhi, Ottawa and other world capitals there is consensus that a negotiated settlement in South Africa must be found urgently.

Both Mr De Klerk and the ANC delegation will know this only too well when they meet.

What is more, behind the moves towards constitutional negotiations looms the crucial economic factor which has made time of the essence for South Africa.

Experts have warned that the country's economic crisis will continue — and get worse — unless a political settlement is found to ensure internal stability and international acceptance.

All this shows that the ANC's role is likely to be much more than that of just another political party entering the arena. It will be a force with considerable bargaining power.

**W**HY is this so? And how did this movement, portrayed to South Africans over many years by their government as a mere "terrorist group", gain such extraordinary influence?

An in-depth study of the movement by Stellenbosch experts in a new book *Die ANC* (Tafelberg Publishers), has focused on the movement's role in a dramatic political power shift in South Africa in recent years.

The result, it is claimed, has been that despite the government's arsenal of coercive measures the might of the state is no longer the only power factor.

A new factor that emerged is a "black veto" on government actions and initiatives. This has come about through the organisational ability of black activists, their widespread internation-

al network, an ability to paralyse trade and industry by industrial action, and through the intimidatory use of violence.

An implication is that changes in South Africa can no longer be implemented by the government on a unilateral basis. Reforms can only work if they are condoned by the "black veto".

**E**DITED by Professor Willie Esterhuyse, professor of philosophy, and Professor Philip Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, the new book gives an assessment of the ANC's international political status, its strategies and of prospects for a political settlement.

Professor Nel says the ANC is certainly not the only factor in the "black veto", but there is evidence that it is has a potentially decisive role as political player in South Africa.

This conclusion is based partly on findings showing that the ANC is widely accepted inside and outside South Africa as the legitimate voice of black aspirations.

The extent of the ANC's support base is analysed by political scientist Professor Hennie Kotze on the basis of opinion surveys and other information.

He concludes that the movement has considerable support, if not majority support among black people — a factor which cannot be ignored by the government.

**I**N an assessment of the ANC's international political status, Professor Esterhuyse notes

that as long ago as 1974 it received official recognition from the United Nations. The organisation was granted observer status in the General Assembly and Security Council and had access to the facilities and specific funds of the UN.

The Organisation for African Unity (OAU), like the UN, recognised the ANC as a legitimate national liberation movement. Apartheid and the ANC's recognition in Africa became the two most important factors that bedevilled South Africa's relations with African states.

The World Council of Churches (WCC) also played a key role in the ANC's recognition as a liberation movement at non-government level. The WCC put forward the argument that violence under certain circumstances was justified and that ANC violence was in defence of state violence in South Africa.

**S**OUTH Africa's isolation in many fields is regarded as an indication of the measure of success which the ANC, together with its various support groups, had with their political offensive.

Today there is general consensus between Washington, London and Moscow that the stability and development of the entire Southern African region depends on a political settlement involving the ANC.

It has been estimated that the ANC has 9 000 members abroad, including 5 000 who have undergone some kind of military training.

An unanswered question is what their role will be when they return to South Africa to enter the political arena.

# Blacks support DP's march for democracy

Cape Times 24/2/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party (DP) received a rare show of black support yesterday when about 1 000 black people joined its march through central Johannesburg in support of democracy, peace and negotiation.

About 3 500 people participated in the march.

The party also received a glowing tribute from the UDF when the organisation's Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said the DP had been "the only voice of reason" in white politics in recent years.

At one stage the crowd changed their chant of "ANC, ANC" to "DP, DP" before entering the Johannesburg City Hall to hear DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Tembu share a platform.

The scenes contrasted to those at a meeting at Wits University last year when the presence of Dr De Beer, among other "white" political leaders,

prompted a black political student group allied to the UDF to prevent proceedings by singing and chanting loudly.

Mr Tembu, congratulating the DP on the liberal stance the party had taken in Parliament which, he said, had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC, said the future of blacks was interlinked with the future of whites.

He added that the nature of the liberation struggle was against oppression and domination and assured white compatriots the future South Africa belonged to all — "where all will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever ..."

DP MP Mr Peter Soal later said he was "delighted" at the black participation in the march.

Several banners displayed by participants in the march were aimed at the rightist Conservative Party (CP). One said: "The CP is a banana peel on the doorstep of progress". — Sapa

# 'I want to address Thatcher'

# Mandela



# criticises UK

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has criticised Britain's decision to unilaterally lift a ban on new investment in South Africa and has called for talks with Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

"We don't see any reason for a review of sanctions until a settlement is reached between the oppressed people (of South Africa) and government," said the black nationalist in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation yesterday.

"Of course" he disagreed with Britain's controversial move, he told BBC's Newsnight current affairs programme from Soweto.

Britain went ahead in lifting the four-year-old voluntary sanctions yesterday in spite of opposition from other European Community states at this week's EC foreign ministers' meeting in Dublin.

Mr Mandela is expected to attend a concert at London's Wembley stadium in April to celebrate his release earlier this month after 27 years' imprisonment.

The 71-year-old leader said he hoped to meet Mrs Thatcher on that visit. "There are issues one would like to clear with the British premier and I can only hope that opportunity will be there."

In spite of news that exiled ANC leaders are to meet the South African government, possibly within weeks, Mr Mandela said the ANC would not open full negotiations under the current state of emergency and while the "overwhelming majority" of political prisoners were still in jail.

"We want to be placed in exactly the same position as the National Party. We should be able to consult our people (and get a mandate from them.)"

But Mr Mandela did offer an olive branch on nationalisation, which he said was negotiable. The issue of one-person-one-vote, however, was not.

Mr Mandela said he was worried about conflict between black factions in Natal, where he intends spelling out a message of peace tomorrow. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Exiles hitch in FW talks?

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday said it was pleased with President F W de Klerk's readiness to hold talks but that it would not allow him to dictate who should represent the organisation.

National executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan described as unreasonable a suggestion by Mr De Klerk that he would look into the legal aspects of who among the exiled ANC leaders should participate in talks.

"We are pleased he has promised to meet us," Mr Jordan said, commenting to reporters on a statement and TV interview by Mr De Klerk.

"The ANC has the right to choose its own delegation to meet Mr De Klerk ... it is totally unreasonable for him to choose a delegation for us, just as we don't presume to choose his delegation," Mr Jordan said.

The ANC's media spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, yesterday said its executive committee would

---

## UDF still separate

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF is not due to amalgamate with the ANC within the next few months, the UDF's general secretary said yesterday.

Mr Popo Molefe said both the UDF and the MDM still recognised the leadership of the ANC and there was "no conflict" between the movements.

Although the South African government had given indications of a future political settlement "it has continued to retain repressive laws in its statutes" which would still enable it to outlaw various organisations.

The UDF would be very cautious about speeding up its disbandment, he said. — Sapa

---

next week appoint delegates.

The delegation would be decided on in consultation with Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected in Lusaka on Tuesday.

It was probable that Mr Mandela would be one of the South African-based delegates, but there was no indication as yet when a meeting with Mr De Klerk might take place.

He said there had been no communications with the government regarding "clearance" for exiles.

Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC for refusing to renounce armed struggle and for sticking to its conditions for taking part in full-scale negotiations with the government.

Mr Jordan said the ANC's conditions — including ending the state of emergency — were important in creating a normal political climate in the country which would lead to the start of negotiations.

"We cannot talk about moving towards peaceful resolution in a situation where one side of the quarrel has freedom of speech and the rest of us enjoy that at their discretion. We must be on the same plane," Mr Jordan said. — Sapa-Reuter

# Call for peace as Durban braces for Mandela rally

DURBAN. — This city is bracing itself for the massive ANC rally at King's Park Stadium tomorrow, and the organisers — the ANC, Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu — appealed yesterday for all concerned to be disciplined and behave with restraint.

A spokesman for the rally organisers said yesterday that they were expecting "at least 200 000 people".

Inkatha issued a statement on Thursday urging its members to attend the rally to welcome Mr Mandela "as a hero and martyr of the black struggle for liberation".

The Natal Cricket Board announced yesterday that they had called off all their matches tomorrow, and appealed to their members and supporters to attend the rally.

About 500 buses, excluding minibuses, are expected to transport

people to the rally from all over Natal, Transkei, the OFS and the Transvaal.

Thousands of pamphlets inciting black people to attack rally-goers have been distributed in townships surrounding Durban, and have been soundly condemned by both Inkatha and ANC leaders.

The pamphlet alleged that Mr Mandela was instigating trouble in Natal and was guilty of defaming the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezezi.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said the pamphlets had absolutely nothing to do with Inkatha.

Meanwhile, ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu last night urged township residents in Natal to contain their feelings and look on the mistakes of the past as a lesson never to be repeated.

— Own Correspondent and Sapa

11A

ST Times  
25/12/90

# The TRAPS of

WITH the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SA Communist Party, debate about future policy in a "New South Africa" has at last been unshackled.

It is hugely commendable — but one of its most constructive benefits is that one is now more readily able to discern the policy traps that lie ahead.

Most will agree we have an unfortunate and tragic past. From the time of the narrow commercial concerns of the Dutch East India Company onwards, through the arrogance of British imperialism and of King Shaka to the era of grand and less-grand apartheid and the response of the "armed struggle" we have accumulated a formidable debt to political wisdom and strategic good sense.

One must presume, however, that societies can mature as a result of their historical experience and the experience of others in comparative situations.

In fact, ANC leaders have pointed to one benefit of their long-drawn-out struggle as being the fact that they will be able to learn from the policy mistakes of earlier post-colonial governments in Africa.

Prospects for increasing balance and judicious caution in the policies of both major political forces in South Africa: the ANC and the National Party, are encouraging in comparison with their more rigid traditional positions.

The Government is increasingly showing respect for the conditions under which our economy can prosper and while attempting to limit state spending has tended to increase its relative expenditure on services like black education, which underpin economic efficiency and social stability.

From Mr Slovo, who is undoubtedly influential in ANC circles, we have a recent statement suggesting the commitment to the nationalisation of major industry enshrined in the Freedom Charter is not necessarily appropriate today.

## The trap of good intentions

Mr Nelson Mandela, who confirmed his commitment to nationalisation soon after his release, rapidly softened his line by adding the qualification that nationalisation would have to be negotiated and discussed with industrialists.

While this slight retraction is unlikely to restore business confidence in him, it at least points to a learning curve.

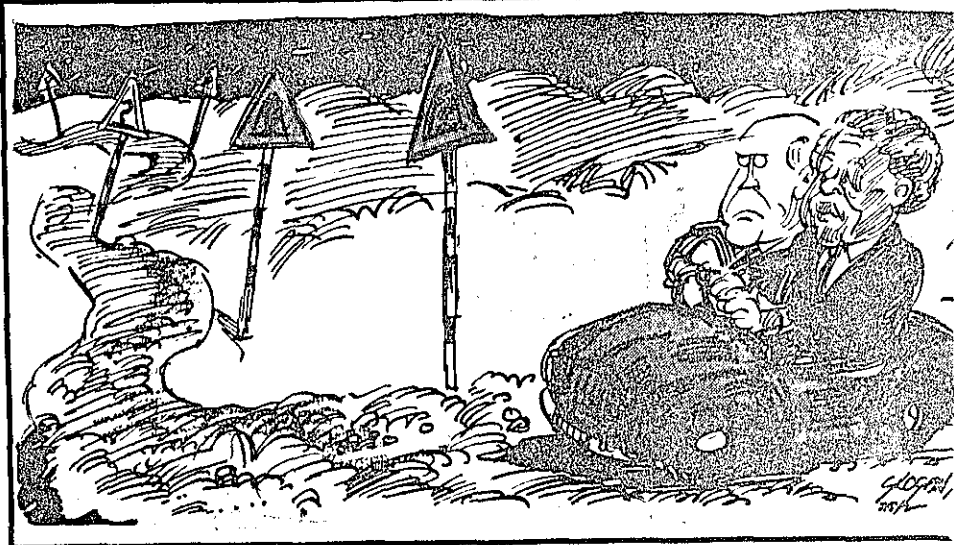
There is, however, still serious cause for concern about what policy might be likely under a representative government in the future and the potential consequences are such that present policy signals must be firmly and intensively debated.

A discussion of detail would fill this journal's entire centre section. In any case, the major policy traps which lie hidden in the green grass of "restructuring" are forged on the basis of a few major assumptions about how societies, economies and policies work.

This is the proper level to begin to think about policy.

The first faulty assumption or

Lawrence Schlemmer, who is one of SA's most respected social scientists, warns of the dangers that litter the path towards the establishment of a new South Africa



trap is aptly captured by the well-known and cynical saying that "evil is usually met by equal and opposite virtue".

Put more directly, one should never judge a policy only on the basis of manifestly good intentions.

Quite aside from the fact that a play on good intentions such as social justice, equality, non-racialism, participative democracy and the like is often a shield of propaganda which hides, defects and lulls critics, policy should be judged mainly on the basis of what it is likely to achieve in the real and imperfect world of implementation.

Throughout the world, most tangled webs of regulations which smother initiative, most bloated bureaucracies that soak up capital resources, cause inflation and chronic budget deficits and survive on levels of taxation which chase away investment, are built on good intentions on the part of governments.

## The fallacy of transformation

Each new control division or planning agency is perfectly defensible in the light of some problem or need.

The real pathology develops when, virtually inevitably, the initial regulation or allocation of administrative resources does not work or work well enough.

This is followed by the typical response of adding more staff or regulations to bolster the programme. Economic distortions and bureaucratic rigidities multiply like bacteria in the swarm of good intentions. Perhaps the

first rule of policy evaluation should be: Try to disregard captivatingly good intentions and look only to the likely effects.

The second trap lies hidden in the assumption that after some sort of negotiated constitutional settlement South Africa will be or can be restructured as, not a "better" society, but a "new society".

From the ANC to South African businessmen and even to Cabinet Ministers, one hears fervent and hopeful, but meaningless, political chanting about a "new society".

If there is anything social science should have taught us it is that "social transformation" is not within the reach of politicians or bureaucrats. Has no one read Animal Farm?

Present racial inequality makes the urge to restructure perfectly understandable — the surface political logic is unassailable. But can the expectations thus raised be met?

In South and Central America, notwithstanding all its revolutions or other political convulsions, the descendants of the indigenous Indians or imported slaves still tend to be on the lower social rungs and the descendants of the Spanish-Portuguese settlers still tend to be the elite.

The US civil rights movement induced a transformation in US race policy, but 30 years later the black inner-city ghettos persist and the gap between poor black people and the great American middle class has hardly closed.

After the revolution in the Soviet Union, official policy was deliberately directed at equalising the status and rewards of differ-

ent occupations. Studies from the 50s onward, however, show 80 to 90 percent correlations between occupational status in the USSR and European capitalist societies.

Ten years after "liberation" the condition of the mass of blacks in relation to the majority of whites in Zimbabwe is broadly the same as it ever was.

Throughout the world, the coherence, the values and the support within the family system are more important for human

progress than social basic patterns in society persist. These few racial and examples are not to discourage the search social and economic

Good policy can be more rapid social. When policy-maker however, that they form or restructure. over-reach themselves miss opportunities to incremental reform a ten do more harm than

What normally h

it  
y  
d.  
st  
of  
it  
ar  
ur  
the  
ed  
33  
an  
in

# of history



can happen, in societies, both socialist and capitalist, after major political change, is that new categories of people gain entry to the middle and upper-middle classes and, if economic and social policy is based on realistic appraisal of resources, the condition of the poor can be improved.

No policy on this earth is likely to achieve more than this, and many policies propounded by ideologues will do a lot worse.

Sound policy thinking starts when use of the words "new society", "restructuring" and "transformation" stops.

## Suicidal economic heroism

Recent writing on economic policy aligned to the Mass Democratic Movement (Alec Erwin, Stephen Geib) is refreshing in its rejection of older — in Geib's words — simplistic economic ideologies.

Lessons of Eastern Europe are being absorbed. Some interesting policy ideas are emerging.

Much of this writing, however, signals a danger of coming conflict between a representative state and large corporate capital — the "private bureaucracies" (Geib's words).

There is a persistent fear (or resentment) of the power of large corporate capital, perhaps because the large corporations are best able to resist the central planner's attempts to direct production and resource flows.

At the same time, no attempt is made to try to prove that size in itself influences the nature of production or investment decisions.

If this conflict ever materialises, it could constitute one of South Africa's bloodiest economic disasters. The re-investment of profits by shareholders of

these corporations is a major growth factor in the economies of all of southern Africa.

If the capital flows are tampered with, the entire region will experience a greater loss of capital investment than the tragic loss of billions of rands of capital that has occurred over the past five years.

All major corporations have overseas operations and massive disinvestment will be on the cards.

Alec Erwin, in his paper at the recent Paris conference of the ANC, refers to South Korean and Taiwanese government intervention in the market with approval. These success stories were based on intervention of a very special kind, however.

There, the governments worked with major private capital to facilitate its exports, support its research and development and increase its competitive advantages. Incentives to increase production of mass consumer goods would be compatible with the Far Eastern model.

Good policy cannot be built on historical fixations, and the recent rash of threats of nationalisation of large companies, however sweetly and reasonably Mr Thabo Mbeki may articulate them, signal an economic war no one can possibly win.

The thoughts above have no more than identified the terrain of policy debate about our future.

The thoughts are based on two main convictions. Good policy is based on the realisation that there are very clear limits to what governments can achieve by way of national development.

Where governments have been successful it has been where they, with humility, have ensured rights, made the policy environment predictable and provided incentives for the removal of constraints in the way of voluntary effort, collective efforts by the people and entrepreneurship.

progress than social policy. basic patterns in society tend to persist. These few random facts and examples are not intended to discourage the search for better social and economic policy.

Good policy can bring about more rapid social progress. When policy-makers believe, however, that they can transform or restructure society, they over-reach themselves, they miss opportunities to speed up incremental reform and quite often do more harm than good.

What normally happens, or

and finally complete self-government'. A  
'could not expect to have a majority of v  
unless they were prepared to pay the exper  
moment they should be content with some re

SUDDENLY they are only human beings again.

When Nelson Mandela came out of the Victor Verster prison almost everybody knew that it was, in the words of his own autobiography, (unbanned this week) no easy walk to freedom.

But not only was he freed from years of imprisonment — he also liberated us, mere mortals, from the myths that kept us captive for equally long.

Most whites had tremendous difficulty adapting to the rapidly changing circumstances. Barely a week before the ANC and the SA Communist Party represented everything that was evil and unpalatable in politics.

But here we had Mr Mandela casually raising his fist in the power salute on SATV, nogal, and Clarence Keyter sweetly describing Mrs Winnie Mandela's outfit as if she was arriving for the opening of Parliament.

### Frenzy

The first public appearances of Mr Mandela did much to lay to rest all those ghosts that were conjured up about him over the last 27 years. Here was a man, lucid, charming, accommodating and highly intelligent. An impressive leader, no doubt. Perhaps, considering his recent history, one of the greatest sons this country has ever produced.

But still, he is only a man. And only a politician. He is not the demi-god that sycophantic admirers have raved about for so long. The man who can do no wrong. The saviour of the people whose very freedom would forever change the South African landscape.

Nor is he the demi-demon who would have stirred the masses into a frenzy and led them on a violent rampage through the streets of Johannesburg.

He is a man and a politician — a profession whose very job descrip-



# Dries van Heerden Behind the ANC mask

SITTING  
25/2/90

tion implies making mistakes and errors of judgment.

And as veteran politicians have known for long — and Mr Mandela had to learn too — no political statement can ever be neutral. Whatever you say will elicit either support or opposition.

### Dissent

For a long time the ANC was about the only political group in the country that enjoyed the luxury of not making mistakes. While other politicians had to explain policies, adjust their positions and jockey for support, the ANC escaped with relative impunity — thanks to the government's shortsighted policies that gave them the status of a protected species because nobody was allowed to quote them.

Their legalisation put an end to that. Now they, too, have to oper-

ate in the marketplace of ideas. And they will soon realise that they will have as many new supporters as they will have defectors.

Already their pronouncements on contentious issues such as nationalisation or the armed struggle have raised dissenting voices from within their own ranks who started disagreeing on particulars.

And this tendency will increase as the ANC is forced more and more to state its views on the issues of the day ranging from the status of women — there is still a strong streak of male chauvinism running through the organisation — to the protection of the environment.

### Nightmare

Some people may find in ANC views their worst nightmares come true. Others may consider them not as bad as they expected. Still others may be disappointed because the ANC is not radical enough for their liking.

This is the essence of politics. You state your views and leave it to the people themselves to decide whether they support or reject your policies.

And as the local and foreign media increasingly take off the kid gloves and analyse ANC positions honestly, even more myths will be destroyed.

Although adhering to diametrically opposed policies, the Government and the ANC find themselves today in very similar circumstances. Both have a history of holding hardline views and not easily tolerating dissent.

Both seem to have adapted pretty well to the new environment where the power of reason and persuasion will take precedence over strong-arm tactics and bullying.

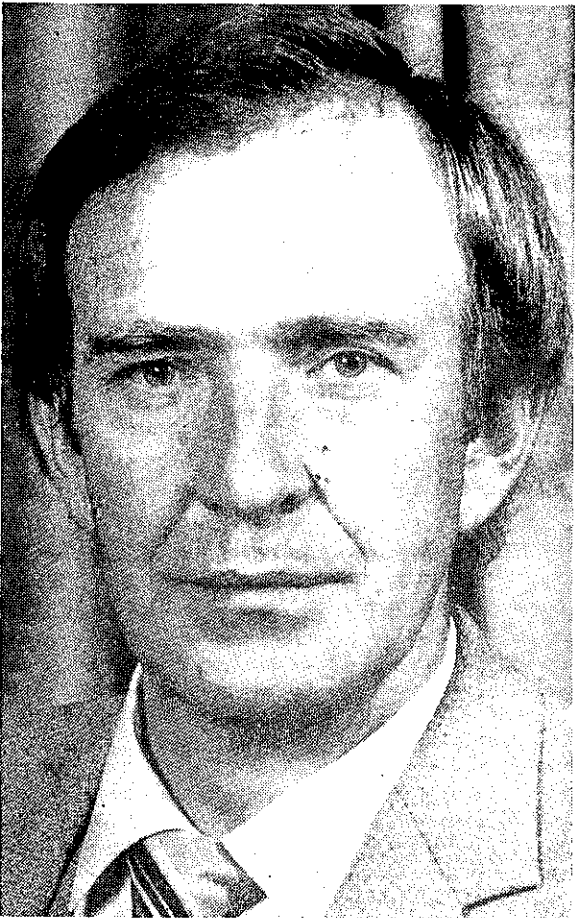
111



# Change of stance by Mandela and ANC on nationalisation



Nelson Mandela ... only morally fair.



Barend du Plessis ... nationalisation is theft.

**N**ELSON Mandela and the ANC appear to have changed their stance on the concept of nationalisation of certain economic sectors in the event of their assuming political control in the country.

The question of the effects and desirability of sanctions, have also forcibly been brought to the foreground following the ANC's call for the reinforcement of the economic vendetta against South Africa. *11/19/90*

An important by-product of the nationalisation debate has been the oft-acclaimed government policy of privatisation of all sectors of economic activity in the country.

Mandela's release from prison has met with universal approval - with the exception of a handful of Conservative Party diehards. The situation, however, seems to have altered somewhat after his Soccer City rally speech two days after his release.

His image of "a fine old fellow", particularly in the eyes of the white liberal section, appears to have changed to that of "a leopard never changes its spots". This was after he had reaffirmed the ANC's economy policy as contained in the Freedom Charter adopted by the organisation in 1955.

In subsequent interviews, Mandela maintained that allowing the status quo to continue in a free and democratic South Africa would be tantamount to the betrayal of those who had been dispossessed by apartheid. The apartheid system, by its very functioning, had deliberately designed a situation which rendered blacks impotent in the economic race.

It would therefore only be morally fair for those who had been at a disadvantage for about half a century to have their share of the national economy without the hazards of an open market system under South African circumstances.

Mandela's statements caused an outcry from corporate business as well as in government circles.

One of the sharpest reactions came from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis who said the ANC economic policies amounted to nothing other than theft.

With big business and commerce still reacting to the Mandela/ANC statement on nationalisation and the Finance Minister dubbing the move theft, the effects of sanctions has been brought to the foreground with the call to tighten the economic vendetta. REVELATION NTOULA reports:

Another important reaction came from the director-general of the Chamber of Business, Raymond Parsons. He said the greatest impediment to liberty in the world was economic poverty and that the nationalisation of key South African industries would lead directly to such poverty.

Black intellectual thinking today shares much with that of Afrikaner nationalist intellectuals when the National Party came to power in 1948.

Those Afrikaners were bent on "righting" past wrongs and claimed "English capitalism" led to Afrikaner oppression. They vowed to nationalise the mines and other key industries.

In the pursuit of their goal State concerns like the Post Office, Railways and Harbours and parastatals like the SABC, Iscor, Eskom and others became synonymous with sheltered employment.

It was also in these areas that the job reservation regulations were vigorously applied.

Afrikaners must have realised that their quest for "redistribution" of wealth could only come about when they used the apparatus of the State (nationalisation).

Furthermore, it is clear from history that the Afrikaner has always been suspicious of competing openly in the market place.

It therefore becomes ironic that the Afrikaners who today own the Santams and have left a heritage of sheltered employment in literally all key positions in the civil service, should raise their eyebrows when anybody else speaks of nationalisation.

Du Plessis terms it outright theft and by definition, a criminal offence. If that is the case, Mandela would surely be the second to be indicted. Who then would be the first?

# NATAL PEACE CRUSADE

11A  
271

Clippin 25/2/90



Laying foundations for peace this week were ANC and Inkatha leaders.

By S'BU MNGADI

IT'S all systems go for today's rally in Durban, expected to be South Africa's biggest political rally.

Nelson Mandela fever gripped Natal yesterday as the province braced itself for an estimated 250 000 people to converge on King's Park outer grounds in Durban from 6am.

Mandela will call for an end to the violence in Natal when he addresses the rally in what could be a decisive bid for peace in Natal.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, who has led a peace mission to Natal, said yesterday Mandela would make a call for a ceasefire when he speaks today.

"We have a gigantic task in leading a liberation movement. This distasteful violence which has caused so much trouble and pain to our people is a great obstacle to our cause in many ways," he said.

Sisulu added the aim of his Natal visit was to find ways of ending violent conflict.

Mandela, accompanied by members of the National Reception Committee, arrives at 8.30am today at Louis Botha airport. They will be met by Sisulu and flown to the stadium by helicopter.

Mandela is scheduled to speak at noon before flying off to Bloemfontein for another ANC rally.

Members of the SAP and 3 000 ANC marshals, many of them former guerrillas, will use sniffer dogs and metal detectors to sweep the venue for bombs.

These precautions have been taken against the threat of an assassination attempt.

**250 000 could flood stadium to hear Mandela**



## The secret is out at last - Yvonne's joy is a baby boy

By HAPPY ZONDI

**SUPERSTAR** Yvonne Chaka Chaka's secret is out - she has given birth to a bouncy baby boy.

Also leaked to City Press this week was that the baby was born on February 11, the date Nelson Mandela was released.

But there is a damper on her fans countrywide: African tradition prevents the star from showing the baby to the public for another two weeks.

Her doctor husband Tiny Mhinga refused to allow reporters to see the mother and child.

He is also not revealing the name of the baby.

Asked why this was not possible, he said it was "personal".

Mhinga, who is believed to be a traditionalist, is from a Tsonga royal family.

In Tsonga custom, a baby can only be introduced to the public after a month.

Said one traditionalist: "Before this only elderly women usually

## Six die as discontent explodes into violence

By SANDILE MEMELA

AT LEAST six people died and more than 20 were injured as discontent over Gazankulu's government exploded into violence this week.

By late on Friday the territory was reeling from the stayaway of almost the entire workforce, which saw homeland headquarters in Giyana grind to a standstill.

The turmoil spread to nearby Elim, Kulwana, Lenyenye, Nkowakowa and Bonn.

Violence erupted at Nkowakowa, near Tzaneen, where Chief Minister Hudson Ntswanisi's home was attacked by more

than 30 000 people after four people were shot at the local stadium on Wednesday.

Several houses belonging to police and government-linked people were attacked. By late on Friday two more unidentified youths were believed to have been shot at Kujwana, near Tzaneen.

It was feared that the situation could deteriorate into a full-scale war.

Ntswanisi's bottle and garage in Nkowakowa were destroyed by the mob.

Ntswanisi fled to the Coach House Hotel in Agatha, 15km south of Tzaneen. Although hotel management denied that

Ntswanini booked in, he was said to have been seen there.

Scores of youths from the recently launched Giyani Youth Congress have been to the hotel in search of him.

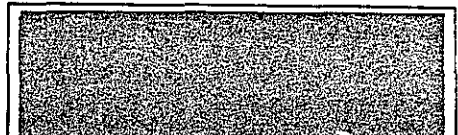
Hundreds of youths are said to have fled from their homes.

Pallion Mboweni, leader of the SRC at Tlhubeni College of Education in Nkowakowa, is one of at least five in detention.

■ To Page 2

## Racing

Gosforth Park:  
JACKPOT - R1 405.50  
PICK SIX - R92 178.20  
PA - R13.80



# CRUSA

By S'BU MNGADI

IT'S all systems go for today's rally in Durban, expected to be South Africa's biggest political rally.

Nelson Mandela fever gripped Natal yesterday as the province braced itself for an estimated 250 000 people to converge on King's Park outer grounds in Durban from 6am.

Mandela will call for an end to the violence in Natal when he addresses the rally in what could be a decisive bid for peace in Natal.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, who has led a peace mission to Natal, said yesterday Mandela would make a call for a ceasefire when he speaks today.

"We have a gigantic task in leading a liberation movement. This distasteful violence which has caused so much trouble and pain to our people is a great obstacle to our cause in many ways," he said.

Sisulu added the aim of his Natal visit was to find ways of ending violent conflict.

Mandela, accompanied by members of the National Reception Committee, arrives at 8.30am today at Louis Botha airport. They will be met by Sisulu and flown to the stadium by helicopter.

Mandela is scheduled to speak at noon before flying off to Bloemfontein for another ANC rally.

Members of the SAP and 3 000 ANC marshals, many of them former guerrillas, will use sniffer dogs and metal detectors to sweep the venue for bombs.

These precautions have been taken against the threat of an assassination attempt.

Pamphlets distributed in Durban inciting Natal people to turn the rally into bloodbath were yesterday condemned by both the ANC and Inkatha.

The ANC, whose advanced guard has been touring Natal's war-torn townships, appealed to all at the rally to act in a disciplined, peaceful and dignified way during and after the rally.

Yesterday, Sisulu said:

- Their mission was aimed at securing peace in Natal;
- In all the visits they had been met by enthusiastic and disciplined people;
- They had been given very frank accounts of the way in which the violence had affected people's lives; and
- They had urged people to look upon mistakes of the past as a lesson never to be repeated.

One of the steps towards peace in Natal was a historic meeting between Sisulu's party and the Cosatu-UDF-Inkatha joint working committee for peace.

The committee comprises Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha, and Dr Diliza Mji and Alec Erwin, both of the Cosatu-UDF alliance.

"After the meeting, the Inkatha Central Committee encouraged members in the greater Durban region to attend the ANC rally to welcome Mandela as a "hero and martyr of the black liberation struggle".

250 000  
could  
flood  
stadium  
to hear  
Mandela



## Poet pays his tribute

C/P 25/2/90  
11A

South African poet DENNIS BRUTUS had this to say on hearing of Mandela's release.

EUPHORIA is the word. We were all delighted.

The release of Nelson Mandela marked a major victory.

But our euphoria was tempered with caution. The road ahead is still long and hard.

It would be wrong to expect miracles. He is human. Also he believes in working with the people.

But Mandela is not yet free, he has entered a society still dominated by racist laws and a state of emergency.

Our own courage was steeled by the image of Mandela. Still dignified, still resolute.

Of the many difficult stages ahead, I am concerned especially about getting groups together with conflicting ideological positions.

The most pressing need will be for speed - to keep the process moving. Delays may come from a white backlash and from differences among resistance groups.

Hard questions about the economy, voting, human rights and dismantling apartheid laws and structures must be answered.

The road away from apartheid and towards democracy must be travelled carefully and great diplomatic skill will be needed.



## Persistence and timing paid off for author Heidi

By ZB MOLEFE

11A C/P 25/2/90

**P**ERSISTENCE is one thing the ANC found in journalist Heidi Holland.

Added to this is her acute sense of history unfolding in southern Africa.

Together, they resulted in her recently-published book *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress* - the first comprehensive popular history of Africa's oldest liberation movement.

*The Struggle*, first published in London last year, will be published in New York this month and in Germany later this year.

Her timing? Consider when she says: "I was motivated largely because there would come a time the government would talk to the ANC. And this would reverse its propaganda. That is the miracle of it."

Of course, she is painfully aware that generations of South Africans, whites in particular, grew up on a frightening diet of the ANC depicted as an evil force bent on revolution.

With the turn of events on the country's political landscape turned upside down by President FW de Klerk and the release of Nelson Mandela, she is still worried.

"It's a tricky problem. Whites are reeling with shock," she said.

What about her persistence? It was in Lusaka, Zambia, during the ANC's 75th anniversary celebration in 1987 that the idea for the book hit her. But there were Mount Everests to climb.

"I was apprehensive. I didn't have the creden-

tials and was not an activist. Essentially I wanted to write a book for South Africans."

But she soldiered on, making contacts with important ANC people like Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani.

Surprisingly, permission was given by the ANC for her to work on the book.

"I didn't look at the prominent people only. The only person I missed was Oliver Tambo. As I went on I didn't realise the extent of distortion about the ANC."

Her first interview in Mandela's birthplace at Qunu in the Transkei was followed by 30 interviews with selected people on a two-and-half year trip which took her to Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia and England.

"There is a tremendous sadness in my book. That is when I went to Robben Island. But there is also the feeling the struggle was morally right."

Holland points out the ANC story has enriched the history of the people of South Africa.

This is what white South Africans did not know for the first 50 years of the ANC's life. The government treated it with contempt.

Holland's voice shows a new-found understanding of her subject. It comes as no surprise when she says she now perfectly understands why the ANC opted for the armed struggle.

Holland also suffered while writing her book. In 1987 the synopsis of the book mysteriously disappeared from her luggage when she was on a Lusaka-Johannesburg flight. A month later that incident had an unnerving follow-up.

"I received this phone call from somebody at the Department of Information who wanted to know



Journalist Heidi Holland ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

where she could buy my book."

There was also an incident in April last year when she was preparing to meet ANC president Oliver Tambo for an interview.

She was questioned by police who seemed to have kept her under observation on her numerous research trips.

What has it meant for the 42-year-old Holland - a feature writer and managing editor of four magazines distributed in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland?

Her answer is brief: "I feel privileged as a journalist."

■ **THE STRUGGLE: A HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS** by HEIDI HOLLAND is published by COLLINS and costs R24,99c exclusive.

11A

# Mandela 'thrilled' with the revised words to old song

By DESMOND BLOW

NELSON Mandela is thrilled by Des and Dawn Lindberg's revamped song *The Seagull's name was Nelson*, which they penned the day Mandela was released.

Mandela received a copy of the tape the day he arrived in Johannesburg and sent the Lindbergs a message that he was thrilled by the song and wanted them to visit him the following night.

"We received the message too late to see him, but we are waiting anxiously for another summons to visit him," said Dawn.

Des and Dawn, well known for their protest songs and for their efforts to abolish apartheid, have sung the original song for 20 years.

It was first written by Peter Bennett and re-

ferred to conservation, but Des and Dawn have always sung it as reference to Nelson Mandela's imprisonment.

"We were filled with emotion when we watched the touching scenes on television of Mandela's release from prison after 27 years. Des sat down immediately and wrote a new version.

"We then recorded the song on tape and gave a copy to a friend who is close to the Mandelas and who was one of the first to see him when he arrived in Johannesburg.

"We are delighted Mandela liked the song and are thrilled he wants to meet us, but we know how busy he has been," said Dawn.

The song captures the 27 years of loneliness suffered by the ANC leader, but also tells of his spirit that was never imprisoned



Des and Dawn Lindberg recorded a new version

and of his faith that his people would be free.

It ends with joy at the release of Mandela and of optimism for the future.

These are some of the words from the song, which critics believe will be a hit all over the world.

"A long time ago... it was summer sixty-three

We gazed toward the island from the beach

When all of a sudden we heard a plaintive cry

So near, yet so far out of reach

Winging his way high across the bay

A seabird returning from the sea

And the seagull's name

was Nelson

One fine day, the seagull cried

When twenty-seven lonely years have passed

And the angry storm has almost died

Our seagull will be free again at last

Now the legend has grown

And Nelson's name is known

In every land across the sea

And our seagull still sings

Of the joy that freedom brings

Now that Nelson like the seagull is free."

B  
I  
S  
O  
BY  
BOH  
w  
ind  
of  
Pres  
hope  
no  
Bob  
gen  
id  
C  
w  
s  
M  
w  
ns  
M  
n  
s  
bim

# Poet pays his tribute

C/P news  
27/2/90

South African poet DENNIS BRUTUS had this to say on hearing of Mandela's release.

(11A)

EUPHORIA is the word. We were all delighted.

The release of Nelson Mandela marked a major victory.

But our euphoria was tempered with caution. The road ahead is still long and hard.

It would be wrong to expect miracles. He is human. Also he believes in working with the people.

But Mandela is not yet free, he has entered a society still dominated by racist laws and a state of emergency.

Our own courage was steeled by the image of Mandela. Still dignified, still resolute.

Of the many difficult stages ahead, I am concerned especially about getting groups together with conflicting ideological positions.

The most pressing need will be for speed – to keep the process moving. Delays may come from a white backlash and from differences among resistance groups.

Hard questions about the economy, voting, human rights and dismantling apartheid laws and structures must be answered.

The road away from apartheid and towards democracy must be travelled carefully and great diplomatic skill will be needed.



# PAC representative in US dies after smash

118



Paludi Shoba

By SOPHIE TEMA

*open 25/2/90*

PAN Africanist Congress representative on the West Coast of the United States Puledi Shoba died in the US this week.

Shoba, 32, died in a California hospital on Thursday after being admitted in a coma after a car crash a month ago.

He was kept on a life support machine and was declared brain dead on Thursday.

Shoba fled from South Africa with other students in 1977.

He joined the PAC in

Botswana in 1978 and then went to the United States where he lived and studied in East Oakland.

He met and married a Sowetan woman Gadifele Phetoe, and had two children, Meja, 4, and Thibogang, 2.

After graduating Shoba worked in a chemical laboratory and travelled around California addressing college campuses and churches.

Attempts are being made to get Shoba's body brought back to South Africa for burial.

# PAC, PAM to hold talks in Harare next weekend

11A

CIP news  
25/2/90

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is to hold a consultative conference in Harare to discuss its expansion and working relations with the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM).

The conference will be attended by 40 delegates from South Africa, the national executive committee of the PAM, leading educationists and African business leaders and will be held from March 2 to 4.

The Harare conference will be chaired by PAC president Zeph Mothopeng. It will be followed by an internal conference of the PAM in Bloemfontein on March 10.

PAM general secretary Benny Alexander said the entire PAC central committee and members of its diplomatic corps were expected to attend the Harare conference.

Other issues that will be discussed are:

■ The unbanning of the PAC;

- The role of the PAM;
- The position of exiles;
- Economic policies; and
- Negotiations and strategies and tactics.

Alexander reiterated the stand taken by the PAC not to go to the negotiation table.

He said as far as the PAC organisations were concerned political changes such as those recently announced by President FW de Klerk did not affect their political programmes.

Alexander said the PAC favoured mass action rather than mass demonstrations.

At a meeting held in Lusaka recently the organisation resolved not to take part in the negotiation process and said: "While Africa long advocated a negotiated solution, successive apartheid rulers remained obstinate and intransigent.

"The PAC believes that De Klerk's strategy is to liquidate the armed struggle, undermine international isolation and sanctions and to co-opt sections of the oppressed in order to perpetuate apartheid in another guise."

Alexander said following De Klerk's recent speech the conference to be held in Bloemfontein would discuss the activation of the PAC.

■ PAC president Zeph Mothopeng will deliver a lecture in honour of the organisation's late president, Prof Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, on Tuesday at the Funda Centre, Soweto.



# An extraordinary man of wisdom — and great patience

25/2/90 (11A) C Press  
25/2/90 (11A)

NELSON Mandela is an extraordinary man. Since his release from prison 14 days ago he has put up with more than 100 interviews, answering questions ranging from his views on the armed struggle to what he thinks of Maggie Thatcher and what he'd like to do in his spare time.

He has also answered, day after day, petty questions about what he likes to eat and who irons his shirts.

He has endured countless people who yell for his attention from the walls surrounding his modest Orlando West home. So far, Mandela has not once shown irritation or intolerance, even when an apparently half-drunk tourist, trying to get a full-face photograph of Mandela, bellowed from a hole in the wall: "Mandela, Mandela, look this way. Mandela, Mandela..."

Nobody seems to understand why Mandela was forced to take in so many Press engagements in such a short time and the National Reception Committee would only say Friday was "the last day for everybody".

So on "the last day" I met Mandela for an interview — one of his last before the much-deserved pause.

By now I have seen Nelson Mandela countless times and I know his opinions on every conceivable subject connected with politics.

But still this sharp old man overwhelms me. As I walk into the room he jumps to his feet, looks me straight in the eye and asks: "How are you?"

"I am fine, thank you Sir," I respond — without asking how he is. Yes, it does matter how he is, but would I be sincere? Anyway, African custom forbids the very much younger to ask how the very much older is doing.

This towering man with impeccable manners not only dwarfs me, but makes me feel very, very much younger.

He treats me as if I am the first man who has interviewed him after his 27 years in prison. His... grey suit, snow-



After conducting more than 100 energy-sapping interviews in the 14 days he's been out of prison, NELSON MANDELA is still surprisingly energetic, alert and perceptive — as CHARLES MOGALE found out.

white shirt and red tie, combined with his poise, cut a sizeable chunk off his 70 years.

He invites me to sit down, and as I mumble incoherent pleasantries, he settles down in his chair and without uttering one word, the look on his face demands we get down to business.

In passing, I allude to the "only 10 minutes" allocated for the interview and, in his sharp manner, he prods me to get on with my questions.

After so many questions to Mandela, many of them very similar, you would expect him to rattle off his responses parrot-like.

But no, he listens to each question intently and sits upright before answering. His brain is unbelievably sharp and occasionally he starts to answer a question before

you have finished asking it.

He does not, however, do it in the "I've-heard-it-before" manner, but rather to confirm he is participating in the discussion.

He does not scratch through notes, or call in advisers to help with information regarding subjects he is being interviewed on.

For a man who has been behind bars for 27 years, and who has only been out for 14 days, he is simply unbelievable.

And then I stand up to go and mutter my thanks. No, he has not forgotten Zwelakhe's brief introduction.

"Pass my regards to Khulu (Sibiya, City Press Editor) and tell him I hope one day we will be able to sit down and discuss the problems facing Africans," Mandela, said, seeing me to the door.

# Talking to Mandela

11A

MOGALE: Do you remember any incidents of torture in detention?

MANDELA: No, not me. I was not tortured. I was never subjected to any harsh treatment by the police or the Prisons Service.

MOGALE: We have read a lot about you being treated with respect, but people like Johnson Mlambo are said to have received very harsh treatment at the hands of your captors. Did you know of such incidents?

MANDELA: I know that he was among those who were treated brutally by the Prisons (authorities).

MOGALE: So would you say you were treated with respect through it all?

MANDELA: It's not really that. There are many people who were never assaulted. It was not a treatment that was accorded to me only.

But we felt the harshness of the department. It was policy to treat us harshly. This was done in various ways, by giving us hard work, like crushing stones.

MOGALE: You crushed stones too?

MANDELA: Yes, I crushed stones. There was no exception as far as that was concerned. We went to the lime quarry with picks and forks. To dig a quarry is a very difficult thing.

MOGALE: What was the purpose? Was it just to abuse you?

MANDELA: No. They explained to us that the purpose was to use the lime to build roads.

MOGALE: In the 1960s there were reports your captors tried to lure you into an "escape" plan and shoot you as you fled. Did you know about it?

MANDELA: Yes. Press reports appeared and books were written on it. I was never approached to escape. The thing was aborted before it actually came to me.

MOGALE: Will you be going to the Transkei? You've had an invitation (from fellow chiefs and relatives).

MANDELA: I did intend to go a few days after my arrival, to perform some rites. My mother died while I was in jail, and the first thing I must do when I get there is go to the grave to pay my respects.

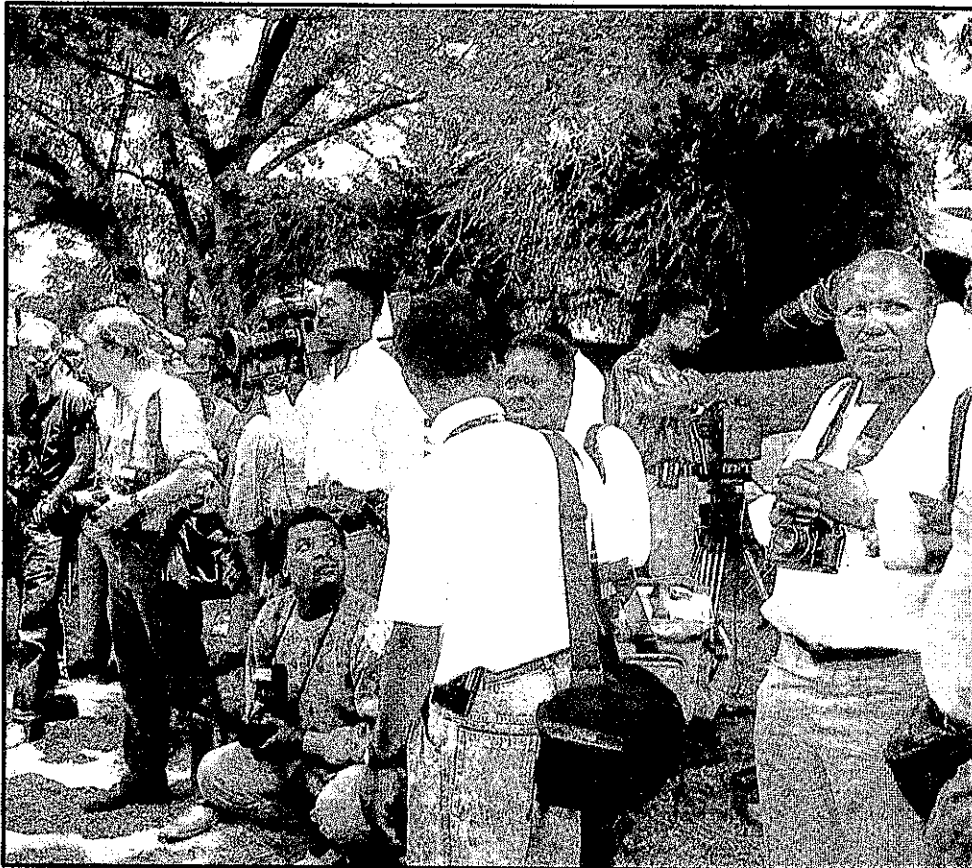
I wanted just to spend a day at my home, and then come back to continue with my appointments, but the National Reception Committee (NRC) advised against it. They said I would never have the privacy to do it.

A rally has been arranged for me to address there after my return from Lusaka. It has been arranged that afterwards I can find the time to go to do that.

MOGALE: During your trial you said to (State witness) Bruno Mtolo: "Mr Mtolo, you have lost your soul." Those were very angry words. Are you still angry?

MANDELA: I am not. I was merely telling him, because we had to respond to what he was saying. We were not concerned with exchanging (words) with him. We were just explaining our attitude.

MOGALE: You have obviously not seen much of the outside world, but from the little



Pressgang . . . Members of the foreign and local Press corps waiting outside the Mandela home in Soweto for interviews this week. ● Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

you have seen, what are your impressions about fashion, music, physical structures?

MANDELA: There are many changes that have taken place. They are not changes, perhaps, that we want to see on the political level.

Apartheid is still there, oppressive laws are still there, there's still poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, the incidence of crime is still high, we still lack housing facilities.

But there are changes which, although they are not basic, show that South Africa is changing. And you talk about clothing. . .

MOGALE: You are very well-dressed yourself. Would you mind disclosing who selects or cuts your suits, or where you buy them?

MANDELA: My wife does that. And, of course, I have received quite a lot of presents - so much that if it would not offend people, I would put a notice in the Press to say that I have enough.

But that might offend people, and I do not want to offend the people. My wife has provided me with clothing, and friends sent me presents while I was on the island. I won't have to buy any article of clothing.

MOGALE: Have you thought of re-establishing your legal practice?

MANDELA: I don't think that I could go back to legal practice now. I don't think my duties will allow me to go back.

MOGALE: There has been concern about your personal safety, and suggestions that you should go and live somewhere else where your safety will be a little more guaranteed.

MANDELA: I returned to this house because my wife insisted that she should welcome me back in the house where I left her.

This is a sentimental place for us because we were married here. We got our children here. Our best memories are within these walls. It was natural for my wife to say: "I want to receive you in the house where you left me."

If we have to go elsewhere, I will discuss that with my wife, with my family, and with the organisation. But for the time being, we have no plan but to remain here.

MOGALE: People like Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana have said they don't intend being re-incorporated into South Africa. Say the ANC came into power, and you assumed leadership, how would you deal with them?

MANDELA: We would discuss these things with people like Mangope and insist that decisions be taken democratically.

If it is the will of the people of Bophuthatswana - expressed in a proper, democratic manner - to retain their independence, then we will be forced to respect that.

But if it is just Mangope alone, with his circle of close friends, we can't accept that.

## Call for interviews increases daily

NELSON Mandela had a particularly busy schedule this week.

■ **MONDAY:** After interviews and photographic sessions with the foreign media at his Orlando West home, Mandela met a West German diplomatic representative, representatives from the American civil rights movement and singer Harry Belafonte.

■ **TUESDAY:** Several Press interviews. He also met a delegation of fellow chiefs from the Transkei, who had come to invite Mandela, himself a chief, to be cleansed in a traditional ceremony necessary after returning from jail.

Mandela noted the chiefs' invitation and said he would accept the invitation as soon as circumstances permitted.

Later in the day, at Ipelegeng Community Centre in White City, Soweto, he met a delegation from the Council of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), from Natal, led by national organiser Sphiwe Thusi, to be briefed about the violence in Natal.

According to Thusi, the meeting was planned to brief the ANC delegation about the situation in Natal before a peace mission went to the area.

Besides a number of television and Press interviews, Mandela also met the South African Youth Congress delegation behind closed doors.

■ **WEDNESDAY:** Another barrage of interviews. Added to these were the visit by Chief Tidimane Pilane and his wife, Nontutuzelo, from Pilanesberg.

The chief's wife later told reporters that her husband had made several unsuccessful applications to visit Mandela on Robben Island.

Mandela also had a meeting with ANC "veterans" from Sophiatown and Newclare.

Spokesman for the group, Isaac Bokala, who was accused number seven in the 1956 treason trial in which Mandela was also charged, said Mandela had recognised him at once and reminisced about the "olden days".

■ **THURSDAY:** He met Seoposengwe leader Victor Sifora and a delegation from the Bop homeland, followed by another bout with the countless journalists and an equally large number of photographic sessions.

Later in the day he met a delegation from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). The delegation consisted of, among others, publicity secretary Muntu Myeza, former Azapo president Khehla Mthembu and former Robben Island prisoner Strini Moodley.

■ **FRIDAY:** Another session with journalists.

Mandela met delegations from both the Democratic and the Labour Party. He also saw Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

He kept an appointment with a district surgeon to be immunised before his Lusaka trip.

■ **SATURDAY:** No interviews, but a large crowd still gathered at the Mandela home. A large ox was slaughtered to celebrate his release.

However, even at the weekend, there is no privacy for The People's Man.

Debble Winter, who's fallen for the Highlands as her future home

was tragic  
nannies, b  
thing of a  
"Then La

# Mandela faces big test over peace call

St Times 25/2/90

By SHARON CHETTY

NELSON MANDELA will today face his biggest public test — bringing peace to Natal.

Addressing a huge ANC rally in Durban, he will plead for an end to the violence that has racked Natal, leaving thousands dead in townships and villages.

Walter Sisulu, who led an ANC delegation to investigate the violence in Natal this week, said in Durban yesterday:

"This distasteful violence which has caused so much trouble and pain to our people is a great obstacle to our cause in many ways."

Mr Sisulu, together with other ANC leaders, visited Natal townships this week to get first-hand accounts of the internecine violence that has left about 3 000 people dead and tens of thousands homeless over the past three years.

"I will leave him in no doubt as to the need to call for an end to the violence," Mr Sisulu said when asked

about his briefing to Mr Mandela.

Mr Sisulu said he welcomed Inkatha's statement urging its supporters to attend today's rally.

Asked whether he had invited the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the rally, Mr Sisulu said it was not the practice to give individual invitations.

## Warning

"He knows about the rally. He and Mr Mandela have been in contact, although it has not been in connection with the rally."

Fears of an outbreak of violence cast a shadow over an almost festive Durban that has spent the past week frantically preparing for the historic event.

On Friday night, an anonymous pamphlet was distributed in some areas accusing

Mr Mandela of undermining Natal leadership and warning of bloodshed at the stadium.

Both the ANC and Inkatha have condemned the pamphlet.

City police will be on standby, but a task force of over 3 000 marshals has been briefed on crowd control, and special security has been organised for Mr Mandela and other speakers.

About 200 000 people are expected to attend the rally on the playing fields outside King's Park stadium, and medical units staffed by more than 300 volunteers will work from five emergency stations throughout the grounds.

And to cater for the huge crowd, more than 20 000 cases of cool drinks have been stockpiled, 300 extra water taps fitted and 150 chemical toilets specially erected.

Police yesterday found the bodies of six youths at Sokhulu near Empangeni. Maj R Crewe said six other people had been wounded, apparently with a shotgun.

**STORY: Page 20**

S/Times 25/2/90. (11A)

# ANC to name talks team

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE ANC delegation to meet the government in talks about talks is expected to be named this week.

The date of the team's arrival will so be determined, although this is still dependent upon Mr Nelson Mandela's travel schedule for the next few weeks. Mr Mandela, 71, will arrive in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, on Tuesday for a reunion with his old ANC comrades — the majority of whom last saw him 27 years ago when he was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

While in Lusaka he will also meet leaders of the frontline states. From there he will embark on a whistle-stop tour of African countries — Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Ethiopia.

A visit to several Western capitals is also planned. A definite stopover will be Stockholm, Sweden, for a meeting with his former law partner and ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo,

Bonn, London, Ottawa and New Delhi may be reserved for a subsequent tour.

Although Mr Mandela will not attend an official meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee, sources in the movement said this week he was expected to be drafted into a very important leadership position.

It is almost certain that he will lead the ANC delegation for the first face-to-face encounter with the Government.

## Mandela is certain to lead the first round delegation

move obstacles in the way of substantive talks later.

This means that the ANC's acting president, Mr Alfred Nzo, 64, may not be a member of the first delegation.

Although Mr Mandela may be the symbolic leader it is generally believed that the nuts and bolts will be handled by the ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, 47.

### Backroom

Other senior NEC members expected to be included are Information and Publicity chief Mr Pallo Jordan; intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma; administrative guru Mr James Stuart; personnel chief Mr Mazwai Piliso; the NEC member responsible for co-operation with internal



SACP leaders Joe Slovo and Dan Tloome . . . expected to lead their delegation.

organisations, Mr Steve Tshwete; and the secretary of the Political-Military Council, Mr Joe Nhlanhla.

The delegation may be strengthened by the inclusion of important "backroom men" such as the chief of the ANC's legal and constitutional affairs department, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of economic research Mr Max Sisulu, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina and Professor Albie Sachs.

Senior members of the ANC's internal structures — such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr

Cyril Ramaphosa — are expected to join the delegation while United Democratic Front heavyweights, Mr Terror Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe may also be drafted.

In Lusaka this week the SA Communist Party announced that it intends sending its own delegation to meet with the Government in the wake of its unbanning.

The Central Committee of the SACP also said internal structures of the party will be established as soon as possible.

The SACP has been working hand in glove with the

ANC for more than four decades with several party members also serving on the NEC of the ANC. The latest developments may however mean that there will be a greater degree of independent action in future.

SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo, 63, is expected to lead a party delegation himself. Other members may include the chairman, Mr Dan Tloome, 70, senior Politburo member Mr John Nkandimeng, 62, and Central Committee members Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Sizakele Sigxashe and Mr Josiah Jele.

Second-level party activists who may also be included are said to include Mr Dan Cindi, Mr "Che" Ogara, and the ANC's Havana representative, Mr Raymond Nkuku.



THABO MBEKI  
Chief negotiator

ANC spokesmen pointed out this week that the first round of talks should not be considered "formal negotiations". They foresee, rather, a preliminary meeting to re-

# team

## Lusaka set for celebrations

WORLD attention will shift to Lusaka on Tuesday when Nelson Mandela arrives in Zambia. (11A)

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has declared the day a public holiday in honour of the ANC leader.

The visit will be Mandela's first outside South Africa since 1962, when he visited Tanzania. (11A)

A number of Frontline heads of state will converge on Lusaka on Monday to welcome Mandela.

During the visit Mandela will discuss his future political role and the next course of action with the ANC National Executive Committee. - ANO

1987/2/27  
Lusaka  
ANC

Apr 25/2/90

# Eastern Cape peace accord is signed



## CP Correspondent

THE Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in the trouble-torn Uitenhage area have signed a peace pact ending the two-year feud that has claimed 19 lives since January.

ANC stalwart Raymond Mhlaba and Jeff Masemola of the PAC were key figures in formulating the plan.

In the peace accord, it was decided that democratic communication structures be established to create and maintain lasting peace

in the community.

Both parties committed themselves to full realisation of the principles and objectives of the peace plan, which they hope will lead to normalisation of social and political life in the community.

The accord was signed by MDM spokesman Wonga Nkala and Timothy Jantjie for the PAM's interim committee.

It was also resolved that each movement will set up a peace committee of five members each.

The peace committee members

from each group will in turn form a joint peace commission, which will meet twice a month.

It was also agreed that a joint forum of 20 PAM and MDM delegates, and church representatives, be established to convene meetings regularly to monitor the situation.

The Midland Chamber of Industries (MCI) facilitated the peace talks, following a renewed outbreak in the fighting which culminated in stayaways in Uitenhage's major industries.



From left, ANC representative Raymond Mhlaba with the PAC's Jeff Masemola and Edgar Ngoyi of the eastern Cape UDF branch after the peace talks in Uitenhage.

# 'Stop the violence

The Argus Correspondent in Durban

FROM a stage built high above the crowd's heads at Kings Park in Durban, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made a powerful plea for peace in Natal, describing the violence as a "cancer which destroyed our unity."

To the thunderous cheers of the huge crowd estimated at about 100 000, he said: "My message to those of you involved in this battle of brother against brother is this — take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea."

Mr Mandela also traced the history of the joint struggle against racial discrimination by the Indians and the blacks in South Africa: "We remind the people of Natal of this long and proud tradition and we are extremely disturbed by recent acts of violence against our Indian compatriots. The perpetrators of these acts are enemies of the liberation movement," he said.

Mr Mandela denounced the tribal chiefs who had "profited from apartheid" and who "had increased the burden on their people."

"There are also chiefs who collaborated with the system, but who have since seen the error of their ways. We commend their change of heart."

He said that he was confident that members of the Zulu royal house would act in ways that would promote the wellbeing of all South Africans.

The ANC, he said, offered a home to all those who subscribed to the principles of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

He said the ANC was committed to building a single nation, including blacks and whites, Zulus and Afrikaners and speakers of every other language.

### Diversities

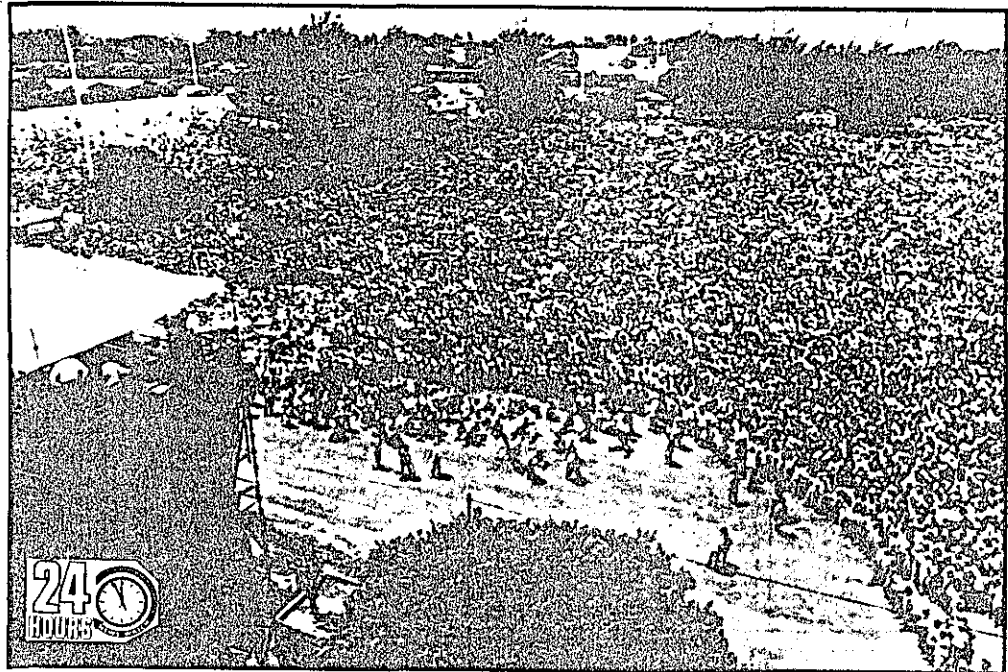
Quoting ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize-winner and the later president-general of the ANC, he said: "I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all of our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy. I think that there is a challenge to us in South Africa to set a new example for the world."

He said that all forms of factionalism and regionalism must be eliminated.

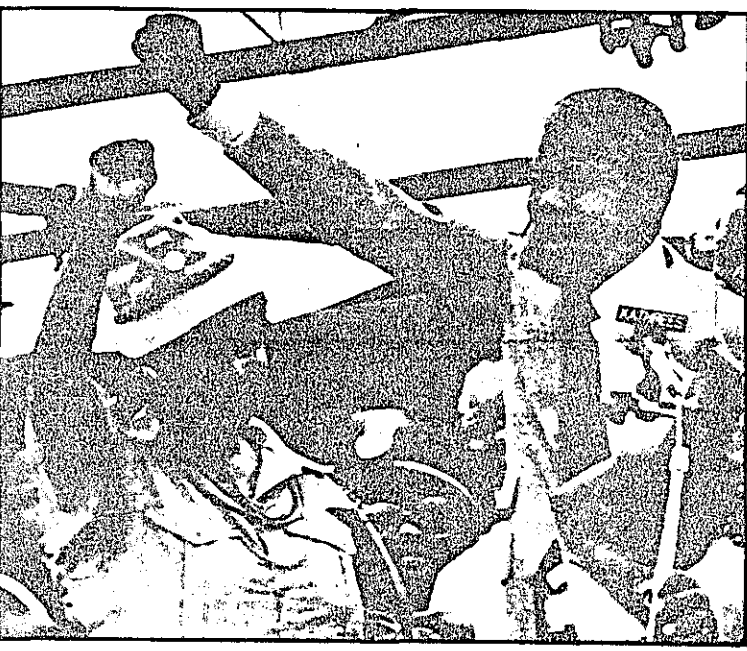
"We praise all organisations which have fought to retain the dignity of our people. Although there are fundamental differences between us, we commend Inkatha for their demand over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, as well as for their stand of refusing to participate in a negotiated settlement without the creation of the necessary climate."

"This stand of Inkatha has contributed in no small measure to making it difficult for the regime to implement successive schemes designed to perpetuate minority rule."

He said the 1986 Indaba solution proposed for Natal broke new ground insofar as it addressed the question of the exclusion from political power of the African popula-



A vast crowd estimated at about 100 000 people at King's Park, Durban, listen to Mr Nelson Mandela



Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie react to applause at the meeting in King's Park, Durban.

tion of Natal and sought to make regional change pioneer national change.

"We are on the edge of a much greater step forward, for all our people throughout South Africa. There can be no separate solution for Natal under these conditions, nor can it be argued any longer that there is a need. We believe that Inkatha and all the people of Natal would genuinely welcome a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa, the goal of millions throughout the country."

"Our call is one nation, one country."

He called for a minute's silence for the thousands killed

in the violence in Natal and said that in the last few years of his imprisonment his greatest burden was caused by reports of the "terrible things" which were happening in the province.

"If we do not bring a halt to this conflict, we will be in grave danger of corrupting the proud legacy of our struggle. We endanger the peace process in the whole of the country."

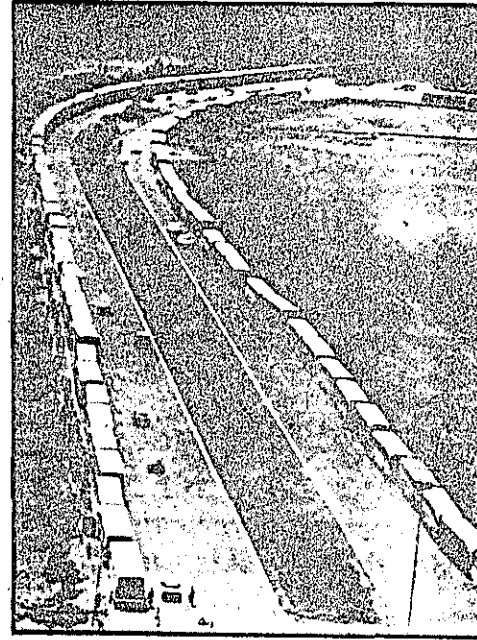
"Apartheid is not yet dead. Equality and democracy continue to elude us. We do not have access to political power. We need to intensify our struggles to achieve our goals, but we cannot do this

as long as the conflict among ourselves continues.

"Vigilantes, thugs and gangs like the Sinyoras have taken advantage of the hardships experienced by our people to profit and gain for themselves. We can stop them and the descent into lawlessness and violence, only by ceasing our feuds."

Mr Mandela said that it was recognised that "the two sides must talk" to end the violence.

"We recognise that in order to bring the war to an end, the two sides must talk. We are pleased to inform you that we are presently preparing for a meeting in the near



Hundreds of buses which carried crowds to King's Park are parked outside the stadium

future between ourselves and the present Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill kaBekhuzulu. It is my earnest wish that the meeting will establish a basis on which we can build a real peace."

He repeated the call made by Mr Walter Sisulu at the Conference for a Democratic Future and extended a hand of peace to Inkatha and hoped that it might one day be possible to share a platform with its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela called on the women of Natal to help in the ending of violence.

"In the past and at crucial moments you have shown

## Mandela pup back t

The Argus Corre

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday received a multicoloured welcome from more than 25 000 people in the Free State capital — the city where the ANC was founded in 1912.

Addressing his second day of the day, Mr Mandela to cheering crowd: "The cancer conceived here in 1912 turns to its mother old stronger and wiser. The grown ANC leads our court to freedom."

Despite a bus boycott, people started filing into Free State stadium from 8am, passing the time by cultural events until the ANC leader's arrival at 3pm.

As people, many dressed in ANC colours, peacefully dispersed shortly after 5pm, heavily-armed policemen blocked off the city centre.

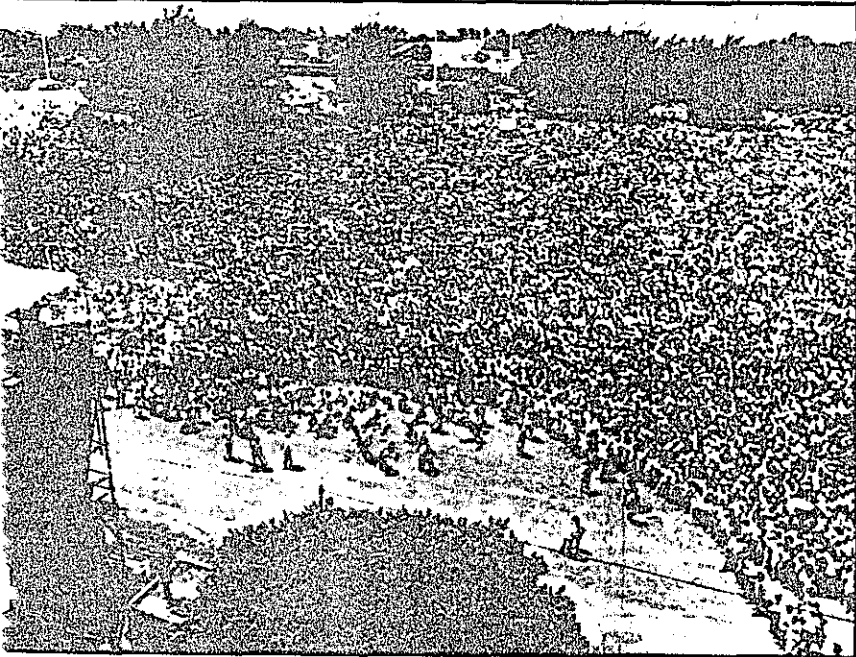
greater wisdom than you menfolk. It was you who, in 1929 and again in 1959, identified and struck out at one of the roots of oppression. You launched powerful campaigns around beerhalls.

"More recently, the women of Chesterville arranged a night vigils to protect the children. Mothers, sisters and daughters of Natal, it falls to you once again to intervene decisively.

"It is you, in your wisdom, who must begin the work of bringing peace to Natal. Tell your sons, your brothers and your husbands that you want peace and security."



# ...p the violence'



Estimated at about 100 000 people at King's Park, Durban, listen to Mr Nelson Mandela

## Mandela urges pupils: Go back to school

The Argus Correspondent in Bloemfontein

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday received a tumultuous welcome from more than 25 000 people in the Free State capital — the city where the ANC was founded in 1912.

Addressing his second rally of the day, Mr Mandela told a cheering crowd: "The child conceived here in 1912 returns to its mother older, stronger and wiser. The full grown ANC leads our country to freedom".

Despite a bus boycott, people started filing into the Free State stadium from 8am, passing the time with cultural events until the ANC leader's arrival at 3pm.

As people, many dressed in ANC colours, peacefully dispersed shortly after 5pm, heavily-armed policemen blocked off the city centre to

prevent looting. No incidents were reported.

In a conciliatory address, Mr Mandela reiterated appeals made since his release two weeks ago. He called on pupils to return to school, saving future black leaders without education and skills would be "totally useless" to the ANC and the country, and would be shadowed by their white counterparts.

Paying tribute to a late son of "this hard land of conservatism", Rivonia defence lawyer Mr Bram Fischer, Mr Mandela called on all peace-loving Afrikaners to join the ANC's struggle for freedom, democracy and non-racialism.

The proud spirit which gave the Free State its name should guide Afrikaners to become involved in a struggle for even greater freedom, he said.

It was in Bloemfontein that the ANC had adopted a non-racial approach in the 1940s, prior to which it only articulated African demands. Now the ANC did not only strive for African unity but for unity among all South Africans.

"We are one nation in one country", he said to loud applause.

Noting the poverty of many in a province rich in gold and diamonds, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's commitment to a more equal distribution of wealth.

He said the ANC would demonstrate its moral superiority and the justness of its cause by negotiating with the government.

### Equal rights

The final goal of negotiations was a non-racial democratic South Africa in which equal rights and the protection of all South Africans would be guaranteed.

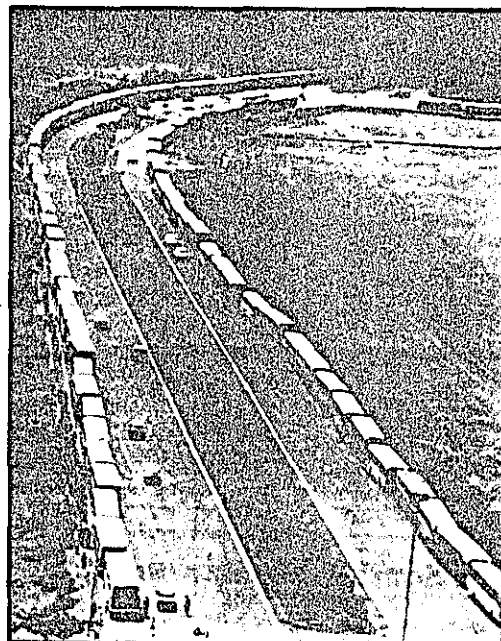
Noting that "some in our ranks may be sceptical about talks", he said the ANC delegation, which would soon hold preliminary talks with the government, would use the opportunity to demonstrate the legitimacy of the organisation's demands.

He also announced that an ANC delegation would hold talks with the QwaQwa government, which had appealed against an earlier court ruling that the Bloemfontein township of Botshabelo should not be incorporated into the homeland. To great applause, he lashed out against the homeland's government for not taking into consideration the wishes of the people in the region — which was contrary to the spirit of the first king of the Sothos, King Moshoeshoe.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife, Winnie, Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, and several members of the National Reception Committee.



Mandela and his wife Winnie react to applause at the meeting in King's Park, Durban.



Hundreds of buses which carried crowds to King's Park are parked outside the stadium

ought to be fought in the violence in Natal and said that in the last few years of his imprisonment his greatest burden was caused by reports of the "terrible things" which were happening in the province.

"If we do not bring a halt to this conflict, we will be in grave danger of corrupting the proud legacy of our struggle. We endanger the peace process in the whole of the country.

"Apartheid is not yet dead. Equality and democracy continue to elude us. We do not have access to political power. We need to intensify our struggles to achieve our goals, but we cannot do this

as long as the conflict among ourselves continues.

"Vigilantes, thugs and gangs like the Sinyoras have taken advantage of the hardships experienced by our people to profit and gain for themselves. We can stop them and the descent into lawlessness and violence, only by ceasing our feuds."

Mr Mandela said that it was recognised that "the two sides must talk" to end the violence.

"We recognise that in order to bring the war to an end, the two sides must talk. We are pleased to inform you that we are presently preparing for a meeting in the near

future between ourselves and the present Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka-Bekhuzulu. It is my earnest wish that the meeting will establish a basis on which we can build a real peace."

He repeated the call made by Mr Walter Sisulu at the Conference for a Democratic Future and extended a hand of peace to Inkatha and hoped that it might one day be possible to share a platform with its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela called on the women of Natal to help in the ending of violence.

"In the past and at crucial moments you have shown

greater wisdom than your menfolk. It was you who, in 1929 and again in 1959, identified and struck out at one of the roots of oppression. You launched powerful campaigns around beerhalls.

"More recently, the women of Chesterville arranged all-night vigils to protect their children. Mothers, sisters and daughters of Natal, it falls to you once again to intervene decisively.

"It is you, in your wisdom now, who must begin the work of bringing peace to Natal. Tell your sons, your brothers and your husbands that you want peace and security

# OAU calls for anti-apartheid groups to unite

*CMC Tuit's 26/2/90*  
*1118*

ADDIS ABABA. — Africa's foreign ministers ended a five-day meeting on Saturday night by adopting a series of resolutions which supported anti-apartheid efforts in South Africa and condemned Israel's handling of the Palestine question.

In their resolution on South Africa, the ministers called on feuding liberation movements to close ranks to eliminate the last vestiges of apartheid.

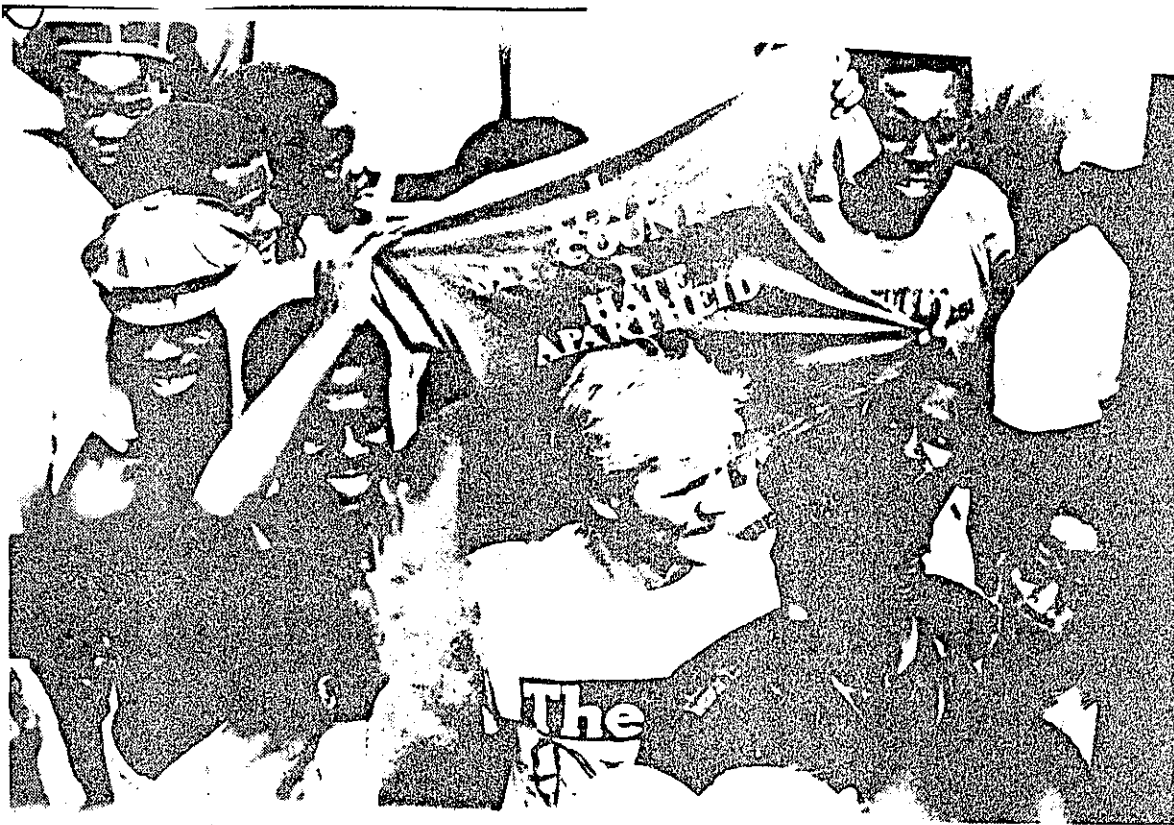
The ministers of the 50-member OAU welcomed Pretoria's decisions to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and legalise several banned anti-apartheid groups.

"Nonetheless, these measures were partial and inadequate in terms of creating the necessary climate conducive to negotiations," the resolution said. It also called for economic sanctions to continue.

They expressed a preference for a negotiated settlement with the government, but said the armed struggle against apartheid should continue if that proved impossible.

The ministers also condemned Britain for its decision to lift voluntary sanctions against new investment in South Africa.

Israel was condemned, along with Chile, Turkey, Taiwan and a number of unnamed Western countries, for what the ministers called continued collaboration with South Africa in military and nuclear fields. — Sapa-Reuter-AP



**IN THE CROWD . . .** A vision of a shared future — whites and blacks mingled without incident at yesterday's ANC rally at Durban's King's Park Stadium. About 200 000 people attended the gathering, which was addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Picture: REUTERS

## First wife tells of life with Nelson

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela's first wife has broken her silence and at the weekend disclosed details of their 14-year marriage.

In a blunt and often bitter, lengthy interview from her home in Cofimvaba, Transkei, Mrs Evelyn Ntoko Mandela, 69, dismisses descriptions of her ex-husband as the saviour of South Africa.

"It's very silly when people say this kind of thing about Nelson. He is only a man," she said.

Mrs Mandela, mother of their four children, married the charismatic young lawyer 46 years ago. At first, she said, the marriage was happy but their relationship deteriorated when Mr Mandela got involved in ANC work.

After a final "terrible" argument, Mrs Mandela moved out of their house. She obtained custody of their children after their divorce.

## World leaders arrive for Mandela meeting

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Heads of state and foreign ministers from around the world have begun arriving in Lusaka to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela, who arrives there tomorrow.

ANC information officer Mr Tom Sebina confirmed that Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke, Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney and Palestinian leader Mr Yasser Arafat were among those expected.

Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal has already arrived and so has the entire ANC national executive committee.

OAU chairman, Egyptian president Mr Hosni Mubarak, is expected, as well as the Malaysian Foreign Minister and presidents of all seven frontline states.

One of the issues to be discussed is the ANC's first negotiating team, which is expected to arrive in SA as soon as President F W de Klerk sets a date.

From page 1

were barred and armoured personnel carriers and policemen were stationed all over. ANC marshalls and police directed traffic and controlled the crowds.

People leaving the stadium ignored jibes and insults from a group of white men outside a Transnet (SATS) social club.

Later Mr Mandela flew to Bloemfontein. There he urged authorities to open amenities to all and said this would be a step in the right direction because the province was seen as a bastion of white conservatism.

He also said the QwaQwa government was acting against the wishes of the people in attempting to incorporate the township of Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, into QwaQwa.

Appearing before a crowd of 40 000, he called on "all peace-loving Afrikaners" to join the ANC and paid tribute to Braam Fischer, who he called "a heroic Afrikaner and born son of the Free State".

— Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

● Bodies found in church — Page 3

● Thatcher plan to end sanctions — Page 3

## Sexy tabloid on Mandela bandwagon

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — As Britain continues to be swept along on a wave of Mandela Mania, even the most notorious of the "sex-and-scandal" tabloids has climbed on board the bandwagon.

The News of the World claimed that the queen is to confer a high honour on the ANC leader.

Quoting unnamed sources, the newspaper claimed she was likely to make him a Companion of Honour during his visit to Britain "at Easter", saying this was part of a plan to make him "the first governor-general of South Africa when it rejoins the Commonwealth".

## ANC grave visit

GROUTVILLE. — Veterans of the ANC, hopeful of bringing peace to a province torn by inter-cine violence, on Saturday visited the grave of Chief Albert Luthuli, the movement's leader at the time it was outlawed 30 years ago. Hundreds of villagers also gathered around the grave. — UPI

B/Day 26/2/90

# Canada's Joe Clark to meet Mandela

CANADIAN Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Joe Clark and the leaders of the Frontline states arrive in Lusaka today to meet the ANC's Nelson Mandela, who will be in Zambia tomorrow.

Mandela is due to meet Anglo American CE Gavin Rilly and former Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom at his Soweto home today.

He travels to Lusaka tomorrow in Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's personal jet, and will meet Frontline leaders including Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and Kaunda later in the day.

On Wednesday, according to the National Reception Committee which organised Mandela's itinerary, he will meet Commonwealth heads of state. However, there is no clarification yet on which Commonwealth representatives will attend, other than Clark.

CHARLENE SMITH

"It is clear Mr Mandela is not only a symbol of hope for his people but also a person possessing remarkable qualities of statesmanship, vision and fortitude — qualities that will be crucial in the challenging days ahead," Clark said.

## Sweden

Clark, who is also chairman of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, is expected to travel to Namibia on March 1 to hold talks with Swapo president-elect Sam Nujoma.

Mandela and the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) will have two days of discussions on the ANC negotiating team's forthcoming visit to SA.

Mandela will then travel to Harare to meet

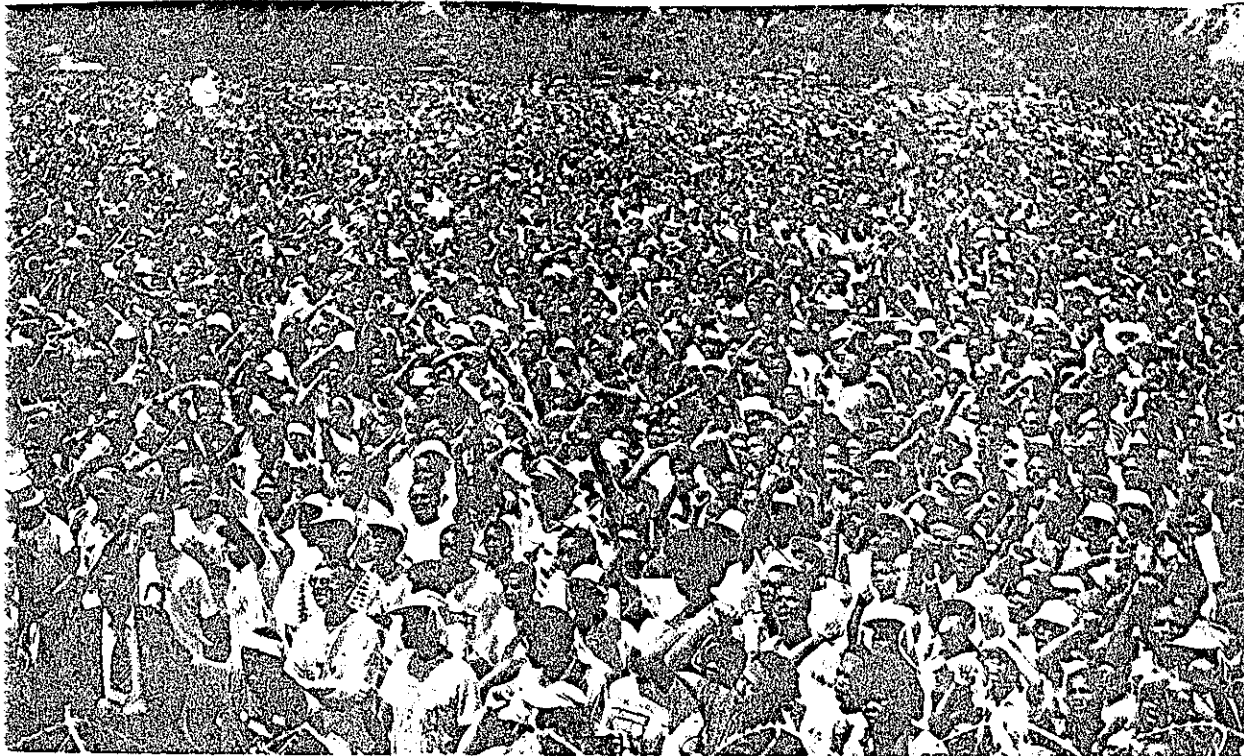
Mugabe and other Zimbabwean officials before going on to Tanzania to visit students and members of ANC military units.

From Tanzania Mandela travels to Sweden to visit his old friend and one-time law partner, ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating from a stroke in a Stockholm clinic. He will return to Johannesburg on March 16.

Mandela's programme:

- Tuesday February 27: Lusaka — meeting with Frontline leaders (5pm-7pm); dinner hosted by President Kaunda (7pm-9pm).
- Wednesday February 28: Lusaka — meeting with Commonwealth heads of states including Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark (morning).
- Thursday March 1 to Friday March 2: Lusaka — meeting with ANC National Executive Committee.
- Saturday March 3 to Monday March 5: Harare.
- Tuesday March 6 to Sunday March 11: Tanzania.
- Monday March 12 to Thursday March 15: Stockholm, Sweden.
- Friday March 16: Arrival back in Johannesburg.

Close  
down  
the  
factories  
of death  
ANC  
leader  
tells  
200 000



**DELA CROWD** ... Part of the crowd of about 200 000 people at the ANC rally in King's Park rugby stadium yesterday.

# Bishops say 'end armed struggle'

*CHC Trts 26/2/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglican bishops in Southern Africa have urged liberation movements to implement an effective suspension of their armed struggle.

The calls were made in a statement released yesterday by the Anglican Church's Synod of Bishops, which met in Jabavu, Soweto, last week.

The bishops added that once negotiations were under way and the movement towards the "dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a democracy is irreversible", they intended to call for an end to sanctions.

They also called on the government to withdraw troops from townships, to guarantee impartial policing "in terms of internationally accepted standards" and to grant a general am-

nesty to exiles and political prisoners.

The synod said it felt "constrained to speak out on the issue of violence".

"The Church has in the past expressed its understanding of the decision of South African liberation movements to turn to armed struggle, without condoning that decision.

"With the lifting of restrictions on political organisations, a significant step has been taken towards a situation in which normal political activity will become possible.

"It seems to us, therefore, that many of the arguments for continuing the armed struggle are falling away."

They also condemned the use of violence within communities as a means of enforcing political opinions. — Sapa

Mandela addresses the Zulu nation

# Natal war is a deadly cancer

11A

Sowetan 26/2/90

FRIENDS, comrades, and the people of Natal, I greet you all. I do so in the name of peace, the peace that is so desperately and urgently needed in this region.

In Natal, apartheid is a deadly cancer in our midst, setting house against house, and eating away at the precious ties that bound us together. This strife among ourselves wastes our energy and destroys our unity. My message to those of you involved in this battle of brother against brother is this: take your guns, your knives, and your pangas, and throw them into the sea. Close down the death factories. **End this war now!**

We also come together today to renew the ties that make us one people, and to reaffirm a single united strand against the oppression of apartheid.

*Sinhlangene lapha ukuze sibuyisane, sibonisane indlela yokwakha ubumbano olungaphezu kwalolu olukhona manje. Ubumbano lwethu yinsikanesisekelo salomzabalazo wokuphelisa izinhlupeko bobubha okudalwa wucindezelo ohuyitha sethu sonke. Lolucindezelo kanye nodlame oludalwa yilo singekuqede uma silwa sishayana sodwa.*

## Fought

The people of Natal have fought a long struggle against oppression. The victory of the army of King Cetshwayo kaMpande at the Battle of

Isandlwana in 1879 has been an inspiration for those of us engaged in the struggle for justice and freedom in South Africa. At Isandlwana, disciplined Zulu regiments, armed only with shields and spears, but filled with courage and determination, thrust back the guns and cannons of the British imperialists.

When the British finally managed to defeat the Zulu kingdom, they divided it into 13 new chiefdoms. Later, they annexed the area and gave the land to white farmers. In 1906, in the reign of Dindulu kaCetshwayo, the colonialists introduced the Poll Tax and other regulations designed to force Africans to work for wages on white farms. The Zulu people, led by Chief Bambatha, refused to bow their proud heads and a powerful spirit of resistance developed, which, like the battle of Isandlwana, inspired generations of South Africans.

The ANC pays tribute to these heroic struggles of the Zulu people to combat oppression. And we are very proud that from the ranks of the Zulu people have emerged out-

standing cadres of the ANC and national leaders like Dube, Seme, Lutuli. We remember another son of Natal, the young and talented Communist Party organiser, Johannes Nkosi, who, with three others, was brutally murdered in 1930, when he led a march into Durban to protest the hated Pass laws.

## Struggle

Another strand in the struggle against oppression began with the formation, right here in Natal, of the first black political organisation in Africa. The Natal Indian Congress founded in 1894, began a tradition of extra-parliamentary protest that continues into the present. The next decade saw the increasing radicalisation of Indian politics under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

*“Ngo-1906, ngenkathi uBambatha chola anaviyo abomdabu elwa impi yokuchitha ukhanda mpondwe, abafowethu abadabuka eNdiya beholwa ngu Mahatma Gandhi babelwa impi yokuphelisaingcidezelo ngaphansi kombuso wama-Ngisi. Ngo-1913 abasebenzi hamaNdiya*

*sibabona betelekaezimboni zikashukela nezamalahle. Lezizinyathelo zibonisa abantu abacindezelwe eNingizimu Afrika belwa umzabalazo wokuphelisa ukuxhazazwana nokucindezela. Lezizinyathelo zaba inselelo ebalulekileyo embusweni wengcinezelo wamaNgisi.”*

In the passive resistance campaign of 1946, over 2 000 Indians went to jail, many for occupying land reserved for whites. The campaign made clear the common nature of Indian and African oppression and the necessity of united resistance. In 1947, this led to the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact, and to the joint action of Africans and Indians in the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

## Remind

We remind the people of Natal of this long and proud tradition of co-operation between Africans and Indians against racial discrimination and other forms of injustice and oppression. We are extremely disturbed by recent acts of violence against our Indian compatriots. The perpetrators

of these acts are enemies of the liberation movement.

The other great struggle in Natal has been that of the workers. In 1926, the Durban branch of the ICU powerfully voiced the grievances of migrant workers on the docks, railways and local industries. In the 1970s Durban workers led the country in a movement to organise and fought for workers' rights. In January 1973, 2 000 workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile factory in Durban came out on strike. They were followed by workers all over Durban.

Out of these strikes grew a host of new union federations, and eventually, Cosatu, the biggest and most powerful labour organisation in our history. We recognise that battles won in industrial disputes can never be permanently secure without the necessary political changes. Our Defiance Campaign has succeeded in forcing the government to scrap discriminatory laws and has brought us to the point where we are to glimpse the outlines of a new

\* To Page 9

# Mandela set to address two rallies

11A  
Sowetan  
20/2/90

MR Nelson Mandela is to address two rallies on Sunday - in Bloemfontein and Durban - and is due to travel to Lusaka the next day to meet the African National Congress's exiled leadership, according to National Reception Committee spokesmen.

Mr Mandela was also expected to discuss the violence in Natal with KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a joint bid to bring an end to the strife between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu.

A date for the meeting could not be confirmed.

Mr Walter Sisulu and other key ANC leaders will visit the province's strife-torn areas on Thursday while Mr Mandela will arrive on Sunday to address a rally at Durban's King Park.

Inkatha's general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday Mr Mandela had telephoned Chief Buthelezi on Saturday to inform him of his arrival in Natal on 25 February.

Following Mr Mandela's claim last week that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok

**SOWETAN Correspondent**



**MANDELA**

had blamed the violence on the UDF/Cosatu alliance after meeting with Chief Buthelezi, the Zulu leader said in a statement at the weekend "the kind of recriminations of me and Inkatha by no lesser a person than Dr Mandela are just intolerable"

Meanwhile, Mandela and his wife, Winnie, have been granted passports.

## March postponed

23D  
Sowetan  
20/2/90

ABOUT 200 squatters from Tokoza's Polar Park on the East Rand, cancelled a proposed march to protest against a council application to have their shacks destroyed after discussions between their lawyer and council officials.

The squatters had gathered earlier yesterday to march on the Alberton Magistrate's Court to protest against council plans for the destruction of the shacks and the squatters' removal.

The Polar Park residents' lawyer, Mr Geoff

Budlander, met council lawyers and both parties decided to postpone the application due to have been heard yesterday.

The case has been temporarily postponed to March 12 when another date will be set if both parties have not negotiated a satisfactory settlement by then.

If the problem is settled, the court hearing will be cancelled.

Following the discussions the residents seemed happy with the situation and dispersed peacefully.



Enjoy the taste of succulent full-strength Cognac judged the world's best winner of the Double Pushkin for purity and excellence dry, smooth and Pushkin - the work

**The world's best**

2005 BIRKENHEAD TRAVEL CO LTD  
0001 VHOUSSEH ST YAGRUJAF

Sowetan 26/2/90

## Attack on workers continues - Golding

PRIVATISATION of industries was an attack on workers and a way of further entrenching apartheid, a senior trade unionist said at a workers' rally at the weekend.

Mr Marcel Golding, assistant general secretary of the giant National Union of Mineworkers, told the rally at Mamelodi near Pretoria, that despite talk of change the Government and big capital "attacked workers through privatisation and the entrenchment of apartheid".

111 **Flags**

The rally, punctuated by shouts of "Viva ANC", was attended by about 8 000 members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

African National Congress flags fluttered in the crowd.

Mr Donsie Khumalo, a high-ranking Cosatu official, told the rally that the federation rejected the outcry from big business and the Government on nationalisation following pronouncements by Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

Golding said Cosatu would press ahead with its opposition to the Labour Relations Amendment Act. - Sapa.



# ANC and red flags welcome Mandela

Argus 26/2/90



**Stop the violence,  
says Mandela**  
— page 11

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Four bright colours dominated the mass rally at King's Park yesterday — the red of the communist flag and the black, green and yellow tricolour of the African National Congress.

Each flag had a place on the main stage and many in the crowd were either wearing the colours on T-shirts or carrying homemade flags, some of them a few square meters big, mounted on poles.

The crowd appeared remarkably well-controlled with only a few interruptions in the proceedings, one when youths broke through the cordon of marshalls and swamped the VIP area in front of the stage.

The high point of crowd excitement came when two helicopters emerged from the rugby stadium, having obviously just deposited Mr Nelson Mandela and his entourage.

Proceedings abruptly came to a halt as the crowd, as one, came to its feet and roared its welcome.

Mr Mandela's speech was received attentively with anger being expressed when he mentioned the "siyanoras", arch-enemies of the "comrades" of which there were many at the rally.

There was derisive laughter when Mr Mandela spoke of

chiefs who had used apartheid for their own ends and an even louder laugh when he spoke of those chiefs who had seen the error of their ways.

His appeal to the women of Natal to help in the ending of violence drew a loud response with women holding their hands high to signify their approval.

At first, Mr Mandela had to move from one side to the other of the large stage so that the crowd could see him. He also came tentatively to the very edge, holding firmly on to the handrail, to show himself to youths who had gathered directly below the platform.

Sapa reports that Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha this morning welcomed the call by Mr Mandela yesterday for knives and pangas to be cast into the sea.

He said the hatred and mistrust of the past should also be thrown into the sea. "These are also knives and pangas which cut and prevent people coming together," he said.

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Creda Press.      | Aurora Printers.   |
| KNL-Web.          | Dreyer Printers.   |
| ABC Press.        | ABC.   |
| Promedia.         | Creda.   |
| 76. CTP.          | Belmor Group.  |
| Printpak.         | Natal Witness.   |
| Perskor.          | 86/87. Printpak.   |
| Nasionale Media.  | Perskor.   |
| 77. CTP.          | Creda.   |
| Sneller Data Set. | ABC.   |
| Perskor.          | CTP.   |
| Nasionale Media.  |  |
| Printpak.         |  |
| 78/85. CTP.       | (2) Yes.   |
| Promedia.         | (3) Tenders for printing contracts are dealt with by the Government Printer. |

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

## General Affairs:

## Mandela, Sisulu and Mothopeng: charge of treason (11A)

1. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Law and Order: Hansard 27/2/90

- (1) Whether a charge of treason was laid against Messrs Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Zeph Mothopeng with the South African Police in Cape Town on 12 February 1990; if so, ]
- (2) whether any criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of the above-mentioned persons since that date; if so, what proceedings; if not, why not?

B317E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, in terms of section 5 of the Police Act—Act No 7 of 1958—the SA Police have a legal obligation to investigate "any offence or alleged offence" that comes to their attention. This judicial obligation places the responsibility on the SA Police Force to investigate any offence or alleged offence which is reported. Although they have frequently had to do so under difficult circumstances, over the years the SA Police have conscientiously carried out this responsibility. That is still the case today.

In this regard I should like to emphasise that in the execution of their prescribed duties, the SA Police act without fear or favour, regardless of a person's race, gender, status in the community or political ties.

The final decision about whether a prosecution should be instituted or not does not, of course, rest with the SA Police. This is the exclusive prerogative of the Attorney-General who is the Director of Public Prosecutions in our legal system. Accordingly a dossier is handed to the

Attorney-General who decides whether a criminal prosecution should be instituted or not. He can also call for a further investigation if he so desires. Hansard 27/2/90

In the case under discussion here today, I hereby confirm that on 12 February 1990 the hon member for Bethal laid a charge with the SA Police in Cape Town. The case docket was handed to the Attorney-General of Cape Town by the SA Police on 22 February 1990. His decision is still being awaited.

\*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, I thank the hon the Minister for his reply. I also thank the SA Police for the attention they gave the matter.

The hon the Minister said "if a charge is laid", but I think that section 5, which he quoted, also states "if the police should become aware of that". It is not always necessary for a charge to be laid. If it is clear that an offence has been committed, the police can act on their own initiative.

I find it amazing that in this case no action was taken before a charge was laid. The very fact that the police investigated the matter means that they at least thought the charge had some substance. [Interjections.]

Hon members who are interjecting must remember that the police are doing their duty and that they know what their duty is. At some or other time they will also be doing their duty for the benefit of those hon members. [Interjections.]

This is a serious matter. I think it is a serious crime being committed against the State, or allegedly being committed. Only this morning it was reported on TV that they are still invoking the threat of violence. On several occasions after the charge was laid they again did so. I therefore find it somewhat disquieting—I am glad the hon the Minister of Justice is here—that in *The Argus* of 16 February it was reported that the Ministry of Justice had telephoned Mr Mandela and told him that they needed photographs in order to get his passport ready for him.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Well I never.

\*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Mandela leaves the country today. He has obtained a passport to leave the country. [Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Minister in all seriousness whether, if I had proclaimed that there should be an armed uprising against the State to overthrow the Government, the Ministries would also have helped me obtain a passport to leave the country.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Never. You are not a communist [Interjections.]

\*Mr C D DE JAGER: These are the aspects we find disturbing. It is these aspects which make it seem to us that as far as this matter is concerned, no attention is being paid to the law any longer. It seems as if the action taken is less severe, for the sake of efficacy, than would be the case, for example, if right-wing elements were involved. [Interjections.]

Dr D J WORRALL: Mr Speaker, it is quite correct to say treason is the highest of political offences. Our history, if one considers it, and especially the Afrikaner's history, is rich with acts which have been treasonable or bordering on treason.

One thinks in this respect of De la Rey, of De Wet, Kemp and Jopie Fourie. There are many such instances. [Interjections.]

What those people did, was out of idealism or out of a sense of correcting or rectifying injustice. [Interjections.]

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: They were prosecuted!

Dr D J WORRALL: This is also true of Mandela, Sisulu and many Black political leaders. Inevitably, people like that become heroes. They somehow capture the minds, hearts, imagination and the wonder of their people, and if this is true of De la Rey, De Wet and Kemp, it is also true of Mandela, Sisulu, Biko, Rick Turner and also of Lubowski.

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: It is scandalous for you to compare Mandela with those Afrikaner leaders!

Dr D J WORRALL: In the months that lie ahead we in public life have an obligation to see those people in those terms and to respect the

admiration, the political respect and the political and historic memory of those who respect them because that is what is important. Do this and we will be nation builders.

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, when the hon member for Bethal took the floor I wondered what he was going to say, but now I discover that he really has nothing to say.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have nothing to say.

\*The MINISTER: I merely gave the hon member the facts of the matter. The hon member also went off at such a tangent, asking the hon the Minister of Justice about passports that Mr Mandela supposedly obtained. Apparently he had nothing to say to me. [Interjections.] I see him laughing very heartily, because he knows I am right. [Interjections.]

The hon member says I should have a look at section 5 of the Police Act. I should like to quote it to the hon member verbatim from the Act. It deals with the functions of the SA Police. [Interjections.] I quote:

The functions of the South African Police shall be, *inter alia*—

- the preservation of the internal security of the Republic;
- the maintenance of law and order;
- the investigation of any offence or alleged offence; and
- the prevention of crime.

That is precisely what I quoted to the hon member in my reply. Therefore the hon member cannot say that we had not read the relevant section before I drafted my reply to him.

The hon member also alleges that we are less severe in the action we take against left-wing elements than we are in the action we take against right-wing elements. [Interjections.] Here we have other hon members also singing in the choir when, in fact, they do not know what it is all about. They have a vague notion, but they really do not know what is going on. [Interjections.]

\*An HON MEMBER: The Cossack choir!

continue RP 161/162 →

\*An HON MEMBER: Koos, there are two chairs for the Cossacks up front . . . [Interjections.]

\*The MINISTER: The hon member for Overvaal has not even been there yet, and he is already singing in the Cossack choir! [Interjections.]

\*Mr F J LE ROUX: Sit down if you have nothing to say!

\*The MINISTER: No, hon members are laughing at the hon Cossack sitting there next to the hon member. [Interjections.]

I should like to give hon members the assurance, as I indicated in my reply, that it makes no difference to us whether the relevant person is of a left-wing or right-wing persuasion, because . . . [Time expired.]

\*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, the most revealing incident in this whole debate has just taken place. I am referring to the fact that after the hon member for Berea stood up here and defended people who had committed high treason, saying that they did so out of a sense of idealism and conviction, that hon Minister did not reprimand him. [Interjections.] He tried to crack a joke at the hon member for Bethal's expense. It is incredible! This just goes to show this Government's approach to the offence of high treason . . .

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: F W is also sitting there smiling!

\*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: . . . particularly when it is committed by left-wing elements. That is precisely why, this afternoon, we have had this interpellation . . .

\*Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: It has repeatedly been said that someone should not be addressed by name. The hon member for Overvaal said: "F W is also sitting there smiling" as if he and the hon the State President were on a par.

\*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Who is Rooi Koos?

\*Mr SPEAKER: Order! I merely want to tell the hon member for Langlaagte that after the debate on this interpellation has concluded I intend to say something about this matter. The hon member for Roodepoort may proceed.

\*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: This whole attitude is also reflected in the Government's arguments in regard to other laws. In this regard I want to refer to statements made by the hon the Minister of Justice in a debate here yesterday. I consulted the Hansard record and found that yesterday the hon the Minister defended the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, arguing that the ANC and the SA Communist Party no longer posed any threat to law and order in South Africa. That was precisely what this hon Minister argued here yesterday.

In the meantime, after the unbanning of the ANC and the Communist Party, there are bomb-blasts here in the Cape Peninsula, and the hon the Minister and his hon colleague, the Minister of Law and Order, know this. [Interjections.] This just goes to show the attitude of these people.

Secondly, in this House yesterday the hon the Minister of Justice said that the section in the Internal Security Act prohibiting communism or the promotion of communism in South Africa had been abrogated by disuse. [Time expired.]

\*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, if the section has been abrogated by disuse, it will be the first section placed on the Statute Book in 1982 and abrogated by disuse within a period of eight years. [Interjections.] It is very strange, because if that section has been abrogated by disuse, why was it necessary to unban the Communist Party on 2 February? Surely there would no longer be any crime of which it was guilty. [Interjections.]

We should like to know which other sections in this Act have been abrogated by disuse, because I may wrongly have laid a charge in terms of section 54. Perhaps it has also been abrogated by disuse, because no one is sure what the law is any longer. The fact that it is on the Statute Book does not necessarily mean it is still law, because perhaps it has been abrogated by disuse!

\*An HON MEMBER: That is absolutely ridiculous.

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, it really seems to me as if I was right in saying that the hon members should not have directed the interpellation at me, because now they are engaged in altercation with the hon the Minister of Justice about what he supposedly said yesterday. [Interjections.]

I just want to say that hon members accuse us of not taking action against left-wing elements and of only taking action against right-wing elements. There are equally many accusations from left-wing elements alleging that we treat right-wing elements with kid gloves. So we know we are right; we are right in the middle, and that is where we want to be in the fight between these opposing parties. I merely want to tell hon members that the hon—no, he is not an hon member, and never will be—Mr Eugène Terre-Blanche utters just as many threats of violence. What he regularly says is that when this Government falls, violence will break out. He also says that if the ANC were to take over in South Africa, violence would break out. That is why we must all tread lightly in talking about violence and not so glibly accuse people of perpetrating acts of violence.

In regard to what the hon member for Berea said, let me also just say—my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice, also said so yesterday—that the communist ideology is totally unacceptable to us on this side of the House. We specifically want to deal communism a knock-out blow, and we have dealt communists a knock-out blow over the past 40 years by way of legislation. We think we can now do an even better job by doing so in the hearts and minds of people. We shall do so by pointing out to them what communism actually stands for. [Interjections.] That is precisely what we are doing.

We have not grown soft on communism. Not by a long shot. There are millions of people in the world who join us in saying that communism is out. We therefore want to tell those hon members they have no premium when it comes to opposing communism. We are still fighting communism. We are going to win, while you are not going to manage it. [Interjections.]

If the hon member for Bethal has any questions about these matters, he must put them to my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice.

I have already indicated that the SA Police will act fearlessly and investigate any complaints that are laid.

Debate concluded.

\*Mr SPEAKER: Order! That concludes Interpellation No 1. Before proceeding to put Interpellation No 2, I should like to focus hon members' attention on the fact that I have

noticed during the past few days—I do not know the background—that repeated references are being made to "Rooi Kooos". [Interjections.]

Last year or the year before last I gave a ruling on this in the House. My ruling was that hon members must not deliberately be addressed by their first names or nicknames, or shouted at or addressed across the floor of the House. I want to make a serious appeal to hon members to uphold and abide by Mr Speaker's ruling.

Hon members must not wait until problems crop up, and then ask Mr Speaker to solve them. I am therefore asking that we treat one another with the necessary respect. Normally I do not hear nice remarks made in a soft tone of voice, even if first names or initials are involved. I try not to hear that, but when hon members do so deliberately, let me tell them that they are not abiding by the Chair's ruling, and I request hon members' co-operation in this regard.

#### Free settlement areas

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

- (1) Whether the Government is prepared to declare entire local authority areas as free settlement areas; if not, why not; if so.
- (2) whether the Government is prepared to amend legislation to allow for a non-racial franchise in electing a single local authority for such free settlement areas; if not, why not?

Hansard 27/2/90 B335E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, this is an amazing question from the DP. Not one of the three factions—four, if one counts the hon member for Claremont—making up the DP today, has ever been in favour of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.] We know that the DP once again rejected the concept of free settlement areas during the past election.

I assume from that question that a change has taken place in the DP, because the hon member for Houghton would like to know whether we would be prepared to open up entire areas so that he may propagate this concept, which is embodied in the Free Settlement Areas Act, in the circles in which he moves. I welcome this change of policy on the part of the DP. [Interjections.] I welcome their willingness to co-operate

within the framework of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.]

Legally, there is nothing in the Free Settlement Areas Act which prohibits the declaration of an entire local authority area as a free settlement area. As with any other application, however, such an application would have to be dealt with by the Free Settlement Board. Such a request would therefore have to be considered in accordance with the provisions of that particular Act before the Government took a decision on it on the basis of the advice it received from that board.

The board would have to deal with a number of matters, such as the prevailing social and socio-economic conditions. I do not want to trouble hon members with those aspects. Those matters that have to be taken into consideration, appear in the Act.

The Government would then consider the recommendations made by the Free Settlement Board. If we were satisfied that it was in the interests of the community, we would seriously consider opening such an area. I just want to point out to hon members, however, that there are, in fact, some problems with the legislation in regard to the determination of local government within such a free settlement area. [Interjections.] We are looking into this and we shall furnish a reply in this regard. [Interjections.]

I see that the hon member for Green Point is once again waving flies away. Let me tell him at once, with regard to the second part of the question, that the Government is of the view that universal franchise should apply at local authority level. It is furthermore a point of departure of the Government that there ought not to be domination of minority groups at any level of government. [Interjections.] Universal franchise at the local authority level must therefore be structured in such a way that the rights of minority groups are protected. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Speaker, contrary to what the hon the Minister said, the DP still believes that, as Dr D F Malan put it in 1950, group areas are the essence of apartheid. We also believe that they have disfigured our country, distorted property economics, skewed free-market principles and radicalised generations of Coloureds and Indians in this country. In short, the Government, by introducing free settlement areas, has

tacitly acknowledged that group areas were a colossal experiment in social engineering which has, in fact, been a dismal failure.

When free settlement areas were introduced, we were told that they were going to be based on the principle of "live and let live". We only wish that were the case. On the evidence so far, and based on what is likely to happen in the foreseeable future, we believe that isolated free settlement areas will not be the birth of the brave new South Africa, but could become an aborted experiment in racial zoning.

We would have thought that the failure, economically and from a physical point of view, of the homelands had proved once and for all the futility of drawing lines on a map. Isolated free settlement areas, as contemplated, could become instant ghettos, a rigged experiment doomed to failure because it violates the basic laws of supply and demand and the free market.

As a recent example of the hon the Minister's thinking on this, or that of the Free Settlement Board, we have a proposed free settlement area for Johannesburg which, in just one instance, completely ignores any community interests and slices out half an island of integration in a sea of segregated suburbs.

We think that this could be a reckless experiment which could be consigned to long-term oblivion, but which could produce drastic short-term consequences. We therefore believe that it is necessary to scrap group areas and not to use them as a bargaining chip, and short of that step, to declare entire municipalities free settlements. This at least will create large-scale space. It will also remove the inferior voting rights and second-class services which residents in free settlements will have to endure. The current legislation with management committees in free settlement areas, makes them toothless bodies, and they will have to co-exist in the same area as the parent White municipal authority. The Act clearly does not contemplate entire city-wide free settlements. If the Government is sincere about this, the Ministers' Council which has the power in the House of Assembly should immediately encourage or instruct the Free Settlement Board to investigate in order to declare all major metropolitan areas as city-wide free settlement areas, and Parliament should repeal the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas

IIA

## \* From Page 8

South Africa.

The MDM stands as testimony to the powerful alliance of workers and progressive political organisations.

Whites, too, have made a contribution to the struggle in Natal. It began with the lonely voices of Bishop Cole and his daughters who denounced imperialist injustices against the Zulu people and who campaigned vigorously for the freedom of their leaders. The Natal Liberal Party waged steadfast campaigns against removals, and its work has been continued into the present by people like Peter Brown.

Whites also contributed significantly to the resurgence of labour struggles in the 1970s through the Wages Commission and the Trade Unions Advisory and Coordinating Council. Our struggle has won the participation of every language and colour, every stripe and hue in this country. These four strands of resistance and organisation have inspired all South Africans, and provide the foundations of our struggle today. We salute your proud and courageous history.

*"Akekho namunye ununtu ongazidla aziqhayise ngokulima infidima ebonakalayo kulo mzxabalazo njengabantu baseNatal."*

The past is a rich resource on which we can draw in order to make de-

isions for the future, but it does not dictate our choices. We should look back at the past and select what is good, and leave behind what is bad. The issue of chiefship is one such question. Not only in Natal, but all through the country, there have been chiefs who have been good and honest leaders, who have piloted their people through the dark days of oppression with skill. These are the chiefs who have looked after the interests of their people, and who enjoy the support of their people. We salute these traditional leaders.

### Chiefs

But there have been many bad chiefs who have profited from apartheid and who have increased the burden on their people. We denounce this misuse of office in the strongest terms. There are also chiefs who have collaborated with the system, but who have since seen the error of their ways. We commend their change of heart.

Chiefly office is not something that history has given to certain individuals to use or abuse as they see fit. Like all forms of leadership, it places specific responsibilities on its holders. As Luthuli, himself a chief, put it: "a

# 'Close the death factories'

## Mandela tells Zulus

chief is primarily a servant of the people. He is the voice of his people."

The Zulu royal house continues today to enjoy the respect of its subjects. It has a glorious history. We are confident that its members will act in ways that will promote the well-being of all South Africans.

The ANC offers a home to all who ascribe to the principles of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. We are committed to building a single nation in our country. Our new nation will include blacks and whites, Zulus and Afrikaners, and speakers of every other language. ANC President-General Chief Luthuli said: "I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all of our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy. I think that there is a challenge to us in South Africa, to set a new example for the world."

This is the challenge we face today.

To do this we must eliminate all forms of factionalism and regionalism. We praise organisations which have fought to retain the dignity of our people. Al-

though there are fundamental differences between us, we commend Inkatha for their demand over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, as well as for their stand of refusing to participate in a negotiated settlement without the creation of the necessary climate.

### Stand

This stand of Inkatha has contributed in no small measure to making it difficult for the regime to implement successive schemes designed to perpetuate minority rule.

The 1986 Indaba solution proposed for Natal broke new ground in so far as it addressed the question of the exclusion from political power of the African population of Natal and sought to make regional change pioneer national change. We on the edge must urge a greater step forward, for all our people throughout SA. There can be no separate solution for Natal under these conditions, nor can it be argued any longer that there is a need. We believe Inkatha and all the people of Natal would genuinely welcome a unitary, non-racial democratic SA, the goals of

millions throughout the country.

Our call is "one nation, one country".

*Masibe isizwe esisodwa kumZansi Afrika jikelele!*

Yet even now as we stand together on the threshold of a new SA, Natal is in flames. Brother is fighting brother in wars of vengeance and retaliation. Every family has lost dear ones in this strife. In the last few years of my imprisonment, my greatest burden, my deepest suffering, was caused by reports which reached me of the terrible things which were happening here.

*"Sonke silahlekelwe. Sonke sidabukile. Izobembezi zenu ngezami. Akwehlanga lungehlanga nina beLembe eleqa amanye amalembhe ngokukhalipha..."*

I extend my condolences to all of you who have lost your loved ones in this conflict.

It is my duty to remind you, in the middle of your great sufferings, of the responsibility which we bear today. If we do not bring a halt to this conflict, we will be in a grave danger of corrupting the proud legacy of our struggle. We endanger the

peace process in the whole of the country.

Apartheid is not yet dead. Equality and democracy continue to elude us. We do not have access to political power. We need to intensify our struggle to achieve our goals.

# PAC/ANC unity solution 'not far'

41  
CPT TizB 26/2/90

**DAR ES SALAAM.** — One of the internal leaders of the PAC which broke away from the ANC in 1959 said here on Saturday that the two organisations were close to reuniting following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"We hope we will be mature enough to resolve this issue. We are addressing it and we are not far from reaching a solution," Mr Joseph Renene added.

The PAC broke away from the ANC saying its 1955 Freedom Charter offered too many concessions to whites and deprived blacks of their full rights.

Mr Renene said in an interview that Mr Mandela's release had raised hopes for unity. "He is basically one of the most prominent Africanists in the ANC and he is going to be very important in the reunification of the ANC and PAC."

Mr Renene, in Tanzania as part of a three-man delegation from Transkei, said Mr Mandela had sent signals to both groups on unity.

Mr Mandela is a close personal friend of PAC leader Mr Johnson Mlambo and diplomats expect the two to meet when Mr Mandela visits Tanzania next month.

The Transkei delegation flew to Tanzania unannounced on Friday for talks with PAC leaders at the movement's headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The other delegation members were Brigadier Themba Matanzima, head of the Transkei army, and Major-General Roy Keswa, second-in-command of the homeland's government. — Sapa-Reuter

Close the death factories, ANC leader tells Natal rally

# End war

Sowetan 26/2/90

11A

# Mandela



Nelson Mandela ... "The violence must stop."

By SY MAKARINGE

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday said the ANC planned to meet Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill kaBhekuzulu to discuss the Natal conflict.

Mandela was addressing more than 150000 people at an open-air rally outside the King's Park Rugby Stadium in Durban.

He told them the ANC was preparing to meet King Zwelithini to establish a basis on which to deal with the problem which had claimed more than 2000 lives during the past three years.

"We must stop all forms of violence. Let's bury the past and look to the future. There must be peace between Cosatu and UDF on the one hand and Inkatha on the other.

"There is no other way. If you want peace, let's sit down with Inkatha so that we can concentrate on building this

● To page 2

**SUPER ELECT MART SALE**

**LOWEST PRICES ★ LARGE**

A

26<sup>88</sup>

AUTOMAT

## Mandela talks on Natal strife

● From page 1

nation," Mandela said.

He said the Natal strife was a waste of energy.

"Take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea.

"Close down the death factories and end the war now," he pleaded.

But some hardliners in the huge crowd were not pleased with the prospect of the ANC meeting Inkatha.

They showed their disapproval by booing and interjecting, saying they did not want to have anything to do with Chief Gaxila Buthelezi, the movement's president.

The call for unity and peace in the region was repeated several times in the 50-minute speech.

Mandela said Natal had a proud history of resistance since the days of the Isandlwana Battle in 1879.

"We must eliminate all acts of sectionalism and regionalism.

Sowetan 26/2/90

11A

"We commend Inkatha for their demand that the ANC be unbanned and its leaders released, and their refusal to negotiate with the Government.

"Inkatha contributed in a small measure to make it difficult for the Government to perpetuate minority rule," he said.

Mandela said there could be no separate solution for Natal.

He said the peace process would be endangered if the Natal carnage was not halted.

"We need to intensify our struggle to achieve our goals. But we won't achieve these goals as long as there is a conflict," he said.

Expressing doubt about police impartiality, Mandela said renegade elements in the police force should be exposed.

Earlier in the day another ANC stalwart, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said the organisation was saddened by what was happening in Natal.

# End War Mandela

Sowetan 26/2/90

11B



Nelson Mandela ... "The violence must stop."

By SY MAKARINGE

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday said the ANC planned to meet Zulu King Zwelithini Goodwill kaBhekuzulu to discuss the Natal conflict.

Mandela was addressing more than 150000 people at an open-air rally outside the King's Park Rugby Stadium in Durban.

He told them the ANC was preparing to meet King Zwelithini to establish a basis on which to deal with the problem which had claimed more than 2000 lives during the past three years.

"We must stop all forms of violence. Let's bury the past and look to the future. There must be peace between Cosatu and UDF on the one hand and Inkatha on the other."

"There is no other way. If you want peace, let's sit down with Inkatha so that we can concentrate on building this

● To page 2

**SUPER ELECT  
MART SALE**

**LOWEST PRICES ★ LARGE**

**26<sup>88</sup>**

They showed their disapproval by booing and interjecting, saying they did not want to have anything to do with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the movement's president. The call for unity and peace in the region was repeated several times in the 50-minute speech. Mandela said Natal had a proud history of resistance since the days of the Isandlwana Battle in 1879.

"We must eliminate all acts of sectionalism and regionalism. Earlier in the day another ANC stalwart, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said the organisation was saddened by what was happening in Natal.

But some hardliners in the huge crowd were not pleased with the prospect of the ANC meeting Inkatha.

He said the peace process would be endangered if the Natal carnage was not halted.

"Close down the death factories and end the war now," he pleaded.

"Inkatha contributed in a small measure to make it difficult for the Government to perpetuate minority rule," he said.

"Take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea."

"We commend Inkatha for their demand that the ANC be unbanned and its leaders released, and their refusal to negotiate with the Government."

● From page 1

## Mandela talks on Natal strife

Sowetan 26/2/90

11B



## Common ground in talks

(11A)

Political Staff

SECRET

THE DP and the Labour Party (LP) achieved common ground last week in separate talks with the ANC's Nelson Mandela on the need for greater co-operation among political groups in forging a non-racial democracy.

Further meetings between the two parliamentary parties and the ANC are planned following their exploratory talks in Johannesburg. MDM 26/2/90

LP leader Allan Hendrickse said after a 40-minute meeting that Mandela had "acknowledged our past differences but indicated the time has arrived for these to be forgotten. He emphasised the need for a greater togetherness in striving for the creation of a new non-racial and democratic SA."

It was agreed to meet again to discuss "various strategies and options for achieving social justice".

Earlier, an ANC and MDM delegation met a DP delegation consisting of DP co-leaders Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan, and Peter Gastrow.

Worrall said in a statement afterwards that they discussed their relative positions "and talked more on the basis of future co-operation than on policy matters".

A discussion on policy matters would come with a "more fully representative delegation" of the ANC.

# MANDELA'S DOESN'T SAY

CPI 7/1/85 (118)

26/2/80

STB

**DURBAN.** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday carried a message of peace to strife-torn Natal, urging a crowd of 200 000 to "close down the death factories" and end the war with Inkatha.

"Take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea", he told the crowd at King's Park rugby stadium.

Mr Mandela said the ANC recognised the importance of talking with Inkatha to achieve peace. The ANC was preparing for a meeting with the Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill Kabhekuzulu, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But while Mr Mandela drew cheers or his appeal for peace, murmurs and booing rippled through the crowd when he spoke of reconciliation with Inkatha, prompting him to stretch out his arm to quiet the crowd.

According to UPI, midway through his 50-minute address dozens of youths left the stadium, apparently dissatisfied with his conciliatory tone.

## 'Commend Inkatha'

Mr Mandela's plea came against the background of another bloody weekend in Natal which claimed nine lives, six bodies being found in a church near Empangeni.

"If we do not bring a halt to this conflict, we will be in grave danger of corrupting the proud legacy of our struggle. We endanger the peace process in the whole of the country," Mr Mandela said.

"We extend the hand of peace to Inkatha and hope that it might one day be possible for us to share a platform with its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

He said the ANC recognised the right of all organisations which were not racist to participate in political life.

"Although there are fundamental differences between us, we commend Inkatha for their demand over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, as well as for their stand of refusing to participate in a negotiated settlement.

"We condemn, in the strongest possible terms, the use of violence as a way of settling differences among our people."

## Mxenge murders

He said the root cause of the violence in Natal was the apartheid system which had acted as a "deadly cancer", creating disunity among black people.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was committed to building a single nation, including blacks and whites, Zulus and Afrikaners, and speakers of every language.

He also said the people responsible for the murders of Mr Griffiths Mxenge and his wife, Victoria, should be brought to book.

He said there were still doubts about the role of the police in society and this was jeopardising the finding of political solutions.

The rally ended peacefully in spite of fears that the presence of UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha supporters might lead to violence.

As people left the stadium they were monitored by police. Shops in the area

From Page 1

were barred and armoured personnel carriers and policemen were stationed all over. ANC marshalls and police directed traffic and controlled the crowds.

People leaving the stadium ignored jibes and insults from a group of white men outside a Transnet (SATS) social club.

Later Mr Mandela flew to Bloemfontein. There he urged authorities to open amenities to all and said this would be a step in the right direction because the province was seen as a bastion of white conservatism.

He also said the QwaQwa government was acting against the wishes of the people in attempting to incorporate the township of Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, into QwaQwa.

Appearing before a crowd of 40 000, he called on "all peace-loving Afrikaners" to join the ANC and paid tribute to Braam Fischer, who he called "a heroic Afrikaner and born son of the Free State".

— Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

● Bodies found in church — Page 3  
● Thatcher plan to end sanctions — Page 3

*26/2/90*

# Throw guns into the sea, says Mandela

DURBAN — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to a huge crowd at Kings Park Stadium to end the war in Natal, and commit themselves to building a single nation.

"My message to those of you involved in this battle of brother against brother is this: 'Take your guns, your knives and your pangas, and throw them into the sea'", said Mandela.

"Close down the death factories. End this war now."

In order to take up the challenge of one nation, all forms of factionalism and regionalism had to be eliminated.

Mandela and his wife Winnie arrived by helicopter at the sports ground to roars of greeting from a crowd estimated by organisers at 200 000, Sapa reports.

At one stage Mandela had to interrupt his speech to move to another part of the stage so that a particularly rowdy section of the crowd could see him.

It was his third outdoor address since his release two weeks ago.

About 3 000 ANC marshals were assigned to control the crowd.

Mandela said apartheid was a deadly cancer in Natal, "eating away the precious ties that bind us together".

He said the rally was aimed at reaffirming a united stand against apartheid



● MANDELA

## Own Correspondent

The ANC commended Inkatha — although there were fundamental differences between the two organisations — for its demand over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, as well as its stand on refusing to take part in a negotiated settlement without the creation of the right climate.

Inkatha's stand had contributed to making it difficult for government to implement successive schemes designed to perpetuate minority rule.

Mandela said the Natal fighting had disturbed him deeply. He wanted to remind people of everyone's "responsibility" and said the peace process could be endangered.

Apartheid was not yet dead, said Mandela. "We need to intensify our struggles to achieve our goals, but we cannot do this as long as the conflict among ourselves continues."

Mandela said doubts about the role of the police jeopardised the finding of a solution. There was an onus on the police to convince the public of its impartiality.

If there were renegade elements operating within the security forces, they should be exposed and stopped.

"We recognise that in order to bring the war to an end, the two sides must talk," he added.

Mandela "extended a hand of peace" to Inkatha.

The mass democratic movement and the

□ To Page 2

## Mandela appeal *B/D 47*

*26/2/90*

□ From Page 1

ANC were the "premier political force" in the country, he said.

"Wherever divisions occur, such as the strife here in Natal, it is a reflection against us and our greater goals. We need to be rigorous in identifying our own contribution to the escalation of violence wherever it may occur."

While he commended the youth for the "ground they have gained" he said they should be ready to demonstrate discipline, or risk losing that ground.

"Both sides share a common enemy: the enemy is that of inadequate housing,

forced removals, lack of resources as basic as that of water, and rising unemployment. We demand that the government provides these basic necessities of life," he said.

Meanwhile in Bloemfontein, Mayor Norman Doubell said the ANC was once again back home in the city where the movement was launched in 1912. Mandela was due to fly to Bloemfontein to address another rally there after his Durban speech.

□ Pan Africanist Movement leader Joseph Renene said in Dar-es-Salaam at the weekend the PAC was close to reuniting with the ANC, Sapa-Reuter reported.

500  
26/2/90 (11A)

## British PM backs package of assistance for the ANC

LONDON — Mrs Margaret Thatcher is backing plans to provide British government finance for the African National Congress, despite the organisation's refusal to renounce violence.

Other black South African political parties will also receive aid, according to the Foreign Office.

The initiative stems from a meeting last week between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Bernie Grant, Labour MP for Tottenham, who was the first British parliamentarian to meet Mr Nelson Mandela after his release from jail.

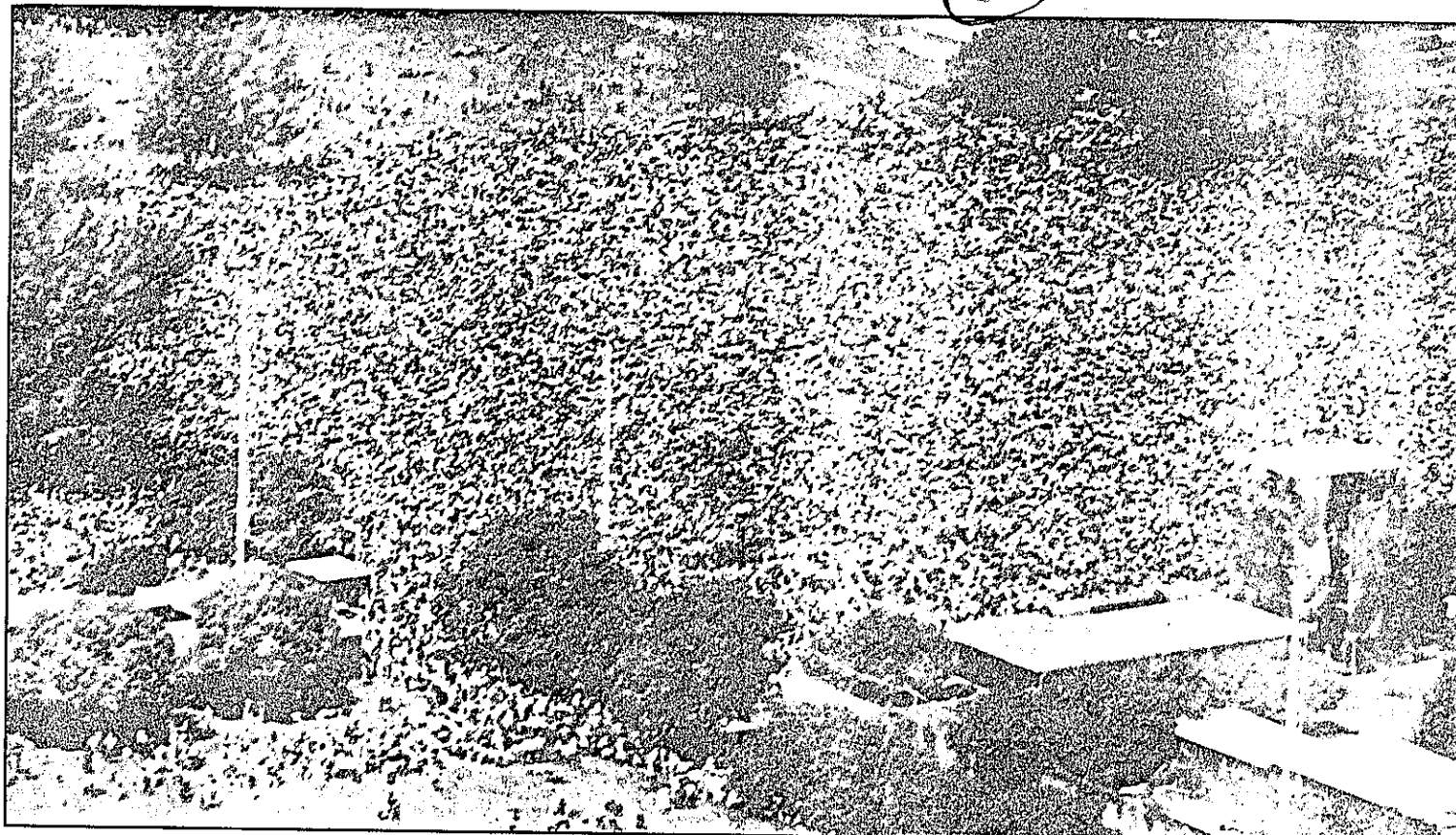
After speaking to him briefly, Mrs Thatcher was impressed by his argument that the ANC and its political rivals need aid and advice to tackle a volatile domestic situation.

She has insisted that support for the ANC should be forthcoming only if it is offered to other parties; such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Her position marks a departure for a Government which has attacked the ANC's refusal to renounce violence.

The Foreign Office has been quick to back Mr Grant's funding proposal, which could help smooth relations with the ANC. Aid is likely to be along the same lines as that for the emerging political forces in East Europe. The Know-how Fund has received about £25 million (R600 million) to help provide training and visits to Britain for East European politicians.

Aid to South Africa — likely to be considerably less substantial — may be distributed through the British embassy. An alternative would be to channel funds through the Overseas Development Administration. — The Independent.

11A  
Star 26/4/90



An estimated 100 000 to 180 000 people gathered outside Durban's King's Park Stadium yesterday to hear Mr Nelson Mandela speak.

# 'Close the death factories'

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN** — Making a powerful plea for peace in Natal, Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged the people of the province to close their "death factories".

Addressing a massive rally at King's Park stadium in Durban, the ANC leader said to cheers: "My message to those of you involved in this battle of brother against brother is this: Take your guns, your knives and your pangas and throw them into the sea."

He added he was very disturbed by recent acts of violence against "our Indian compatriots". The perpetrators were the enemies of the liberation movement.

Reporters estimated the size of the King's Park crowd to be about 100 000; police said between 80 000 and 90 000 attended; while organisers of the rally said the crowd was about 180 000-strong.

The ANC, he said, offered a home to all those who subscribed to the principles of a free, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. All forms of factionalism and regionalism had to be eradicated.

"Although there are fundamental differences between us, we commend Inkatha for their demand over the years for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners, as well as for their stand of refusing to participate in a negotiated settlement without the creation of the necessary climate.

"This stand of Inkatha has contributed in no small measure to making it difficult for the regime to implement successive schemes designed to perpetuate minority rule."

Mr Mandela said the 1986 Indaba solution proposed for Natal broke new ground insofar as it addressed the question of the exclusion from political power of the black population of Natal and sought to make regional change pioneer national change.

"We are on the edge of a much greater step forward, for all our people.

"There can be no separate solution for Natal under these conditions, nor can it be argued any longer that there is a need.

"We believe that Inkatha and all the people of Natal would genuinely welcome a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa — the goal of millions.

"Our call is one nation, one people. Mr Mandela called for a moratorium for the thousands killed in Natal. "If we do not bring an end to conflict, we will be in grave danger of disrupting the proud legacy of our forefathers and endanger the peace process in the country."

Vigilantes and thugs had taken advantage of the people's hardships for the past few years. "We can stop them, and the lawlessness and violence, on our own terms."

Mr Mandela added: "We need order to bring the war to an end. Sides must talk. We are pleased you that we are at present preparing to meet in the near future ourselves and the present Zulu n Zwelithini Goodwill kaBekhuza."

"It is my earnest wish that the government will establish a basis on which



Salute . . . Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, yesterday during the ANC leader's first visit to Natal since his release.

## Suspend armed struggle — bishops

Staff Reporter  
Star 26/4/90  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his fellow-Anglican bishops yesterday called on liberation movements to suspend the armed struggle.

The call followed a meeting of the Anglican Church's Synod of Bishops, which met in Jabavu, Soweto, last week. The synod, chaired by Archbishop Tutu, represents bishops from South Africa, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and St Helena.

Archbishop Tutu has said previously that he understood why black groups took up arms against the state, although he did not support violence.

But yesterday he and other bishops issued a statement saying that President de Klerk's reforms removed many of the reasons black groups used to justify the armed struggle.

The bishops also said they would call for a lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa once black-white negotiations began on dismantling apartheid and establishing democracy.

The statement also urged the Government to withdraw troops from the townships, guarantee impartial policing and grant a general amnesty to exiles as well as to political prisoners.

The bishops also condemned the use of violence within communities as a means of enforcing political opinions.

"There can be no 'new South Africa' if at the heart of our people there is moral decay," they added.

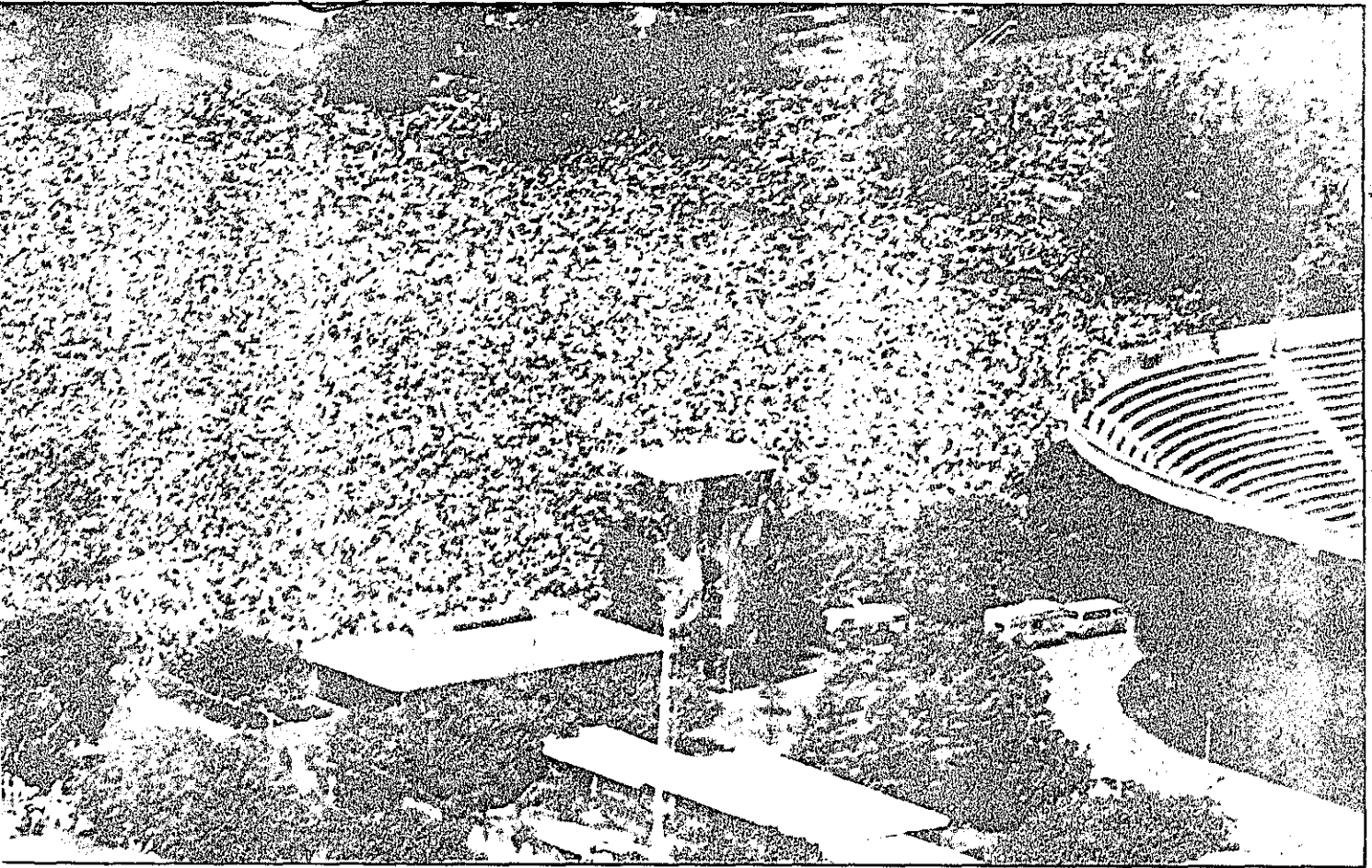
The bishops have written to President de Klerk commending him for his "courageous leadership" and assuring him of their prayers. Similar assurances of "prayerful support" were sent to Mr Nelson Mandela.

À LA



HELIOS CORFU, villages 8 DAYS/7

11A Star 26/490



de Durban's King's Park Stadium yesterday to hear Mr Nelson Mandela speak. His message was one of reconciliation.

# 'the death factories'

of the King's 0; police said tended; while e crowd was

"This stand of Inkatha has contributed in no small measure to making it difficult for the regime to implement successive schemes designed to perpetuate minority rule."

Mr Mandela said the 1986 Indaba solution proposed for Natal broke new ground insofar as it addressed the question of the exclusion from political power of the black population of Natal and sought to make regional change pioneer national change.

"We are on the edge of a much greater step forward, for all our people.

"There can be no separate solution for Natal under these conditions, nor can it be argued any longer that there is a need.

"We believe that Inkatha and all the people of Natal would genuinely welcome a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa — the goal of millions.

"Our call is one nation, one country."

Mr Mandela called for a minute's silence for the thousands killed in the violence in Natal. "If we do not bring a halt to this conflict, we will be in grave danger of corrupting the proud legacy of our struggle. We endanger the peace process in the whole of the country."

Vigilantes and thugs had taken advantage of the people's hardships for their own gain. "We can stop them, and the descent into lawlessness and violence, only by ceasing our feuds."

Mr Mandela added: "We recognise that in order to bring the war to an end, the two sides must talk. We are pleased to inform you that we are at present preparing for a meeting in the near future between ourselves and the present Zulu monarch, King Zwelithini Goodwill kaBekhezulu.

"It is my earnest wish that the meeting will establish a basis on which we can build

a real peace."

He extended a hand of peace to Inkatha and hoped that it might one day be possible to share a platform with its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela called on residents of various townships involved in recent violence to join hands.

He also called on Indians, coloureds, blacks and freedom-loving whites to unite to give apartheid its final blow and in the process develop what he termed active democracy.

Democratic structures which served the people should be established in every school, township, village, factory and farm.

On the stage with Mr Mandela and other ANC dignitaries — including Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada — was Prince Israel Mwayizeni Zulu, uncle of the Zulu king.

See Page 3.

## end armed struggle — bishops

Staff Reporter Desmond Tutu and his fellow bishops yesterday called on movements to suspend struggle.

Following a meeting of the Church's Synod of Bishops, in Jabavu, Soweto, last synod, chaired by Archbishop-bishops from South sotho, Mozambique, Namibia and St Helena.

op Tutu has said previously understood why black groups

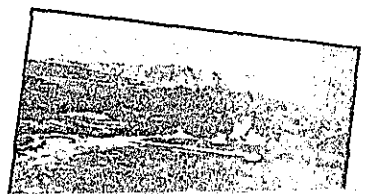
The bishops also said they would call for a lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa once black-white negotiations began on dismantling apartheid and establishing democracy.

The statement also urged the Government to withdraw troops from the townships, guarantee impartial policing and grant a general amnesty to exiles as well as to political prisoners.

The bishops also condemned the use of violence within communities as a means of enforcing political opinions.

"There can be no 'new South Africa' if at the heart of it is the hatred of

## CLUB MED À LA MÉDITERRANÉE



## Call to Afrikaners to join freedom fight

# ANC strives to unite all — Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday received a tumultuous welcome from more than 25 000 people in the Free State capital — the city where the ANC was founded in 1912.

Addressing his second rally of the day, Mr Mandela told a cheering crowd: "The child conceived here in 1912 returns to its mother older, stronger and wiser. The full-grown ANC leads our country to freedom."

Despite a bus boycott, people started filing into the Free State stadium from 8 am, passing the time with cultural events until the ANC leader's arrival at 3 pm.

As people, many dressed in ANC colours, peacefully dispersed shortly after 5 pm, heavily armed policemen blocked off the city centre to prevent looting. No incidents were reported.

### Tribute

In a conciliatory address, Mr Mandela reiterated appeals made since his release two weeks ago.

He called on pupils to return to school, saying future black leaders without education and skills would be "totally useless" to the ANC and the country, and would be shadowed by their white counterparts.

Paying tribute to a late son of "this hard land of conservatism", Rivonia defence lawyer, Mr Bram Fischer, Mr Mandela called on all peace-loving Afrikaners to join the ANC's struggle for freedom, democracy and non-racialism.

The proud spirit which gave the Free State its name should guide Afrikaners to become involved in a struggle for even greater freedom, he said.



A surge of support from the 25 000 people crowding the Free State Stadium to hear Mr Nelson Mandela declare "We are one nation in one country".

It was in Bloemfontein that the ANC had adopted a non-racial approach in the 1940s, prior to which it had articulated only African demands.

Now the ANC did not only strive for African unity but for unity among all South Africans.

"We are one nation in one country," he said to loud applause.

Noting the poverty of many in

a province rich in gold and diamonds, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's commitment to a more equal distribution of wealth.

He said the ANC would demonstrate its moral superiority and the justness of its cause by negotiating with the Government.

The final goal of negotiations was a non-racial democratic

South Africa in which equal rights and the protection of all South Africans would be guaranteed.

Noting that "some in our ranks may be sceptical about talks", he said the ANC delegation, which would soon hold preliminary talks with the Government, would use the opportunity to demonstrate the legitimacy of the organisation's demands.

He also announced that an ANC delegation would hold talks with the QwaQwa government, which had appealed against an earlier court ruling that the Bloemfontein township of Botshabelo should not be incorporated into the homeland.

To great applause, he lashed out against the homeland's government for not taking into con-

sideration the wishes of the people in the region — which was contrary to the spirit of the first king of the Sothos, King Moshoeshoe.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife, Winnie, Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, and several members of the National Reception Committee.

# ANC, PAC close to reuniting, says leader

DAR ES SALAAM — A leader of the Pan Africanist Congress said this weekend that it and the African National Congress were close to reuniting following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"We hope we will be mature enough to resolve this issue. We are addressing it and we are not far from reaching a solution," said Mr Joseph Renene, a leader of the recently formed internal wing of the PAC.

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, saying its 1955 Freedom Charter offered too many concessions to whites and deprived blacks of their full rights.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has repeatedly urged the two movements to settle their differences.

Mr Renene, a leader of the PAC's internal wing, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), said that Mr Mandela's release on February 11 after 27 years in jail had raised hopes for unity.

"He is basically one of the most prominent Africanists in the ANC and he is going to be very important in the reunification of the ANC and PAC," he said.

Mr Renene, in Tanzania as part of a three-man delegation from the Transkei, said Mr Mandela had sent signals to both groups on unity.

Mr Mandela is a close personal friend of PAC leader Mr Johnson Mlambo and diplomats have speculated that the two may meet when Mr Mandela visits Tanzania next month.

Mr Renene and the other members of the delegation flew to Tanzania unannounced this weekend for talks with PAC leaders at the movement's headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The other delegation members were Brigadier Themba Matanzima, head of the Transkei Army, and Major-General Roy Keswa, second in command of the homeland's government.

General Keswa said his team would hold talks with the PAC on the political situation in South Africa.

He refused to give further information about his visit, the first to Tanzania by a mission representing a South African homeland.

Tanzanian government officials declined to comment on the visit. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Commemoration<sup>26/2/90</sup> services for Sobukwe<sup>(11A)</sup>

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Countrywide commemoration services for the late president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, kicked off at the weekend and will culminate in a main service to be held at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on March 4.

A spokesman for the Sobukwe Co-ordinating Committee (SCC) which organised the commemoration services, Mr Carter Seleka, told The Star February 24 to March 3 was declared Sobukwe Week to honour the PAC leader, who broke away from the African National Congress (ANC) during the fifties to form the Africanist organisation.

A former lecturer in the Department of African Languages at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Sobukwe died on February 26 1978 at a hospital in Kimberley after a long illness.

He spent six years in detention without trial at the Robben Island Prison, and upon his release in 1969 he was restricted to the Kimberley magisterial area.

The main commemoration service will be held at noon at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on March 4, according to Mr Seleka.

Mr Seleka said commemoration services were also scheduled to take place at the following places: Witbank, Pretoria, Nelspruit, Bushbuckridge, Belfast, Mhlakeng (Randfontein), Khaleshewe (Kimberley),

Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg, Katlehong on the East Rand, Kagiso (Krugersdorp), the University of the North, the University of Fort Hare, the University of Durban-Westville, Rhodes University, Venda and the Transkei.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng will deliver a memorial lecture on, "The immortal contributions and the legacy of Comrade Mangaliso Sobukwe", at Funda Centre, Soweto, on February 27.

The SCC said Mr Sobukwe's death left a vacuum that would take many years to fill, since "men of his calibre come once in a thousand years".

Said the SCC in a statement: "He was not only a leader, but a thinker and an ideologue. His revolutionary ideas and leadership ushered in a new revolutionary epoch in our country — even his detractors cannot deny this.

## CRITICAL STAGE

"Twelve years have passed since his demise, and much water has passed under the bridge. A critical stage of our struggle has been reached, (and) his innovative and dynamic leadership is missed."

Formed on the tenth anniversary of Mr Sobukwe's death, the SCC was this year constituted by the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, the Pan Africanist Movement, the African Women's Organisation and the African Labour Co-ordinating Committee.

# Private enterprise economy under ANC, says Mandela

B/Deny 27/2/90

11A

ANDREW GILL

IT SHOULD come as no surprise that the ANC was committed to the nationalisation of certain sectors of the economy, Nelson Mandela said yesterday after meeting Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly.

At a Press conference in Soweto, Mandela said under ANC rule the economy would remain intact and continue to be based on private enterprise, "but the sectors which we have selected are those which we feel will give us the resources as a government to tackle the problems facing the blacks".

Relly said they did not discuss nationalisation during their 40-minute meeting, but he said it should be subject to the test of debate and reality.

"The community and international community should not get into a flurry over nationalisation. These are issues for sensible men to discuss."

Relly said they had talked about the issues which had preoccupied the mining industry over the past 10 years.

"We were able to have a very profitable discussion about the issues relating to future industrial relations and the importance of industrial relations in a new SA."

Mandela said they discussed the problems facing management with regard to black trade unions.

"White trade unions enjoy the vote and that is why management attaches a great deal of importance to meeting their grievances, and while that situation exists black workers will continue to operate at a disadvantage."

ADELE BALETA reports that former Premier Milling chief Tony Bloom also met Mandela yesterday.

He and Mandela — who visited the former SA businessman to his house — discussed only personal matters as the leader was under "enormous pressure".

Mandela praised Bloom — who is in SA for two weeks to attend board meetings — saying he was a "humble and honest man who had done many things for the community which had placed him in the frontline of people seeking basic human rights in the country".

Bloom, an ardent anti-apartheid critic who quoted personal reasons for leaving the country, said he was still passionate about SA and would do whatever was required of him to work for

change. He had no plans to resettle here.

Although the climate had changed in SA, Bloom thought it would take time for foreign investment to return.

Asked if he agreed with the ANC's call for continued sanctions against SA, Bloom said: "I am a carrot and stick man finally. Some stick has been needed to reach the current situation in the country."

Addressing the ANC's call for nationalisation, he said it was not a strategy he would choose as he believed it did not work.

□ Sapa reports Mandela spent almost four hours yesterday visiting an undisclosed number of Diepkloof prison inmates, most believed to be political.



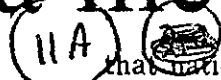
Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly and Nelson Mandela in Soweto yesterday, and, right, former Premier Milling chief Tony Bloom hugs Mandela. Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA



# Mandela meets Relly, Bloom

Sto 2712190

By Kaizer Nyatumba



The African National Congress's policy of nationalisation was "perfectly logical" given the historical deprivation of blacks in South Africa, Mr Nelson Mandela said at his Soweto home yesterday.

Speaking at a media briefing after a 30-minute meeting with Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, Mr Mandela repeated his view that nationalisation was necessary to address the economic imbalances between blacks and whites.

"Nationalisation is the policy of the ANC and it is a step which is perfectly logical," he said.

Mr Relly said he and Mr Mandela had discussed neither nationalisation nor sanctions, because "we had a lot to talk about".

He stood by his view, however,

that nationalisation was not the right way to address the economic disparities.

Nationalisation, added Mr Relly, would have to be addressed "in a quiet and rational way" and it was significant that the issue was open for debate.

It was obvious that any future government would have to "try to address historical economic problems and this will call for a re-allocation of funds".

Mr Tony Bloom, former Premier Milling head, spent 20 minutes with the ANC leader yesterday, reports Sapa.

Mr Bloom said if former president Mr P W Botha had released Mr Mandela instead of making "that moronic Rubicon speech", the situation in the country would have been very different.

Mr Bloom said President de Klerk should be congratulated for his "extremely courageous, far-reaching and visionary moves".

On sanctions, Mr Bloom said the situation in the country until recently had warranted "some stick," but it seemed the time for carrots was due.

Although the issue of nationalisation had not been discussed with Mr Mandela, Mr Bloom said he could understand the ANC's attitude as the organisation wanted to flatten the wealth pyramid.

He felt the ANC was still prepared to explore other options to this end.

Mr Mandela also held talks with a 12-member Italian parliamentary delegation, led by former premier Mr Flaminio Piccoli.

Sowetan 27/2/90

# Nelson visits Sun City prison

**RELEASED** ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday returned to jail -- this time to visit some people detained at Soweto's Diepkloof prison.

He spent almost four hours visiting an undisclosed number of prisoners, most believed to be political.

The rest of Mandela's day, his last in South Africa before flying to Lusaka and Europe, was spent in meetings with top businessmen, a black consciousness trade union delegation, and foreign diplomats from Swaziland and Italy.

His meetings with businessmen included a 40 minute visit with Anglo American head Mr Gavin Relly and the former head of the giant Premier Milling, Mr Tony Bloom, who now resides in London.

Both businessmen expressed optimism about South Africa's future following their meetings with Mandela.

## Tribute

Bloom said the situation in South Africa would be very different today had Mandela been released 10 years ago.

Bloom, whose 2.30pm meeting was rescheduled to 5pm to accommodate the afternoon prison visit, also paid tribute to President F W de Klerk's "extremely courageous, far reaching and visionary moves" over the past few weeks.

Mr Relly said his discussions revolved around ways to sort out mutual industrial relations in South Africa.

He said a more equitable system with regard to education and housing resources had to be found. It was the government not private enterprise that had to get rid of distortions caused by apartheid.

Both businessmen felt the meeting was fruitful and following the discussions, Mandela said: "This is the spirit in which the ANC would like to see problems settled."

Relly's meeting ran five minutes shorter than the time allotted to the Anglo head, while Bloom spent less than half-an-hour with Mandela than the 45 minutes scheduled for the meeting.

Speaking about sanctions, Mr Bloom said the situation in the country up until recently had warranted "some stick" but it seemed the time for carrots was now due.

# Violence goes on despite Mandela peace appeal

The Argus Correspondent  
DURBAN. — Fierce fighting continued today in the squatter settlement of Malagazi, near Isipingo, as more shacks were set on fire in a violent clash between supporters of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

The fighting started only hours after Mr Nelson Mandela's call on Sunday for warring factions in Natal to bury the hatchet.

So far more than 200 people have been left homeless and the figure is expected to rise rapidly.

At least 42 shacks have been razed by rampaging mobs which have terrorised residents since Sunday night. Last night at the height of a thunderstorm 30 shacks were gutted, following the burning of about 12 others on Sunday night.

## VERY TENSE

Police said the situation was very tense at the squatter settlement today and there was a strong police presence in the area.

According to police, a man was shot dead when his house was attacked by a group of men in the squatter settlement yesterday.

Early today members of the police riot unit had to be called out because about 1 000 schoolchildren were marching, toying and singing. Their destination was unknown.

Last night firemen from the Amanzimtoti fire department had to be escorted into the area by police and members of the SADF to fight the fires and stop the blaze from spreading to other shacks.

Lieutenant Bala Naidoo, police public relations officer for Port Natal said fighting started on Sunday night when a mob set fire to about 12 shacks.

Last night the fighting resumed and 30 more shacks were gutted.

Residents claimed that fighting started after groups of UDF supporters returned from the Mandela rally at King's Park on Sunday.

It is alleged that Inkatha supporters began to taunt them and they then attacked the

At the rally Mr Mandela made a plea to end the fighting in which more than 2 000 people have lost their lives.

He appealed for those responsible to "throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea".

## SHOT DEAD

Meanwhile, a taxi driver was shot dead at Inanda yesterday and several passengers were injured when an unknown gunman opened fire.

In another incident in the area, a man was arrested after he fired shots at an army patrol. Police have taken possession of a home-made gun.

Flames leaped into the air and black smoke billowed out of torched shacks when a news team visited the area.

Women and children stood nearby and watched their possessions burn. A truck of soldiers pulled up and ran towards the flaming homes cocking their weapons.

Further on, at least 11 police vans were parked and a group of Kwazulu police with automatic weapons stood on the roadside, metres away from the ashes and rubble of shacks that had burned out.



Smoke from burning shacks rises from Malagazi township near Durban.

squatter settlement.

# 'Nationalisation still makes sense'

Cap Times 27/2/90 (11A)

SOWETO. — Mr Nelson Mandela, following his first talks with the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, reaffirmed his commitment yesterday to nationalisation but said the ANC sought an economy based on private enterprise.

Mr Mandela and Mr Relly said their 30-minute talks concentrated on industrial relations and did not include the issue of nationalisation. But the two men told reporters that further discussions were necessary on the subject.

Nationalising key sectors of the economy remained basic ANC policy, Mr Mandela said. Nationalisation had been adopted in the past to meet social problems in the country, "and it should come as no surprise whatsoever that the ANC has made it one of its policies", he said.

"The sectors which we have selected are those which we feel will give us the resources as a country to tackle some of the problems facing especially blacks," Mr Mandela said in reference to the ANC's commitment to nationalising SA's mines and banks.

"I must stress that the entire economy, insofar as we are concerned, will remain intact," he said. "It will continue to be based on private enterprise."

"Nationalisation will have to be subjected to the tests of debate and the tests of what is reality and what is practicable in trying to make modern economies work," Mr Relly told reporters.

## International community

"The international community should not get itself in a flurry of excitement over the issues of nationalisation. These are for sensible men in due course to address in a quiet and rational way."

Establishing a "far more equitable social structure" in the country should be the prime object of any future government policy, Mr Relly said. Social problems in housing and education called for a reallocation of resources, and private enterprise had an important role in filling gaps left by the government.

Former Premier Milling head Mr Tony Bloom, who also held a 20-minute meeting yesterday with the ANC leader, said the

situation in the country would have been very different had former president Mr P W Botha released Mr Mandela instead of making "that moronic Rubicon speech".

He told reporters Mr F W de Klerk should be congratulated for his "extremely courageous, far-reaching and visionary move".

Speaking about sanctions, Mr Bloom said the situation in the country up until recently had warranted "some stick", but it seemed the time for carrots was now due.

He expressed his sorrow that Mr Mandela had not been released 10 or more years ago.

Mr Mandela praised Mr Bloom — who is in SA for two weeks to attend board meetings — saying he was a "humble and honest man who had done many things for the community which had placed him the frontline of people seeking basic human rights in the country".

Although the climate had changed in SA, Mr Bloom thought it would take time for foreign investment to return. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI



**SOWETO MEETING** ... Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly with Mr Nelson Mandela after their meeting at Mr Mandela's house in Soweto yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

# World expects too much of Mandela, says first wife

Reuter reports from London

AP/60  
27/2/90  
11A

**T**HE former wife of Nelson Mandela says in a London article that the world expects too much of the man she once loved but who later abandoned her.

Eveline Mandela, who was divorced from the South African black leader in 1957, told the Sunday Telegraph that the marriage ran into difficulties when Mandela became more involved with the African National Congress and often failed to return home at night.

"When I asked about it, he said: 'No policemen ask questions like you,'" said the 68-year-old Bible teacher who bore Mandela four children.

She dismissed a comment by Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, who likened Mandela's release after 27 years in prison to the second coming of Christ.

"It's very silly when people say this kind of thing about Nelson. The whole world worships Nelson too much. He is only a man," she said.

Eveline said she and Mandela had not communicated since their divorce and his marriage to Winnie Madikizela a year later.

"When he was arrested in 1962 I went to see him, but he didn't want to see me. I felt so humiliated," she said at her home in Transkei.

She said she never expected to see Mandela again but wished him well.

"Nelson knows where I am, but I won't be contacting him. He might be president of this country but it will be under difficult conditions because there will be no peace. I wish him well ... but the world is building Nelson up too much. I know he is only a man," Evelyn said.

● In an article in the Observer Mandela said he had never felt a moment's hatred for a white person despite the years of police harassment suffered by his wife Winnie and their family.

Mandela said the treatment of his family by the authorities made him angry but he could never hate the individuals carrying out the policies of apartheid.

"Anger is a temporary feeling. You soon forget it, particularly if you are involved in positive activities and attitudes," he said.



Mrs Eveline Mandela ... marriage difficulties when her husband became involved with the ANC

Winnie Mandela was repeatedly arrested, imprisoned and detained under security laws. Her home was fire-bombed twice and an attempt was made to place a bomb in her car.

"Knowing these things were happening to my family and that I could do nothing to protect them was the most painful part of my imprisonment," Mandela said.

● Nelson Mandela is no Messiah, says his eldest daughter Zenani, in a report from the Argus Africa News Service Mbabane, Swaziland.

Zenani, married to a Prince of Swaziland's Royal Dlamini family, was speaking in an interview on Swazi television.

Inkhosikati Lamandela, as she is known in Swaziland, said in the interview: "I hope my father will play an important role in South Africa, but he is no Messiah, he is a human being and may make mistakes. I hope people will allow him to make those mistakes."

Inkhosikati Lamandela and her husband Prince Thumbumuzi are studying in the United States and returned to the region to welcome Mr Mandela after his release. Prince Thumbumuzi brought a message from Mr Mandela to Swazi head of state King Mswati.

The couple are expected to accompany Mr Mandela on a visit to Zambia.

# Africanists spurn negotiations ...

# Sobukwe's soul marches on...

11A

Sowetan 27/2/90

IN his lifetime, Robert Sobukwe, the African patriot born in 1924 near the old Dutch settlement town of Graaf-Reinet in the Cape, noted in one of his often colourful speeches: "The African people are fully aware that suggestions of ... white leadership with justice of partnership is intended merely as a cloak for ... continued oppression, exploitation and degradation".

Today, as negotiations becomes the catchword in SA, the adherents of Africanism assembled under the banner of the recently-formed Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) maintain that such a process could only take place for the return of the land to the indigenous African and the transfer of power to the majority.

Indeed, with regard to the "return of land to the people", PAM president Clarence Makwetu, a former Robben Island prisoner and peasant farmer in the Transkei, observed at his movement's very first Press conference recently: "Eighty-seven percent of the land mass is owned by 15 percent of the people. We don't subscribe to the view that the land should be owned by those who work it".

## Settlers

Makwetu, one of those who was in the illustrious company of Sobukwe when he led the defiance campaign against SA's draconian Pass laws in March 1969, added:

"If one accepts that, then it means that after liberation the settlers (whites) will still be in

**THE legacy Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, president of the Pan African Congress (PAC) who died on February 27 1978, left behind is well and living in the hearts of present day Africanists who spurn the thought of negotiations as a process for affecting a political settlement in South Africa.**

control of the resources as they work the vast mass of the country (which they have taken from us)".

Twelve years after the death of Sobukwe, it seems, his followers remain uncompromising. Like the PAC patriarch, they perceive in SA society "the master and the slave". As such, neither negotiations nor "talks about talks" have priority on the agenda of present day Africanist.

The nub of the issue for them is that one cannot negotiate from a position of total imposed weaknesses - as they vehemently maintain (in discourse from time to time) the masses are in. And it is not difficult to decipher that, in their quest for a new Africa, they are re-enacting the words of Sobukwe who warned:

## Death

"Africa will not retreat! Africa will not comprise! Africa will not equivocate!"

Sobukwe himself died in arbitrary banishment. He was, at the time of his death, following the removal of a cancerous lung, living at 6 Naledi Street, Galeshewe in Kimberley within whose magisterial district he was restricted after his release from Robben Island on June 30 1969.

He was buried on March 2 1978.

Sobukwe, indeed, in



many quarters, was seen to be one of those who made up the core of the leadership of the entire liberation movement in SA. And, observed many others, he could never have been free from constraints for his unwavering political philosophy in the kind of SA he lived in.

## Image grew

But the longer the founder-member and, in fact, the PAC's very first president after its formation in 1959 was either incarcerated or restricted, the greater did his image become.

Now, with the sudden public re-emergence of Pan-Africanism following the formation of PAM last December, the words in song by a comrade of Sobukwe's re-echo: "Sobukwe's body lies mouldered in the grave, but his soul goes marching on... struggle goes on."

Despite the apparent lull of Pan Africanism over the past years, it seems the very formation of PAM - supported by the Azanian National Youth Unity, Pan Africanist Students' Organisation and the African Women's Organisation - is the materialisation of a

prophecy by 'the hero of the Azanian struggle', Sobukwe:

"Once white supremacy has become mentally untenable to our people, it

will become physically untenable too - and will go on."

Another anniversary of the demise of Sobukwe has come and, with it, perhaps another commitment of dedication by Africanists to the fight against, in the words of the African political giant, "an outworn, anachronistic vile system".



Robert Sobukwe



# Africanists spurn negotiations ...

# Sobukwe's soul marches on...

11A

Sowetan  
27/2/90

IN his lifetime, Robert Sobukwe, the African patriot born in 1924 near the old Dutch settlement town of Graaf-Reinet in the Cape, noted in one of his often colourful speeches: "The African people are fully aware that suggestions of ... white leadership with justice of partnership is intended merely as a cloak for ... continued oppression, exploitation and degradation".

Today, as negotiations becomes the catchword in SA, the adherents of Africanism assembled under the banner of the recently-formed Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) maintain that such a process could only take place for the return of the land to the indigenous African and the transfer of power to the majority.

Indeed, with regard to the "return of land to the people". PAM president Clarence Makwetu, a former Robben Island prisoner and peasant farmer in the Transkei, observed at his movement's very first Press conference recently: "Eighty-seven percent of the land mass is owned by 15 percent of the people. We don't subscribe to the view that the land should be owned by those who work it".

## Settlers

Makwetu, one of those who was in the illustrious company of Sobukwe when he led the defiance campaign against SA's draconian Pass laws in March 1969, added:

"If one accepts that, then it means that after liberation the settlers (whites) will still be in

**THE legacy Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, president of the Pan African Congress (PAC) who died on February 27 1978, left behind is well and living in the hearts of present day Africanists who spurn the thought of negotiations as a process for affecting a political settlement in South Africa.**

control of the resources as they work the vast mass of the country (which they have taken from us)".

Twelve years after the death of Sobukwe, it seems, his followers remain uncompromising. Like the PAC patriarch, they perceive in SA society "the master and the slave". As such, neither negotiations nor "talks about talks" have priority on the agenda of present day Africanist.

The nub of the issue for them is that one cannot negotiate from a position of total imposed weaknesses - as they vehemently maintain (in discourse from time to time) the masses are in. And it is not difficult to decipher that, in their quest for a new Africa, they are re-enacting the words of Sobukwe who warned:

## Death

"Africa will not retreat! Africa will not comprise! Africa will not equivocate!

Sobukwe himself died in arbitrary banishment. He was, at the time of his death, following the removal of a cancerous lung, living at 6 Naledi Street, Galeshewe in Kimberley within whose magisterial district he was restricted after his release from Robben Island on June 30 1969.

He was buried on March 2 1978.

Sobukwe, indeed, in

## FOCUS

many quarters, was seen to be one of those who made up the core of the leadership - movement in SA. And, observed many others, he could never have been free from constraints for his unwavering political philosophy in the kind of SA he lived in.

## Image grew

But the longer the founder-member and, in fact, the PAC's very first president after its formation in 1959 was either incarcerated or restricted, the greater did his image become.

Now, with the sudden public re-emergence of Pan-Africanism following the formation of PAM last December, the words in song by a comrade of Sobukwe's re-echo: "Sobukwe's body lies moulded in the grave, but his soul goes marching on... struggle goes on."

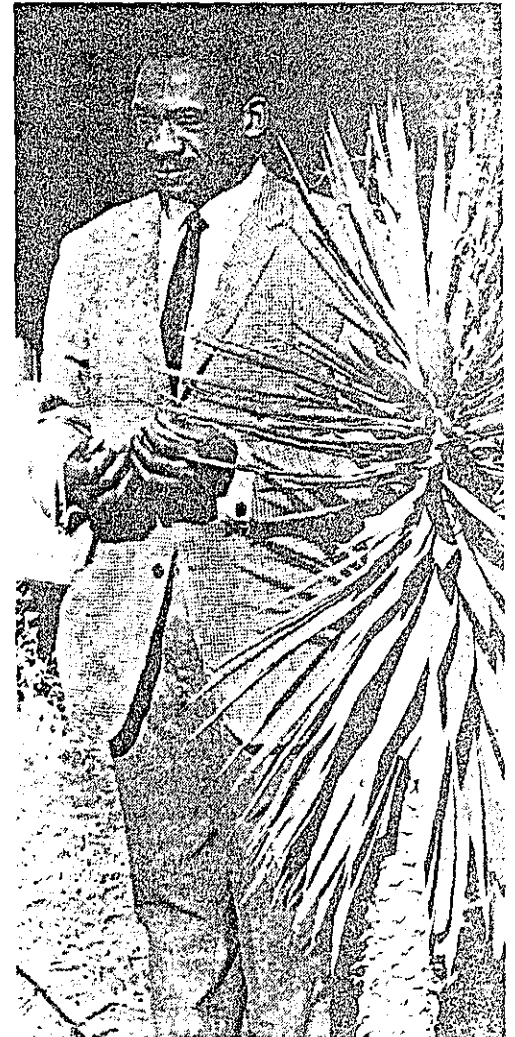
Despite the apparent lull of Pan Africanism over the past years, it seems the very formation of PAM - supported by the Azanian National Youth Unity, Pan Africanist Students' Organisation and the African Women's Organisation - is the materialisation of a

prophecy by 'the hero of the Azanian struggle', Sobukwe:

"Once white supremacy has become mentally untenable to our people, it

will become physically untenable too - and will go on."

Another anniversary of the demise of Sobukwe has come and, with it, perhaps another commitment of dedication by Africanists to the fight against, in the words of the African political giant, "an outworn, anachronistic vile system".



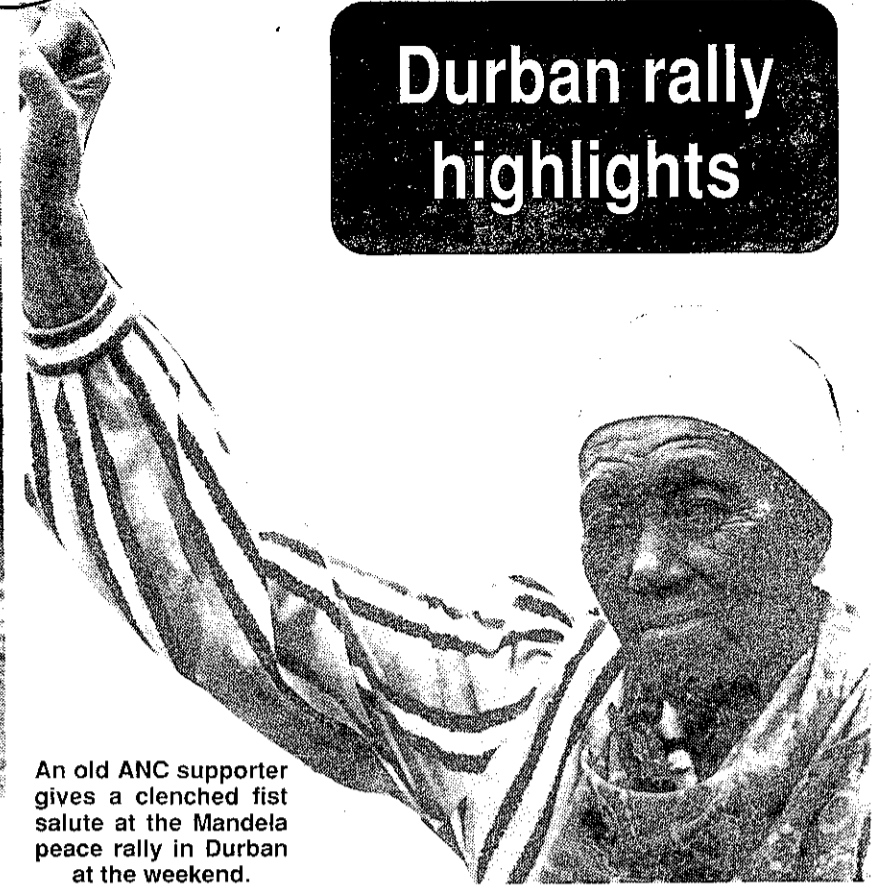
Robert Sobukwe

11A

# Durban rally highlights



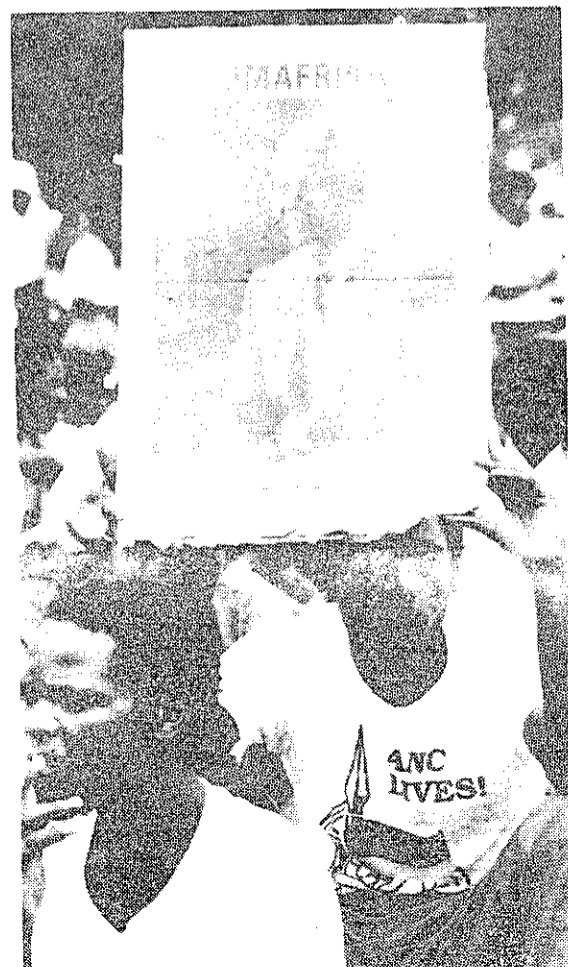
ABOVE: The sweltering heat that enveloped Durban was so unbearable that when one of the water pipes burst, it was a blessing in disguise for part of the crowd, and BELOW: Part of the huge gathering that listened attentively as Mandela appealed for peace to be restored in Natal.



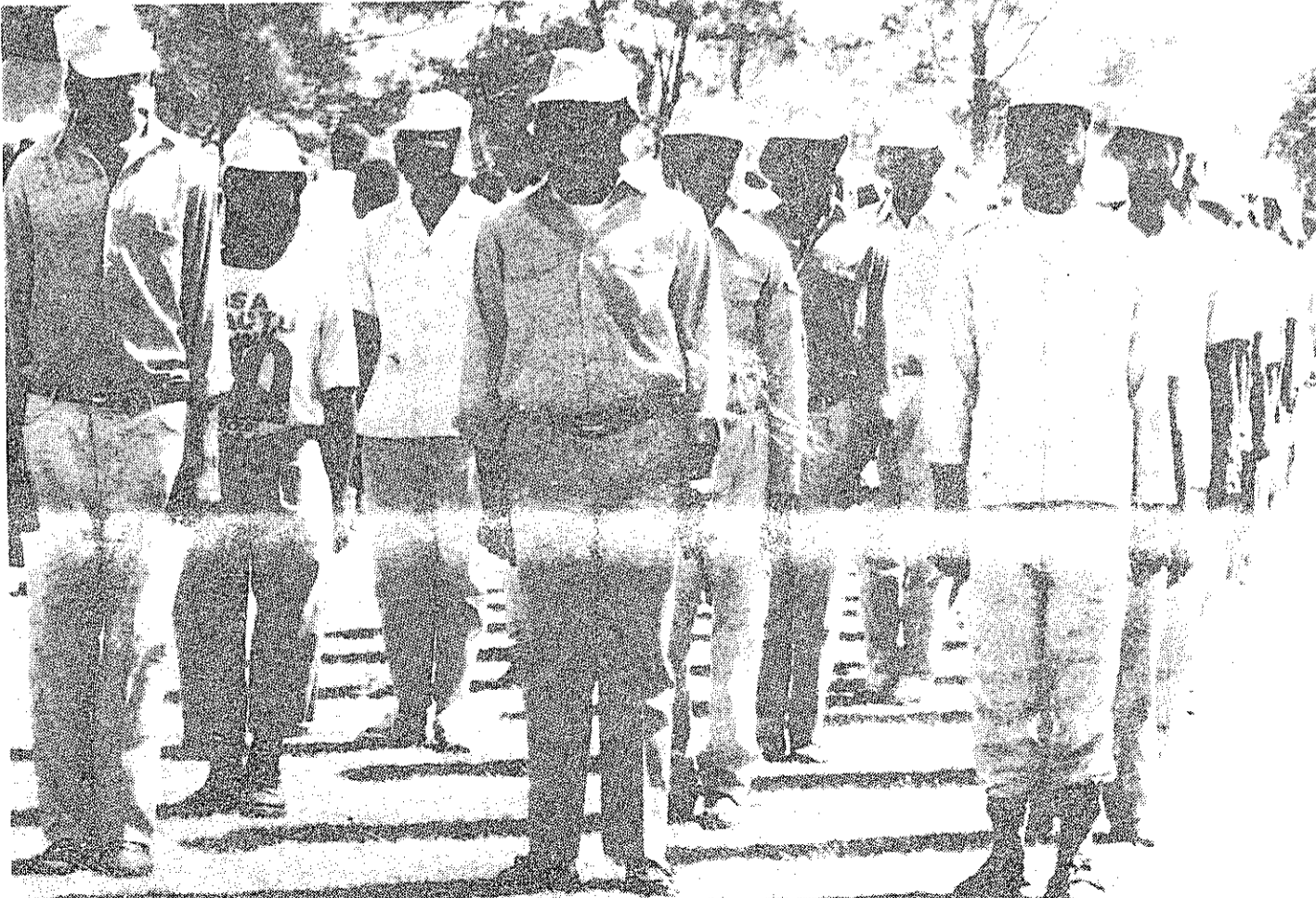
An old ANC supporter gives a clenched fist salute at the Mandela peace rally in Durban at the weekend.

Reporters, observers and police found it very difficult to gauge the size of the massive crowd that attended the Mandela rally outside Durban's King's Park Stadium on Sunday.

Estimates ranged from 80000 to 180 000 people. Sowetan photographer ROBERT MAGWAZA captured some of the highlights of the day.



This youth used a poster of his hero to protect himself from the blistering sun.



The "Young Lions" stand to attention outside the stadium before Mandela's arrival.

THE ANC expects whites to cease enjoying special privileges and to become ordinary members of society under a future constitution guaranteeing the rights of all.

In a document published in London last month, ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs outlined policy on the future of white South Africans.

Sachs lost an arm in an assassination attempt in Maputo in 1987. His document, entitled *The Future Constitutional Position of White South Africans*, addresses federal options and the entrenchment of group or minority rights.

It also addresses the principles of consociational democracy and privatising apartheid.

Sachs says that once the system of white supremacy is destroyed their true interests as citizens can be protected, including their interests as

B/D ay 27 2 90 (11A)

# Sachs outlines ANC policy on whites

individuals and as members of cultural, religious or other groups.

He says the traditional defenders of apartheid are saying they accept the principles of an undivided SA, no domination of any group over another and universal suffrage, which at first sight appear to meet the basic claims of the anti-apartheid forces.

Converted into constitutional proposals, however, "it becomes clear that they cover conceptions of government and human rights that are incompatible with those of the anti-apartheid movement. The basic difference is the saliency given to race.

"The anti-apartheid position is to eliminate race. Thus the undivided

## CHARLENE SMITH

SA could be a united country, or a jumble of loosely related, race-based bantustans, cantons and federal states.

"Similarly, the principle of non-domination can be maintained by accepting majority rule subject to a Bill of Rights guaranteeing fundamental rights and liberties, or, alternatively, by establishing a system of racial own affairs and race group vetoes in Parliament.

"Finally there can be one person, one vote on a common voters roll, or one person, one vote on separate racially constituted rolls, the suf-

frage could be universal and undivided or universal but separate."

But, he adds there cannot be co-existence between racial group rights and non-racial democracy. It would be like saying a little bit of slavery would be allowed, not too much, or that a former colonial power would exercise just a small amount of sovereignty over the newly independent state, not a lot.

He says it is important to recognise the multiplicity of cultures in SA, as well as the social and economic inequalities. It is also in SA's interests to prevent the collapse of productive capacity or public utilities.

He envisages entrenched guarantees including:

- Full and equal participation in

political and civil life for all South Africans;

- Discrimination being outlawed;
- A multi-party system with freedom of speech and assembly and periodical elections to choose Parliament and government;

- A Bill of Rights guaranteeing fundamental human rights and liberties with recourse to the courts;

- The separation of powers and an independent judiciary;

- Freedom of religious, cultural and linguistic rights; and

- The opening up of equal opportunities for all and the redistribution of wealth in the country according to constitutionally defined principles covering public interest, affirmative action and fair procedures, with the courts having the power of judicial review on the defence of these principles.

## REVIEWS



Nelson Mandela

# Mandela is in Zambia today

11A  
20/27  
3/60

KUALA LUMPUR.- Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad left yesterday for Zambia to meet Nelson Mandela and leaders of SA's neighbouring countries.

Mahathir, Canadian

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sridath Ramphal were invited by Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda to attend the meeting in Lusaka today and tomorrow, foreign ministry officials said.

Mahathir was accompanied by Abdul Majid Mohamed, deputy secretary-general of the foreign ministry.

Last week, Mahathir said that while welcoming the SA government's release of Mandela from prison and lifting of the ban on the ANC, Malaysia felt that all sanctions must continue until apartheid is completely dismantled.

Mahathir said he regretted that Britain had lifted sanctions blocking new investments to SA.

Sapa-AP

## ANC must play by rules — Coetsee

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and other organisations allowed to play on the fields opened up by the President's initiatives had to keep to the rules of the game, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In debate on a motion by Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo), he said that if these organisations had said they were seeking peaceful solutions, this had to mean there would be no more

talk or practise of violence (110)

Violence had, in fact, decreased considerably. 8/10/90 27/2/90

Boycotts and sanctions were purely symbolic, because SA had remained standing in spite of them. But these bodies had to decide how they stood on the question of joblessness, if they wanted to retain such measures.

— Sapa.

## The villain is the high birthrate

I believe that your Code of Ethics (The Star, February 6), tends to be a matter of expediency.

Take for example your relentless campaign aimed at the Government over the past few months, apropos the severe shortage of housing and schooling facilities for blacks. Had you been balanced in your numerous editorials on these subjects, you would have given equal publicity to the fact that, apartheid or not, the primary reason for these insoluble problems is the irresponsible black birthrate.

Just as you have slated the Government for the shortages, so too would you have taken black leaders such as Buthelesi, Tutu, Boesak, etc. to task for not actively discouraging promiscuity and for failing to advocate smaller families.

### EDUCATED

You would have pointed out that unemployment, hunger and disease are just three of the major problems being experienced by virtually all black-ruled countries as a result of too high a birthrate.

You would also have highlighted the fact that Mugabe introduced education facilities for all after Zimbabwe's independence 10 years ago, and the result is a large number of educated but still unemployed young people — simply because of the uncontrollable birthrate.

The Star appears to be sitting back and congratulating itself on being one of the best newspapers in the world, but in my opinion it cannot lay claim to such accolades until it ceases to pander to the masses' political whims and embarks upon a course of social responsibility.

T A Pahl

Linmeyer

# Mandela intolerant of many who fought on same side

I am, to say the least, utterly disappointed to realise that the man so revered in the African community of Azania has a limited understanding of what democracy is about. Regardless of paying lip service to the political philosophy, he, like most of his comrades in the ANC, is intolerant of other's opinions.

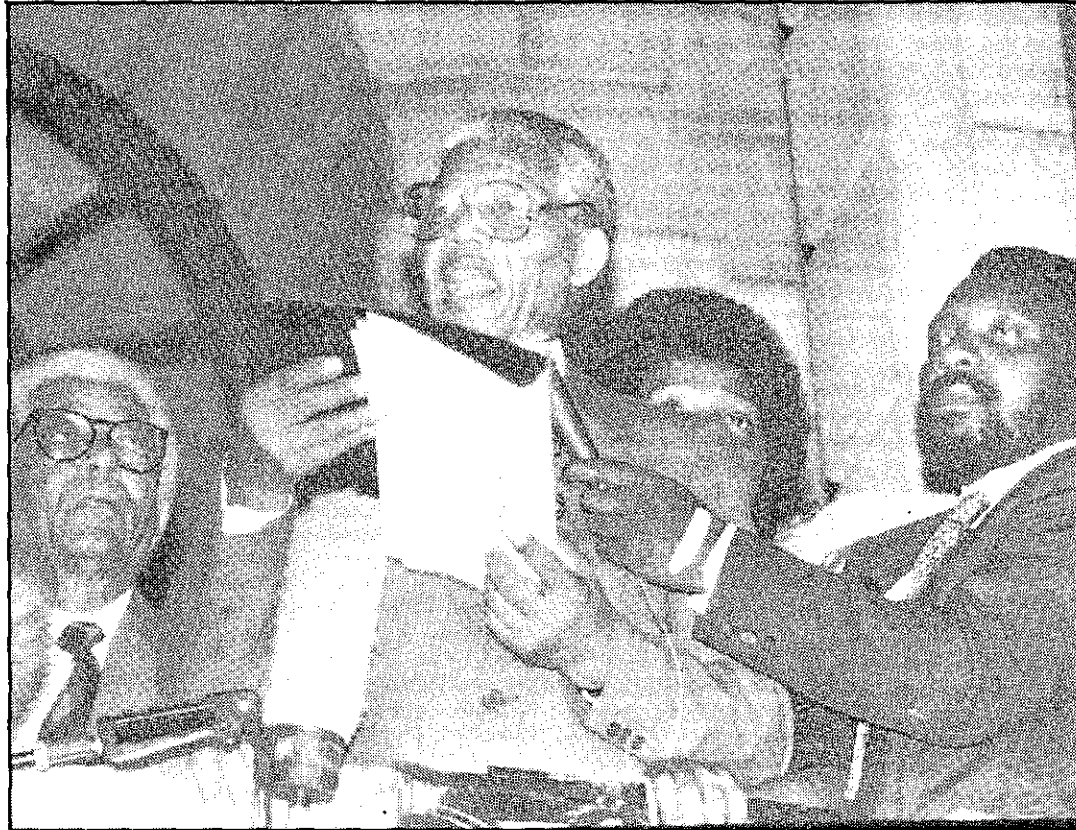
What is most amazing is that the target of such intolerance is people who have fought on the same side of the fence for the same objective — freedom for the African.

Mr Mandela, it does nothing for your dignity to ignore the contributions made by PAC, SASO, BPC, BCP to the struggle in your acknowledgements. To ignore the likes of Mr Robert Sobukwe, Mr Steve Biko, Mr Tsetsi Mashinini, Mr Abraham Tiro and others smacks of distortion of reality that does not benefit your standing.

Imagine mentioning Nusas and Black Sash instead, whose members were probably drinking tea to the aroma of spring flowers when they were snuffing the life out of Steve Biko, and yet it was for the human dignity of the African, you and me included Mr Mandela, that Steve Biko died. Yet all he gets from you is complete disregard like he never existed.

Is the policy of the ANC to straitjacket everyone to its line of thinking or be damned? Is this democracy that is to be carried into the government of the new South Africa? What will happen to the press?

Africans have suffered distortion of history at the hands of whites who wrote history to justify themselves, who wrote from their perspective alone. Is this the intention of the ANC? To portray the struggle from their perspective alone?



At the Grand Parade in Cape Town Dr Mandela uttered the following words: "What we want is universal suffering on a common voters' roll." Quite. — Bill O'Connor, Berea.

Mr Mandela acknowledges the existence of people who by their conscious actions made all attempts to thwart the strategies of relevant people. Someone who flew several times to the major Western capitals to dissuade them from imposing sanctions. Someone who founded a trade union Uwusa (where is it?) for the sole purpose of putting Cosatu off balance. Whose organisation's intolerance of UDF has led to unending flow of African blood in Natal.

Yet Sobukwe, Mothopeng, Masesemola, with whom you were on Robben Island, are not worth mentioning even in passing.

It is a disgrace that as late as 1990 we are still mentally and psychologically colonised.

I am also baffled by what is meant by black domination, especially in a country with 29 million black people against five million whites. Is democracy not about majority rule?

Kgositsile Mokgosi

Orlando East

HR605 28/2/70

# Treason charges dossier handed to A-G

Political Correspondent

CHARGES of high treason against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by the police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General for a decision, parliament has been told.

This emerged in a debate

yesterday on a question by the CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager, to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr De Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated,

public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a "serious issue", he said.

Mr Vlok, who confirmed that the charge was laid on February 12, said the dossier was forwarded by police to the Attorney-General on February 22.

It was up to him to decide whether the matter went to court or not.

# Gazankulu leader denies fleeing youth congress

NRGW 28/2/90 11A

## The Argus Correspondent

GIYANI. — The Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, has denied claims that he had fled the homeland in the face of growing unrest and demands made by the newly established Giyani Youth Congress.

Gazankulu experienced sporadic unrest last week during which six people were believed to have died. Most schools, shops, factories and government departments were closed last week.

Appearing at a Press conference in Giyani on Monday, Professor Ntsanwisi called for restraint by everyone involved in the recent disturbances in the homeland.

He said government services and businesses were functioning normally, as workers had returned to offices, factories and other places of employment.

He also claimed there had been a 50 percent return to schools by

youths who had supported boycott action.

The Chief Minister said that his government had replied to certain demands made last week in a petition compiled by the Giyani Youth Congress.

## SECURITY FORCES

He added that security forces would be withdrawn as soon as the situation returned to normal.

He said he fully supported the reform initiatives of President De Klerk, and also the efforts of other popular organisations such as the ANC, Cosatu and the MDM to bring about a non-racial democratic society.

In a statement issued earlier on Monday, the Gazankulu government blamed unrest in the homeland on a deliberate campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement to "mobilise students and youth, intimidate the moderate population and embarrass and discredit the government".



Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi





# Slovo outlines ANC economic policy for SA

LUSAKA. — One of the most implacable foes of the South African Government, Mr Joe Slovo, a top official of the ANC and one of its chief economic thinkers, believes Pretoria would concede black majority rule if it could guarantee that white economic privilege would survive the end of apartheid.

For when common ground has been found on all the political issues which divide the two South Africas, the hardest bargaining is likely to focus on the economic structure of a post-apartheid South Africa.



Mr Joe Slovo

In an interview with the Financial Times in Lusaka, Mr Slovo outlined the twin objectives of the organisation's economic policy: to bring about a redistribution of wealth while ensuring that the economy serves the purpose of every economy, that it provides for the needs of the people.

"When the transformation comes, we can't just bake slogans, we've got to bake bread," he says.

Mr Slovo, 63, is one of two white members of the ANC's 35-member national executive committee. As general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a former commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he has a powerful position within the ANC.

## Economic policy

He is one with other ANC leaders in insisting that the fundamental aim of economic policy must be the redistribution of wealth. When pressed for specifics on the mechanism of redistribution, he says the movement is still working out its policy.

Mr Slovo is, however, willing to be categorical on one point: nationalisation is not the fundamental policy of the ANC. "The ANC has made clear its acceptance of the co-existence of different forms of property: state, private, mixed, perhaps collective." It envisages a mixed economy.

That does not mean that no industry will be nationalised, indeed, some probably will, Mr Slovo says. But he is at pains to point out that the 1955 Freedom Charter does not use the word nationalisation.

"The narrow issue of nationalisation is a bit of a red herring," he says. "The image conjured up is one of sudden 100 percent takeover by the state, without the involvement of other sectors of capital."

## Nationalisation

But what Mr Slovo envisages is, it might be argued, more radical than the nationalisation of a handful of industries. "To me the more important question is one of control, not ownership," he argues. "The question is whether a particular sector is run purely in the interests of profit, or in the interests of people."

The mines, banks, monopoly industries, other sectors of the economy too "have got to be taken under public control, which I distinguish from state control, which in the socialist world has been a bureaucratic concept which has not led to effective public control".

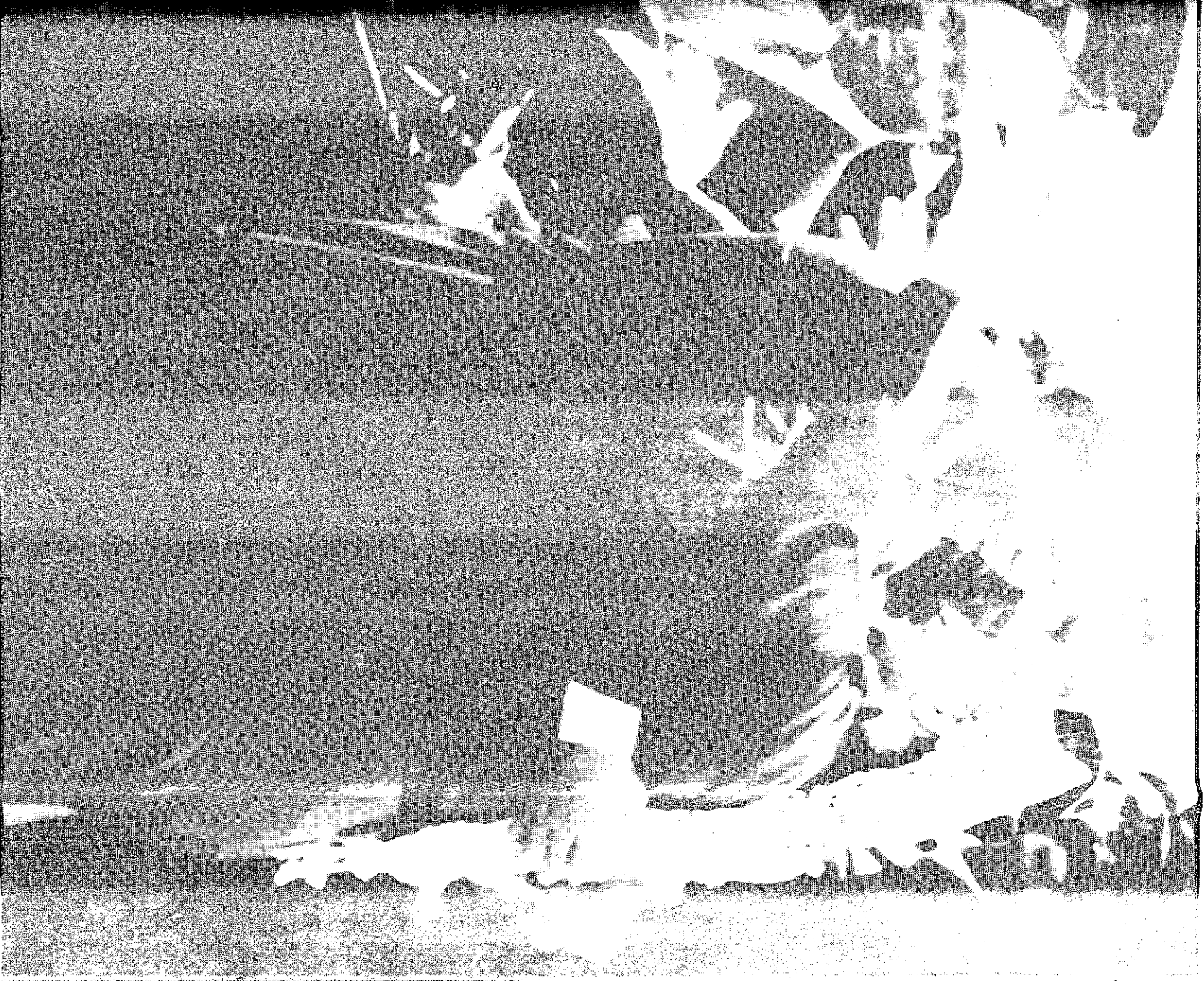
Public control means "effective participation through democratic mechanisms of democratic representatives of the people, the producers themselves, and other participants."

The basic economic lesson of eastern Europe, he concludes is that "if you are going to build socialism you must go beyond mere state planning and control, you must have democratic participation by producers at all levels".

## Union Buildings

Building socialism is not, however, the immediate goal of the ANC, Mr Slovo says. "The economy of South Africa the day after the ANC flag flies over the Union Buildings will be exactly the same as the day before. You can't transform it by edict without risking economic collapse."

The transition will be phased, and though social dislocation is inevitable, everything will be done to ensure it is minimised and white skills retained. Foreign capital will remain crucial to development and guarantees of stability and security will be offered to ensure investors do not avoid South Africa. — Financial Times.



PLO chief Yasser Arafat greets Mr Nelson Mandela on his arrival at Lusaka Airport

# Tumultuous — Welcome for Mandela —

By JOHN RYAN of Argus Africa News Service in Lusaka

**N**ELSON Mandela moved into the warm embrace of Africa with his first trip beyond the frontiers of South Africa in 27 years.

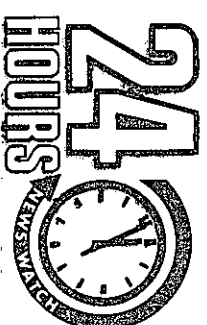
The biggest crowd ever seen in Zambia came together in Lusaka to welcome the man Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called "as much our leader as you are the leader of the African National Congress".

Schools and offices were closed in Lusaka and Mr Mandela was greeted as a senior statesman by officials and civilians alike. The day was declared Nelson Mandela Day and schoolchildren arrived in their thousands to witness his arrival.

A clearly moved Mr Mandela exchanged warm embraces, first with Dr Kaunda, one of South Africa's sternest critics, then with other leaders from the region, including Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe.

But the warmest welcome was reserved for PLO chief Yasser Arafat, hailed by Mr Mandela as a brave opponent of a special kind of colonialism, and Herman Toivo ja Toivo of Swapo, who spent 15 years on Robben Island with the Rivonia trialists.

As dancers and singers paid tribute to Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, the couple were greeted by other exiled ANC leaders, including Mr Joe Slovo, many of whom



will soon be free to return to South Africa.

A garlanded Mr Mandela addressed the enthusiastic crowd, telling them the ANC was now "on the path to a breakthrough" in the battle against apartheid, and that the years spent in jail were "not in vain".

Thousands packed the precincts of the international airport itself. Tens of thousands more lined the 25-kilometre route into the capital from a point about 15km out.

Most of those gathered at the airport had stood in the hot sun for more than two hours.

It was an impressive statement of solidarity with the cause of reform in South Africa and a massive show of esteem for Mr Mandela himself.

The beat of drums from tribal groups around the tar-mac reached a crescendo as his aircraft banked for landing shortly after two o'clock.

Seven police sharpshooters watched vigilantly from the top of the airport building.

Yet it was a much more orderly arrival than that last month when Walter Sisulu

and the other recently released ANC members came to Lusaka to meet the external leadership.

Foreign television teams almost trampled the children of the ANC's Young Pioneers underfoot on that occasion. This time the 200-strong media contingent was placed firmly behind a cordon and only broke out when the Mandela party had alighted from the Zambian Airways plane.

Banners raised aloft by ANC members and cadres of Unkhonto We Siswe in their black berets, white shirts and military green trousers read: "Welcome, Commander-in-Chief" and: "Your release is equal to people's victory".

Earlier, successive groups of ANC members — most of whom were not born when their leader went to jail — toyed before the crowd of Zambians and chanted slogans.

In a short speech, Mr Mandela paid tribute to Dr Kaunda's efforts on the ANC's behalf over a period of more than 20 years and said his members regarded Lusaka as their second home.

"From this city," he said, "a remarkable team emerged who turned our organisation into a powerful force.

Mr Mandela appealed to the international community for funds to enable the ANC to continue its campaign for change within South Africa.

# Hero's welcome for Mandela

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela arrived yesterday to a flag-waving hero's welcome for his first meeting with the exiled ANC leaders in more than 27 years.

Mr Mandela hugged dignitaries from around the world who welcomed him, including leaders of the frontline states and PLO chairman Mr Yasser Arafat, who smiling broadly embraced and kissed Mr Mandela twice.

Addressing a crowd of about 10 000 Zambians and ANC exiles and 21 representatives of foreign organisations, Mr Mandela appealed to the international community for capital assistance for the ANC to rebuild itself now that its 30-year ban had been lifted.

"We appeal to the international community to provide us with the capital and other resources to undertake this work successfully," he said. "The international community has done very excellent work in support of our cause . . . and we are certain that even at this stage they will provide us the capital we need."

"Through sanctions and other forms of pressure they have focused attention on the struggle for basic human rights in our country."

Mr Mandela also praised President Kenneth Kaunda for hosting the ANC, which established its headquarters in exile in Lusaka in the 1970s.

# Homecoming

*Dollar yearns to return, but awaits a directive*

NEW YORK-BASED South African jazz pianist Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) may be coming back home soon.

This is because he, like other overseas-based artists, has been looking closely at the changing political cli-

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

mate, he said in a statement released this week.

Ibrahim, born in Cape Town, said he was also inundated with requests to return home for concerts and workshops.

But he suspected that people who invited him were not doing so through "democratic structures" and warned other artists against such people.

He said all the artists in exile recognised the importance of returning to South Africa to take their rightful places in

the community. "My God-given talents are at the disposal of the people of South Africa," he said.

"The unfolding political dynamic has made it a matter of utmost urgency for us to activate and consolidate our own cultural infrastructure. For quite some time now we have been co-ordinating activities with the people's units - both at home and abroad.

## Protocol

"We have requests almost on a daily basis to return home for concerts and workshops. My policy is and always has been that this should be done through the existing democratic structures.

"From the outset we have strongly advised all promoters to observe this important protocol and to begin to perceive the changing political, social and economic for-

mulas and not to give priority to their own personal agendas," said Ibrahim.

"The struggle has become big bucks and even minimum contact with promoters on an initial consultation basis seems to be treacherous. They interpret this as an endorsement and proceed to make statements about "homecoming" concerts to the media.

"Let me state this clearly - when the time is right, God willing - we will issue a statement identifying those who have been given the people's mandate to organise and co-ordinate these cultural events.

"We expectantly await a directive from our leadership, the people, fellow creative artists, students and families, so that we come and take our rightful place in the community.

"Thank you," he concluded in a faxed message to *Sowetan*.

## Released now ... a poem for Mandela

ABDULLAH Ibrahim has written a poem to express his happiness at the release from prison of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The title of the poem is *Released*. It laments the long time Mandela (71) has spent in jail - "...Twenty seven hundred years it seems..."

But there is a sense of hope in Ibrahim's allusion to the "footsteps... first sounds... we heard the same," which may imply that Mandela is still in good health and spirits, a political figure who has not yet lost his vigour.

This is because "...We heard the

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

same..." - seems to qualify "footsteps" and "first sounds".

The poem:

*The summer wind stirred the prison trees/First footsteps/We heard the same/Twenty seven hundred years it seems - before/on this Cape shore/In his homela bird sang/in the bush/first sounds/We heard the same/Twenty seven hundred years it seems - ago/There was no need for Soweto/It rained/His sound RELEASED our tears/AMANDLA!*



Jazz pianist Dollar Brand ... "the struggle has become big bucks"

11A

# Talks on unbanning of PAC this week

NEGOTIATIONS and the unbanning of the PAC will be high on the agenda at the first joint consultative conference of the internal Pan Africanist

Movement and the exiled organisation to be held over three days beginning on Friday in Harare.

PAM general secretary Mr Bennie Alexander

said at a Press conference 40 delegates from inside the country, including leading educationists and African business leaders would attend.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng will

chair the conference which will also be attended by the entire PAC central committee and members of its diplomatic corps.

A senior member of Mr Robert Mugabe's

government will address the gathering.

Alexander said the meeting would take a critical look at the unbanning of the PAC and the role of the PAM, the position of exiles and economic strategies.

He declined to speculate whether the PAM would dissolve and merge with PAC saying that the decision would have to be taken by the movement's structures.

The PAM will hold an internal special congress in Bloemfontein on March 10, Alexander said.

The Harare Consultation is expected to focus on negotiations with the Government.

## Bookkeeping will put cash in your pocket



Mr Sithole says "Bookkeeping helps in my daily work and can provide additional income."



Mrs Dee Cook finds Bookkeeping an ideal way of earning money by doing books at home.

There is a large demand for part-time and full-time bookkeepers. A bookkeeper can earn R1 500-R2 500 per month. Johannesburg accountant Brenda Rlesnik has taught more than 700 men and women. The bookkeeping exams are recognised all over the world. You can become a bookkeeper in 8 weeks. Part-time classes are held mornings, evenings and Saturdays.

**FREE • Job Placement • Computer Training**

This course is also available by **CORRESPONDENCE**

CALL **887-2540**

73 Corlett Drive, Birnam

CALL **29-3631**

4th Floor, Essanby House, 173 Jeppe Street, Jhb.

**Birnam Business College**

25 Years of Excellence

S 4105



Mandela (centre) with wife Winnie (far right) and Murphy Morobe (far left) in crowd at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for Lusaka. 11A

## Hero's welcome in Lusaka

LUSAKA - Nelson Mandela received a hero's welcome yesterday as he set foot on foreign soil for the first time in 28 years.

The freed black nationalist embraced exiled leaders of the African National Congress and seven African presidents in an emotionally charged ceremony on the tarmac at the main Lusaka airport.

President Kenneth

*Sowetan 28/2/90*  
Kaunda of Zambia, whose Southern African nation has hosted the ANC's external headquarters for almost two decades, was first to greet Mandela and his wife Winnie moments after the Zambia Airways twin-prop Fokker Friendship touched down.

To the throb of drums, Mandela was garlanded with red and white flowers by the children of ANC exiles as dozens of young ANC guerrillas in

shirts and military-green fatigues looked on.

Kaunda, 64, current chairman of the six-member grouping of African Frontline nations neighbouring South Africa, last saw Mandela before he was jailed in 1962.

Crowds of upwards of 10 000 people, including many South African ex-

● To page 2

Hero's  
welcome

● From page 1

ies, cheered and waved the ANC's distinctive black, green and gold colors when Mandela descended the steps of his plane raising a clenched fist salute.

After embracing acting ANC president Alfred Nzo and donning an ANC scarf, Mandela told well-comers he was happy to be visiting a city that had become the second home of exiled ANC leaders who moulded the organisation into a powerful political and military force.

"They have led and directed our people to the point where we are on the verge of a breakthrough in our struggle for freedom," Mandela said.

He commended Kaunda as a peacemaker who tried to persuade successive governments in Pretoria to open dialogue with the ANC which was also committed to peace.

But "if we are compelled to resort to arms ... the responsibility for this lies firmly on the shoulders of the Government," he said.

To chants of "One Africa, one revolution", Kaunda described Mandela as a freedom fighter and a truly great son of Africa. - Sapa.

# Mandela makes appeal for financial aid

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to the international community to provide the ANC with the "capital and other resources" to undertake the re-organisation of the ANC in SA.

Addressing a crowd of about 10 000 Zambians and ANC exiles and 21 foreign leaders or representatives of foreign organisations, including the UN, the Commonwealth, and the EC, Mandela praised the international community for supporting the ANC this far.

"Through sanctions and other forms of pressure they have focused attention on the struggle for basic human rights in our country."

On Monday Canadian Foreign Minister

CHARLENE SMITH

Joe Clarke, who is also here, indicated that Canada and Commonwealth countries were exploring ways of extending additional help to the ANC.

Other international leaders on the tarmac at Lusaka Airport to greet Mandela included the seven Frontline leaders, Swapo secretary general Herman Toivo ja Toivo, Irish Foreign Minister Gerald Collins, who is also president of the EC council of foreign ministers, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal and large delegations of US congressmen and representatives of the Soviet Union.

Mandela saluted Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda for his efforts at peacemaking in SA, as well as PLO leader Yasser Arafat, wishing him "success in his struggle".

He said he believed SA was on the verge of a breakthrough, but did not elaborate.

Today Mandela will meet the Frontline heads of state and then hold a "consultative meeting" with the Commonwealth group. He will meet the ANC national executive tomorrow and on Friday, as well as meeting heads of diplomatic missions and international organisations. On Saturday he will receive the freedom of the city of Lusaka before addressing a mass rally.

# At the helm of the ANC: all the leaders



ANC Secretary General  
Alfred Nzo.



Department of Information  
head Pallo Jordan.

Despite the pre-occupation with the role of Mr Nelson Mandela within the ANC since his release, the organisation remains committed to the concept of group leadership. Its linchpin is the National Executive Committee (NEC).

The NEC at present consists of 34 people who control all the major management and operational functions of the ANC.

While the NEC can make or alter policy, the organisation's supreme policy-making organ is a National Conference, the next of which is due to be held in South Africa on December 16 this year.

The main satellite bodies reporting to the NEC, all headed by NEC members, include:

- Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the organisation's armed wing, headed by NEC member Joe Modise.

- The Political-Military Council (PMC), which monitors, assesses and co-ordinates the progress of the political and military struggle in South Africa. Headed by NEC member John Nkandimeng.

- The National Working Committee (NWC), responsible for ensuring NEC decisions are carried out. The NWC is usually chaired by acting president Alfred Nzo and may consist of any and all NEC members who happen to be in Lusaka when it sits.

- The Internal Political Committee (IPC), responsible for maintaining liaison with internal organisations in South Africa. It is co-ordinated by NEC member Steve Tshwete.

The full list of present NEC members, in

alphabetical order after the first three, is:

Oliver Tambo (72). President of the ANC. At present incapacitated after suffering what is described as a "brain seizure" last year. A lawyer and teacher from the Transkei, he is a member/Chairman of all ANC committees.

Alfred Nzo (67). Secretary General and acting president during Mr Tambo's illness. From the Transkei, he is also on all the ANC working committees. He is thought to be a long time member of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Thomas Nkobi (68). Treasurer General. A former Johannesburg accountant, born in western Zimbabwe.

Stephen Dlamini (69). From Durban, he is a member of the NWC who rose through the ranks of the trade union movement and may be an SACP member.

Chris Hani (47). Chief of Staff and second in command of MK. He is a member of the NWC and is thought to hold a senior position in the SACP. Believed to be from the Eastern Cape.

Josiah Jele (54). A key member of the PMC who is thought to be second in the SACP hierarchy. From Johannesburg.

Pallo Jordan (46). Born in Cape Town, he is the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Research and has a degree in sociology from a US university. Believed to be an SACP member.

Ronnie Kasrils (50). A member of the PMC and the NWC, he was until recently the head of military intelligence. Thought to be a member of the SACP.

Thirty years of having to operate in the shadows has meant many facets of the African National Congress are virtually unknown inside South Africa. **KEN VERNON** of the Star's Africa News Service reviews the ANC's leadership structure and how it functions.

Stanley Mabizela (51). Deputy head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, he is a member of the NWC. Born in Durban with a degree from Durban University.

Mac Maharaj (52). Born in Natal, he is a member of the PMC, the NWC and MK. It is thought he is also a member of the SACP.

Simon Makana (50). The representative of the ANC in the USSR, he could be a member of the SACP. Born in East London, he studied economics in the USSR.

Henry Makgoti (63). Deputy secretary general of the ANC and head of the National Secretariat. A teacher from Johannesburg, he is thought to be a member of the SACP.

Thabo Mbeki (47). NWC member and the ANC's spokesman on Foreign Affairs, he is an economist who studied in the USSR and the UK. Thought to be a member of the SACP.

Robert Nancu (60). Controller of ANC finances and second in charge of the finance department. An accountant from Durban.

Francis Meli (50). Former editor of *Sechaba*, the official ANC publication, he studied history in East Germany. Born in East London, he is believed to be an SACP member.

Sindiso Mfenyana (53). Administrative secretary in the secretary general's office and a member of the National Secretariat. Trained as an economist in the USSR, he is originally from East London.

Joe Modise (58). Head of MK and a member of the NWC. Born in Johannesburg.

Timothy Mokoana. Political commissar of MK and a member of the NWC.

Jacqueline Molefe (47). Head of communications for MK and a member of the NWC. Born in Johannesburg.

Ruth Mompoti. Head of the ANC's Board of Religious Affairs and member of the PMC and NWC. A teacher from Johannesburg.

Anthony Mongalo (53). Secretary for Presidential Affairs and a member of the NWC, he is believed to be an SACP member. Born in Pretoria and studied at Fort Hare University.

Joe Nhlanhla (54). A member of the PMC and the NWC. A USSR-trained economist born in Johannesburg.

John Nkandimeng (68). Chairman of the PMC and a member of the NWC, he is also general secretary of the South African Trades Union Congress. He could be a member of the SACP. Born in Pietersburg.

Aziz Pahad (51). The British representative of the ANC. A British-trained economist, he is thought to be a member of the SACP. Born in Johannesburg.

Mzwandile Pilliso (64). Head of the department of manpower development, he is also a member of NWC. Born in Johannesburg, he was trained as a pharmacist in Britain.

Jackie Selebi (38). Secretary general of the ANC Youth League and member of the NWC.

Reginald September (65). Secretary of the department of political education, he is a member of the PMC and the NWC. Born in Cape Town, he rose through the ranks of the trade union movement. Believed to be a member of the SACP.

Gertrude Shope. Head of the women's section of the ANC and a member of the NWC. Born in Johannesburg, she may be a member of the SACP.

Sizakele Sigxashe (52). Born in the Transkei. A member of the NWC, he is a USSR-trained economist.

Joe Slovo (64). Secretary General of the SACP and a member of the PMC and the NWC. Born in Lithuania and raised in Johannesburg.

James Stuart (53). A member of the organisation's National Secretariat and the NWC. Born in Cape Town, he rose through the trade union ranks.

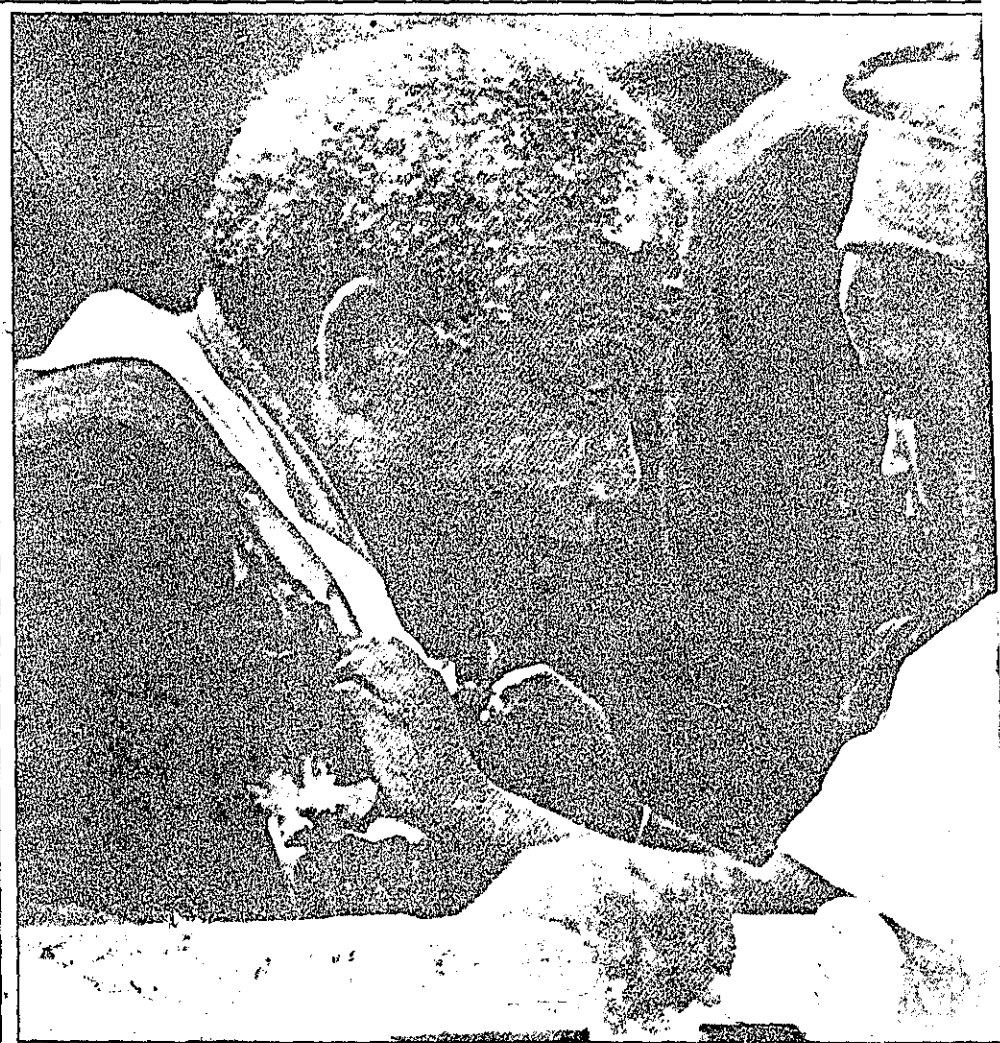
Dan Tloome (75). Chairman of the SACP, he is the auditor general of the ANC. Born in Johannesburg, he trained as an accountant and worked in the trade union movement.

Steve Tshwete (49). Co-ordinator of the IPC and a member of MK and the PMC, he is believed to be a member of the SACP.

Jacob Zuma (56). A key member of the ITC, the PMC and the NWC. Born in Natal, he rose through the ranks of the trade union movement and is believed to be a member of the SACP.



# Over CCB role'



## Mandela appeals for funds before huge Zambian crowd

By John Ryan,

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela moved into the warm embrace of Africa yesterday afternoon with his first trip beyond the frontiers of South Africa in 27 years.

The crowd, thought to be the biggest ever seen in Zambia, came together in Lusaka to welcome the man Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called "as much our leader as you are the leader of the African National Congress".

More than 10 000 people packed the precincts of the international airport.

Tens of thousands more lined the 25 km route into the capital from a point about 15 km out.

It was an impressive statement of solidarity with the cause of reform in South Africa and a massive show of esteem for Mr Mandela himself.

The beat of drums from various tribal groups around the tarmac reached a crescendo as his aircraft banked for landing shortly after 2 pm.

Seven police sharpshooters watched from the top of the airport building.

Yet it was a much more orderly arrival than that last month when Walter Sisulu and the other recently released ANC members arrived in Lusaka to meet the external leadership.

On that occasion, foreign television teams almost trampled the children of the ANC's Young Pioneers.

This time the 200-strong media contingent was placed firmly behind a cordon and only broke out when the Mandela party had alighted from the Zambian Airways Fokker Friendship and had met an awesome reception committee of African leaders and world dignitaries.

Banners raised aloft by ANC members of Umkhonto We Siswe, in their black berets, white shirts and military green trousers, read "welcome, commander-in-chief" and "your release is equal to people's victory".

### FERVENT EMBRACES

Some of the most fervent embraces after Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, had met Dr Kaunda and the ANC's top hierarchy, came from Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo of Swapo, who spent 15 years on Robben Island with the Rivonia men, and PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat.

Mr Arafat's borrowed Iraqi airline jet touched down barely half an hour before Mr Mandela arrived.

Among those lined up to meet Mr Mandela and the other internal ANC leaders were all six Frontline states presidents, Ugan-

da's President Yoweri Museveni, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and various Commonwealth diplomats.

Earlier, successive groups of ANC members — most of whom were not born when their leader went to jail — toyi-toyed before the crowd of Zambians.

Dr Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline states, told Mr Mandela: "The Frontline states are proud to receive you on behalf of the rest of mankind."

In a short speech, Mr Mandela paid tribute to Dr Kaunda's efforts on the ANC's behalf over a period of more than 20 years and said his members regarded Lusaka as their second home.

"From this city," he added, "a remarkable team emerged who turned our organisation into a powerful force.

"They have directed our people to a point where we think we are on the verge of a breakthrough in our struggle for peace," Dr Kaunda said.

Mr Mandela also appealed to the international community for funds to enable the ANC to continue its campaign for change within South Africa.

From the airport, the Mandela motorcade drove to the Mulungushi international conference centre for formal discussions with the Frontline states leaders.

A  
A  
M

Star 28/2/90

11A

11B

# Transkei and PAC meet in Tanzania

By Kaizer Nyatumba

After its first meeting with representatives of a Government-created institution, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has commended the Transkei military government for its decision to hold a referendum to canvass views on re-incorporation into South Africa.

The PAC, one of whose main tenets is non-collaboration with Government-created bodies and their representatives, met representatives of General Bantu Holomisa's government in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, last Friday, and applauded the intended referendum as a "progressive and most democratic" step.

## NO SHIFT

Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, who attended the meeting as an observer, yesterday told a press conference in Johannesburg that the meeting did not constitute a shift in the Africanists' policy of non-collaboration.

"The PAC met with the Transkei military government because they (the Transkei government) are no longer prepared to be puppets of Pretoria. That can hardly be called collaboration," said Mr Alexander.

The PAM is independent of, but ideologically allied to, the PAC.

The PAC delegation was led by its president, Mr J P Mlambo, and that of Transkei by Brigadier E R G Keswa.