

BLACKS must gird themselves for one of the most politically confusing decades, says the Black Consciousness Movement, and in 1990 the liberation struggle should intensify, according to the president of the Pan Africanist Congress.

In their New Year messages BCM's Mr Muntu Myeza and the PAC's Mr Zephania Mothopeng stressed the urgency of normalising black education and called for students to strive for educational success.

Myeza said: "The 1989 matric results indicate that brutal and honest attention must be given to this aspect of black life. As we enter the '90s students must realise that the past years of struggle have created a logjam at matric.

Confusing decade for blacks lies ahead says BCM

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

"They must realise that they carry the future of our country on their shoulders. To discharge this task honourably is to equip themselves through education and dedication to that enormous task.

"Failure means we are breeding a generation of street sweepers. Success means staying at school and studying," Myeza said.

Mothopeng said: "The 1990s should see students attending school and becoming achievers because

the call from the liberation movement is that they should attend school.

We cannot afford our children to lose their education because our new social order will require experts, innovators and inventors. Unless our children have the neces-

sary education they cannot live up to those demands," Mothopeng said.

On State President Mr F W de Klerk's negotiations idea Mothopeng said: "To highlight his image as a reformer, he preached the idea of negotiations so that he appeared to be willing to

consult various schools of thought in the country in order to fashion a new type of government agreeable to the majority of the people.

"Hence there are great divergent views which have arisen as to whether mandatory sanctions against the racist regime or negotiation with the

same regime should be carried out. These deceptive tactics of De Klerk are the problems the '90s will resolve."

Myeza said: "Yesterday's enemy will become today's ostensible champion for change and yesterday's villains will don the mantle of heroes.

"Let us be realistic as we enter the 1990s that the ills, anguish and wounds of over 300 years of oppression and misrule cannot be healed in one year, let alone six months."

Uproar at LP's annual congress

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

KIMBERLEY — Emotions at the Labour Party's 24th annual congress last week ran almost as high as the 40 degrees Celsius temperature inside the town's own Skilpadsaal at the De Beer's Stadium.

It was one of the party's stormiest annual gatherings.

But little came of the rumoured challenge to the Rev Allan Hendrickse's leadership or the expected row about expelled trustee Mr Roy Williams's allegations of the misuse of funds by some party seniors.

The discontent of some of the 2 000 delegates was noticeable. So was the division in the party's executive committee.

But protest was rough-handedly stifled by the LP's national chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, who chaired the three-

day congress.

Delegates who wanted to use discussion time to air grievances were abruptly told to stick to the congress theme, "Beyond Apartheid", limiting themselves to discuss future policy. Personal gripes had to be addressed to head office or the relevant Minister.

Mr Julies, who vehemently denied that he planned to contest the party leadership, told one delegate who raised queries about the party's financial affairs: "If we have a difference of opinion it is your fault, not mine."

Few were brave enough to challenge Mr Hendrickse on Mr Roy Williams's allegations involving an undisclosed donation of R250 000 to the party, two alleged payments of R10 000 to the leader and national secretary Mr Abe Williams and a R30 000

payment to Mr Hendrickse's "discretionary fund".

A request to discuss Mr Roy Williams's letter to Mr Hendrickse in which he demanded an explanation of the money was turned down.

Mr Williams, summarily expelled on the grounds of disclosing confidential information to the press, released a statement saying he would take the matter to court. He described his expulsion as an "indiscriminate rapping of the (party's) constitution".

Two coloured reporters were confronted by an angry Mr Abe Williams who attacked them for arriving late for an afternoon session, reporting "gossip stories" but not being there when "important issues close to the people's hearts" were discussed.

The issues centred on constitutional proposals — the LP stands for a non-racial geographical federation of states — the miserable plight of farm-workers, acute housing shortages, inferior education and discriminatory social benefits.

Party seniors repeatedly stressed the LP's role in eradicating apartheid and its strategy of reforming the system from within.

Praising Mr F W de Klerk's reforms, the new State President was urged to increase the pace, to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, to forget about a future society based on group rights, to immediately scrap the pillars of apartheid and to meet the preconditions for negotiations.

And the party, which has ruled the House of Representatives since its inception in 1984, made it clear that it would be at the negotiation table to defend its principles.

10 killed in UDF-Inkatha clash

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MARITZBURG — Ten people were killed and 15 others wounded in a bloody battle between UDF and Inkatha members at Wartburg near Maritzburg on Sunday.

According to the SAP unrest report, UDF members set fire to the house of an Inkatha member, C Ndlovu.

"Other Inkatha members came to his assistance and in the ensuing gun battle nine UDF members and an Inkatha member were shot dead and 15 UDF men were wounded," the report said.

There were no arrests. No further details of the attack were given.

At Chesterville, near Durban, an uniden-

3/11/90
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Own Correspondent

tified person fired a shot, wounding a black man. At Inanda, a group of blacks set two houses and nine huts alight, injuring a black woman. Four men were arrested.

According to yesterday's unrest report the body of a black man with stab and bullet wounds was found at Inanda.

In another incident in the area a shop was damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

Police arrested 12 youths after a group gathered illegally in the Bulwer Trust area (Doringkop) and took part in an illegal procession.

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STAR (10) 3/1/90


Hangman describes executions in SA

LONDON — A retired hangman described in gruesome detail on a British television programme last night how condemned prisoners on Pretoria's Death Row were executed and secretly buried.

"It didn't worry me," was how former prison warden Mr Chris Barnard summed it up in an interview on the "First Tuesday" programme, which introduced him as the "chief executioner from 1962 to 1986, credited with over 1 500 hangings during his career".

The documentary, including secretly and illegally shot footage of Pretoria Central Prison, was entitled "South Africa's death factory".

Mr Barnard recalled how he and other prison warders would "talk, play darts or read the paper" while waiting for the final signal to pull the lever.

"It didn't worry me." — Sapa. 

STAR (11A) (20) 3/1/90

ANC delegation to meet Chissano today

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — A high level delegation of the African National Congress has arrived in Maputo for talks with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano.

The delegation, led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, landed at Maputo airport yesterday afternoon and was met by Foreign Minister Mr Pascoal Mocumbi. The ANC members held initial discussions with President Chissano soon afterwards.

The talks will be directed at the situation in the region as a whole and recent moves towards reform in South Africa. The Mozambican leader is also expected to brief Mr Nzo and his party on his meeting last month with President de Klerk.

Also in the delegation is Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's international department, and Mr Jacob Zuma, national executive committee member and formerly the ANC's chief representative in Maputo.



MDM rejects (11A) terror claims

By Kaizer Nyatumba

STAR
3/1/90

The Mass Democratic Movement has rejected claims by the newly appointed Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, that the organisation was involved in terrorism or was a cover for terrorism.

The rejection comes in response to an article in The Star yesterday quoting General van der Merwe as having said that all the ANC was able to offer was terrorism, which it was continuing under the cover of the MDM.

In a statement on behalf of the MDM, South African Youth Congress (Sayco) president Mr Peter Mokaba said the MDM rejected "with all contempt the malicious and false accusations, assertions and/or insinuations by General van der Merwe".

Mr Mokaba added: "We also reject any claims that the ANC is a terrorist organisation."

He said that General van der Merwe's appointment as South Africa's new Commissioner of Police belied claims by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, that his Government could be trusted with the onerous task of leading the country "into a new South Africa".

Water balloon thrown at Tutu

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See 3/11/90

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Archbishop Desmond Tutu was the intended recipient of a balloon filled with water while he was addressing the crowd attending the inauguration of Mr David Dinkins, New York's first black mayor, during the New Year weekend.

In what was the only uncivil act during the ceremony, a water balloon thrown from the grandstand soared over the heads of the new mayor and Archbishop Tutu, who was at the microphone, and burst on the head of a nearby city councillor.

Archbishop Tutu continued speaking, appearing to ignore the incident, although police moved quickly to stop any further barrages.

Police did not know who threw the balloon. But spectators said they believed that Archbishop Tutu, who has recently incurred the wrath of Jewish activists, was the intended target.

Protesters from the group were scattered throughout the crowd, and no one saw the exact flight of the water bomb until it burst on the head of councilman Mr José Rivera.

Rabbi Avi Weiss said he believed that the missile was aimed at Archbishop Tutu and not Mr Dinkins, whom it narrowly missed.

He said said that a Jewish group present at the ceremony had been outraged by Archbishop Tutu's remarks in Jerusalem last week urging Jews to forgive the Nazi perpetrators of the Holocaust and were "deeply offended that the mayor had seen fit to invite him to the inauguration".

Tambo goes to Sweden for brain treatment

CAPL Tambo 4/11/1990 HRP

STOCKHOLM. — President of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo, who suffered a brain spasm last year, will undergo medical treatment in Sweden, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

The newspaper Aftonbladet said Mr Tambo, 72, would be a patient in the Erstagards clinic which specialises in the rehabilitation of patients who have suffered brain damage.

The Foreign Ministry said it would not comment on the medical reasons for Mr Tambo's visit, and the clinic said it never disclosed details about its patients.

Mr Tambo entered a London hospital last August suffering from exhaustion, and an ANC spokesman said later he had suffered a brain spasm which impaired movement on the right side of his body.

Aftonbladet said Mr Tambo was recovering from the spasm but still had difficulty speaking and in the movement of one arm. ANC sources say Mr Tambo suffered a stroke in 1987.

Mr Tambo's illness has been seen as a serious blow to the ANC.

In Lusaka, many ANC members believe the charismatic Mr Tambo will be unable to return to full active duties though he may remain as nominal president.

As ANC leader, he has been widely credited with maintaining unity among hardline guerilla commanders, young radicals and moderate politicians in the movement.

In Mr Tambo's absence, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo has taken over representative duties at international meetings. — Sapa-Reuter

Activist's home hit

Sowetan 2/04/90



THE home of Black Consciousness activist Miss Thenjiwe Leeuw was this week damaged following an attack by four whites and two blacks.

Leeuw, the former secretary of the Azanian Students Movement, was not at home at the time of the attack.

All the windows, the refrigerator and an internal glass door were damaged.

The attack is the second on the family in two years.

White

On September 21 1988 their home was attacked by five white men.

Furniture was overturned and one of the family members, Victor Leeuw, was allegedly assaulted during a scuffle with the men.

The family reported the matter at the Moroka police station.

Mr Herbert Leeuw (78) said this week's attack happened about 11.50pm on Tuesday.

By MOKGADI
PELA

He said the men asked about Mr Lucky Leeuw, a family member who "was detained in 1987 but allegedly escaped from custody".

He said the family last saw Lucky when he was detained by the police.

Soweto police liason officer, Captain Joseph

Ngobeni, said they would investigate the matter only after it has been reported to them.

The family said they would consult their attorneys.

They also showed Sowetan a letter from the Black Lawyers Association addressed to the Commissioner of Police.

Part of the letter said:

"We wish to inform you that should our clients be subjected to any further attacks from members of the South African Police, we shall have no alternative but to take the necessary legal steps to protect their rights."

Leeuw said the latest attack raised fears of the re-emergence of hit-squad attacks on the homes of political activists.

Headman in court over death of boy and girl

City Times
4/1/1990
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Staff Reporter

A HEADMAN loyal to Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza appeared briefly in Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court yesterday following the fatal New Year's Eve shooting of two youths.

No charges were put to Mr Welton Macu, who is also known as "Skosana". He was not asked to plead and was remanded till January 8.

His appearance follows the death of an 11-year-old girl, Nomalizo Cekiso, and a 17-year-old boy, Taylor Nkenkana, during revelry in the township on December 31.

Meanwhile, an angry confrontation took place yesterday between Lingeletu West Town Clerk Mr Graham Lawrence and DP representative Mrs Val Rose-Christie at a Khayelitsha house gutted during New Year's Eve violence.

Mr Lawrence denied accusations that he was "trying to cover up" events and invited Mrs Rose-Christie and

Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) regional chairman Mr Michael Mapongwane to have a meeting with him.

Mr Mapongwane said the WCCA's Khayelitsha zone had often tried to meet with Mr Lawrence on township issues — including the issue of violence — but to no avail.

Mr Lawrence denied this saying he was prepared to meet the WCCA.

"My personal policy is an open-door policy," he said.

Mrs Rose-Christie warned yesterday that the violence in Khayelitsha could escalate. She said that previously it was mostly confined to the squatter settlements but had now moved into the core-house areas.

● The Cape Times reported yesterday that a Khayelitsha town councillor had been questioned by police following the shooting.

Mr Lawrence said no town councillor was involved or had been questioned.



SJAMBOK VICTIMS

... Cynthia Manqoba, 14, left, and Zoleka Claas, 9, show the wounds they received when they were allegedly sjambokked by followers of Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza on New Year's Eve.

Picture: RICHARD BELL



GUTTED ... Mr Graham Lawrence inside the gutted house of Mr Welcome Ndinisa. The house was torched after two children were killed on New Year's Eve. INSET: Mrs Val Rose-Christie in a heated discussion with Mr Lawrence yesterday.

Pictures: RICHARD BELL

Last exile year for ANC

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique's President Chissano, yesterday told leaders of the African National Congress based in Lusaka he hoped 1990 would be their last year in exile.

The AIM news agency said the president was speaking at the Frelimo party headquarters before talks with an ANC delegation headed by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo.

The ANC group includes Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the foreign affairs department, and Mr Jacob Zuma, a member of the national executive. The three arrived in Maputo on Tuesday and have already held extensive discussions with Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Mr Pascoal Mocumbi.

Today they are due to meet the chairman of the Mozambique parliament, Mr Marcelino dos Santos.

Jan 4/1990

Swedish treatment for Tambo

STOCKHOLM — African National Congress (ANC) leader Mr Oliver Tambo, who suffered a brain spasm last year, has received permission to undergo medical treatment in Sweden, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

The evening newspaper *Aftonbladet* said Mr Tambo (72) was due to arrive yesterday at Stockholm's Erstagards clinic which specialises in the rehabilitation of patients who have suffered brain damage.

The foreign ministry said it would not comment on the medical reasons for Mr Tambo's visit, and the clinic said it never disclosed details about its patients.

Mr Tambo entered a London hospital last August suffering from exhaustion, and an ANC spokesman said later he had suffered a brain

spasm which impaired movement on the right side of his body.

Aftonbladet said Mr Tambo was recovering from the spasm but still had difficulty speaking and in the movement of one arm. ANC sources say Mr Tambo suffered a stroke in 1987.

Mr Tambo's illness has been seen as a serious blow to the Lusaka-based ANC. Mr Tambo had led its guerilla and political campaign against white minority rule in South Africa for 20 years.

In Lusaka, many ANC cadres believe the charismatic Mr Tambo will be unable to return to full active duties.

In his absence, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo has taken over representative duties at international meetings. — Reuter.

CHARLENE SMITH

THE seven internal ANC leaders will travel to Lusaka on January 15 or 20.

Former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu said they would be away for about three weeks and would visit Tanzania.

The group also hoped to visit Sweden — a major donor to the movement — and were discussing whether or not to pay a call to their London office.

The visit of the seven, who have not met their exiled comrades for more

B/day 4/1/90 11A
Lusaka just ANC 7's first stop

than 26 years, is expected to be of critical importance to external and internal anti-apartheid movements in planning strategies for the year.

The ANC strategy will have already been laid down as the part of its annual "State of the Nation" address planned for next Monday.

ANC leader Oliver Tambo, who suffered a brain spasm last year, was to undergo treatment in Sweden, the

Swedish Foreign Ministry said yesterday, reports Sapa-Reuter.

The evening newspaper Aftonbladet said Tambo, 72, was due to arrive yesterday at Stockholm's Erstagards clinic which specialises in rehabilitation of patients who have suffered brain damage.

Tambo entered a London hospital last August suffering from exhaustion, but an ANC spokesman said later he had

suffered a brain spasm which impaired movement on the right side of his body.

In Lusaka, many ANC cadres believe Tambo will be unable to return to full active duties.

ANO reports Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano told ANC leaders in Maputo yesterday he hoped 1990 would be their last year in exile.

Chissano was speaking at the Frelimo party central committee headquarters to an ANC delegation currently on a visit to Mozambique. It is headed by the organisation's secretary-general and acting president Alfred Nzo.

ANC hits at SA plan to recruit Hungarians

Soweto
5/11/90

THE African National Congress yesterday strongly condemned moves by South Africa to recruit skilled immigrants from Hungary, saying this showed the rot and lack of morality of the apartheid system, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reports.

The ANC representative to Zimbabwe, Mr Max Mlonyeni, said if reports were true that SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, currently in Hungary, had gone there to recruit immigrants, his organisation strongly opposed this.

"We oppose this because right now within South Africa there are millions of people who are being denied their citizenship. If there was equality this would not be happening, because blacks would be doing all the jobs for which immigrants are being recruited," he said.

He added that whites in South Africa were in the minority and by recruiting immigrants were trying to boost their numerical strength to buttress apartheid.

Mlonyeni also said if the SA Government was successful in recruiting immigrants from Hungary it could then claim that even the ANC's socialist allies were talking to it and there was no boycott by the international community. -Sapa.

ANC elections as Tambo still in hospital

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — With ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo incapacitated for the past five months, it was confirmed yesterday that elections for a new national executive committee of the movement are scheduled for this year.

Yesterday, ANC spokesmen continued to dismiss assertions that Mr Tambo has severe physical and mental disabilities, following the stroke he suffered in Lusaka last August.

A senior spokesman for the movement said here yesterday that Mr Tambo's move this week from London to a clinic in Stockholm did not indicate a deterioration in his condition.

However, more light is expected to be cast on Mr Tambo's health and future role at an ANC press conference in Lusaka next week.

With a new ANC national executive committee due to be elected this year, speculation is growing that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela could become the new leader — if he is released by Pretoria.

There is clearly a need for the movement to acquire decisive leadership at a time when it is coming under increasing pressure to negotiate with the South African government. The visit this week by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to Hungary is indicative of the way Eastern bloc countries are isolating the ANC.

Cape Times 5/11/1990

11A

LABOUR PARTY

New shadows

F/M 5/11/90 (2/1A) (11A)

F/M 5/11/90 (2/1A) (11A)

The row over the use of a purported substantial secret cash pile by Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse is heading for a legal showdown. It has also cast yet another shadow over the party's participation in the coming parliamentary session.

Roy Williams, a former trustee of party funds and member of the powerful executive committee, says he plans to take Hendrickse to court. He wants to force him and other party officials to disclose details of transactions he believes may be irregular.

Williams, a former MP and now on the President's Council, was expelled from the party shortly before the start of its annual congress in Kimberley last week. He had hoped to raise the secret fund issue during debates. He was kicked out for going to the press with allegations of irregularities.

Attempts by other delegates to raise the issue at the congress were effectively suppressed by chairman Andrew Julies.

Williams's expulsion before he was able to challenge party leaders on anonymous donations and the use of secret funds has raised tensions in the party, particularly among some of the more "leftwing" MPs.

Shortly after Williams's allegations were published, the party's PRO, Peter Hendrickse, said the party did not want to debate its financial affairs in public — but Williams was welcome to raise the matter at the congress. He was expelled before he could do so.

His allegations centre on a "discretionary fund" over which Allan Hendrickse has control. He claims that of a recent anonymous donation of R250 000 to the party, R10 000 each was paid to Hendrickse and party secretary Abe Williams, and R30 000 was paid into a discretionary fund. The rest apparently went into the party's regular funds. It seems that the two amounts of R10 000 may have been reimbursement for expenses but officials are reluctant to discuss the matter.

Hendrickse has also declined to give further details. He denied that his fund was in conflict with the party's constitution as claimed by Williams. He said he had the right to handle the fund in the manner he saw fit and was not answerable to his critics.

The financial row has placed a new shadow over the LP's continued participation in parliament. In recent months it appears to have been completely overtaken by political developments and has probably lost the powerful leverage it had over government.

Though Hendrickse was unanimously re-elected leader he apparently lacks the unequivocal backing of all his MPs.

His biggest headache is expected from several MPs particularly upset by Williams's summary expulsion. They believe it is neces-



Hendrickse ... refusing to provide the detail

sary to challenge the Hendrickse clan's clique-ish control of the party and to strengthen efforts in opposing government and identifying with the broader mass movements.

While direct opposition to Hendrickse did not happen to the extent expected at last week's congress, there were signs of growing dissatisfaction. Some of his chief lieutenants were ousted, including Own Affairs Health Minister Chris April, who lost his post as national vice-president.

Hendrickse rejected suggestions that the party was becoming politically irrelevant and claimed credit for pressing government to make some of the substantial reforms of recent years. He said the party would continue to fight apartheid.

ANGOLA F/M 5/11/90

It takes two

Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos's latest proposal for ending his country's 15-year-old civil war basically restates Luanda's terms for doing a deal with Jonas Savimbi's Unita — whose conditions are no less one-sided. Thus it seems that the mediating role of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is likely to remain fruitless. Unita has yet to respond.

In his New Year address Dos Santos put forward an eight-point peace plan under which he offered to hold free elections within five years. However, it does not mention the creation of a multi-party system, on which the US (Unita's chief backer) insists. On the contrary, Dos Santos says emphatically he does not intend abandoning a one-party solu-

tion for the country, nor renouncing Angola's socialist vision. He demands that Unita must recognise the country's sovereignty as well as the MPLA government's legitimacy.

The plan includes proposals for a ceasefire with Unita but does not address the crucial question of Savimbi's role. It envisages, again, the establishment of a national army incorporating Unita forces as a condition for negotiations. This seems a non-starter. Also proposed are a law allowing free association and a national census preparatory to free elections.

The Dos Santos peace proposal came just days after Unita claimed that the Fapla had launched a major attack on rebel-held Mavinga, in the south-east of Angola, as a prelude to an assault on Jamba (Savimbi's headquarters).

The surprising thing in the Angolan conflict is the inability of the superpowers to prevail upon their respective clients to clinch a settlement — especially in view of their new-found consensus on resolving regional disputes. The SA Institute of International Affairs' Andre du Pisani observes that US policy towards Angola is unchanged from that under Ronald Reagan; nor has Moscow redefined its relationship with the country. "You cannot expect successful mediation if the relationship between patron and client is unchanged," he says.

For all that, "the equation is not all negative," adds Du Pisani. The pressures on both sides (MPLA and Unita) to reach agreement are immense, and there is a momentum for peace in the region.

This is borne out by the peace moves in Mozambique, whose Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi this week announced Maputo's readiness to talk directly to the rebel Renamo group. Mocumbi also reported that the mediators in the conflict, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, now feel that "conditions are becoming ripe for direct talks."

SATS STRIKE F/M 5/11/90

Desperate days

The Sats strike could soon be over. SA Railway & Harbour Workers' Union spokesman Elliot Sogoni says the union is desperate to settle. (15/1/90) (2/10)

The union appears to have little hope that any of its demands will be met. In fact, it appears to have adopted a strategy of damage control, aiming mainly at getting back the jobs of 22 380 sacked strikers. (Sats says 3 551 strikers are still employed.)

Doubt over Tambo's role as ANC announces top-level

B/Daw 5/1/90

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LONDON — The ANC has confirmed it is to elect a new national executive committee (NEC) this year, setting the stage for a possible leadership struggle.

A spokesman here confirmed yesterday the election was on the agenda for the five-yearly congress, scheduled for some time this year, but said it would constitute only a "small issue", with the main item being "the programme of action for the next five years".

Since August, when president Oliver Tambo apparently suffered a stroke in Lu-

saka, the ANC in exile has been headed by a triumvirate made up of foreign affairs representative Thabo Mbeki, secretary general Alfred Nzo and treasurer general Thomas Kobe.

Observers here believe Mbeki, the "moderate" son of veteran ANC and SA Communist Party leader Govan Mbeki, to be a frontrunner for the presidency. Some have said the election of a new NEC could also provide the mechanism for a released Nelson Mandela to take the helm. They note that the election is likely to show the

Own Correspondent

amount of support for moderates such as Mbeki and Mandela, against that for militarists such as Chris Hani.

The ANC continues to dismiss assertions that Tambo has severe physical and mental disabilities, saying that he suffered a "brain seizure" and would soon return to his leadership duties. However, it has refused to allow journalists to meet Tambo or to release photographs of him.

Western intelligence sources have

claimed Tambo suffered serious right-side paralysis and extensive loss of speech and would never again be capable of fully resuming his political role.

The spokesman here said yesterday Tambo's move this week from London to a clinic in Stockholm did not indicate a deterioration in his condition.

Tambo, he said, had been "out of hospital for weeks in London", and had been "able to walk to the car" that took him to the airport.

The Swedish Foreign Ministry said

Tambo was admitted to the Erstagård's clinic, and would stay there "until he is well enough to leave."

The ministry spokesman said the British clinic at which Tambo had been receiving treatment was facing imminent closure.

The ANC spokesman said "a more open statement" on Tambo would be made by Nzo at the ANC's annual Press conference in Lusaka on Monday.

He said the "approximate period" of the ANC congress would also be announced on Monday, but not the exact dates or venue.

Sisulu meeting banned

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6/11/90
BLOEMFONTEIN — A meeting at which African National Congress official Walter Sisulu was to have been the keynote speaker here tomorrow was banned yesterday.

It was the first such action to be taken against him since he and other ANC members were freed from life prison terms last year.

The magistrate gave no reason for the banning and police issued a warning saying that anyone who tried to attend the gathering would be violating the emergency regulations.

Mr Sisulu and other co-defendants of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela have appeared at several rallies throughout the country since they were freed in October after serving more than two decades of the life terms they received.

At many of the rallies, violations of the three-year-old emergency regulations have occurred, but police have taken no action. — Sapa-AP.

Committee
two in court

Staff Reporter

TWO members of controversial Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's committee appeared briefly in Athlone Magistrate's Court yesterday.

No charges were put to Mr Alfred Geli and Mr Eric Mdzunga — both of Old Crossroads — and they were not asked to plead.

The charge sheet indicates that they may be charged with murder, attempted murder and arson.

They were granted bail of R500 each. The hearing was adjourned to January 8 for further investigation.

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No comment ^{Star} until probe over ^{6/11/90}

THE Department of Education and Training would withhold further comment on the DET matric exam results announced last month until its investigation into the matter had been completed.

This was said in a statement yesterday by Mr Corrie Rademeyer, director of liaison services of the DET.

Until the DET had completed its urgent in-depth analysis "the department will not be able to respond to requests for comment from the media", he said.

ANC, MDM ^{IA} hold workshop ^{Star} ^{6/11/90}

HARARE — Representatives of the African National Congress and trade union and educational structures belonging to the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa are due to meet in Harare next week for a five-day workshop, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reports.

The workshop will be held under the auspices of Research on Education in South Africa (Resa) and is part of the ANC's strategy for training black South Africans so they can take on skilled jobs. — Sapa.

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WORLD

Seeking common ground

Strife between ANC/MDM and PAC/PAM is serious, but r

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE last days of 1989 were filled with terror and hatred for many people in townships outside Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape. They boded ill for the New Year.

At least five people were clubbed and stabbed to death in political violence in and around kwaNobuhle and Khayelitsha. Many more were injured in running battles between armed men.

The exact causes of the clashes are uncertain; conflicting versions are given by the adversaries.

The main antagonists, however, have been identified: supporters of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and sympathisers of the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), some of whom may have ties with local AmaAfrika zealots.

The situation remains tense. The risk of it igniting wider conflict cannot be dismissed.

The MDM and PAM are ideologically linked to the outlawed African National Congress and the prohibited Pan-Africanist Congress; they, in turn, have a history of rivalry dating back more than 30 years to differences over the Freedom Charter.

The danger of internecine strife between pro and anti-Freedom Charter forces — between ANC-MDM Charterists and PAC-PAM Africanists — has to be taken seriously.

There are, however, two positive developments: a statesman-like appeal for calm from a senior ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, and, at the national level, an invitation from the PAM to the MDM to meet for talks on how to contain and prevent the violence.

Offering the counsel of his long experience as a politician, Mr Mbeki, now in his 80th year, noted that ideological differences cannot be resolved by force.

The PAM showed wisdom, too, by inviting the SA Council of Churches to attend the proposed peace talks; the SACC is, by definition, committed to the promotion of reconciliation and its secretary general, the Reverend Frank Chikane, held talks with the ANC and the PAC late last year with that purpose in mind.

Looking at the differences between the Charterists and the Africanists from the outside, they do not appear to be insurmountable. They share the same roots.

Both trace their origins to the formation of the ANC in 1912: their common history is longer than their history as separate organisations; 1912 to 1958 against 1959 to 1990; Africanists in the ANC broke away in November 1958 and held the founding congress of the PAC in April 1959.

Today the Charterist and the Africanists have much in com-

Africanist



ROBERT SOBUKWE: "We aim, politically, at the government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African." His invitation to people of European and Indian origin was to commit themselves to Africa. To sit in the shade of a tree nourished by the waters of Africa and "become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree".

Charterist



NELSON MANDELA: "I have always regarded myself in the first place as an African patriarch." His commitment, he made clear in the 1964 speech from the dock at the Rivonia Trial, was still to an African nationalism, but a broad, inclusive nationalism, not to a narrow, racial chauvinism. His nationalism and Mr Sobukwe's Africanism may differ in detail, emphasis and terminology, but converge on pivotal points. Thus when Charterists and Africanists meet to try and resolve their differences, it need not be a dialogue of the deaf.

mon; their dangerous squabbles are akin to family feuds, often vicious but potentially reconcilable. Charterists and Africanists are linked by fraternal ties, in a literal as well as an ideological sense.

Top echelon Charterists and Africanists who are biologically related include:

- Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim, the ANC leader serving a 20 year jail sentence for treason, and Mr Gora Ebrahim, the PAC foreign secretary. They are brothers.

- Mr Tiego Mosenke, a former president of the MDM-affiliated SA National Students Congress and Mr Dikgang Mosenke, a former Robben Island prisoner and leading Africanist. They, too, are brothers.

- Mr Pallo Jordan, the ANC secretary for information, and Mr Bojane Jordan, the PAC chief representative in Nigeria. They are cousins.

Within several leading Charterists there is an Africanist alter ego. Thus three top ANC men — Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Oliver

Tambo — were all founder members of the ANC Youth League, which was strongly Africanist in outlook.

The ANC Youth League manifesto of March 1944 opens with the words: "Africanism must be prompted." Later on, the manifesto adds: "We believe that the national liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves. We reject foreign leadership of Africa."

They are profoundly Africanist sentiments; they could be slotted into any contemporary PAC and PAM declaration without difficulty.

The 1949 Programme of Action, adopted by the ANC as a result of Youth League pressure, contains similar Africanist ideals. It refers to the struggle for "national liberation" by the African people and commits itself to bringing them together under the banner of "African nationalism".

Later these ideas were modified with the adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter by the ANC. African nationalism is de-

emphasised in the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter does not use the phrase "African nationalism;" nor does it use the term "African people;" it speaks more generally of the "people of South Africa" or, simply, "the people".

The Africanists charged that the Charterists, under the influence of white liberals and/or radicals had abandoned African nationalism for multi-racialism.

However, Mr Mandela, in his 1964 speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial, offered a different perspective. "I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot," he said.

His commitment, he made clear in the final paragraphs of his famous address, was still to African nationalism, but a broad, inclusive nationalism, not to a narrow, racial chauvinism.

His words overlap with those of another African patriot: Robert Sobukwe, the founding president of the PAC.

In his address to the founding conference of the PAC, Sobukwe, who died in 1978, said: "We aim, politically, at the government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African."

His invitation to people of European and Indian origin was to commit themselves to Africa. He beckoned them to sit in the shade of a tree nourished by the waters of Africa and "become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

Mr Mandela's nationalism and Sobukwe's Africanism may differ in detail, emphasis and terminology; more important, however, they converge on pivotal points.

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Common ground

AC/PAM is serious, but not irreconcilable

Charterists



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Men on the spot



REVEREND FRANK CHIKANE: The SA Council of Churches is committed to the promotion of reconciliation and as its secretary general, Mr Chikane held talks with the ANC and the PAC last year with that purpose in mind.



MR GOVAN MBEKI: Another positive sign is his recent statesmanlike appeal for calm. Offering his counsel as a politician, the 80-year-old senior ANC leader noted that ideological differences could not be resolved by force.

The two positions appear to be completely incompatible; they are not necessarily irreconcilable, however.

The Freedom Charter statements on land are linked to two qualifying riders: laws which restrict land ownership to racial groups — the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act — must be abolished; government will be by representatives elected by all the people, not merely the whites.

Abolition of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act will open land reserved for whites to blacks; a government dependent on the votes of the African majority will not be — as Mr Sisulu pointed out in an interview with the Saturday Star — indifferent to their demands for a fair share of the land.

Moreover, a commitment to redistribute land among those who work it will be to the disadvantage of white absentee landlords who own two or three farms; conversely, it will operate to the benefit of black farm workers and ensure fulfilment of the maxim that those who work the land shall inherit it.

These are not trivial considerations; lamenting the large number of white-owned farms which were not farmed by their owners, a former Cabinet Minister once declared that a "terrorist" could walk from the Limpopo to Warmbaths without putting foot on a farm occupied by whites.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), founded by the martyred Steve Biko, can perhaps play a constructive role.

It emerged as a political force in the late 1960s in the hiatus of political activity in the black community caused by the outlawing of the ANC and the PAC in April 1960 and the subsequent crushing of their underground armies.

Black consciousness sought to play a unifying role by rallying together the scattered and nervous supporters of the ANC and the PAC in those days when white domination was largely unchallenged.

Given the threatened clash between Charterists and Africanists, the BCM's synthesizing aspirations remain as pertinent today as they were in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

An even greater responsibility appears to rest on Mr Mandela's shoulders. His Africanist alter ego, his breadth of vision and his African patriotism define him as man who is emphatically not sectarian in outlook.

Reading between the lines of his few public statements from prison, and extrapolating from the wide range of people whom he has invited to visit him at his prison bungalow near Paarl, he is more anxious than ever to prevent black fratricide from giving white hegemony an extra lease of life.

Architect, heal thyself

Greenpiece
JAMES CLARKE



MY OFFICE has a most effective solar-powered air-conditioner. I made it myself.

I worked out how the sun warms the city's pavements causing air to expand and rise, and how, because *natura abhorret vacuum*, cool air then rushes in.

I then worked out how to harness this process: I opened my window.

I worked a treat. I still have to refine it though: it's terribly noisy (street noises), and my papers blow about — thus did Mrs W of Berea's letter about the litter in Fife Avenue end up blowing around Sauer Street.

I would have thought though that, by now, architects would have worked out how to design buildings for our climate.

The Department of Energy Affairs is also to blame. It has failed to discourage the development of energy-greedy buildings.

According to Dr TB Scheffler, a Pretoria physicist, there's an office block in Pretoria with 2500 people whose electrical consumption is equivalent to a town of 23 000.

He says: "The major part of this electricity is used for air-conditioning which constitutes up to 40 percent of the total construction costs of many modern steel-and-glass skyscrapers!"

Ozone layer

Dr Scheffler — a past chairman of the SA Solar Energy Society — wrote to the Wildlife Society's magazine *African Wildlife* about it.

He was actually reacting to a letter about CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons) which are eating great holes in the ozone layer. Somebody had claimed ozone destruction was mainly due to aerosol propellants (50 percent) and refrigerator gases (30). Dr Scheffler says air conditioners present a bigger problem than refrigerators.

It's madness. You'd think it would embarrass architects.

A few years ago I visited the modernised Victorian-style home of Dr Richard Liversidge in Kimberley. It had a tin roof and I thought it must be hell in Kimberley's hot summers.

"It used to be," said Dr Liversidge. "Then I learned that it used to have a turret on top — those beehive-like turrets with a little pointed roof.

"I found one in a scrap yard. Even as I was cutting a hole in the roof the hot air rose with a steady whoosh. The turret reduced the interior temperature by 15 degrees!"

"As the hot air rises it sucks in cool air from the surrounding verandah filling the passage with a steady breeze."

● Historical note: architecturally speaking, progress stopped around 1890.

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solve their differences, it need not be a dialogue of the deaf; with the requisite will to succeed, they can reach a *modus vivendi*. One of the main ideological differences between the Charterists and Africanists is on the land issue. The Freedom Charter says in part: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white ... The land shall be shared among those who work it." At his first press conference, the newly elected president of the PAM, Mr Clarence Makwetu, took issue with those two statements. The land should be restored to its "rightful owners," the indigenous people, he declared, thus asserting the primacy of the claim of indigenes over that of "settlers" from Europe. Nor did he agree that the land should be re-divided among those who worked it; there were too many black people who, because their land had been expropriated, could not till its soil or

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Have you recycled your brain yet?

'Inkatha and UDF leaders can't control lower ranks'

INANDA — During the bright and sunny days, the lush green hills and township streets full of children give a deceptive sense of serenity.

But during the sultry nights, the area becomes a battleground in a black-on-black power struggle that is three years' old and still — except for isolated pockets (see adjoining story) — raging out of control.

Furious pace

Supporters of the United Democratic Front, a nationwide anti-apartheid coalition, and Inkatha, a relatively conservative Zulu group, have been killing one another at a furious pace since late 1986, leaving an estimated 2 500 dead.

The violence, which began around Maritzburg, has spread across Natal and is at its most intense just outside Durban itself.

"There's no way to avoid the fighting. Everyone is involved," said Thulani Newane (19), a supporter of the UDF.

"Even if you are peaceful, you must de-

119 GREG MYRE 125

fend your home against attack," said Newane, whose chin is scarred from a bullet wound.

More than 160 blacks died in factional violence near Durban in December, the highest monthly toll yet, according to a monitoring group from the Democratic Party. In November 62 died.

In Inanda, rows of burned-out houses sit incongruously on gently rolling hills. Frightened residents seek sanctuary in churches and the homes of their white employers and friends. Young men gather in small groups to patrol their neighbourhoods through the night.

Teenagers

"The political temperature just keeps rising," said Roy Ainslie, head of the Unrest Monitoring Group. "The legal situation has collapsed and the leadership on both sides is not active in controlling its members."

Natal's conflict began heating up in 1987 as the rest of the country's



READY FOR ACTION: Pangas, pick-handles knobkerries and assegais are the order of the day as this group of Inkatha supporters travels to a meeting, prepared for any confrontation with UDF members.

black townships began cooling off after two years of turbulence.

Recent reforms by President FW de Klerk, such as allowing opposition rallies, have not eased the tensions in Natal. Most combatants are in their teens and early 20s, and their focus is largely on the local power struggle rather than national political issues.

star 6/11/90
exist side by side.

Poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and lack of political rights all are cited as causes for the Natal violence, although the same conditions prevail elsewhere. What distinguishes Natal is that it is the one part of the country where two powerful black factions

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of kwaZulu, was long the major black political force in Natal. His Inkatha movement, which claims 1,5 million members, dominates rural areas.

But when the United Democratic Front was established in 1983, it won support from young, urban blacks who embraced the organisation's aggressive anti-apartheid tactics and its alignment with the ANC.

The UDF advocates sanctions, boycotts and strikes to put pressure on the Government and generally favours a socialist-oriented economy.

Chief Buthelezi is a proponent of capitalism and says sanctions harm all blacks.

Militants consider the chief a collaborator with the Government because he participates in the homeland system. But the Zulu leader says he sees tribal government simply as an interim step on the road to majority rule.

Chief Buthelezi often is cited as the black leader most acceptable to whites, and the Government has tried to draw him into negotiations.

However, a Government official, who requested anonymity, said surveys indicate the chief has minimal support aside from his fellow Zulus, who account for about 7 million of South Africa's 28 million blacks

Both groups concede they have large numbers of young supporters they cannot control.

Frustrated residents have taken the law into their own hands, forming "defence committees" and "people's courts".

Police had been unable or unwilling to stop the carnage, said Mr Ainslie. His monitoring group had recorded 1 500 violent acts in three years, but only five prosecutions. He said his group had submitted dozens of affidavits to police, but charges had not followed.

Vlok 'appalled'

The UDF says police refuse to act against Inkatha and sometimes as-



with double action

CHILD TALK

ACTION: Pangas, pick-handles knobkerries and assegais are the order of the day as this group of Inkatha supporters travels to a meeting, prepared for any confrontation with UDF members.

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However, a Government official,
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 Zulus, who account for
 about 7 million of South
 Africa's 28 million blacks.
 A well-advertised Buthelezi
 rally in December drew
 only 3 000 people to a
 15 000-seat stadium in
 Soweto in site of hundreds
 being bussed in from
 hundreds of kilometres
 away.
 "Black-on-black violence
 has become uglier and
 uglier and has now got
 about as ugly as it can
 get," Chief Buthelezi
 told the rally. "Without
 (black) unity we can
 forget about ever being
 able to destroy the white
 oppression."
 Both sides have called
 repeatedly for peace,
 but talks broke off in
 August.

The UDF says police
 refuse to act against
 Inkatha and sometimes
 assist Inkatha members
 carrying out attacks.
 Police deny any bias
 and say they are unable
 to build criminal cases
 because of potential
 witnesses, fearing
 reprisals, will not
 testify.
 Law and Order
 Minister Adriaan Vlok,
 accompanied by Chief
 Buthelezi, recently
 visited several
 townships. He
 described the poverty
 and violence as
 "appalling".
 Police have added
 700 men to the
 forces in the
 area, but the
 Government has
 not offered long-term
 proposals to
 address the
 problems.
 — Associated Press.

But AAM furious over diplomatic coup in Hungary

PAT DEVEREAUX and
LOUISE BURGERS

REVELATIONS by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday that South African and Soviet government representatives have had regular contact were hailed last night by right and left-wing parliamentary political leaders as "a diplomatic step forward".

But extra-parliamentary MDM leaders have slated the Minister's meeting with the Hungarian officials, saying it will undermine international anti-apartheid campaigns.

And news of the visit shocked overseas members of the anti-apartheid movement.

Both the ANC and various anti-apartheid organisations intend to make urgent representations not only to Hungary, but all Eastern Bloc countries to put a brake on what appears to be a slide into South Africa's orbit.

It is not the contact between Mr Botha and Hungary's foreign ministry that concerns them as much as the prospect of the two countries extending their economic links. This would undermine the international sanctions campaign against South Africa.

At a press conference on his return from a two-day visit to Budapest, where he held talks aimed at new trade and diplomatic links with Hungary, Mr Botha disclosed that South Africa and the Soviet Union are "holding regular meetings about closer relations".

'Touch of irony'

He also said it was time "the ANC discovered that their brother comrades along with their ideologies in eastern Europe were gone, and the ANC should realise that what they wished to introduce to South Africa had died in the Soviet Union".

Reacting to Mr Botha's recent trip and the disclosure of SA-Soviet contact, Dr Zach de Beer, the Democratic Party parliamentary leader, said: "The news that our Government is in regular contact with the Soviet Union carries more than a touch of irony for those of us who have endured all the National Party's propaganda about a Moscow-inspired total onslaught on South Africa.

"But one must not be diverted by such considerations. I must express relief and pleasure that the Nats have matured sufficiently to do this. The peace, security and, ultimately, the prosperity of our country will depend largely upon the external relations we can establish with all the great nations.

"I believe that this development reinforces the urgent need for South Africa to alter its internal policies radically, to abolish all race discrimination and to build a united nation based upon equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

'Buttress status quo'

Releasing a statement on behalf of the MDM, United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said: "We are angry that the Hungarian government has officially received Mr Pik Botha.

"The meeting will have the effect of undermining the international campaign for the isolation of South Africa, a campaign which Hungary has always supported.

"Just as disturbing is the possibility of the recruitment of skilled Hungarian immigrants to South Africa. In our experience the effect of bringing skilled workers to South Africa from Europe has been to buttress the status quo by affording a special place to Europeans at the expense of black South Africans,

SA-Soviet contacts are a 'step forward'

who are denied the most elementary human rights.

"The MDM has welcomed the struggle of the people of eastern Europe for freedom and democracy. We call on the people of eastern Europe, including Hungary, to continue the support which they have given to the anti-apartheid struggle for many years. "As far as contact with the Soviets is concerned, we have only Mr Botha's word. It has not been confirmed by the Soviets, so we cannot comment on that. Conservative Party chief information officer Mr Koos van der Merwe said his party welcomed Mr Botha's diplomatic moves.

"He is simply doing his job. The trend to try to establish diplomatic relations with Eastern (Bloc) countries is not a new one. Every country must try to establish as broad a diplomatic base as possible. "A Foreign Affairs spokesman has confirmed that meetings were held between Soviet and South African Government representatives. But he denied the Min-

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.D.

Contacts

Continued
ister had said they were as regular as once a month.

Elaborating, he said: "We have been meeting with the Soviets through the joint commission talks about Angola and since the Namibian peace settlement.

"We also have regular contact with Soviet representatives based in Windhoek."

He quickly added: "You could describe the talks as growing dialogue, but we are not sitting down discussing jumping into bed with them."

In Harare, Zimbabwe's major daily newspaper, *The Herald*, said Mr Botha's visit to Hungary confirmed the worst fears about the consequences of change in eastern Europe.

The Herald said the good life white South Africa was offering Warsaw Pact immigrants was at the expense of the majority.

Statements that there would be no diplomatic relations with South Africa rang as hollow as pledges by former State President Mr P W Botha at Nkomati.

"Soon it will be impossible for the ANC and PAC to get material help from their traditional friends to prosecute the war against apartheid.

"It was becoming increasingly difficult to convince some of those friends that the aggressors were not the blacks, but the whites."

The Herald concluded: "That these 'new democracies' should befriend the least democratic nation in the world is the greatest irony of developments in eastern Europe."

THE ANC will respond cautiously to President FW de Klerk's recent reform moves in its first official reaction since the Government started steps to get negotiations going.

Sources close to the ANC in Lusaka said yesterday that the ANC's annual birthday message — to be delivered by acting leader Mr Alfred Nzo tomorrow — will be more important "for what it does not say" than for its actual contents.

It will also reflect an uncertainty within the organisation on how to respond to the De Klerk moves while attempting to placate factions inside the organisation who are dead against any form of negotiation.

These divisions were widened on Friday when Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced that the Government is now ready to tackle "the obstacles" to negotiations.

This is considered to be a "code word" for what the ANC has labelled preconditions to negotiations as set out by the recent Harare Declaration, subsequently endorsed by the United Nations.

This is the clearest indication yet that the Government will soon:

- Release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;

- Lift the state of emergency;
- Remove troops from black townships;
- Announce a moratorium on "political trials" and executions.

The Government's moves are designed to seize the initiative on negotiations and force the ANC to respond. It may lead to foreign governments, especially the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, "leaning" on the ANC to adopt a more conciliatory approach.

Sources in Lusaka said the annual message would be mild compared to similar speeches made in the past by ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo is recuperating in a Swedish hospital after a stroke. It is considered highly unlikely that he will return to the helm of the movement he has led for more than a quarter of a century.

This has already sparked speculation about his successor. According to the ANC's constitution, Mr Nzo is second in line. However, although he is highly regarded as an organiser, there are doubts about his ability to lead the ANC in the most vital phase of its history where diplomatic skills are of the essence. At 64 he belongs to the older generation of leadership.

The two main contenders to the throne appear to be Mr Thabo Mbeki, 47, the ANC's secretary for external affairs, and Mr Chris Hani, 47, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Mbeki is a highly regarded negotiator and skilled diplomat who initiated most of the ANC's recent contacts with South African groups, including senior Broederbond members. He is said to represent the faction in the movement which is in favour of exploring the possibilities of talks with the SA Government.

The leadership issue will come to a head later this year when the ANC's quadrennial consultative conference meets to elect a leader and members of the National Executive Council.

There is also strong support for Mr Nelson Mandela's leadership. The feeling is that his decades as the world's most celebrated prisoner have increased his international stature and make him a natural successor to Mr Tambo.

There are, however, also question marks about his age — 71 — and his health.

According to ANC sources, the Mr Nzo will tomorrow name 1990 "The Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa".

It is expected to dismiss the Government's reaction to the Harare Declaration as "political gamesmanship" and commit the ANC to continuing

the armed struggle. It will recognise advances made by Mr De Klerk but emphasise that while the obstacles remain in place there can be no talk about negotiations.

One of the most significant statements expected is the ANC's approval for its supporters working from within apartheid.

This would include structures such as the independent states and self-governing homelands, and so-called apartheid bodies such as the police and prisons service.

It will be seen as referring to General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei, Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and the controversial policeman, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Traditionally the annual message salutes the ANC's revolutionary allies such as the SA Communist Party, the SA Congress of Trade Unions and the "patriotic forces within South Africa" involved in strikes and campaigns against conscription.

On peace negotiations with SA, the ANC is expected to state that the Harare Declaration and its endorsement by the United Nations is intended solely for the purpose of ending the apartheid system as quickly and with as little bloodshed as possible.

It will dismiss the Government's response as "political gamesmanship" which has nothing to do with any serious effort to advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end apartheid.

ANC likely to pussyfoot in its response to moves by Government
(HA) (2/1/70)
Sunday Times 2/1/70

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The power base spawned in the Free State dust

By ZB MOLEFE

THE date was January 8, 1912. The place, a dusty shabby hall in Bloemfontein.

Inside was an impressive gathering of dignified Edwardian figures with spade beards, frock coats, furled umbrellas and side-whiskers.

Most of them were the elite of the day.

With dignity befitting the occasion, they broke up into an inspired, sombre Tiyo Soga hymn *Lizalis' Idinga Lakho*.

This conference was a landmark in black politics at the time. It was the birth of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). The name was changed to the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923.

No white newspaper bothered to report on the 1912 conference, while a notable black newspaper which ignored the conference was *Imvo ZabaNtsandu*. Its editor, John Tengo Jabavu, opposed it "lest it further separate African leaders from sympathetic whites".

This conference was the dream of a visionary, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, a young attorney educated at Columbia (US) and Oxford universities.

The dream began in 1911 when Seme gathered three other foreign-educated black lawyers to work with him on a united black South Africa.

They were Alfred Mangena, Richard Msimang and George Montshioa.

Writing in the newspaper *Imvo* in the same year (1911), Seme explained his dream: "The demon of racism must be buried and forgotten, it has shed sufficient blood among us. We are one people..."

In a rousing speech at the Bloemfontein SANNC launch, Seme passionately argued that without unity, blacks were bound "to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water" forever.

His unity call was unanimously carried.

The election of SANNC officebearers was tricky. Walter Rubusana, a 54-year-old Congregational Church minister, was tipped to be president. However, the job went to another heavyweight of the time - Natal's John Mafukuzela Dube.

Rubusana occupied the vice-president's chair along with SM Makgatho, Mangena, Thomas Mapikela, Meshach Pelem and Chief Stephen Mini.

Zulu Paramount Chief Dinuzulu and seven other paramount chiefs countrywide were chosen as honorary SANNC presidents.

But the founding of the SANNC had its headaches too.

The "Bible of black politics" Karis and Carter's *From Protest to Challenge* says: "John Tengo Jabavu opposed the forming of the Congress.

"Still deeply convinced of the non-racial potential of the Cape system, Jabavu felt hostile to an organisation that did not centre its activities on working with sympathetic whites to exert pressure within the established parliamentary system.

"He was possibly also wary of an organisation in which he was not the central figure."

The editor of *Imvo* called together his supporters in the Cape Province to form their own unionwide organisation called the South African Races Congress.

Now, 78 years later, the ANC has travelled a long and often bumpy road.

Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Alfred Nzo and many others are the names which make up the present mosaic of the ANC - probably one of the world's oldest liberation movements.

No party for Oliver Tambo

By SANDILE MEMELA

ANC President Oliver Tambo will not be at celebrations in Lusaka tomorrow for his organisation's 78th birthday. He is in hospital in Sweden.

Sources close to the ANC said Tambo was, however, likely to be reunited with his formerly-imprisoned colleagues, including Walter Sisulu, in Sweden soon after their Lusaka trip. *C.P. Press 7/1/90*

The meeting is likely to be a moving reunion between ANC veterans who have not seen each other for more than 26 years.

Tambo is in Erstagards clinic, which specialises in rehabilitating patients with brain damage, according to the Swedish Foreign Ministry.

Tambo had a brain spasm last year and entered a London hospital in August suffering from exhaustion. An ANC spokesman said later movement was impaired on the right side of his body. The Swedish newspaper *Af-*



Oliver Tambo... in hospital.

tonbladet said Tambo was recovering from the spasm but still had difficulty speaking and in moving one arm.

Tambo's illness has been seen as a serious blow to the ANC. He led its campaign against apartheid for more than 20 years. He has been widely credited with maintaining unity among hardline guerrilla commanders, young radicals and moderates in the organisation.

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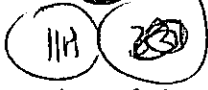
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7 'insurgents' charged

By CONNIE MOLUSI



C/P 10 7/11/90

Port Elizabeth, Saxon Mokononyana of Welkom and Simon Ndlovu of Soweto.

SEVEN suspected members of the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will appear on charges of terrorism in Klerksdorp Regional Court tomorrow.

The accused are said to be members of the BCMA and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), and to have undergone military and political training in Libya and Botswana with the aim of overthrowing the South African government.

It is the first case involving trained insurgents from the BCMA since its formation in April 1980.

The trial has some fascinating aspects. Unlike the ANC and PAC the BCMA is not a banned organisation.

The seven accused include a 17-year-old Soweto girl who is said to be a platoon commander. The others are Lawrence Kondile and Matikela Mashiqana from Port Elizabeth, Patrick Nthako of Welkom, Nelson Joyi of

The State claims the BCMA intended to unlawfully overthrow the government and establish a revolutionary national democracy in transition to socialism.

The trialists are accused of recruiting people for military and political training and to have established military bases in Transkei and QwaQwa.

The State also alleges the 17-year-old girl, from Dlamini in Soweto, left the country between September 1986 and October 1988 to undergo military and political training and became a platoon commander.

Kondile is said to have been an instructor and to have become the head of intelligence and military commander of Azanla.

Defence advocates Dikgang Mosenke and Imran Moosa went to Harare last week to consult the BCMA leadership.



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TO A TEXT BOOK

Sisulu to speak on matric disaster

THE DISMAL results of black matriculants will be under the spotlight at a meeting in Soweto today to be addressed by recently released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

The importance of the meeting is underscored by the fact that it will be attended by delegates representing both the Mass Democratic Movement and black consciousness groups.

It will be attended by representatives of the National Education Crisis Committee, the SA Council of Churches, the Pan African Students

By DRIES van HEERDEN

Organisation, Azapo, Cosatu and Nactu.

The meeting comes in the wake of the worst matric results in a decade — and the crisis is expected to worsen in the coming year. Of the 197 000 pupils who wrote matric 80 000 failed.

It is feared the Department of Education and Training will reject about 35 000 pupils expected to apply for readmission.

Shortage

The main problem appears to be lack of space. Education experts predict an increase of 20 percent in the number of high school students due to the influx of large numbers of Std 6 pupils.

Last year there was a shortage of 4 500 classrooms in spite of the building of 2 000 classrooms during the year and a further 1 450 in the process of completion.

Experts fear that those who will suffer most will be failed matriculants wishing to return to school but who may be refused permission because they are over 21 or have been involved in school boycotts.

The meeting, to be held at the Funda Centre in Diepkloof, will also focus on the maintenance of discipline in classrooms and the rising crime rate in schools.

Last month Mr Sisulu reacted to the matric results by calling on pupils to place a high premium on education and to attend their classes regularly.

Dangers of one-party rule

In his book *The Prisoners of Tradition and the Politics of Nation Building* CHARLES SIMKINS examined South Africa's chances of moving towards a multi-party democracy. He believes this will happen if the country's interest groups maintain their independence.

Today eastern bloc countries are demanding multi-party democracy - having learnt this has to be spelt out.

Simkins, a professor in the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town, talked to Jill Wentzel in *Institute of Race Relations News*.

WENTZEL: In your book you emphasise the importance of multi-party democracy as opposed to the one-party state.

You also emphasise the importance of pluralism. Could you explain these terms.

SIMKINS: There are two competing traditions of democracy in political philosophy.

The first tradition is based on representative or parliamentary democracy. This involves competition between two or more parties and gives rise to what people now call multi-party democracy.

The second tradition is based on council democracy, with as much direct democracy at the grassroots as possible - what people now call a one-party state.

In this system there is no competition between parties because one party attains dominance and outlaws all others.

WENTZEL: Does that mean political parties are forbidden in council democracies?

SIMKINS: In a one-party, council democracy system, there is one overall political organisation into which everybody has to fit.

In Zambia, for example, Unip is the one party and all political debate takes place within it. Factions may form over temporary issues, but on the whole this is regarded as a dangerous thing, so factions are discouraged.

WENTZEL: How would you define pluralism?

SIMKINS: Pluralism is often loosely used as another word for multi-party democracy.

Political pluralism is the idea that divergent interests should be organised in divergent parties which then compete for public support.

WENTZEL: In a one-party state you do have elections. Is there any way of removing certain interest groups from within a one-party state?

SIMKINS: We know

Some of the organisations that can make a difference



Nafoc's Motsuanyane Sam



Sabta's Ngcoya James



The NECC's Vusi Khanyile



BLA's Moseneke Dikgang



Black Sash's Sheena Duncan



Achib's Lawrence Mavundla

Multi-party democracy is a solution, says academic

how farcical some of these elections in one-party systems are. If the party itself nominates candidates then the whole thing can be rigged.

Prisoners you imply it might not be so easy to achieve a multi-party democracy in South Africa. But since your book was published early this year, the ANC has

partyism is stronger. On the black side there are encouraging indications from Inkatha and the ANC. I think the real prospects on the black side depend on whether one overall winner emerges or whether the smaller black groupings will be strong enough to maintain themselves over time.

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strategies - and they don't have any say in whether they think these wider strategies are effective or desirable.

Do you believe most South Africans do not have this understanding, or that specific power blocs do not have it, or both? **WENTZEL:** What **SIMKINS:** Many pec

■ The great difficulty of the one-party system is that a political elite at the top runs the whole society and treats other social institutions as subordinate. Stalin used to refer to them as a system of 'transmission belts'. ■

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come out in favour of a multi-party democracy, the Democratic Party has won 33 seats on a multi-party democracy ticket and the government has indicated support for a Bill of Rights which enshrines the right of free association.

Developments within the Soviet Union, and particularly the Soviet Union's own policy towards southern Africa, has also strengthened acceptance of multi-party democracy in the ANC.

Specific interest groups tend to cut across political allegiances and act independently of political organisations. For example, within organisations like Sabta and Achib you'll get followers of Azapo, Inkatha and the UDF.

What do you mean by "compelled to join national political organisations?" **SIMKINS:** Take sport, for example. The ability to construct a decent sporting order is prejudiced by wider nationalist objectives. The slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" means sportsmen are compelled to sacrifice their interests for the sake of wider political

about the trade unions telling the hawkers they are workers and must serve the working class struggle, and the hawkers replying they are hawkers, not workers. Would that be an example of an independent group emerging that refuses to be compelled to join a national grouping?

ple don't have it because of the way power has been historically wielded in South Africa with most people in the position of administered subjects rather than citizens.

When that happens there are no checks and balances against the abuse of power.

Bearing this in mind, as well as that Inkatha also subscribes to multi-party democracy, would you say the chances of achieving this in South Africa are now much stronger?

WENTZEL: In *Prisoners* you say: "It is essential that a range of vital and independent groups emerge." Can you give examples of the sort of groups you mean and explain why they are important?

Take the example of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA). Its purpose is to represent teacher interests in the Cape, but it finds itself constantly having to manoeuvre in relation to the Labour Party and

WENTZEL: We mentioned earlier that important groups like the ANC and Inkatha, as well as the National Party, now pay lip service to multi-party democracy.

WENTZEL: We have spoken of the need for a limited state with strict checks and balances against tyranny, and provisions for participation of all political groups of any size.

WENTZEL: We mentioned earlier that important groups like the ANC and Inkatha, as well as the National Party, now pay lip service to multi-party democracy.

China, for instance, followed disastrous agricultural policies under the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s, and because there were no checks and balances these continued for three years until they had starved 30 million peasants to death.

SIMKINS: The interesting development in white politics is the erosion of the old solid Nationalist Party majority - so on the white side multi-

SIMKINS: They constitute independent centres of power which check the use of state power. The sort of black and white groups that exist already are business

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Some of the organisations that can make a difference



C/pen 7/1/90.

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Using this capability, for example, you can have two drivers for your computer with an EGA card, one supporting the 43-line mode, and another for 25-line mode. You can tell Sprint to use the alternative driver by starting Sprint with "sp -s=25".

More about LTR's file is found by the editor on startup. It will automatically detect the type of screen adapter and use the best driver description for it.

These files must have the extension .SPL (for Sprint Library). SP-SETUP reads its definitions from the file MAIN.SPL. As shipped, Sprint comes with many additional library files, including HP.SPL, POSTSCR.SPL, and DIABLO.SPL. These library files contain definitions for the HP LaserJet series, the Apple LaserWriter (and other PostScript printers) and DIABLO (and compatible) printers. These library files are automatically read into SP-SETUP and you can provide definitions for these printers.

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party is stronger. On the black side there are encouraging indications from Inkatha and the ANC. I think the real prospects on the black side depend on whether one overall winner emerges or whether the smaller black groupings will be strong enough to maintain themselves over time.

What whites do will affect the prospects on the black scene and vice versa. Progress by whites towards dismantling statutory discrimination will allow new interests to emerge which will straddle the colour line.

Developments within the Soviet Union, and particularly the Soviet Union's own policy towards southern Africa, has also

come out in favour of a multi-party democracy, the Democratic Party has won 33 seats on a multi-party democracy ticket and the government has indicated support for a Bill of Rights which enshrines the right of free association.

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associations, teachers' associations, lawyers' associations, trade unions, sporting bodies and clubs, and organisations like the Black Sash, the Red Cross, National Education Crisis Committee, church organisations, Nafco, the Black Lawyers' Association, hawkers' association Achib and Sabta.

There should also be special interest groups representing people living in informal housing, pensioners and disabled people. Specific interest groups tend to cut across political allegiances and act independently of political organisations. For example, within organisations like Sabta and Achib you'll get followers of Azapo, Inkatha and the UDF.

WENTZEL: You warn there are circumstances that would overwhelm these interest groups?

SIMKINS: The danger is they may have their specific identity overridden. Take the example of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA). Its purpose is to represent teacher interests in the Cape, but it finds itself constantly having to manoeuvre in relation to the Labour Party and

the ANC. They should be building specific alliances as teachers, but are constantly at risk of being made a transmission belt for an agenda which is not their own.

This threat increases if there are high levels of public violence. Politics stop where violence starts. Interest group activity can only happen in a genuinely political situation, where people can pursue their interests with some guarantee they won't be "taken out" if other groups are against them.

WENTZEL: You say in *Prisoners*: "If currently independent special interest groups are compelled to join national political organisations, this will bode ill for the development of cross-cutting cleavages and social checks and balances."

What do you mean by "compelled to join national political organisations?"

SIMKINS: Take sport, for example. The ability to construct a decent sporting order is prejudiced by wider nationalist objectives. The slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" means sportsmen are compelled to sacrifice their interests for the sake of wider political

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about the trade unions telling the hawkers they are workers and must serve the working class struggle, and the hawkers replying they are hawkers, not workers. Would that be an example of an independent group emerging that refuses to be compelled to join a national grouping?

SIMKINS: Yes, the hawkers are asserting their specific interests. **WENTZEL:** We mentioned earlier that important groups like the ANC and Inkatha, as well as the National Party, now pay lip service to multi-party democracy.

Do you believe this means we stand a good chance of getting one in South Africa?

SIMKINS: The fact that everybody pays lip service to the multi-party idea shows the power of the idea.

Sisulu indignant at ANC rally ban

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**
and **SANDILE MEMELA**

RELEASED ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday expressed disappointment at the refusal of permission for the ANC birthday celebration rally to be held in Bloemfontein today.

Sisulu, who was to have given the keynote address, said the government had no reason to ban the rally because experience with other rallies showed that they had been orderly.

"I am very indignant at the banning of the gathering as recent history has shown that mass meetings and defiance campaigns are orderly. The only reason to justify the refusal is fear of violence, but those fears are without basis."

He said his speech would also have appealed to Afrikaners to join the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement, as the only way forward for South Africa was non-racialism.

Rivonia trialist Wilton Mkwayi said the withdrawal of permission to hold the rally was "just an excuse".

"Obviously the authorities are afraid the rally would have revived interest in the ANC in the region," said Mkwayi.

He said the rally in the Free State would have been the first to be held in the province. The Free State had posed serious difficulties to organising ANC political activities, due to intimidation and strong resistance from conservative groups.

"Free State has always been the weakest spot of the ANC and this would have provided the opportunity to test the strength of the movement in the area," said Mkwayi.

'I have a dream' is celebration theme

By SELLO SERIPE

(11A) 11/11/90
SOWETO'S Jabulani Amphitheatre will be filled with the spirit of the late American civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King on January 20 at a celebration set to coincide with his birthday.

"I have a dream" is the theme of the event which will be addressed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu. A fund-raising campaign will also be launched for an educational centre to be built in Johannesburg, similar to the Dr Martin Luther King Centre in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Rev Joe Tshawana, a spokesman for the Institute of Professional Music which is organising the event, said Dr King's famous recorded speech "I have a dream" would be played.

Tshawana said the highlight of the celebration would be when "deserving South African church leaders receive awards for their untiring commitment to fight for stability in our country".

Although he would not release the names of candidates to be honoured, he said church leaders such as Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane and Smangaliso Mkhathshwa embodied freedom for the oppressed.

After attending Martin Luther King celebrations in the United States the day before, Tshawana will read a message of support from Dr King's widow, Coretta Scott King, at Jabulani.

Martin Luther King Day has been celebrated in the United States as a public holiday on the third Monday of each January since 1984.

Dr King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee.

PAC LEADERS SLIP INTO SA

(11A)



C/Prem 7/1/90

Exec in mission for 'final push' against Nats

By ZB MOLEFE

AT least five top Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members, some of whom left the country 30 years ago, slipped into South Africa this week to lay the foundations for "the final push" in the movement's liberation struggle.

All left the country individually this week. The last to leave on Friday was London-based AB Ngcobo of the movement's highest authority, the National Executive Committee (NEC), which was voted into office in 1960 when the movement was banned.

The names of the other members could not be established.

City Press was shown the secret place in Johannesburg where they had met. PAC members to prepare for a special conference scheduled for later this year in South Africa.



Selby Ngendane

Ngcobo represented the NEC's working committee which runs the PAC's day-to-day operations.

A spokesman for the group, Selby Ngendane, said the Working Committee had finished tasks it had been working on for years. He would not elaborate.

Very important was that PAC members in South Africa and abroad were demanding a major conference, said Ngendane.

Another reason for the consultations was that the PAC "has been aware of a number of self-elected spokesmen - political wolves in sheepskins - who do not have the interests of Africa at heart".

Ngendane said developments in South Africa had made the forthcoming PAC conference in the country urgent. "The PAC is alive, intact and disciplined and still led by the same people who were elected with the late Robert Sobukwe".

Since its banning in 1960 the NEC had been in touch with the movement's eight regions in South Africa practically on a day-to-day basis.

"When we were banned with other organisations we were prepared. We have been operating ever since. We have been keeping quiet deliberately. There is something big coming. Mark my words," said Ngendane.

"We will soon send a clarion call to our dedicated membership to carry on the same ideals of restoring human dignity to Africa. There is no new approach."

Ngendane showed City Press documents indicating leadership problems in the organisation. For instance, a 1989 NEC press statement signed by Ngcobo tells of "the dissatisfaction with the performance of the Dar-es-Salaam (PAC) group".

The statement says: "A recent declaration dated August/September 1989 and signed by representatives of PAC cadres in exile in Africa, Europe and the US denounces and repudiates the self-appointed cabal based in Dar-es-Salaam."

The NEC's Working Committee members are Nana Mahomo (culture); PH Molosi (Pan African affairs); JD Nyaose (labour) and treasurer-general AB Ngcobo.

ANC declares 'year of action'

Sowetan 8/1/90

Call for peace, justice and unity

11A

HARARE - The African National Congress yesterday called on all South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace to unite and finally put an end to apartheid and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

In a message to mark the organisation's 78th anniversary, the ANC's national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic South Africa", in which all democratic forces would require even more extensive political and material support from the world's anti-apartheid forces.

"We begin the last decade of the second millennium convinced that victory is certain. Democracy in South Africa must and will emerge triumphant," Ziana news agency reports.

"It is the urgent responsibility of all our people who value freedom, justice and peace to combine in their millions and use their irresistible strength finally to put an end to the apartheid system, transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, enabling it to take its place among the nations of the world as a force for justice, peace and social progress," the message read.

Democratic movement

The message said it was important to further strengthen in every way the organised formations of the democratic movement, adding that there were some weaknesses in how the membership was organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership as well as the contact of these formations with the people.

"One of the most important lessons ... is that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces in a conscious effort to think and plan together on a continuous basis. United action becomes easier for all of us to achieve when we have all participated in the process of

determining what action we should take together," the message said.

There was need for clarity of thought in terms of the people's tactical and strategic objectives to face the challenges of "this pregnant moment in our history".

"Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not overestimate or underestimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents," it said.

It called on members inside South Africa to work hard to strengthen the underground structures of the movement, to expand them and ensure that they reached all corners of the country and all sectors of the people.

The armed struggle would also continue to be a critical and decisive component of the organisation's strategy and the conditions which obliged the ANC to take up arms remained unchanged.

"The commanders of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, will therefore remain at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, for a democratic and peaceful South Africa.

The conditions that obliged the ANC to take up arms included the banning of the organisation.

"Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible. This was precisely because, as a movement for national liberation, we value life and fight to assert the right to life in the face of a system that is inherently violent and murderous," it said.

On negotiations, the ANC said its forces would not be terrorised into negotiations and could not be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as did the ruling National Party.

Education tragedy must end now

BY the time you read this, the summit on education in Soweto would be history. The crisis would have been faced and, whatever the outcome, we will simply have to soldier on. Our very lives depend on what happens next.

History must teach us, and current history is particularly instructive, that the luxury of crossing ideological swords must end.

If Mr Mikhail Gorbachev is prepared to bring down the Iron Curtain, we have such minuscule political or ideological differences that the farce has just got to stop.

The tragedy in black schools is the tragedy of an entire generation. It is furthermore the tragic cost that South Africa has to pay for the mistakes of the past. It is finally the type of disaster that in its own way touches the lives of South Africans of all races.

That is not all. It is the tragedy of the Southern African region, for if we do not put matters right now, the entire sub-continent will come down tumbling over our ears.

For let nobody fool themselves. It does not matter that you are white as driven snow. It does not matter that you do not live in the townships. It matters least of all that you and I might have our children in expensive private schools. The problem is ours.

Let me try and sketch out part of the history of this mess. In 1955 Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who must have been almost Machiavellian in his deviousness, decided no black child would get a proper education. Even in his grave, the man must be patting himself on the back. For it worked.

After 1976, it became clear that South African adults had placed a highly

explosive commodity in the hands of their children - power. We actually called them with unwitting irony, *Bana ba Power* - the Children of Power.

I have often written about this power placed in the precious and anxious hands of children. Many other things happened. Some plain ghastly, others pretty sad.

For not only did we inherit the *necklace* phenomenon, we saw children beautifying parks and sending out the clearest, most anguishing message that they wanted a beautiful world. Not this wretchedness.

You do not even need to feel guilty about what followed. All you need to know is that you and I will probably have to pay for every precious drop of blood that was shed, that

is being shed even as we speak in Natal.

We will leave Dr Verwoerd to heaven.

Speaking about petty ideological squabbles, I personally have not the slightest bother who calls which crisis meeting to get me out of a jam.

If Sheila Sisulu is unloved by certain quarters, just too bad. Sheila has got to be given as much support in attempting what she is doing even if you believe her politics is mere infantile hysterics.

The awful thing about this mess is there are many others just like her, prepared to work and sacrifice just as hard. Worse still, we might not be as we are led to believe, but we have magnificent resources lying fallow because of petty differences.

We are able to put together the type of scheme that might even be used by others in the continent.

What I mean is we can jointly put together such a bracing scheme that we can perhaps recoup our losses by selling it to all the Third World countries in the world.

What really bothers me is the seeming myopia of those who are naturally consumed about getting the evil of apartheid destroyed. I beg of them to look further than simply the removal of that evil.

I have been called a romantic, a sappy liberal, simply because of the pragmatic way I think. I believe those who have been blinkered, chiefly by an ideological battle, are the biggest romantics of the era. They



ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaaste

are more grotesque than Don Quixote in all his confused glory.

The most serious problems will occur after liberation. Consider this. Expectations from the oppressed that they will be turned wealthy, successful voters overnight will not be met. Not until we start the building now.

The problems that we will inherit will be phenomenal. While other African states tried unsuccessfully to meet the expectations of the boys from the bush, we will be expected to satisfy our guerrillas from the streets.

The fact that they are here already making such demands is even more horrifying.

It is sentimental rot to believe that there will be a magical distribution of the country's resources from the well-to-do to the poor.

The bitter truth, and we must tell this to those prepared to heed the threat is that we the oppressed will probably be stuck exactly where we are. If we do not move right now.

My personal feeling is we owe it to ourselves more importantly than the world. South Africa might be deemed the pariah state of the world, something that you and I believe affects only the oppressors. Oh, no. We all catch the flak.

UDF slams the police

THE refusal for permission to hold a rally in Bloemfontein on the basis that police did not sanction it, shows that the judiciary is not free and independent, but controlled by the police, UDF local chairman for Bloemfontein, Mr Zingile Dingani, said yesterday.

Former ANC Secretary-General, Mr Walter Sisulu, was to have addressed the rally on Saturday, and organisers were expecting up to 80 000 people to attend.

Mr Dingani said two applications were made for the rally, the first was submitted early in December last year but only refused on December 28.

He said the second application, submitted on Friday, was also refused and when asked for reasons why, the chief magistrate said he could not grant permission because police had not given him the go ahead, he said.

The refusal showed talks about negotiations were "clearly a bluff. Our people should remain determined to intensify the struggle on all fronts", Mr Dingani said.

He said preparations for the rally were continuing, and following consultations with the National Reception Committee, a date would be decided for the rally to proceed.

Sowetan 8/11/90
"United mass action must ensure the rally is going to be a success".

He said there had been intimidation by the security police, marshalls had been interrogated and rally organiser's homes were under surveillance on Sunday.

He told Sapa there was a heavy police presence in the township on Sunday, with roadblocks on routes

into the city.

Cars from outside the Bloemfontein area were being searched and denied access to the township.

Police with dogs were guarding the two stadiums where the rally was to have been held.

Organisers were expecting up to 2 000 people at a meeting yesterday

to discuss the situation, he said.

Police duty officer in Bloemfontein yesterday said he knew nothing of the alleged police presence in the township. "No-one has informed me at this stage".

Police liaison officer for Bloemfontein, Colonel Human, could not be contacted for comment, or to confirm the situation.-Sapa.

ANC calls for protests

Carl Tuit's 8/11/68 (UK)
HARARE. — The ANC has called on its supporters worldwide to mount demonstrations outside Hungarian embassies to protest contact between South Africa's government and Hungary's new rulers.

It said international pressure was also needed to halt South African efforts to recruit skilled immigrants from Hungary and other East European nations.

The recruitment drive was intended to give "a longer lease of life" to the apartheid system of racial segregation, the national news agency Ziana said.

Demonstrators "must show the new rulers in Hungary that what they have done in a counter-revolution," the statement added.

Mr Pik Botha's visit late last week to the Warsaw Pact country drew sharp criticism from Hungarian democratic opposition groups, the ANC and anti-apartheid activists in South Africa.

Ziana reported that the ANC will soon send officials to East European capitals to assess political changes.

The ANC has traditionally received the bulk of its diplomatic and material aid from the USSR and Warsaw Pact governments. — Sapa

US Congressman gets mixed reception

Star 8/11/90



When US Congressman Howard Wolpe — a Democrat from Michigan — and his congressional delegation arrived in South Africa last Thursday on a five-day fact-finding mission he was greeted by a scathing attack on himself by a Johannesburg daily, *Business Day*, which dismissed him as an angry politician full of hatred for the country's rulers.

"The arrival of Congressman Howard Wolpe in this sun-drenched land is easily misinterpreted by South Africans as an event of political significance when, in fact, it is simply part of the annual migration of congressional delegations to escape the worst of the North American winter weather," said the editorial. "Neither the views of the congressman, nor American policies, nor South African fortunes will be much changed by the visit.

"Wolpe's views are fixed, as they have been since he began to acquire an interest in South African affairs, and have proved immune to evidence, argument and protestation. His influence on American foreign policy is, fortunately, not great, or he would presumably have persuaded his bellicose President to mount an invasion to change the Government such as the recent invasion of Panama."

If Congressman Wolpe was stung by the criticism, he did not show it. On his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport on Thursday morning, he told journalists he had come to this country to learn and would meet the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, Cabinet Ministers and extra-Parliamentary leaders.

Asked by one local reporter if his visit was a continuation of the sanctions drive,

United States Congressman Dr Howard Wolpe, presently visiting South Africa on a fact-finding mission, evokes different emotions in different South Africans. To some he is bent on destroying the country's wealth and to many others he is a staunch supporter of their cause. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

Dr Wolpe evaded the question, saying he would hold a full-fledged press conference before his departure tomorrow.

On the other hand, a US Information Service spokesman, Mr Larry Schwartz, described Dr Wolpe as the key player in deciding US policy on Africa.

But Dr Wolpe's reception in the country was by no means only negative and critical. Judging by the number of credible anti-apartheid leaders who met him and his delegation on their first two days in Johannesburg, it is obvious that in extra-Parliamentary circles the US congressional delegation was welcomed and embraced.

South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Reverend Mr Frank Chikane, and Institute for Contextual Theology secretary general, Father S'mangaliso Mkhathshwa, were among the first leaders to meet the delegation.

After the meeting, Father Mkhathshwa told *The Star*: "As a group they were very well informed. They are the best informed American group on issues regarding South Africa, and are also fairly sympathetic to our cause."

Former ANC general secretary Mr

Walter Sisulu was equally impressed.

The Americans have since met many extra-Parliamentary leaders, including trade unionists, members of the Mass Democratic Movement and the recently released African National Congress leaders. Post-meeting comments from extra-Parliamentary leaders contacted by *The Star* were overwhelmingly positive.

Chairman of the US House of Representatives' Subcommittee of Africa, Dr Wolpe last year gave Mr de Klerk a six-month deadline within which to implement real reform or sanctions would bite.

Last week he arrived in South Africa accompanied by fellow Democrat Mr Alan Wheat, the only Republican in the delegation, Representative Constance Morella, and the staff director for the Subcommittee on African Affairs, Mr Stephen Weissman.

A former Western Michigan University professor, Dr Wolpe was first elected to the US Senate in 1978. He had served on the local city council and state legislature, and in 1976 had run for Congress without success. For the next two years he worked as a staffer for Senator Donald Riegle in Lansing, and then ran again and won in 1978.

He has been a leader on African issues, although he deferred somewhat to Congressional Black Caucus members in the successful drive for sanctions legislation against South Africa. He has been very critical of the Reagan administration's "Constructive Engagement" policy towards South Africa, and has been sympathetic to the leaders of African nations who wished to remain unaligned to either Super-power.



Congressman Howard Wolpe and ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu after Friday afternoon's meeting at Mr Sisulu's home.

● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

HARARE — The African National Congress yesterday called on all South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace to unite and finally put an end to apartheid and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

In a message to mark the organisation's 78th anniversary, the ANC's national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic South Africa", in which all democratic forces would require even more extensive political and material support from the world's anti-apartheid forces.

"We begin the last decade of the second millennium convinced that victory is certain. Democracy in South Africa must and will emerge triumphant," the Ziana news agency reported the ANC as saying.

"The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international

ANC calls on all South Africans to end apartheid

community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity," the ANC said.

It also committed itself to continuing the armed struggle.

However, as Michael Holman of the *Financial Times*, London, pointed out in an article today, the threat "appears to be at odds with the situation on the ground . . . ANC guerilla activity has virtually ceased in what appears to be a de facto cessation

of hostilities which began last autumn".

On negotiations, the ANC said its forces would not be coerced into negotiations and could not be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as did the National Party.

The organisation said the De Klerk administration still had a long way to go before it could claim that it had ended repression directed against the national liberation and democratic movement.

"Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime.

"For our part, we are committed to seizing any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system," the ANC said.

It also made it clear that the Harare Declaration was not meant to be a substitute for other forms of struggle, but was seen to be an additional weapon in the bid to end apartheid.

(The Harare Declaration, which was adopted by the ANC last year and has been approved by the Organisation of African Unity, says there is a possibility of ending apartheid through negotiations if the Government meets the following conditions: the release of political prisoners and detainees; the unbanning of political organisations; the removal of troops from the townships; the lifting of the state of emergency and repeal of security legislation; the ending of all political trials and executions.)

MANDELA

● The Star Bureau in London reports that according to a leader page article in the *Mail On Sunday*, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will be released within weeks to give a boost to long-awaited negotiations between the ANC and the Government.

The article asserts that Mr Mandela's release will mark the climax of intense talks which have taken place both within South Africa and abroad in recent months.

The article, headlined "Mandela: the white man's saviour", says a freed Mr Mandela, now unable to do more from prison to facilitate negotiations, will be allowed to continue working to get talks off the ground.

The article by Tom McGurk predicted that Mr Mandela's release will coincide with three rapid developments: the legalisation of the ANC, a ceasefire declaration by the ANC, and the acceptance by the ANC of an "interim solution", possibly involving a five or 10-year transition period ahead of a fully democratic South Africa. — Sapa.

ANC 'to step up its armed struggle'

ARGUS
8/11/90
11A

HARARE. — The African National Congress is preparing to intensify its armed struggle and has demanded equal rights with the National Party.

In a statement marking its 78th anniversary today, it has called on its members inside South Africa to work hard to strengthen and expand its underground structures and ensure that they reach all corners of the country and all sectors of the population.

The armed struggle will continue to be a critical and decisive component of its strategy, it says, adding that the conditions which persuaded the ANC to take up arms remained unchanged. These included the banning of the ANC.

PEOPLE'S ARMY

"The commanders of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, will therefore remain at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, for a democratic and peaceful South Africa.

"The people's army must continue to grow and further develop its combat capacity inside the country so that it becomes a formidable force capable of delivering telling blows against the apartheid regime on a continuous and nationwide basis."

In its statement, carried by Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, it says there is need for clarity of thought in terms of the people's tactical and strategic objectives to face the challenges of "this pregnant moment in our history".

TACTICS

"Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation.

"The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly

and not overestimate or underestimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents.

"Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible. This was precisely because, as a movement for national liberation, we value life and fight to assert the right to life in the face of a system that is inherently violent and murderous."

NEGOTIATIONS

It said the ANC's forces would not be terrorised into negotiations and could not be expected to enter into these until the ANC enjoyed the same freedom as the National Party to engage in political activity.

It noted that President De Klerk's government still had a long way to go before it could claim it had ended repression directed against the national liberation and democratic movement.

"Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime.

OPPORTUNITY

"For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system."

It called on all South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace to unite and finally put an end to apartheid and transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

The ANC's national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic South Africa".

CONVINCED

"We begin the last decade of the second millennium convinced that victory is certain. Democracy in South Africa must and will emerge triumphant.

The ANC's national executive committee is meeting in Lusaka this week to deliberate on options open to the movement.

● President De Klerk is studying the ANC's statement and deciding whether to deliver any comment at this stage, a spokesman for the President said today. — Sapa..

ANC says it will not be 'terrorised' into negotiating with the SA govt

HARARE — The ANC said yesterday its forces would not be "terrorised" into negotiating with the SA government, and the armed struggle would continue to be a critical component of its strategy.

In a statement marking its 78th anniversary, the ANC said it could not be expected to enter into a negotiating process until it enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as the National Party.

The organisation said the F W de Klerk regime still had a long way to go before it could claim it had ended repression.

"Therefore, whether the potential for a

political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system," it said.

All South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace should unite and put an end to apartheid, transforming SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

The ANC national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic SA", in which all democratic forces would require even more ex-

tensive political and material support from the world's anti-apartheid forces.

The message said it was important to further strengthen in every way the organised formations of the democratic movement, adding that there were some weaknesses in how the membership was organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership, as well as the contact of these formations with the people.

"One of the most important lessons... is that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces, in a conscious effort

to think and plan together on a continuous basis," the message said.

There was need for clarity of thought in terms of the people's tactical and strategic objectives to face the challenges of "this pregnant moment in our history".

"Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not over-estimate or under-estimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents," it said.

The ANC had also made it clear that the Harare declaration was not meant to be a substitute for other forms of struggle but to be an additional weapon in its struggle.

The organisation paid tribute to governments and people all over the world for the work they had done to sustain the campaign for SA's isolation.

The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity," it said. — Sapa.

Blom 8/11/90

11A

ANC: We
won't be
terrorised
into talks

HARARE. — In a militant 78th-anniversary statement, the African National Congress last night said it would not be "terrorised" into negotiations and could not be expected to enter into such a process till it enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as did the ruling National Party.

It called on its members inside South Africa "to strengthen the underground structures of the movement".

"The commanders of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will remain at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, for a democratic and peaceful South Africa," the message said.

The organisation added that there were some weaknesses in how the membership was organised, "the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership..." — Sapa

Status of 'PAC five' disputed

JIA
Sowetan
8/11/90

AFRICANISTS inside the country have challenged the status of five purported executive members of the exiled Pan Africanist Congress who last week "slipped" into the country to lay foundations for "the final push" in the organisation's liberation struggle.

The presence of the five in the country was the main story in yesterday's *City Press*.

The group, which included Mr A B Ngcobo, Mr Velekhaya Shange, Mr Selby Ngendane and two others, left last week.

Ngcobo, who is based in London, jetted out on Friday, according to the newspaper.

The president of the PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, said he had no knowledge of the five's presence or their mission in the country.

He said a formal statement would be issued today.

The newspaper said Ngcobo represented the

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

working committee of the PAC's national executive committee and Ngendane was acting as the group's spokesman.

The group, which met PAC members in Johannesburg, was making preparations for a special conference inside South Africa later this year.

Documents

The newspaper was shown documents indicating leadership problems in the PAC and a statement signed by Ngcobo last year in which the organisation's Dar es Salaam-based leadership was denounced.

A spokesman for the Pan Africanist Movement said it was surprising that Ngcobo and Shange moved freely in and out of South Africa even though they claimed to be officials of a banned organisation.

However, their movements in and out of the country, as well as

those of Ngendane, were known.

The documents in their possession were prepared by the South African Government which was trying to create "a PAC" with which it would negotiate.

"These people were all discredited and expelled from the PAC in the 1960s. Ngendane testified against a PAM executive member Walter Tshikila, who was then sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment," the spokesman said.

He said Ngendane was not in exile but lived in the Transkei. He and the others moved openly with valid passports.

Step up pressure, US group urged

11A By Kaizer Nyatumba
The Mass Democratic Movement and the recently released African National Congress leaders have urged the visiting US congressional delegation to increase pressure on South Africa, former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu told The Star at the weekend.

In a meeting with Congressman Howard Wolpe and Representatives Alan Wheat and Constance Morella at the Sisulu home in Orlando West, Soweto, on Friday afternoon, the MDM and the ANC leaders asked the Americans to impose more-stringent sanctions on Pretoria.

"We asked them to continue supporting and even stepping up sanctions until the situation in this country has changed."

ROTTEN SYSTEM

"We told them about our people on Death Row and our abhorrence for the death penalty and the rotten education system, and that on all these issues we want their support," Mr Sisulu said.

He said the Americans wanted to know how they could help bring about a democratic, nonracial South Africa, and were told "there was nothing to justify relaxing sanctions".

Mr Sisulu said the congressional delegation was told that more pressing issues in the next few months would be the black education system and the disastrous matric results, the death penalty, and the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations.

Among the people attending the meeting were Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi, United

Democratic Front leader Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Elias Motsoaledi.

UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu later joined the meeting.

After visiting Mrs Winnie Mandela's former home on Friday, Congressman Wolpe and his colleagues had supper with Archbishop Desmond Tutu's family at his Orlando West home.

During the day, the American lawmakers held a series of meetings at the Carlton Hotel with members of the labour movement.

Shortly after their arrival on Thursday, Dr Wolpe and his delegation met SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa at the same venue.

Father Mkhathshwa later told The Star the Americans "wanted to be informed about the general situation in the country and their implications for the future, and whether we thought (President F W) de Klerk was serious about reform".

ULTIMATUM

Father Mkhathshwa added: "As a group they were very well-informed. They are the best-informed group on issues regarding South Africa, and are also fairly sympathetic to our cause."

The cleric said his impression was that Dr Wolpe, before pressing on with sanctions, would stick to his six-month ultimatum given to President de Klerk to move radically with reform.

"I think that at the end of the six months Congressman Wolpe will definitely continue with his sanctions crusade," Father Mkhathshwa said.

● See Page 13.

Report linking Winnie with vandalism denied

Star 8/11/90
A report linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the vandalism of a neighbour's house in Soweto was flatly denied by the president of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco), Mr Peter Makaba, on her behalf, at a press conference at her home yesterday.

Members of the Soweto Students' Congress and the Soweto Youth Congress were also present at the conference to show support for Mrs Mandela.

According to an article in a Sunday paper, bricks and stones were hurled through the windows of Mr Ezra Mantini's house last week and Mrs Mandela "expressed her regret" over the incident.

Mr Makaba said reports that Mrs Mandela had given an undertaking that such vandalism would not happen again were a gross misrepresentation of the facts.

"Our mother was not in any way connected with the incident nor did she have any control over the culprit who was allegedly responsible for the vandalism," said Mr Makaba.

The 25-year-old alleged culprit has been linked to the murder of child activist Stompie Sepei.

Mr Makaba said Mrs Mandela would inform her husband Mr Nelson Mandela about the "dishonest and destructive report" when she saw him on January 17 and 18. — Sapa.

Mandela free in February?

CAPL TINTS 9/1/90 (11A) (207)

THE ANC yesterday welcomed what appears to be the imminent release of Mr Nelson Mandela, but warned that it would not be enough to create a climate for negotiations in South Africa.

A senior ANC spokesman was reacting to reports that Mr Mandela could be released very soon.

Family and friends said in Johannesburg yesterday that he could be released early in February, although Mr Mandela himself had not yet been given a date.

Mr Mandela yesterday summoned his wife Winnie to his Victor Verster Prison residence near Paarl and for the first time discussed with her preliminary arrangements for his release.

Mrs Mandela emerged from the meeting saying: "I

don't think we are looking at months any longer. This is the real thing.

"This is the first time I have accepted it as a reality that he will be released this year," a visibly pleased Winnie Mandela told reporters on her return to Johannesburg after a three-hour meeting with her 71-year-old husband.

She declined, however, to name a specific date.

Along with Mr Mandela's release there were also rumours that the ban on the ANC was about to be lifted, but the ANC spokesman in London said that if the government unbanned the ANC and allowed exiles to return the ANC would still retain its international and internal identities while conditions were created "allowing for dialogue in South Africa".

"It is going to be a protracted exercise," he said, as a constituent assembly would have to be formed and agreed upon by the people of South Africa.

He called on the international community not to relax pressure on the SA government as it "would only move

forward as long as economic, sports, cultural and other pressures were kept in place".

The organisation also hoped that President F W de Klerk would show "vision and courage" by releasing all political prisoners and lifting the state of emergency.

The probable release of Mr Mandela has been welcomed by the British government.

The news also sparked preparations for a worldwide network of international, national and local reception committees for the world's most famous prisoner.

Yesterday Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, head of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and convener of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, was in New York to discuss the initiative with the United Nations and to promote the campaign in the United States.

It is reported that a meeting in the House of Commons is also planned for later this month to establish a national committee for Britain.

In London a Foreign Office spokesman welcomed the move, adding that "the earlier he is unconditionally released the better".

One of Mr Mandela's closest friends, Mr Walter Sisulu, who was released with six other ANC leaders in October, said he had not yet spoken to Mrs Mandela after her visit but welcomed the possibility of Mr Mandela being released soon.

"The sooner he is released, the better for all of us," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Mandela will probably be released in Johannesburg, close to his home in Soweto.

Ministry of Justice spokeswoman Major Elsa Jones said last night: "It has been said before that the possible release of Mr Mandela is always on the agenda. This position has not changed."

Mr Mandela's imminent release received prominent coverage on national news networks in Britain yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and Staff Reporter

WINNIE'S

Nelson Mandela release soon 'the real thing'

JOY

Sowetan 9/11/90

11A
(scribbles)

BLACK leader Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, talked for the first time about arrangements for his release from prison, an exuberant Mrs Mandela said after a three-hour visit yesterday.



Winnie - exuberant.

Never before during her husband's 28 years in prison has Mrs Mandela emerged from a visit so optimistic about his prospects for freedom.

She said no release date had been given to her or her husband.

But, when asked whether it would be weeks or months from now, she replied: "I don't think we are talking about months."

President FW de Klerk, since taking office in mid-August, has freed several of Mandela's colleagues from the outlawed African National Congress and has indicated Mandela's release will follow.

A broad range of black leaders have said they cannot accept De Klerk's invitation to negotiate a new constitution until Mandela is freed.

There is strong speculation De Klerk will make a statement about Mandela's status when he opens Parliament on February 1.

Mrs Mandela spent three hours with her husband at quarters in a former staff residence at Victor Verster Prison Farm in the wine-growing town of Paarl, near Cape Town.

She emerged in the company of lawyer Mr Omar Dullah, who told reporters: "Mrs Mandela was requested by Mandela to make the visit because he wanted to discuss with her some preliminary arrangements relating to his release, in view of the general expectation that his release will be sooner rather than later."

Mrs Mandela declined to elaborate on the meeting.

"Suffice it to say it is the first time we have discussed the preliminary

arrangements of what will happen after his release," she said.

Asked how she felt, she replied with a broad smile: "I think it is clear from my expression."

A reporter asked if the current circumstances were different from previous periods in which there were rumours of Mandela's imminent release.

"This is the real thing," she replied.

Mandela (71) is South Africa's best-known black leader.

Voting

There is widespread belief he could be elected president if the black majority had full voting rights.

He has been jailed since 1962 and is serving a life sentence for plotting a sabotage campaign to undermine the white-controlled government.

Mandela has received a steady stream of visitors in recent weeks, ranging from Cabinet Ministers to prominent anti-apartheid leaders.

He met De Klerk on December 13 at the presidential office. Sapa-AP.



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STARTING DATES
Johannesburg City

Mandela's release expected in February

NELSON Mandela was expected to be released shortly after Parliament resumed on February 5, family and friends said yesterday.

Mandela asked his wife Winnie, who visited him yesterday, to begin preparations for his release.

While she would not disclose what preparations she was to make, friends said the nature of the requests indicated Mandela expected to be released soon.

At an ANC rally in Lusaka, marking the movement's 78th anniversary yesterday, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said Mandela would continue as a member of

CHARLENE SMITH

the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) after his release from prison, ANO reports.

Nzo said the ANC was not earmarking any special post for Mandela, apart from that of NEC member.

Human rights lawyer Dullah Omar, an old friend and lawyer for Mandela, who escorted Winnie Mandela to the Victor Vester prison yesterday, said she had been confident her husband would be released soon.

Omar said Mandela had not been told

exactly when he would be released.

Omar told Business Day circumstances were conducive to an early release. Firstly, the resumption of Parliament would be "the occasion to settle some of these matters". Secondly, the general crisis in SA was deepening, with international pressure making an early release a priority.

Mandela would return to live in Soweto, Omar said, but it would be a "family and political decision where he lives".

Winnie Mandela built a controversial mansion in Soweto some years ago, but never occupied it because of adverse poli-

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Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, told journalists after a visit to her husband in Paarl yesterday that for the first time she felt his release was likely. "I am very hopeful now. This is the real stuff," she said.

Picture: REUTERS

Mandela

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9/11/90*

11A

From Page 1

BB

tical reactions.

She was not available for further comment late yesterday after her return to Johannesburg. She was expected to meet MDM leaders and the internal ANC soon to discuss arrangements concerning her husband's release.

Our London Correspondent reports that the anticipated release of Mandela was welcomed by the British Foreign Office yesterday, as well as by the ANC's London office.

And the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee (NMIRC) was launched in London yesterday in anticipation of the release. It was convened by veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

An NMIRC statement said it had been initiated after consultations with the ANC and with the support of president Oliver Tambo.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mandela's release could pave the way for a visit to SA by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher around April. She had set this condition for what would be the first visit by a British prime minister since Harold

MacMillan's 30 years ago.

A senior ANC spokesman in London said Mandela's release would "be a welcome development, but would not be the whole story if we are talking about creating a climate for negotiations to occur in SA".

He said it was hoped that immediately after Mandela's release President F W de Klerk would free all other political prisoners. Government would also have to dismantle apartheid, lift the State of Emergency and unban affected organisations.

It would have to meet all the other conditions set out in the UN declaration on SA to constitute the framework around which negotiations could be considered.

The NMIRC appealed to the international community yesterday to intensify the campaign for Mandela's release and to prepare to celebrate the impending release with activities throughout the world.

It said Archbishop Huddleston was in New York yesterday for consultations with the UN about the initiative.

There would also be a meeting in the House of Commons on January 17 to establish a National Reception Committee in Britain.

FW scrutinises ANC statement

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is studying an ANC statement which says the organisation cannot be expected to enter negotiations until it enjoys the same freedom to engage in political activity as the NP. *Birvan 4/11/89*

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said he would decide later whether to comment on it, Sapa reports.

The ANC issued the statement, marking its 78th anniversary, on Sunday.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement yesterday that the ANC's only goal was to take control of SA and negotiate white surrender.

He said government's recent attempts to acknowledge the ANC "and even to accommodate it" were strengthening the ANC's position and weakening that of whites.

He said the ANC's recent announcement that its military wing was going to intensify its "violent struggle" against SA was "a clear indication that government's attempts at a negotiated settlement are off course".

ANO reports the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC) yesterday confirmed "Soviet public" support for the ANC in its struggle.

An SAASC statement said the ANC's wide support among SA's people "is convincing evidence of the just nature of the cause the ANC is fighting for".

(11A)

● See Page 4

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ANC seven to visit Tambo

CHARLENE SMITH

(11A)

THE seven recently released ANC leaders will leave SA on January 14 for a multi-nation tour that will include a visit to the ANC leadership in Lusaka and to ailing ANC leader Oliver Tambo in Sweden.

Former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu said yesterday the ANC seven would visit other African states including Tanzania, where the ANC has a training camp, school and farm, other countries and, possibly, Zimbabwe. *6/02/90*

He said it was likely they would visit OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa during their three-week trip. *9/11/90*

The delegation of the internal ANC leadership will include Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Wilton Mkwayi.

Youth ready to die in fight against apartheid – Hurley

The Star's Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — An increasing number of young people in South Africa were prepared to die in the fight against apartheid, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban said here yesterday. *Stw 9/11/90*

Archbishop Denis Hurley described the mood of young South Africans as one of "extraordinary confidence" despite the state of emergency.

Young members of the Mass Democratic Movement were running many townships, and most teenagers were involved in activities against the Government. *(11A)*

"There is an extraordinary commitment to liberation because it has entered the hearts and minds of the young people", he said.

The archbishop has come to Australia to speak at a Marist youth festival.

'Buoyant, confident and rarin' to go'

Mandela fever sweeps world

Star 9/11/90 (11A)



All smiles . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela leaves Victor Verster Prison yesterday after hinting at her husband's imminent release. With her is advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

By Janet Heard and The Star's
Foreign and Africa
News Services

Imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be released immediately before or within weeks of the opening of Parliament on February 2.

When released, the ANC says, Mr Mandela will continue to act as a member of the organisation's national executive committee.

The countdown for the release of Mr Mandela gained fresh momentum with the hint by Mrs Winnie Mandela that her husband's release was imminent.

She said they had discussed preliminary arrangements for his release during a prison visit yesterday.

According to reports from London, a "Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee", convened by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, has been launched in London, planning activities throughout the world to celebrate the day Mr Mandela is released.

British politician Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party, visited President de Klerk yesterday and claimed Mr de Klerk had said openly he was in a hurry and would push ahead with reforms preparing the ground for negotiations with black leaders.

Dr Owen said the Government would announce further reforms in early February when Parliament reopens, including lifting or at least partially relaxing the three-year-old nationwide state of emergency.

"And then I think it is quite likely that Nelson Mandela will come out" in late February or early March," he told the BBC in an interview.

'Real stuff'

British government sources, however, said yesterday they believed Mr Mandela would be released in late January or early February.

Mrs Mandela said after her visit to Victor Verster Prison in the Cape: "I am very hopeful now. This is the real stuff now. It is the first time he had called us to discuss preliminary arrangements for his release.

"I don't think that we are talking about months any longer," she said.

Asked how she felt, she replied with a broad smile: "I think it is clear from my expression."

Asked whether her husband was excited, Mrs Mandela said: "He has no emotions left after 27 years in prison."

Advocate Mr Dullah Omar would last night not divulge details of the preliminary arrangements discussed by the couple except to say they involved personal and political issues.

Mr Omar said Mr Mandela was in a "superb state, was buoyant, confident and rarin' to go".

On the question of who would lead the ANC after Mr Mandela's release, the movement's deputy London representative, Mr Billy Masetha, said Mr Mandela would be "assigned a responsibility" by the ANC leadership.

At a rally in Lusaka yesterday to mark the organisation's 78th anniversary, the ANC announced that its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was making good progress in the Swedish clinic to which he was recently admitted for special treatment.

● Sources in the ANC's London office indicated they believe Mr Mandela's release to be imminent and they expected him to travel to the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka as soon as possible after he was freed.

They indicated they were also preparing for the possible legalisation of the ANC, a phased return of exiles and negotiations which might follow.

CAT Tait 9/11/90

11A

FW studies ANC call to government

PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is studying the ANC's statement issued on Sunday and will then decide whether to deliver any comment, a spokesman for the President said yesterday.

The ANC called at the weekend on the South African Government to end its "political gamesmanship" and to take concrete steps to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

Mr Casper Venter, senior spokesman for the State President's office, said yesterday that Mr De Klerk had told him that if he decided to react it would be on his own initiative and in his own time.

The call is made in a 12-page statement from the ANC's executive, which was released here and in Lusaka yesterday to mark the 78th anniversary of the movement.

The statement was made "on the express instructions" but in the absence of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, whom it notes "has not yet fully recovered his health". He is recuperating from a stroke in Sweden.

Describing 1990 as the ANC's "Year of people's action for a democratic South Africa", the statement deals extensively with the subject of negotiations with the government on a future non-racial, democratic society.

However, the statement adds that the conditions which "obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged".

It stresses that cadres of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would remain "at their active posts, committed to the intensification of our armed offensive against the violent apartheid system, (and) for a democratic and peaceful South Africa".

However, the emphasis is clearly on the political struggle, via negotiations.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, national chairman for the Democratic Party, said that the "hard line" in the statement was probably a "sabre rattling" exercise designed to mollify combat cadres and to win time to strengthen their negotiating position.

However, he added that the statement was "certainly more hardline than one would have hoped for at this stage". — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

ANC commander ^{WA} speaks on violence

^{15/11/90}
LUSAKA — The commander of African National Congress guerilla forces, Mr Chris Hani, has spoken out on the ANC's birthday promise this week on continuing the armed struggle.

Mr Hani, explaining why there had been a lull in attacks last year, referred to the forced closure of ANC bases in Angola and their move to Uganda and Tanzania.

Mr Hani stated ANC policy on increased military activities inside South Africa. He set out the terms on which a ceasefire would be considered.

Hartzenberg fears for the future

The ANC's only goal was to take control of South Africa and negotiate about white surrender, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in Pretoria yesterday.

The Government's attempts to "accommodate" the ANC were strengthening the organisation's position and weakening that of whites, he charged.

Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC's announcement that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was to intensify its "violent struggle" was an indication that the Government's attempts at a negotiated settlement are off course.

"The ANC has only one goal before it and that is to take control of the entire country on its conditions. The ANC will only be prepared to negotiate about white surrender.

"The Government's present actions of giving in to ANC demands only increase terror, as is clearly seen from the ANC statement." — Sapa.

Sapa 9/11/90

ANC in bid to boost ties with Mozambique

Star 9/11/90

11/91

The Star's Africa News Service African National Congress leaders have held talks in Maputo with President Joaquim Chissano aimed at improving the ANC's relations with the Mozambican government.

As a result, the ANC expects to sign a protocol soon with the Frelimo government that would pave the way for more formal contacts. No comment was immediately available from the South African Government on whether it would regard this as an infringement of the revived Nkomati Accord.

Small office

Under the accord, the ANC has been allowed to maintain a small office in Maputo, accredited not to the Mozambique government but to the Frelimo party. The signing of a protocol would appear to put the ANC on a more substantial diplomatic footing in Maputo.

However, there has been no confirmation from the Mozambique government that it intends to sign a protocol with the ANC. The ANC was represented at the Maputo talks by its secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, who is acting

president during the illness of Mr Oliver Tambo, and by the external affairs secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC's relations with Mozambique suffered a setback in 1984 with the signing of the Nkomati Accord, which required Mozambique to refrain from assisting ANC insurgency in South Africa while South Africa was to stop aiding Renamo rebels.

The ANC presence in Maputo was cut back immediately after the signing of the accord, but when the treaty failed it was restored, though possibly not to the same level as before. With the meeting at Songo in Mozambique in 1988 between President Chissano and former South African President Mr P W Botha the Nkomati pact was largely restored.

The Maputo government appears to have accepted Pretoria's assurances that it has ended the support for Renamo that had led to Maputo accusing Pretoria of breaching the Nkomati agreement. Relations between Maputo and Pretoria have continued to improve, with President de Klerk visiting the Mozambican capital late last year for a meeting with President Chissano.

ANC leaders prepare for Mandela to be freed

AK 6/23
9/11/90

11A

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — ANC leaders in exile are now actively preparing for the release of Nelson Mandela — the man they have not seen in 27 years.

Sources in the ANC's London office indicated they believe his release to be imminent — and they expect him to travel to the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka as soon as possible after he becomes a free man.

The sources indicated that they were also preparing for the possible legalisation of the ANC, the phased return of exiles and any negotiations which may follow this.

But they warned that the release of their veteran leader was "just another step" on the road to creating a climate for negotiations.

Mr Billy Masetlha, deputy London representative, said the government was already talking to the ANC "by default".

"They are talking to Mandela and they know their words get through to the ANC. The process has begun, albeit in a very low gear."

OUTSIDE FORCES

He said the South African government was acting in response to outside forces which were beyond its control. "De Klerk has no option about releasing Mandela.

"But there are still over 1 000 people in detention, a state of emergency and our organisations are banned. There is no freedom of expression or association and many people are restricted.

"If the ANC is legalised, that will be another step forward but when you have many members of the ANC still in prison, how do you operate?"

He stressed that until apartheid was swept away the ANC would not relinquish the armed struggle.

Meanwhile British government sources believe Mr Mandela will be released in late January or early February.

They were commenting amid an intense round of speculation here on when the ANC leader will be freed.

The speculation followed Mrs Winnie Mandela's optimistic remarks on making "preliminary arrangements" for her husband's release.

TV news broadcasts yesterday showed a smiling Mrs Mandela as she left her husband's prison bungalow at Paarl and all major newspapers today carry extensive reports.

Whitehall sources told journalists here it appeared "most likely" Mr Mandela would be released late this month or early February.

They added that the British government has kept up constant pressure for Mr Mandela's release. The matter was last raised with the South African government shortly before Christmas when Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador to South Africa, met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Daily Mail reports today that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher has been alerted to be ready to play a key role in the black-white dialogue that should follow the release of the South African nationalist leader.



Mrs Winnie Mandela
"very hopeful"

An international "reception committee" for Mr Mandela has been launched in London.

MORE PRESSURE

The Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, convened by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a close associate of Mr Mandela before his imprisonment, is planning activities throughout the world to celebrate Mr Mandela's release.

He is also investigating ways of intensifying pressure on the authorities to speed up the release of other black political prisoners and to bring about an end to the apartheid system.

The reception committee has decided to create a Committee of Patrons consisting of prominent international figures who have taken part in the global campaign to secure freedom for Mr Mandela.

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that the ANC says Mr Mandela will continue to act as a member of its national executive committee after his release although the ANC is not earmarking any special post for him.

At a rally yesterday to mark the organisation's 78th anniversary, the ANC announced that its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was making good progress in the Swedish clinic to which he was recently admitted for special treatment.

Star 9/1/90 (11A)

Boerestaat Party reacts to ANC call

Staff Reporter

The Boerestaat Party (BSP), in reaction to a call by the ANC for South Africans to unite and finally put an end to apartheid and transform the country politically, yesterday called for the establishment of free "volkstate".

The leader of the BSP, Mr Robert van Tonder, said the dispensation of free "volkstate" (nation states) would be insisted upon where emphasis would not be on racism or colour but on "volkskap" (membership of the nation).

All nation states must be completely free politically and culturally and may co-operate economically, like the EEC of Europe, he added.

"The Boerestaat policy must also not be confused with the racist policy of the Conservative Party which vaguely talks of separation of whites and other races and which wants to keep the whole of the RSA."

"The BSP will restore the former Boer Republics," he explained.

Sowetan 10/11/90

Resign, BCMA tells leaders of the homelands

11A



By KENOSI MODISANE

LEADERS of the self-governing and "independent" states should resign and publicly confess their past sins against the people before they can be politically accepted by the people.

In his New Year message, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, criticised homeland leaders for suggesting re-incorporation into South Africa.

"They now seek to endear themselves to the people by suggesting that they return to the rest of Azania," said Mangena.

Mangena said he was optimistic about the future of the country and praised the Mass Democratic Movement and the Conference for a Democratic Future for fighting the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

"We can all be justly proud of the level of unity we have been able to achieve in 1989.

"The gallant working class led the way by successfully holding two worker summits which saw thousands from the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council

of Trade Unions, and other independent unions combining in their fight against the LRA," said Mangena.

Mangena also criticised the "new approach of reform and negotiation" as preached by the newly elected State President, Mr FW de Klerk.

He said the recent release of the seven leaders of the banned African National Congress and Mr Japhta Masemola of the Pan African Congress was meant to impress the outside world, particularly Britain and the United States that there was change in the country.

"Margaret Thatcher and others were quick to start a campaign against the imposition of further economic sanctions.

"Even some African countries are beginning to warm up to De Klerk," said Mangena.

Mangena called for unity among people of different ideologies. He was full of praise for the "comradeship" existing between youths in the townships.

He was, however, concerned about the violence in Natal and called for it to end.

'PAC 5' slammed

THE Pan Africanist Movement has denounced the so-called "PAC 5" exiles, who allegedly arrived in the country secretly last week, as obvious agents of the system, writes ALI MPHAKI.

The "PAC 5", who include Mr A B Ngcobo and Mr Selby Ngendane, made headlines in a Johannesburg weekend paper which reported that "they came into the country to lay the foundations for the final push in the organisation's liberation struggle".

Some of the five left the country 30 years ago. In a statement signed by three other Africanist organisations, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, Azanian National Youth Unity and African Womens Organisation, the PAM said there was no secrecy about the mission or activities of the alleged "PAC 5". The statement said they had been expelled from the PAC for being agents of the enemy. "They do not form a faction within PAC".

10/11/79

(11A)



GRANNY GETS MATRIC ... Assistant librarian at the Belhar Public Library, Mrs Olympia Saunders, who has finally got her matric pass.

Grandmother sails through matric

AN energetic, youthful grandmother was among the recent crop of matriculants who successfully passed their matric.

Mrs Olympia Saunders, 46, an assistant librarian at the Belhar Public Library, wrote her matric by correspondence and passed with flying colours — even though she last attended school 30 years ago.

She didn't have an easy job finding

time to study — she has four children, ranging in age from 16 to 26, as well as an eight-year-old granddaughter to look after.

Her youngest daughter is going to write matric this year, and Mrs Saunders decided to beat her to it by writing hers first — serving as an inspiration to the many young candidates who didn't make it this time or whose matric is still coming up.

requirements for SA trip

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Peaceful movement towards democracy on a broad front in South Africa was necessary before British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher would consider an official visit, a press officer for Mrs Thatcher said yesterday.

He said the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would in itself not be sufficient progress to enable her to visit South Africa.

He stressed that Mrs Thatcher would require "a general movement towards human rights". This would include the "unbanning of more organisations".

Asked whether Mrs Thatcher was being kept specially informed by South Africa on internal developments, he said she received her information in the same way as other leaders.

Cap Times 10/1/90

Mandela to meet group of lawyers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Twelve members of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) are to meet ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela this week.

Nadel's national president, Mr Pius Langa, said yesterday that Mr Mandela was Nadel's honorary life president and there had been "a mutual desire to hold an open meeting".

He said Nadel members would visit Mr Mandela in two groups of six. The first group, who will meet him today, will consist of Mr J. Smith, Mr M Bulelani, Mr A Cachalia, Mr J B Sibanyoni, Ms Linda Zama and Mr Kajejeh Mehmood.

The second group, consisting of Mr Langa, Mr Dulla Omar, Mr Silas Nkanunu, Mr Ronnie Pillay, Mr P Majeke and Mr E Moosa, will visit Mr Mandela tomorrow.

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Lawyers' group ^(1/A) to meet Mandela

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Twelve members of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) are to meet Nelson Mandela this week. ~~(2/3)~~

Nadel's national president Pius Langa said yesterday Mandela was Nadel's honorary life president and there had been "a mutual desire to hold an open meeting".

He said the Nadel members, who will meet Mandela today and tomorrow, wanted to discuss the role of lawyers in SA. *B/Dam 10/1/90*

□ KIN BENTLEY reports from London that peaceful movement towards democracy on a broad front in SA was a necessary prelude to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visiting that country, a spokesman for her office said yesterday. He said Mandela's release would not in itself be sufficient progress to enable such a visit.

⊗ Comment: Page 6

11A

ANC fears 'wedge' between Mandela, exiles

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC believes the South African government will try to drive a wedge between the organisation's internal leadership under Mr Nelson Mandela and those in exile.

These fears were expressed at an ANC founders' day meeting here on Monday night.

A leading spokesman for the movement, however, told about 800 people present that he was convinced Mr Mandela would not succumb to attempts by the government to use him for this purpose.

The meeting took the form of a major cultural occasion, with a steel band, poet, ANC choir and South African musicians entertaining the crowd after the initial speeches.

About half the crowd were exiled South Africans — many of them white — and the other half British members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The audience was a colourful blend of people of all races and ages.

Selling ANC paraphernalia at the entrance was bespectacled Mr Dennis Goldberg, the Rivonia trialist released in 1985 after serving 21 years for treason.

There was still strict security, with handbags being searched as people entered.

What emerged from the meeting was that the ANC in exile believes any changes made by President F W de Klerk have been forced on him by a combination of internal pressure from the Mass Democratic Movement and external pressure orchestrated by the ANC. The government was now "shifting its line of defence" by imple-

menting changes, but in the end it sought to retain political control.

The changes were aimed to confuse the West and to isolate the ANC.

While the government sought to achieve a split between the internal and external wings of the ANC, one speaker said to applause that there was "one ANC and one ANC only".

There was also an attempt to create artificial divisions between "so-called" nationalists and communists, moderates and militants.

The South African government could not be allowed to use Mr Mandela for this purpose. His release was long overdue, a speaker said. The ANC in exile and Mr Mandela had been in constant contact. Furthermore, Mr Mandela had repeatedly stated he could not talk on behalf of the ANC — only the national executive committee

in Lusaka could.

It was reiterated that Mr De Klerk still had to address the prerequisites for negotiation as spelt out in the Harare Declaration, which laid the basis for ending apartheid as quickly and with as little bloodshed as possible. The steps included the lifting of the bans on all organisations, removal of troops from the townships, the lifting of the state of emergency and a cessation of all political trials and executions.

While praising the international community for its concerted efforts to isolate the country, to applause one speaker "strongly criticised" the Hungarian government for inviting Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha last week. He said such actions sent the wrong signals to the "apartheid regime" and pushed them "back into the laager".

ful, he could claim changes from the state and the policemen involved.

Then there was an item on landing a man on by the year 2010.

"I don't know if in the year 2010 we will still be

on, while our own Bertie Reed maintains his seventh position," said the commentator.

Spot the difference?

ANC plans the future

11A

Sowetan

19/01/90

LUSAKA - The exiled ANC began a strategy session yesterday to decide a future role for its jailed leader Nelson Mandela and how best to exploit political changes in

South Africa.

ANC acting president Alfred Nzo addressed the 35-member national executive committee. Under South African legislation, he may not be quoted.

Mandela is the last major ANC figure still in

jail. Walter Sisulu and seven other top members recently freed are attending the Lusaka meeting.

The public opening session of the executive committee also heard a report on the health of its ailing president Oliver Tambo (71) who suffered a brain spasm last August and was flown to London for treatment.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told the meeting the ANC's major task was now to prepare itself and the population of South Africa to make negotiations a success.

He called on President F W de Klerk to release Mandela immediately, saying "Mandela's absence from this meeting greatly spoils the new thinking of Pretoria".

He urged the ANC to work with other power centres in South Africa, saying that the experience of southern Africa had shown that "to ignore hostile divisions is to court disaster".

"The time is ripe," Kaunda said, saying it would be a tragedy for South Africa to miss the chance of a negotiated settlement.

The ANC leadership will meet Kaunda and the leaders of five other Frontline states here on Monday.- Sapa-Reuter

Mandela wants 'to be freed'

NELSON Mandela wants to get out of prison as soon as possible, although he is having wide-ranging discussions with the government from behind bars on behalf of the ANC, a visitor said yesterday.

"Mandela is talking to the government. ... he is a facilitator, putting the views of the African National Congress across to the government," said Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress, who led a delegation to visit Mandela at the Victor Verster prison farm near Paarl.

Mokaba said Mandela was engaged in two kinds of discussions with government officials, involving the general political situation of the country, and also the status of

long-term prisoners like himself.

Mokaba said Mandela was also in constant contact with exiled leaders of the African National Congress.

Mokaba quoted Mandela as saying President de Klerk had brought important change to the country, but that the ANC's fight was not against one man. Mokaba said Mandela reminded them the ANC is fighting the National Party government's policies, which, he said, were still committed to maintaining apartheid.

Mokaba said Mandela would like to be released now, and believes there is no political gain in him remaining in prison. Mokaba said Mandela believes he can be of more use as a free man.- Sapa-AP.

Star 10/9/90

Jackson to hear 'broad base' of views in SA

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

11A

WASHINGTON — The Reverend Jesse Jackson says he will not restrict his time in South Africa to listening to the views of just one group of people, but will try to meet whoever invites him.

He was reacting in an interview to criticism that he was going to South Africa at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) and Mr Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress merely to update himself on the changing situation so that he could apply pressure in the United States to increase punitive measures against the country.

"The key to making life better for everybody in South Africa is communication. I hope the media will play a constructive role in that process and not incite people's fears. If we are to challenge people to pursue their hopes and not their fears, we can all make a real contribution," he said in the interview.

"The SACC and Walter Sisulu are my primary hosts in South Africa, but it is significant that an even broader base of people have expressed an interest in dialogue. It is important that we begin to build bridges where there have been walls, and that we overcome the mistrust and the fear and begin to act out the peace that we hope for.

"It is significant that the Dutch Reform Church and the National Religious Broadcasters have also sent an invitation, as has the SA Institute for International Affairs," Mr Jackson said.

●See Page 11.

Workers down tools at four Mondi plants

Labour Reporter

About 800 workers at several Mondi Board Mills plants are on strike over wages, in the first major labour dispute of the year.

Mr Sakhele Buhlungu of Cosatu's Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union said workers were on a legal wage strike at plants in Springs, Bellville, Felixton and Piet Retief.

Mondi's Mrs Brigid Hopkins said only a small number of Piet Retief workers were affected.

Mr Buhlungu said workers in the remaining plant at Umgeni were negotiating with local management, which had threatened legal action if they downed tools. However, they were expected to join the strike today.

The dispute centres on union demands for a 26 percent rise in the current hourly minimum rate of R4,29. Mondi said yesterday its 16 percent offer would bring the minimum wage to R970 a month.

In a statement yesterday the union said it believed the company could give a "reasonable" increase. In 1988 Mondi had boosted after-tax profits by 75 percent and paid out R52 million in dividends.

Mr Buhlungu said Mondi had offered to reopen talks but had indicated that its mandate was exhausted and it could not increase its overall pay offer.

there was doctor said.

●Tonight! Page 1

The decision to grant Jesse Jackson a visa to visit this country might have a lot to do with Pretoria's desire to show the world a new, moderate face, reports **DAVID BRAUN** of The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The imminent visit to South Africa by leading US anti-apartheid activist the Rev Jesse Jackson has raised different expectations as to the contribution he might make towards ending the conflict in the country.

Mr Jackson, a candidate in last year's US presidential elections, is generally regarded as the leading spokesman for American blacks.

An often highly controversial figure, he has involved himself in numerous domestic and international social issues.

He has long been a leading activist against apartheid and a highly vocal critic of the South African Government.

Terrorist

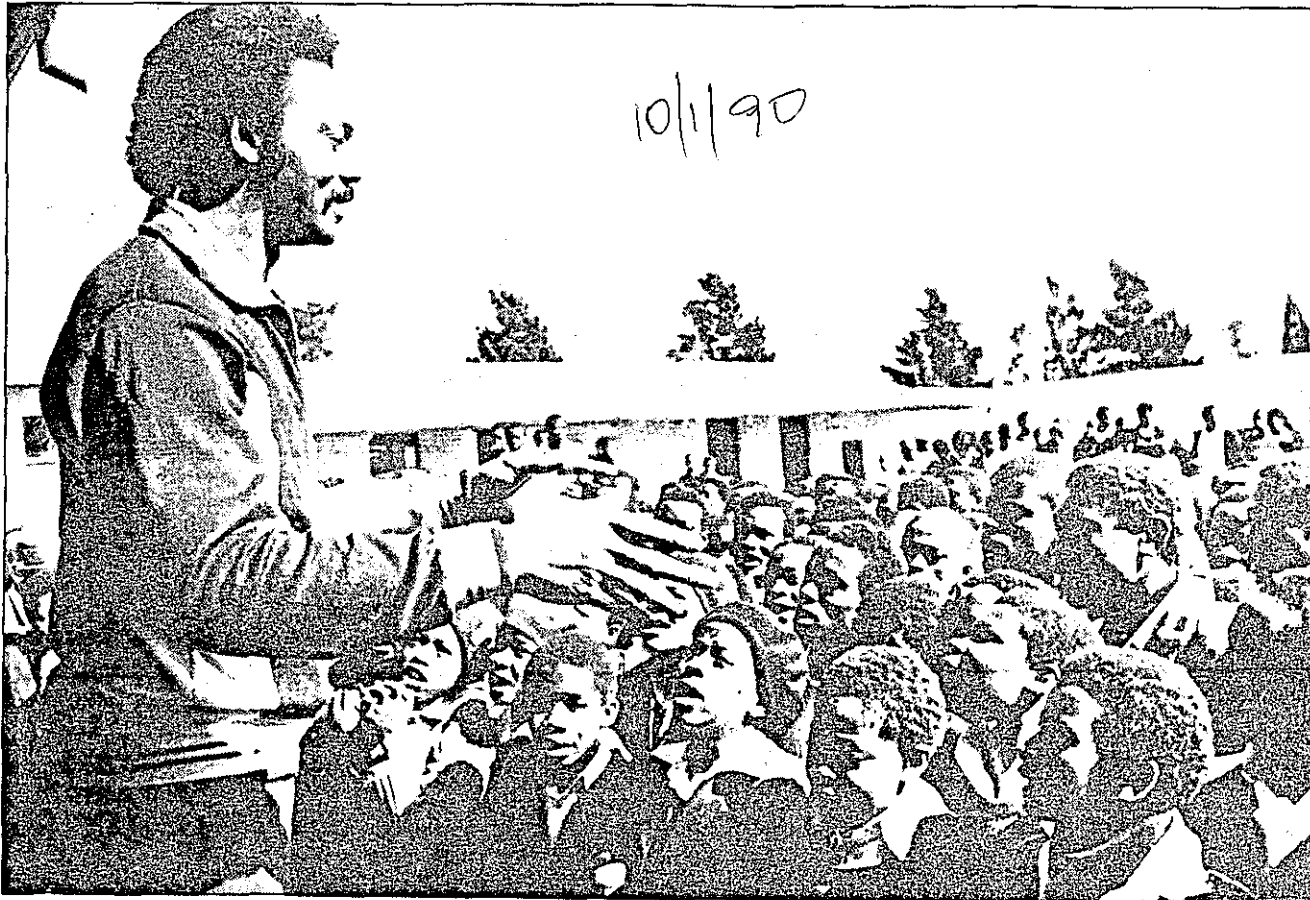
Mr Jackson was responsible for the Democratic Party adopting a resolution in its 1988 presidential election policy platform which would have obliged the new US president, if he were a Democrat, to declare South Africa a terrorist state.

That would have automatically imposed a new series of harsh economic and other sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Jackson's confrontational style has not endeared him to Pretoria, which has turned down several of his applications for a visa to visit South Africa in recent years.

The decision to allow him to visit now might have a lot to do with the "Pretoriastroika" created by President FW de Klerk's new Government, and Pretoria's desire to show to the world a new, moderate face.

There are indications, however, that the SA Government



In from the cold . . . The Reverend Jesse Jackson talks to Soweto schoolchildren during his previous visit to South Africa in 1979. This time, the American anti-apartheid preacher might possibly play a constructive role in fostering dialogue between the South African Government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

believes Mr Jackson could be extremely useful in promoting dialogue between the various South African groups.

Mr Jackson, furthermore, might be sufficiently impressed by progress in South Africa to be persuaded that now is not the time to impose additional sanctions.

At least some elements in the South African power structure are hopeful Mr Jackson might turn out to be a moderating influence in Washington, adding support to President Bush's view that Pretoria needs to be given an opportunity to put its house in order.

Expectations on the other side of the South African political fence are a little different.

Mr Jackson has been invited to South Africa jointly by the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and Mr Walter Sisulu, elder statesman of the ANC.

Mr Chikane said in a letter inviting Mr Jackson last week that he believed a visit by the US leader would help him gain first-hand knowledge of the new, complex dynamics of the situation in South Africa "to enable you to put the necessary pressure on the US, particularly the administration, to act

accordingly to force this regime to negotiate with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the people of South Africa".

"Your presence could also exert pressure on white South Africa, particularly the De Klerk Government, to create the necessary conditions conducive for meaningful negotiations," Mr Chikane said in his letter.

The necessary conditions are presumably the demands made by the Mass Democratic Movement, ANC and other groups to lift the state of emergency, release remaining political and security prisoners, and so on.

Specifically on the issue of sanctions, Mr Jackson avoided calling for additional measures (which might be significant or it might be expedient, in view of the fact that his visa could presumably be withdrawn).

However, it was quite plain that he was not in favour of lifting sanctions at this stage.

He said: "The issue of sanctions corresponds with the system and the extent to which the authentic leadership sits around a common table. They, the people who live there, can together determine when apartheid and sanctions should end. After all, one is a response to the other.

"So in some sense it is like the Montgomery bus boycott in the US. When asked when the boycott of the buses would end, the people answered it would end when they were allowed to sit in the front of the bus."

Noble aims

The issue, he added, was not the methodology of dealing with the system but the system itself and the people who must agree to now form a relationship. The power was in the hands of the people to end apartheid and sanctions.

Similarly, Mr Jackson was adroit at handling the issue of whether President de Klerk should be allowed to meet President Bush.

"If in fact we achieve the noble aims of one South Africa no longer divided by race or sex or religion or fear, perhaps then everybody will communicate with everybody," he said.

Mr Jackson was complimentary about recent moves by President de Klerk and statements made by the South African leader, which he said were positive and a step in the right direction.

But the word had to become flesh, he said. The recent meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had been encouraging as a start, but the process needed to continue to its logical conclusion.

Slovo speaks on socialism's fall in Europe

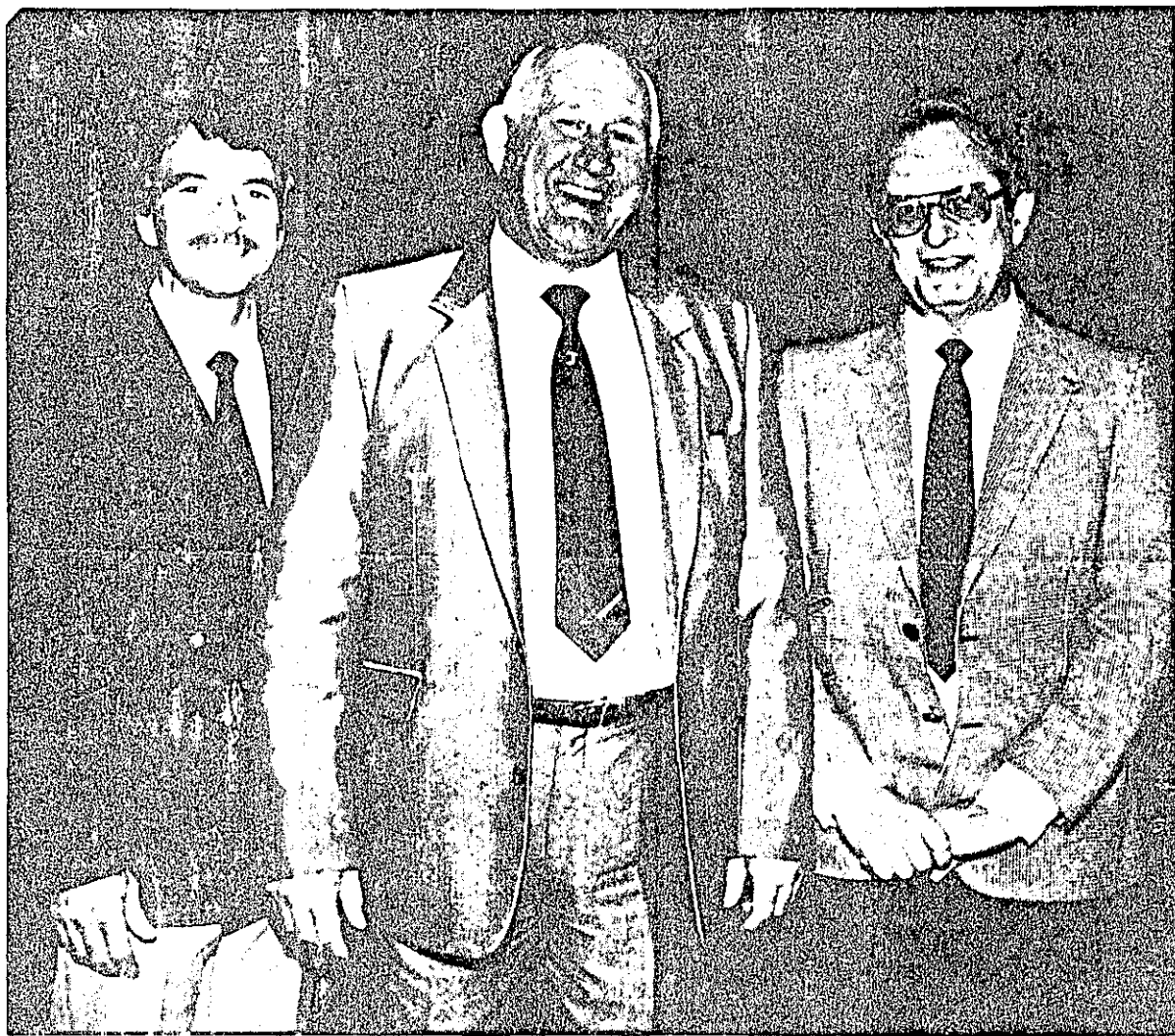
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LUSAKA — A top official in South Africa's Communist Party, general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, has commented in an interview on the disintegration of socialism in Eastern Europe and its effect on socialism's future in South Africa.

Mr Slovo blamed certain practices for damaging democratic processes in Eastern Europe, and referred to the possible effects of the growing offensive against the socialism of the SACP.

Mr Slovo also set out the Communist Party's stance on multi-party political representation, its willingness to fight elections against other parties and its intended role in South African politics. He referred to future relations between the ANC and the Communist Party.

Mr Slovo also commented on his hopes about Eastern European governments' support for anti-apartheid liberation governments. He criticised South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's visit to Hungary last week.

The one-time supreme commander of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), Mr Slovo still holds a position on the ANC Executive Committee. A white South African, he has long been portrayed as Pretoria's public enemy Number One.



MISSION ACCOMPLISHED ... Sanoc (South African National Olympic Committee) chairman Johan du Plessis (centre), director Doep du Plessis (left) and vice-chairman Issy Kramer on their return from Paris yesterday.

● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Sanoc delegates achieve 'direct line' to IOC

South African National Olympic Committee chairman Johan du Plessis returned from a four-day visit to Paris yesterday, guardedly optimistic that the long path to the country's return to international sport had at last begun.

Du Plessis, together with Sanoc vice-chairman Issy Kramer and director Doep du Plessis, held talks with advisers of the International Olympic

MARK ETHERIDGE

Committee in Paris. They were Sam Ramsamy of the South African Non Racial Olympic Committee and Fekrou Kidane of the International Campaign against Apartheid in Sport.

"The best thing to emerge from these talks," said Du Plessis at Jan Smuts Airport, "is the fact that we now have a direct

line to the IOC ...

"I feel confident I can pick up the phone at any given time and talk to the IOC."

But Du Plessis warned against excess optimism and said the road ahead was long and hard.

"Obviously the talks were very encouraging but we can't really put any time limit on just how long it's going to take before South Africa is re-admitted

to the international sporting fold.

"But I think the changes implemented by President F W de Klerk have played a large part in the fact that at least people are listening to us now."

Du Plessis says the next step would be to implement a greater unity among the various Olympic sporting codes in South Africa.

"Until all these codes put aside their troubles and get together around the negotiating table we're going to get nowhere.

"Sporting administrators have been viewed with too much distrust in the past.

"That's all got to change now."

The tour by Mike Gatting's English cricketers later this month has been viewed as a major stumbling block in negotiations.

Du Plessis admits as much, but says there's not much that can be done about the tour at this late stage.

"Everyone involved in these talks was aware of the implications the tour could have.

"But I'm certainly not going to ask cricket boss Dr Ali Bacher to call it off.

"By this stage he must know the implications involved!"

Separatists reject Kremlin 'lies'

VILNIUS — Lithuania's separatist leader yesterday dismissed as "a cheap lie" President Mikhail Gorbachev's proposed draft law providing legal mechanisms by which Lithuania, and other republics, might secede from the Soviet Union.

Mr Vitautas Landsbergis, president of Sajudis, the mass movement which has spearheaded the pressure for independence, said: "This is a cheap lie, it's a lie for naive people in the West. It means other people will decide for us."

There was a widespread feeling that President Gorbachev, who yesterday continued his three-day visit to the republic, was merely seeking to buy time.

Lithuanians fear that the new law, far from opening doors, might box them in with so many legal restraints that it would continue to be technically impossible to secede.

If, for example, the agreement of all Soviet republics were needed or if a nationwide referendum were held, the vote might easily go against

the Baltic aspirations towards independence.

Mr Landsbergis said the laws on secession were irrelevant since the Baltic states were illegally a part of the Soviet Union, following a secret agreement in the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939.

As the experience of Eastern Europe has made clear once any kind of retreat is made it may open the floodgates of change.

Mr Gorbachev is no doubt seeking to delay the independence which increasingly seems inevitable. But until now, Moscow's official line was that Baltic secession was unthinkable.

This is a clear sign that the Kremlin is desperately seeking alternative options.

There is a possibility of a popular explosion if the Baltic state continues to be caged in. — *The Independent*.

● See Page 7.

ANC fears bid to split leaders

LONDON — Fears that attempts will be made over the next few weeks to drive a wedge between the internal leadership of the ANC under Nelson Mandela and its members in exile were expressed at an ANC Founders' Day meeting here this week.

However, a leading ANC spokesman told about 800 people present that he was convinced Mandela would not succumb to government attempts to use him for this purpose.

The meeting took the form of a major cultural occasion with bands and singing, but strict security was enforced and all handbags were searched on entry.

The crowd appeared to consist mainly of exiled South Africans and British Anti-Apartheid Movement members.

Selling ANC paraphernalia at the entrance was Dennis Goldberg, the Rivonia trialist released in 1985 after serving 21 years for treason.

What emerged from the meeting was that the ANC in exile believed any changes made by President FW de Klerk had been forced on him by a

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KIN BENTLEY

combination of internal pressure from the mass democratic movement and external pressure from the ANC. Government was now "shifting its line of defence" by implementing changes, but in the end it sought to retain political control. 6/10/1990

The changes were aimed at confusing the West and isolating the ANC.

Government was also trying to create artificial divisions between groups.

It was reiterated that De Klerk still had to address the prerequisites for negotiation as spelt out in the Harare Declaration. These included unbanning all organisations, removing troops from the townships, lifting the emergency and stopping all political trials and executions.

The Hungarian government was criticised for recently hosting Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

A speaker said such actions sent the wrong signals to government and pushed it "back into the laager".

Excitement over Mandela's release

MDM planning huge 'welcome home' rallies

At least 1,000 activists will be organised in various reception committees countrywide in anticipation of Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison, Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) representatives said yesterday.

The MDM's National Reception Committee, which was established to co-ordinate the activities of the seven ANC leaders who were released in October last year, will expand to cope with the work involved in planning for the release of one of the best known political prisoners in the world.

Mr Walter Sisulu expressed confidence in the ability of the existing reception committee to handle the celebrations around Mr Mandela's release, but said it would have to work around-the-clock to cope.

He expected various regional rallies around the country and "of course, a massive national rally" to take place.

Excitement growing

Mrs Winnie Mandela reported that during a visit to her husband at Victor Verster Prison on Monday, they discussed preliminary arrangements about his release for the first time.

A key MDM spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, yesterday said excitement over Mr Mandela's release was growing within the MDM and concrete plans would be discussed next week.

"The reception committees are still in place, their task never ended. They have been organising meetings and rallies around the country up until today."

Mr Morobe anticipated a number of technical difficulties, such as finding a stadium large enough to cope with the hundreds of thousands expected to attend a welcome home rally.

The most obvious venue, but one which was still regarded as too small, was First National Bank's Soccer City, which accommodated 80 000 at the welcome home rally for the ANC lead-

ers last year.

"Nelson Mandela belongs to the people. Programmes arranged for his return must provide sufficient facilities for all to welcome him."

Mr Dali Mpofu, a spokesman for the Release Mandela Campaign and a member of the National Reception Committee, said the national, regional and local reception committees would operate in a similar manner to when the seven ANC leaders were released, and would organise security, rallies, press interviews and meetings with dignitaries and other visitors.

● Mr Mandela has invited 12 members of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) to meet him this week.

Nadel's national president, Mr Pius Langa, said yesterday Mr Mandela was Nadel's honorary life president and there had been "a mutual desire to hold an open meeting".

"The meeting is part of the process of consultation between the ANC leader and a whole range of people. We want to discuss the role of lawyers in this country."

Mr Langa added there was a lot to talk about and learn from Mr Mandela as a lawyer and legal practitioner.

He said Nadel members would visit Mr Mandela in two groups of six. The first group, which will meet him today, will consist of Mr J Smith, Mr M Bulelani, Mr A Cachalia, Mr J B Sibanyoni, Ms Linda Zama and Mr Kajee Mehmood.

The second group, consisting of Mr Langa, Mr Dulla Omar, Mr Silas Nkanunu, Mr Ronnie Pillay, Mr P Majeke and Mr E Moosa, will visit Mr Mandela tomorrow.

● The South African stage was being responsibly set for Mr Nelson Mandela to return to play a positive role, the London *Daily Mail* said in an editorial yesterday on reports that he expected his release within weeks. — Staff Reporters-Sapa.

Spain debates ANC
^{Star 10/11/90}
status, SA coal ban

~~170~~ The Star's Foreign News Service ~~117~~

MADRID — The Spanish parliament is to debate the formal establishment of an ANC diplomatic mission in Madrid and the banning of coal imports from South Africa.

The Spanish communist coalition United Left (IU) said yesterday that the two motions will soon be presented to the congress.

The Spanish government recently paid for a trip to Spain by Mr Ben Mhlate who has opened an ANC office in Madrid.

Between January and September 1989, Spain bought 3,86 million tons of SA coal.

Sisulu pressures State on Mandela



Walter Sisulu.

WALTER Sisulu is to put more pressure on South Africa to free African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, saying Pretoria had nothing to gain by keeping him behind bars.

Sisulu said it was time for Mandela to take his place as a key figure in negotiating a peaceful settlement to South Africa's political stalemate.

"The situation in South Africa is such that it does not depend on Mandela being in jail ... there is no advantage to us, to Mandela or to the Government to have him in prison," he said on a radio phone-in programme.

Sisulu, jailed with Mandela in 1964 for plotting to overthrow white

Sape-Reuter

minority rule, rejected speculation that Mandela's release would ease international pressure on South Africa to give blacks a say in national government.

Apartheid

"As long as apartheid does not change the world has the right to point the finger at South Africa," he said.

Speculation has reached fever pitch that State

President FW de Klerk will free Mandela within weeks, meeting a condition of the outlawed ANC for talks on ending apartheid.

Sisulu said the Government had not approached him about setting up talks on ending apartheid since it freed him and other elderly ANC activists last October in an apparent dry run for Mandela's release.

But he indicated that he was willing to have "talks about talks" with Pretoria.

Sisulu goes on the air

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ON THE AIR . . . Mr Walter Sisulu participates in yesterday's historic radio phone-in.

WASHINGTON. — Top African National Congress veteran Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday told millions of American TV viewers that South Africa has entered an "exciting . . . new era" from which there could be no "reversal" and which would lead to the end of apartheid "within this decade".

And in a history-making live interview on popular Radio 702 in Johannesburg yesterday, the former ANC general secretary told thousands of South Africans that the ANC was committed to negotiation to realise its aims.

Fielding questions by telephone from a radio audience estimated at 300 000 and for the first time expounding ANC policy on the country's airwaves, Mr Sisulu said: "We consider that the problems facing our country can be solved by negotiation, as was made clear in the Harare Declaration.

"I have never believed the reformist statements of F W de Klerk. But I do believe that the National Party is no longer a free agent to act as it likes. It has to consider the entire situation and react to it as a whole."

He later added that the ANC was always prepared to adjust its position. "Negotiation implies give and take, though there are fundamentals which shall not be negotiated."

It was up to the government to create the climate for fruitful discussions.

In response to another caller asking if violence was still the way to achieve the

Own Correspondents and Staff Reporters

aims of the ANC, Mr Sisulu replied that the organisation had been forced into the position where "to defend ourselves we had to take up arms".

But he agreed that the government's reformist talk signalled a general move away from violent confrontation towards negotiation.

Disc-jockey John Berks's discussion with the 77-year-old activist ranged from the details of prison life on Robben Island to what had sustained Mr Sisulu and his fellow Rivonia trialists in their 28-year incarceration.

Mr Sisulu said that as he entered the liberation struggle he knew he might have to face imprisonment and even death. "With

that determination my spirits and that of my fellow prisoners were never low, despite all the efforts to break them."

Questioned on what the meaning of the struggle is today, Mr Sisulu replied: "The struggle is still for the emancipation of black people who have no voice in the affairs of the nation. And the struggle will continue so long as human rights are not accorded to the black population."

Radio 702 director Mr Stan Katz said there had been surprisingly little adverse reaction to the programme from listeners.

"Our switchboard registered just six angry calls. That is in contrast to the reaction to Chris Gibbons's interview three years ago with Murphy Morobe, the UDF leader on the run. After that Chris received death threats and the switchboard virtually melted.

"I believe today's events are a good sign and reflection of these more positive times."

To the American audience, Mr Sisulu said he was "not quite certain" what was going to happen about Mr Nelson Mandela's release. "I do know that the authorities have problems and difficulties, one of which is are they going to release him into a vacuum? And there are various problems related to that."

Interviewed on the CBS morning news, the ANC elder statesman said he was "confident that negotiations will finally take place, and that once they take place, the exchange of views will shake each other's ideas and outlook".

ANC's moment of change

It is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present threat of a terrible bloodbath.

Whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality is the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime.

For its part the ANC says it is committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge to seek such an agreement to end apartheid.

These views are contained in a 5 000 word review by the National Executive Council of the ANC to mark the 78th anniversary of the founding of the banned organisation.

The document emphasises the need for the people of South Africa themselves to unite in their demand for a democratic system and urges "the millions of our white compatriots" to join hands with their black fellow citizens to create a new social order.

Remain active

It is clear from the tenor of the document that the armed struggle has been pushed into the background though it says this will remain "a critical and decisive component part of our strategy".

The statement says the commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe will remain at their active posts committed to the intensification of the armed offensive against the violent apartheid system.

But in paying tribute to the combatants, the National Executive Committee says the stage has been reached "where we can pose the prospect of the transfer of power to the people as a matter of practical politics". The goal of freedom, it says, is within reach.

The document says that while the National Party speaks of its commitment to end apartheid, its leaders must understand "if we remain unconvinced and sceptical and demand that they translate their words into actions".

"It would be foolhardy of us to forget that, however engaging the smiles they might wear on their faces today, these forces still hold a deadly sword in their hand," says the statement.

So far, it says, South African responses amount to nothing more than political gamesmanship and apartheid remains in place.

But a mood of expectation pervades the country.

The ANC remained ready to enter into an agreement with Pretoria for a mutual suspension of hostilities as soon as a climate conducive to negotiations was created.

"We are not asking for special favours," said

Although the ANC officially continues to give a high priority to armed struggle as a means to achieve its ends, it may have been pushed into the background as the organisation places growing emphasis on non-violent measures. **ROBIN DREW** of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

the statement, "only that all who should participate in any process of negotiations should enjoy equal political opportunities.

"We are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system."

It referred several times to the significance of the recently held Conference for a Democratic Future which it said forged a mighty formation of struggle for a democratic South Africa.

"By that act and in our decisions, we put on the agenda, as the issue of the day, the transformation of our country into a genuine democracy, in which the people would govern on the basis of one person, one vote in a non-racial society, and not on a group basis."

Tactics had to do with the conduct of the struggle and had to remain flexible. "Our organisations must be capable of reaching and mobilising the millions of people into struggle as a united force."

The Conference for a Democratic Future had pointed the correct way forward. A programme of action would have to address matters such as the intensification of a campaign of mass defiance against repression in all its forms.

Objectives could be achieved through action from below, through mass action involving millions of democratic-minded South Africans.

The document entitled "People's Action for a Democratic South Africa" said the outcome would depend on the balance of forces, the steadfastness of the democratic movement and the wisdom of all the people.

"What we must make very clear is that the overwhelming majority of our people will not rest until the apartheid system is totally abolished and a non-racial democracy in a united South Africa established. Let those who hold power in our country fix this firmly in their minds that the people will accept nothing less than this and that our common motherland will know neither peace nor stability until this objective is realised."

Sisulu makes history on 702's airwaves

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IN A history-making live interview on Radio 702 yesterday morning, former ANC General Secretary Walter Sisulu told thousands of South Africans that the ANC was committed to negotiation to realise its aims.

Sisulu was a guest on 702 disc-jockey John Berks's regular mid-morning talk-show.

Fielding questions by telephone from a radio audience estimated by the station at 328 000, and for the first time expounding on ANC policy on the country's airwaves, the ANC leader said: "We consider that the problems facing our country can be solved by negotiation, as was made clear in the Harare Declaration.

"I have never believed the reformist statements of FW de Klerk. But I do believe that the National Party is no longer a free agent to act as it likes.

"It has to consider the entire situation and react to it as a whole," he said.

A soft-spoken Sisulu later added the ANC was always prepared to adjust its position.

"Negotiation implies give and take, though there are fundamentals which shall not be negotiated."

It was up to the government to create the climate for fruitful discussions.

In response to a caller who asked if violence was still the way to achieve ANC aims, Sisulu said the organisation had been forced into the position where "to defend

MATTHEW CURTIN

ourselves we had to take up arms".

But he agreed that government's reformist talk signalled a general move away from violent confrontation towards negotiation.

Berks's discussion with the 77-year-old activist ranged from the details of prison life on Robben Island to what had sustained Sisulu and his fellow Rivonia trialists in their 26-year incarceration.

Sisulu said that as he entered the liberation struggle "I knew I might have to face imprisonment and even death. With that determination, my spirits and those of my fellow prisoners were never low despite all the efforts to break them".

Questioned on what the meaning of the struggle was today, Sisulu replied: "The struggle is still for the emancipation of black people who have no voice in the affairs of the nation.

"And the struggle will continue so long as human rights are not accorded to the black population."

Radio 702 director Stan Katz said that there had been surprisingly little adverse reaction to the programme from listeners, with just "six angry calls" received.

However, after a talk show three years ago with senior UDF official Murphy Morobe, then on the run, interviewer Chris Gibbons received death threats "and the switchboard virtually melted".



ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu during his participation in phone-in programme

Honest Ritchie finds £4m in a gutter

LONDON — A hard-up surveyor found £4m in a gutter outside London's Stock Exchange and returned it without a second thought.

Martin Ritchie, forced to sell his car to cut his debts, became a millionaire for half an hour on Tuesday when he found the wad of bearer-bond certificates which

can be cashed, no question.

After he returned the brokers Rowe and Pitman chie, 23, said he had no re

Ritchie returned to his room flat with a magn. champagne from Rowe an man, and a clear conscien Sapa-Reuter.

... .. SCREEN TRADING

Church call for free and democratic system

CONSERVATIVE churchmen yesterday called on President F W de Klerk to institute a "free and democratic political system — free from the ideologies of apartheid and racism".

The Church Alliance of SA, which claims to represent 10-million churchgoers, said it was concerned about the continuing state of emergency, but could not support it being lifted until "people can commit themselves to live in a peaceful way".

The 11-member delegation included

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CHARLENE SMITH

representatives of the Zionist Christian Church, the SA Fellowship of Pentecostal Churches, the Dutch Reformed Church and the United Apostolic Ministers' Council in Africa.

Rhema Bible Ministries head Pastor Ray McCauley said he had asked De Klerk when Nelson Mandela would be released and was told that the President did not have "a date in his drawer".

The churchmen said they had been sym-

pathetically received. They expressed the view that sanctions, abortions and the abolition of the death penalty were contrary to biblical teachings.

Members of the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK), an arch-conservative breakaway branch of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, also met the President and said cordial discussions had taken place.

They gave no further details.

Both the alliance and the GK planned further meetings with other churches and with government leaders this year.

Key Market

B/Dam 11/1190

MANDELA fever hit trading on the JSE yesterday as unfounded rumours that the jailed ANC leader had been released pushed the finrand sharply higher to pull share prices down for most of the day.

The rumours had no basis, but the finrand held to its higher levels as a big buyer for the currency entered the market. The negative impact on local share prices was, however, offset by a rising gold price towards the close of trading.

Gold was fixed \$2 higher at \$405,85 at the London morning setting and

DIAGONAL STREET

Mandela fever gives finrand a sharp boost

level after lagging behind since mid-December. The shares closed 45c higher at R12,25 and seems set to go higher.

DE BEERS eased 45c to R64,25 and parent ANAMINT shed 500c to R810.

VAAL REEFS and KLOOF each fell 1,1% to R410,50 and R45,25, respectively. RANDFONTEIN, up 50c to R34,75, and FREGOLD, up 25c to R54,50, went against the softer trend.

MODDER firmed 5c to 485c but was off its high of 490c in good two-way trade on reporting a distributable profit of R5,5m in the December quarter after struggling to cover interest payment on debt of R40m in the wake of losses in the first part of the year.

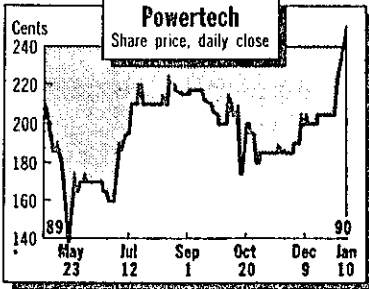
Leading industrials were mixed as some blue chips came off their peaks, but RICHMON edged up 10c to close at a new high of R19,10 and TIGER OATS moved up another 100c to a fresh high of R27,50.

POWERTECH, the high flyer during the 1987 market boom which has languished since the crash, seems to be stirring to life this year. After bottoming at 130c in May last year, the shares have recently attracted good demand and yesterday rose a further 15c (6,5%) to 245c.

Retailer BERGERS rose 10c to a new 12-month high of 160c to lift its gains to 28% so far this year. The company is on the expansion and acquisition trail.

Motor distributor SPARECO slumped 85c (15,9%) to a new low of 450c. Tin stock ROOIBERG had the largest decline of 17,2% (125c) to a new low of 600c. Rooiberg was at a 1989 high of R16,50 in June.

MERVYN HARRIS



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH Source: JSE

improved to \$407 in early New York dealings as the JSE was closing. Dealers said sentiment in New York was bolstered by Japanese buying, apparently fanned by concern over the continued slump on the Tokyo stock market.

In fairly volatile trading, the JSE overall index closed 10 points up at 3 182 after easing nine points to 3 163. The all gold index recouped only part of its early 22-point decline to close 10 points off at 3 182.

Industrials continued to move to higher ground and the index rose 15 points to a record 2 982, while strength in mining house leaders Anglos and Gencor kept mining financials on the boil.

Underlying market sentiment remained bullish and dealers reported good demand from London and the Continent for SA shares.

ANGLOS climbed from a low of R124 to end 150c up at R126,25, while GENCOR firmly breached the R12

I wish to be free, says Mandela

Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he wished to be released as soon as possible, but had no idea when this would take place, a spokesman said.

Mr Azar Cachalia, treasurer of the United Democratic Front, acted as spokesman for the first delegation of six lawyers from the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) who met Mr Mandela at his prison quarters in Paarl yesterday.

"Mr Mandela stressed it is his desire to be released as soon as possible. He, however, has no idea when he will be released," said Mr Cachalia.

"It could take a few months."

Mr Mandela has emphasised the need for unity amongst all lawyers who support the anti-apartheid struggle and the goal of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa, Mr Cachalia said.

Nadel declared it supported Mr Mandela's call.

The meeting, requested by Mr Mandela, took place at his quarters at Victor Verster prison.

Commenting on his meeting with members of the government, Mr Mandela told Nadel he did so with a view to normalising the situation in the country.

"Mr Mandela said, however, this could not be construed as negotiations. Any negotiations can only take place between the ANC and the government," said Mr Cachalia.

Mr Mandela said he remained a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC.

Mr Cachalia was accompanied by Mr J Smith, Mr M Bulelani, Mr J B Sibanyoni, Ms Linda Zama and Mr Kajee Mehmood. The meeting lasted five hours.

The second delegation of six lawyers from Nadel will meet Mr Mandela today. — Sapa.



Mandela on agenda for Lusaka talks

7/6/85
11/190
11A

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

PLANS to release Mr Nelson Mandela are among the main topics for discussion in Lusaka next week between recently released African National Congress leaders and exiled officials of the banned organisation, according to Mr Walter Sisulu.

The former ANC general secretary said today he planned to see Mrs Winnie Mandela later this week to discuss her meeting with her husband on Monday.

He and seven ANC colleagues — Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Harry Gwala — leave for Lusaka on Monday.

"We'll be spending two weeks in Lusaka and I'll brief Nelson later about our talks with the ANC leadership," Mr Sisulu said.

● Anyone expecting an early Mandela release was "making a mistake", said Mr Dullah Omar, chairman of the local region of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), who declined to "speculate" on when the ANC leader would be freed.

New drive

Mr Omar is part of the second group of a 12-strong Nadel delegation which is meeting Mr Mandela today. The first group, led by national president Mr Pius Langa, saw Mr Mandela yesterday.

● The Argus Foreign Service in London reports that the release of Mr Mandela must not be seen as an end in itself, but rather as the start of what has to be a broad new drive for change, according to observers.

The ANC has said there were still many steps which needed to be taken to create a "climate for negotiations".

These included lifting the state of emergency, releasing detainees and political prison-

ers and unbanning political organisations.

Professor Jack Spence of Leicester University's politics department, said: "What Mandela may require ... is a period in which he tries to co-ordinate policy between the various movements.

"I expect he will even try for consensus with (Chief Mangosothu) Buthelezi and I imagine one of his first considerations will be some kind of truce between the warring factions in Natal."

It was conceivable that the Separate Amenities Act would be withdrawn during the coming parliamentary session, but he doubted that the Group Areas Act or Population Registration Act would follow.

● British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher may visit South Africa this year after Mr Mandela's release, which the British government believed would take place early next month.

● Sisulu on the air, page 4.

PAC-ANC unity 'possible'

DAR ES SALAAM — ^{5/11/70} The release of Mr Nelson Mandela could pave the way for reunification of South Africa's two outlawed black liberation movements — the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, a leader of the PAC said yesterday.

A senior PAC member said yesterday that Mr Mandela was a person committed to unity and his release could therefore add momentum to the ideal of unity between the two anti-apartheid groups.

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, saying the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter offered too many concessions to whites. — Sapa-Reuter. (119)

Mandela release at 'dynamic stage'

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Star 11/1/90



By Carina le Grange

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela has reached a "dynamic" stage, a church delegation was told yesterday by State President Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Ray McCauley was part of the delegation of the Church Alliance of South Africa (Casa) which held a consultation with Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings.

Mr de Klerk apparently told Casa, however, that he "did not have a hidden date in his drawer" for Mr Mandela's release.

Doppers

The meeting with Casa was Mr de Klerk's second meeting with a church group yesterday. Earlier he met a delegation from the Gerformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika (GKSA, also known as the Doppers).

The Casa delegates said after the meeting, which lasted almost 1½ hours, that Mr de Klerk was asked to speed up constitutional reform, remove all discrimination based on race and to consider lifting the state of emergency.

Casa did not, however, raise the issue of universal franchise, saying that a free and equal vote was a political question and as such fell outside the ambit of the church.

Casa had asked for yesterday's meeting with Mr de Klerk more than two months ago — before Mr de Klerk issued his invitations to churches for a church/State consultation.

Casa is an alliance of pentecostal, reformed and some African independent black churches. Delegation leader Mr Poen Ba-

denhorst said it represented 15 million people in South Africa of which 10 million were black.

He said Casa had told Mr de Klerk that "as Christians we cannot have discrimination".

"The alliance clearly stated its position that there should be a free and democratic political system in our country, free from ideological bonds like racism and Marxism. We believe that all citizens should be free to express their political standpoints in a peaceful way."

Casa asked that the lifting of the state of emergency be considered, provided all people concerned commit themselves to peace.

"It would be irresponsible for the Government to lift the emergency if necklacings and violence continues," he said.

Death penalty

He said Casa also expressed its concern about increasing pressure in South Africa on the abolition of the death penalty, the relaxation of control of publications and films of a pornographic nature and requests for abortion on demand.

A GKSA spokesman, Dr Chris J Malan, said the GKSA's hour-long meeting with Mr de Klerk was a "heart to heart talk on the subject of reconciliation and justice" and came about in reaction to the open invitation by Mr de Klerk for churches to have talks with the State.

The meeting was described as having taken place in a cordial, positive spirit at which important matters were discussed. No further details were given.

● See Page 8

Apartheid to end in 10 years — Sisulu

11A
11/1/90

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Apartheid will end within the decade, African National Congress member Mr Walter Sisulu has told American television viewers.

Interviewed on CBS yesterday, Mr Sisulu said he did not know if he would live to see the end of apartheid but thought it would occur before the year 2000.

"As things stand it could be a peaceful end and we wish it would be a peaceful end. But it is difficult merely to speculate on these affairs because one thing small — however small it is — can spark off and create a new situation.

Confident

"I am confident that negotiations will finally take place and that once they do the exchange of views will shake each other's ideas and outlook."

Interviewer Harry Smith, who described the live broadcast with Mr Sisulu in Johannesburg as further evidence of change in South Africa, asked the former prisoner if he thought current speculation about Mr Nelson Mandela's release would prove founded.

"I don't know," Mr Sisulu replied. "There has been much speculation about the release of Mr Mandela in the last five years. The only difference now is his wife has an impression that it will happen soon.

"I do know the authorities have problems and difficulties, one of which is they are going to release him in a vacuum — and there are various problems that are related to that."

It would be a "tremendous affair" to release Mr Mandela, for South Africa and for the world.

"This is what we have been demanding for years and it is what we are looking forward to."

Asked if he had been encouraged by changes in the country, Mr Sisulu said



Mr Walter Sisulu . . . behind the microphone.

there was nothing quite tangible yet.

"Perhaps the release of Nelson Mandela could mean some beginning.

"It is true that the tension is less today between the government and the people. Yet, during this period, you still have the strikers who have died fighting and all those things disturb the minds of the people."

Asked if he thought the changes President De Klerk had in mind would lead to true democracy with one man, one vote, he said: "I have great confidence.

"I have the impression that we have reached a situation which is exciting — a period which is exciting to us and that whatever problems and fundamental differences we have with the Nationalist Party, one thing is certain, we have entered a new era and there is no reversal as far as that is concerned."

THE ANC F/M 12/1190

More signals ~~11A~~ ~~207A~~

The thrust of the ANC's 78th anniversary message of January 8 is on the political negotiation.

It strikes a balance between keeping the

11A F/M 12/1190 ~~207A~~

door open to talks while, at the same time, trying to keep up pressure on Pretoria. Tough talk about keeping armed cadres at their posts, and the standard calls for tougher sanctions, should not be surprising in this period of position bargaining.

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is saluted "for the immeasurable contribution they have made to bring us to the stage where we can pose the prospect of the transfer of power to the people as a matter of practical politics."

However: "The conditions which obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged. The ANC remains an illegal organisation. The State of Emergency continues and a whole series of repressive laws remain on the statute books. We have no constitutional means to change the government of the day."

Therefore, the ANC believes: "It still remains for the Pretoria regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations. In putting forward this universally accepted demand, we are not asking for special favours. We are asking that all who should participate in any process of negotiations should enjoy equal political opportunities."

The message goes on to say that "democratic forces will not be terrorised into negotiations and cannot be expected to enter into such a process until they enjoy the same freedoms to engage in political activity as does the National Party."

Dealing with the ruling party, the ANC observes: "These days, the NP also speaks of its commitment to end apartheid ... Its leaders must, however, understand if we remain unconvinced and sceptical and demand that they translate their words into actions."

The ANC reiterates its belief that SA belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

Pretoria "can confirm from its own files" that "we repeatedly asked successive white rulers to enter into negotiations with genuine representatives of our people ... Even when we were compelled to take up arms, we tried to conduct a humane war with as few casualties as possible."

The ANC says it put forward the Harare/UN General Assembly Declaration, for a "political resolution" of the SA conflict. This proposal is "intended for the sole purpose of ending the system of apartheid as quickly and with as little bloodshed and destruction as possible."

"So far, Pretoria's response to this historic proposal has amounted to nothing more than political gamesmanship, which has absolutely nothing to do with a serious effort to

Continue p 36

→ continue from p 33.

F/M 12/1190

11A

~~207A~~

advance towards a mutually acceptable agreement to end the apartheid system."

While recognising certain advances, like the MDM taking advantage of political "space" to hold rallies, it complains that "that great son of our people" Nelson Mandela, and others, remain in prison; that the emergency stays in place; that organisations and individuals remain banned and restricted. Government "still has a long way to go before it can claim that it has ended repression."

"Therefore, whether the potential for a political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system. It ought to be obvious that we, who are the victims of this heinous system, can never act in a manner designed either to perpetuate it or to lead to the loss of even more lives."

At least some of what the ANC sees as stumbling blocks to talks are almost certain to be removed next month. Mandela's release is confidently expected in February; President De Klerk is expected at least to relax the emergency provisions.

The ANC believes it is "thanks to the heroic struggles we have waged up to this point, (that) the situation has arisen whereby there is probably no thinking South African today who does not expect that change must come to our long-suffering country." However, "it is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present danger of a terrible bloodbath. What the outcome will be depends on the balance of

forces, the steadfastness of the democratic movement and the wisdom of all the people of our country."

Significantly, the word socialism is absent from the message — though New Year greetings are extended to "our revolutionary allies, the SA Communist Party and SAC."

Great emphasis is placed on the need for unity around the perspective of "one, democratic and nonracial SA." Rejecting any notion of group-based rights, it calls for an elected constituent assembly to confront De Klerk's manoeuvres to draw us into an apartheid structure which would parcel out meaningless portions of power in a social power-sharing arrangement that would leave the white minority as the dominating force.

The focus of the ANC offensive will be to end repression and apartheid and build a nonracial democracy "from below," through mass action.

"The challenge remains on F V De Klerk's table, for him to act from above in pursuit of these same goals without realising our country can never have peace, stability and development."

MANDELA'S RELEASE F/M 12/1/90

11A ~~20~~ ~~20~~

Waiting for February

This time — after various false alarms (or impact-absorbers) going back at least three years — it seems to be for real. Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous political prisoner, is expected to be released within weeks, probably in February, after more than a quarter of a century in jail.

The latest predictions follow the euphoric reaction of Winnie Mandela after visiting her husband on Monday to discuss "preliminary arrangements" for his release. She doesn't normally smile for the cameras.

Yet, judging by his talent to surprise and retain the initiative, President F W de Klerk could still confound all predictions.

Does he mean to release Mandela later this month? Unlikely. For one thing, Jesse Jackson arrives from the US, and government would not like any kudos for the release to attach to him. For another, suggests an MDM source, it would be in the interests of both government and the MDM to plan the event carefully. A surprise date would mean only a few less flags, it is suggested, with no other political purchase. The stumbling blocks of the past are gone, the source adds, and it's now just a question of timing. On the other hand, could this be yet another rumour cultivated to deaden the impact of his release? Government has certainly handled the build-up with great shrewdness.

David Owen, a visiting British politician, met De Klerk on Monday and concluded that he was in a hurry to prepare the ground for negotiations; that he could announce certain reforms (including a partial lifting of the State of Emergency) when parliament opens on February 2 and that Mandela would probably be out in late February.

Another pointer to a February release: a delegation of the UDF national executive applied to visit Mandela at Victor Verster prison and was informed by the Justice Department that they may see him "sometime after February 2" (though they're aware this could be a ruse).

Interestingly, a government source points

out that the release timing is also up to Mandela who may well prefer a date of his own.

What will Mandela do when freed from prison? Will he automatically assume the leadership of the ANC or MDM? Their spokesmen all tell you that Mandela is a "disciplined" member of the ANC — witness the consultations and report-backs he has had with those outside — and that he

will become part of a "leadership collective." De Klerk, they reckon, should forget any hope he might have of splitting the ANC, or the ANC/MDM alliance, or the MDM.

They entertain no notion whatever of any leadership tussles, internally or externally. What precise office Mandela will hold is not, they claim, considered to be very important. After all, "Mandela is Mandela; his position is unique."

He is seen as a "genuine South African leader" who transcends even the ANC; almost what Gandhi was to Indian independence. For this reason he is also seen

as the man who will be in the best position to allay white fears.

MDM sources have no doubt that he will play a leading role — especially this year and assuming that government agrees to enter talks.

But that surely is the name of the game now and, since Mandela himself has already held direct talks-about-talks with various Cabinet ministers, he is uniquely placed however you look at it.

Mandela's release, says a UDF leader, "is going to fundamentally change the political climate in SA." ■



F/M 12/1/90



LOOKING EAST

Loosening the chains

At first glance, it is fairly paradoxical that eastern European countries — Hungary in particular — where long-denied personal freedoms are now in rapid ascent, should appear anxious to trade with SA where similar freedoms remain substantially denied. Their sympathies, it would seem logical to assume, should instead lie with the suppressed black majority.

While SA's traditional trading partners in the West have imposed trade embargoes in high indignation at this country's social policies, the people of eastern Europe — who have lived under similar if not more oppression — are showing an increasing desire to trade with a devil of the same hue as the one they are casting out.

The explanation is simple, but intriguing, and it is one to which the ANC, and most countries north of the Limpopo, should pay close attention. It is that the oppressed people of eastern Europe have learnt that the adequate satisfaction of their daily living requirements is more desirable than the creeping and inevitable poverty that collectivist or redistributive government brings in the name of spurious social justice.

It will take more than the persuasive skills of the sophisticated young comrades in the ANC to convince the ordinary people of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania that the collectivist oppression under which they have lived for so long has brought anything like the social justice that "liberation" movements believe so essential to southern Africa.

The revolution taking place in eastern Europe now is a peaceful one — with the exception of Rumania. There is a clearly manifest desire, even within the Soviet Union itself, to recreate the institutions of democracy and reduce poverty in a way that does not spill more blood. The ANC is unlikely to find continuing support for an indiscriminate armed struggle in those quarters.

The Soviet bloc spends something like US\$10bn each year on military assistance to dictatorial regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is unlikely that the vast amounts of capital, technology and skills that this bloc says it requires from the West will be forthcoming while it continues to spend sums like that on fomenting socialist revolution.

Moreover, without Soviet arms to sustain them, the socialist governments of eastern Europe are falling like ninepins. Is there any reason to believe that without Soviet arms African socialist governments will prove any more durable?

There is, too, within eastern Europe, and especially in the Soviet Union, an awareness of the perils that minority races face when swamped by egalitarian collectivists. The Soviets have never been able to achieve in their domains the degree of national homogeneity that has been one of the outstanding achievements of the North Americans. The reason is that the Soviets sought to enforce uniformity, rather than encourage

cohesion through the guarantee of common individual freedoms. Those who are rejecting that system within their own borders are unlikely to continue supporting it elsewhere.

The SA government, almost alone among governments in this part of the world, appears to be moving away, though too slowly, from the socialist policies that have so impoverished eastern Europe. Elsewhere in southern Africa, most other black governments are moving in the opposite direction.

The stability of many African governments, as Western aid declines and Soviet arms support diminishes, may well be in question as a natural consequence of the revolution in eastern Europe. When the black dictators of Central Africa have to generate their own domestic revenues to finance the opulent lifestyles of their bureaucrats, and counteract the poverty that their own policies have created among the mass of their peoples, their survival could become increasingly less certain.

If SA's reform initiative continues, it will not only be the most prosperous country in Africa, it could also become, by comparison with its neighbours, the most stable.

Simply put, black socialists are going to find reducing sympathy and increasing impatience among those who have lived under socialist dictatorships in eastern Europe for their claims here of the "agony" of having no vote, while black incomes are rising faster than white incomes, the shops are full of food and desirable consumables, and the degree of individual freedom exceeds that in most other black states.

The ANC has every reason to be concerned at the developing trade and other contacts between SA and eastern Europe. For if that revolution fructifies into a more democratic and prosperous region, then the ANC's own negotiating strength will be eroded and it could be intimidated either into a settlement or relegated into perpetual impotence.

Far from being on the brink of taking over SA, the ANC may well in the period ahead be facing the most crucial test in its long history — ironically on the eve of the release of Nelson Mandela.

What it needs to do is demonstrate that it does not want simply to take over the coercive machinery of apartheid and use it to the benefit of its own elite, under the guise of bringing greater social justice to all the people of this country. The way to do that is to forswear socialism, abandon violence, cease to disrupt the provision of services as a means of protest, and seek to enhance the integrity of its leaders to facilitate negotiation with government.

The evident desire last weekend of so many Soweto parents to have their children return to school is a move in that direction. It is a response to the F W de Klerk reforms that is both constructive and encouraging. It demonstrates that there is a desire here too among ordinary people for peaceful progress towards greater prosperity rather than the destructive waste of violent revolution.

THE African National Congress, while determined not to lay down arms "until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at", has nonetheless produced its most flexible and conciliatory policy statement in some years.

Its January 8 policy declaration for the year ahead, issued by its national executive committee in Lusaka, contains a strong thread of optimism and indicates that consideration of post-apartheid governing and reconstruction is already underway within the organisation and its structures.

Despite a generally softer tone, the document, entitled People's Action for a Democratic Future, calls for continued sanctions — it describes sanctions as the "most effective weapon of the international community" — and condemns rebel sports tours.

It also notes that "the conditions which obliged us to take up arms remain unchanged".

"The ANC remains an illegal organisation. Membership of the ANC is a treasonable offence. The state of emergency continues and a whole series of repressive laws remain on the books.

We have no constitutional means to change the government of the day. While the apartheid regime remains in power — even if the ANC is unbanned — there is no guarantee that this regime will not once more proscribe our movements ... We cannot be expected to surrender our weapons until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at."

However, the minimal space devoted to the armed struggle in the address indicates what the rhetoric does not, and what figures on guerrilla attacks display. Namely that, for the present, the armed struggle is taking a back seat as the ANC concentrates on strengthening its support bases and moving onto a firm footing for negotiations.

The ANC responds cautiously to President F W de Klerk's moves toward a climate for negotiation. It says "the De Klerk regime still has a long way to go before it can claim that it has ended repression directed

ANC is looking to strengthen its rural position

CHARLENE SMITH

IIA
B/D am
12/11/90

against the national liberation and democratic movement of our country".

It adds: "There is in power a party of racism which has grown accustomed to power and cannot imagine itself as anything except a ruling party."

Nonetheless, it notes that there is now an expectation of change within SA, but cautions that "it is a moment that harbours both the potential for change and the ever-present danger of a terrible bloodbath".

Dismissing talk of "so-called power-sharing arrangements that would leave the white minority as the dominating force" the ANC reaffirms its stand that constitutional change should come through a constituent assembly.

A similar call was endorsed by the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) in Johannesburg early in December. The mass democratic movement, which formed part of the CDF, has said it will concentrate on educating and mobilising grassroots support for such an assembly, where a new constitution for SA will be drawn up.

The ANC says its first strategic objective is to restore "democratic political power into the hands of the people ... people's power". This, academics note, reflects a return to the rhetoric of the years 1984 to 1986 when "people's power" manifested

itself in the form of people's courts, people's education and alternative structures to those imposed by the government.

Township residents established street, area and block committees to administer their lives.

They set up neighbourhood-watches that saw crime levels fall dramatically. Children returned to school and teachers and community members became involved in supplementing the perceived inferiorities of black education.

Basic township administration, such as nightsoil and garbage removal, was taken care of by residents who were paid a fee by their neighbours, academics noted.

However, violence in many areas, in particular the practice of necklacing, discredited many "people's structures" and led to them being viewed as elements of tyranny, negating their positive features.

Indications of fresh moves toward people's structures have already begun emerging, in particular the education conference in Soweto this past weekend. This involved parents and teachers in decisions about action to be taken in view of last year's disastrous matric results.

Key among the decisions was one

to appoint an interim Committee of 10, including parents, pupils and teachers, to link up with the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and other mass-based democratic organisations in finding constructive solutions to the crisis in schools. An important component of this has been recognition by parents, teachers and pupils that they share some responsibility for the poor results.

There is a major process of self-examination under way in mass-based organisations within SA. They have recognised, as one leading activist put it, "that we have become corrupted by foreign funding and have forgotten that we are our own major resource, and solutions will come from us, not money".

This self-criticism is reflected throughout the ANC document — although not in the area of funding. It admits to poor or insufficient organisation in several key areas; most notably, farmworkers, the unions — in particular the involvement of white workers — women and teachers. This "self-criticism" has also been a recent issue among the Africanist groupings, observers note.

The ANC document "strongly encourages" the efforts being made to organise agricultural workers, as well as organisations in villages and rural areas.

The Pan-Africanist Congress at its conference in Harare in November also urged greater grassroots mobilisation in the rural areas.

Evidence of the conditions prompting these developments is contained in research by the Black Sash and its Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), which shows that feudal systems of labour tenancy remain strong in northern Natal, and the east and northern Transvaal.

Labour tenants are those where one or more family members work without pay for a farmer, for the privilege of a family occupying and farming a small plot of land on the farm. Those who are paid, according to Aninka Claassen of Trac, rarely earn more than R30 a month.

The issue is doubly controversial because many families claim to have been on the land for many generations, while farmers are often new to the area, according to Claassen.

Prohibitions against labour tenancy have been enacted eight times, and been repealed once the government of the day has believed the problem eradicated, Claassen says.

The last law prohibiting the practice was withdrawn in 1986, Claassen notes.

However, the practice continues in many areas. It is believed to affect more than 2-million workers in the Transvaal alone.

"Every issue comes down to land, less a result of the 1913 and subsequent Land Acts than as a consequence of conquest.

"The bad conditions on many farms, including violence against workers and tenants, has seen the growth of political organisations in those areas, including the proposed formation of a regional committee for tenants, farm workers and rural Africans to negotiate with government and white farming organisations," says Claassen.

The issues dealt with in the ANC policy document, including land, education, and in particular negotiations, are sure to be high on the agenda early next week when the organisation meets its internal leadership, including former secretary-general Walter Sisulu, in Lusaka, for the first time in 26 years.

MDM and Sats meet over strike

A HIGH-profile mass democratic movement (MDM) delegation met Sats management yesterday afternoon to discuss the 10-week-old Sats strike, Sats spokesman Leon Els said yesterday.

Els said the meeting had been fruitful and issues discussed included the strike-related violence, and possible ways of resolving the dispute.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said last night the discussions were frank and forthright and were aimed at exploring all the avenues that could be taken to resolve the strike.

He said a three-hour meeting took place between Sats and a delegation from the MDM, the SA Council of Churches and Nafcoc.

"The meeting was initiated by Cosatu with the specific view of raising with Sats our concern at the situation arising out of the strike," Morobe said.

Morobe said his delegation impressed on Sats "that the only interest our community has is that the strike be resolved in the shortest possible time".

He said the parties undertook to report back to their various interest groups without prejudicing the negotiations that were still underway.

Morobe said his delegation remained resolute in its support of the SA Rail-

ways and Harbours Workers' Union (Sarhwu) and its efforts to improve the lot of its members within Sats.

Els said the meeting was held at the MDM's request.

MANDY JEAN WOODS and THEO RAWANA report that Sats and Sarhwu negotiators had "fruitful" discussions at the resumption of stalled negotiations yesterday.

Sats spokesman Ian Bleasdale said progress was made and the two sides would be meeting again today.

Meeting

Sarhwu general secretary Martin Sebakwane said the union had put forward the outcome of its deliberations on Sats proposals.

A meeting planned earlier this week was cancelled in the wake of the murder of seven people when striking union members were ambushed by a mob of about 1 000 non-striking workers on Germiston station.

The 10-week-old strike has seen the death of at least 27 people, with two deaths being reported yesterday.

A Sats bus conductor was burnt to death and a bus driver critically injured when he was hacked with a panga by a mob who attacked the bus and set it alight at Mobeni, Durban yesterday.

A Sats spokesman said the matter was being investigated by the police.

Sapa reports a police spokesman said the attack happened at about 6.40am when the bus, chartered privately, stopped to pick up passengers near the turnoff to Umlazi on the old South Coast Road.

He said a mob, armed with knives, surrounded the bus and forced their way in, stabbing the driver and the conductor.

The bus was then set alight and the wounded conductor, who was trapped inside, died in the blaze. A witness said the driver was stabbed about eight times as he fought his way through the mob.

Several union members were arrested at the union's office in Pretoria yesterday, Sapa reports.

SAP liaison officer Cpt Reuben Blumberg confirmed the arrests had taken place in a hall where Sarhwu members were meeting but could not say how many had been arrested or whether they would be charged.

Meanwhile, Cosatu said yesterday it would be holding a memorial service at the Germiston Anglican Church today for those killed on Tuesday.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports from the Rand Supreme Court that an urgent application brought against the SAP by

Sarhwu following the clash between striking and non-striking workers on Tuesday was postponed yesterday after counsel informed the judge that settlement negotiations were underway.

Mr Justice Strydom stood the application down until this morning at the request of counsel for both parties.

Sarhwu have applied for an interim order interdicting police from assaulting its members or aiding and abetting anyone else from doing so.

11A Killed

Sarhwu's application follows allegations by strikers that police present at the time did nothing to prevent them from being attacked by armed Sats employees at the station.

Seven people were killed and 47 injured in the violence.

Sats has meanwhile given Sarhwu's legal representatives a written undertaking that it would do everything in its power to prevent a recurrence of Tuesday's violence on its property.

In a letter signed on his behalf, Sats GM/managing director Anton Moolman also gave an unqualified assurance that Sats was not involved in the violence in any way.

02/11/21, 1990

Man dies, 2 hurt in Crossroads violence

Crime Reporter

AT LEAST one man died and two others were injured when mounting tensions between rival factions in Crossroads exploded into violence.

The man was shot dead about 10am yesterday near Lansdowne Road after a meeting attended by supporters of Crossroads Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, said police spokesman Captain Ruben Bloomberg.

Community sources, however, said three people had died and seven were injured in a battle between Mr Ngxobongwana's "witdoeke" and Crossroads residents living in Section 4 who support rival headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe.

"WITDOEKE"

A group of men wearing armbands signifying they were "witdoeke" marched to a school in Crossroads to hold a meeting at 7.23am, said Captain Bloomberg.

He could not confirm whether the school was Sebenza High where allegations of discrimination in admissions were made on Wednesday.

The men informed police they were holding the meeting to "bring peace to the area", said Captain Bloomberg.

Mr Ngongwe's supporters approached the commander of the riot unit, Brigadier Gillus van der Wall, to ask for protection from Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters.

Brigadier van der Wall approached Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters, who assured him there would be no fighting.

The "witdoeke" apparently dispersed and were returning home when shots were fired. One of Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters was killed and two others injured, one seriously, according to the police report.

● Tension between "witdoeke" and residents supporting headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe flared in October last year after allegations about Mr Ngxobongwana's "misuse" of community funds.

Education officials had to step in to stop alleged discrimination at Sebenza High School on Wednesday after parents claimed pupils living in areas under Mr Nongwe's control were being refused admission.

Man killed, 2 hurt in Crossroads faction fighting

Crime Reporter

AN Old Crossroads resident was killed yesterday in faction fighting in the township and two others were injured.

Police said a man in his 20s died after the group he was travelling with was ambushed by members of a rival faction soon after 8.40am. One of the wounded men is seriously hurt.

It is believed that the dead man was a member of the group supporting Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and that the gunman belonged to a faction loyal to opposition headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe.

Supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana were returning from a meeting when a gunman fired a number of shots at the group, killing the one man.

Violent clashes

Police said they had earlier received calls that supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana were about to attack Mr Nongwe's group. "The group of Witdoeke (Ngxobongwana supporters) were apparently going to a meeting, and it was on their way back from the meeting that they were attacked."

There have been numerous violent clashes in the Old Crossroads area since Mr Nongwe and 14 other headmen broke ties with Mr Ngxobongwana last year over corruption allegations involving collected rent money.

Mr Ngxobongwana's reign has recently come under close police scrutiny after two of his committee members and his 27-year-old son were arrested on murder charges.

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CAP- Times
12/11/90
(11A) [Signature]

Frelimo urges negotiated solution for SA

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — After a visit to Maputo by African National Congress leaders, the ruling Frelimo party in Mozambique has re-affirmed its support for the ANC's struggle against apartheid, but has emphasised its backing for the search for a negotiated solution.

In a statement issued yesterday, Frelimo called on the South African Government "to

co-operate in the creation of an atmosphere propitious for genuine negotiations".

scw
12/1/90 INITIATIVES

The statement was issued after an ANC delegation, headed by the acting leader, Mr Alfred Nzo, had talks in Maputo last week with Frelimo leaders.

Frelimo emphasised its support for "the ongoing initiatives of the ANC in search of

mechanisms for a negotiated solution to the conflict."

The Mozambique news agency, AIM, reports that the statement said Frelimo and the ANC had reaffirmed the need to maintain regular contacts.

The ANC maintains a small presence in Maputo, where the South African Government has a diplomatic office functioning ostensibly as a trade mission.

11A

Mandela to be given honorary degree by UCT

11/6/90 12/1/90 (11A)

By **ANDREA WEISS**
Staff Reporter

JAILED African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is to be awarded an honorary degree by the University of Cape Town.

A date for the conferral of the degree still has to be decided in consultation with Mr Mandela, according to a UCT statement.

Four other UCT honorary graduands this year include a former newspaper editor, a child psychiatrist, the President of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), and an academic jurist.

"Living legend"

Mr Mandela, who will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws (LLD), is described by UCT as a "living legend in the struggle against apartheid and injustice".

He was recognised as a major political figure by a great many South Africans and by prominent individuals, organisations and governments around the world, the university said.

"Most — including, it seems, the present government — recognise that a permanent solution to South Africa's problems

is impossible without Nelson Mandela, and that his release will facilitate negotiation towards the solution.

"His vision is of a non-racial, just and democratic South Africa," the university states in its motivation.

Other honorary graduands with Mr Mandela will be:

● Mr René de Villiers, former editor of major Argus Group newspapers — The Friend, The Daily News and The Star. Mr de Villiers was elected to the House of Assembly as MP for Parktown in 1974 where he served until 1977. He is also a former president of the SA Institute of Race Relations. He will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws.

● Dr Vera Bührmann, "a pioneer in the field of child psychiatry", who will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Medicine. Dr Bührmann established the first child psychiatric unit in South Africa at the Red Cross Children's Hospital. She established the Vera School for Autistic Children and is considered one of the most important writers on the psychological aspect of indigenous healing practices.

● Professor Tony Honoré, who will be awarded an honor-

ary Doctor of Laws. He is described by UCT as "one of the most distinguished academic jurists in the world today". Professor Honoré has previously been awarded honorary degrees by the universities of Edinburgh, South Africa and Stellenbosch.

● Dr Chris Garbers whose "initiative and decisive role" as President of the CSIR led to the growth and success of the Foundation for Research and Development (FRD). He will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Science.

Oxford

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Archbishop Desmond Tutu is expected to receive Oxford University's highest accolade, an honorary doctorate, in June.

His is one of eight names proposed by the university council which are expected to be approved by the dons later this month.

Archbishop Tutu is joined on the list by American economist Kenneth Gailbraith and Soviet pianist Sviatoslav Richter.

Another African on the list is civil rights campaigner, Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena of Zimbabwe.

Aussie unions may join tennis protests

The Star's Foreign News Service and Sapa-
Reuter

MELBOURNE — Big trouble is looming for the South African tennis players and the Australian Open itself when the championship begins in Melbourne next week. *Star 12/1/90*

Australia's union movement yesterday announced it would almost certainly join the country's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in demonstrating against the South African presence during the event.

Last week, the AAM said it would be protesting against the Australian government's decision to issue visas to the South Africans.

Australian unions are expected to discuss the matter today.

At least six South Africans are expected to play in the championships, with Christo van Rensburg being one of the main attractions. Others include Gary Muller, Pieter Aldrich and Danie Visser.

Sisulu on TV. 11A 'Never under PW'

CAPC Times 12/1/90
BY MARIUS BOSCH

THE broadcast of an interview with ANC veteran Mr Walter Sisulu on SABC-TV would never have happened under former president Mr P W Botha, politicians and media experts said yesterday.

DP spokesman Mr Peter Soal said the footage of the CBS interview with Mr Sisulu shown on SABC-TV on Wednesday night reflected the present mood of the government.

Mr Soal said that previously the ANC had been portrayed as a "communist ogre" and that people saw Mr Sisulu to be a "charming, likeable gentleman" on Wednesday night.

Rhodes University journalism lecturer Mr Charles Riddel said the SABC would not have screened a similiar interview during Mr Botha's presidency.

"Since the release of Mr Sisulu and the others, there has been an effective unbanning of the ANC and it has become acceptable for ANC members to be quoted on TV programmes," he said.

Changes in the country seemed to have moved ahead of present legislation, he said, adding that in December charges were dropped against an Oudtshoorn newspaper for publishing a photograph of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The SABC, however, said Mr Sisulu's statement in the CBS interview "was reflected in the SABC's newsbroadcasts on radio and television on grounds of its news value".

A SABC spokesman said complaints from viewers had been received following Mr Sisulu's appearance.

Flow of visits for Mandela

Call Times 12/1/90 *HA*

JOHANNESBURG. — The time has come for the nation to intensify the campaign for the immediate release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

This call was made yesterday by an MDM delegation from the Eastern Cape who are due to meet Mr Mandela today.

They are UDF regional president Mr Edgar Ngoyi, regional UDF vice-president Mr Henry Fazzie, Mr Benson Fihla of the MDM sports section, Mr Ernest Malgas and Mr Silas Mtongana.

A second Eastern Cape group due to visit Mr Mandela will be led by the Rev D M Soga, president of the local branch of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa.

Meanwhile, National Association of Democratic Lawyers' president Mr Pius Langa said yesterday that Mr Mandela was negotiating the release of political prisoners.

Mr Langa was speaking on behalf of the second delegation of Nadel lawyers to meet Mr Mandela this week.

Mr Mandela told the delegation he wished to be released immediately but was not going to beg for his freedom. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

UCT to honour Mandela

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela is to be awarded an honorary degree by the University of Cape Town.

A date for the conferral of the degree still has to be chosen in consultation with Mr Mandela, a UCT statement said.

Four other UCT honorary graduates this year are a former editor of *The Star*, a psychiatrist, the president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), and an academic jurist.

Mr Mandela, who will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws (LLD), is described by UCT as a "living legend in the struggle against apartheid and injustice in South Africa".

Mr Rene de Villiers, former editor of major Argus Group newspapers *The Friend*, *The Daily News* and *The Star*, is to be awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws. Mr de Villiers was

PFP MP for Parktown until 1977. He is also a former president of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Dr Vera Buhrmann, "a pioneer in the field of child psychiatry", will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Medicine. *Star 12/1/90*

Professor Tony Honore will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws. He is described by UCT as "one of the most distinguished academic jurists in the world today".

Dr Chris Garbers, whose "initiative and decisive role" as president of the CSIR led to the growth and success of the Foundation for Research and Development, will be awarded an honorary Doctor of Science.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu is expected to receive Oxford University's highest accolade, an honorary doctorate, next June, reports *The Star* Bureau from London.

TV film row reaches UK parliament

LONDON — Reaction to anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Peter Hain's recent secret visit to South Africa and the TV film he made about sport has reached the British Parliament's order papers, with the tabling of a Notice of Motion criticising him, accompanied by an amendment which would nullify this and praise him instead.

The motion, put by pro-SA Conservative MP Mr John Carlisle, of the Freedom in Sport

Association and fellow Tories, and opposed by Labour MPs, is unlikely to come up for debate in the House of Commons, traditionally serving more to put specific views on public record.

Mr Carlisle's motion calls on the House to express its concern at the "massive deception" and distortion of facts presented by the TV programme, which was broadcast on Monday night, and calls for equal TV time for a programme presenting the "true

facts of South African life".

The Labour MPs' amendment instead calls on the House to welcome the TV programme's "exposure ... of the appalling discrimination against black sport in South Africa", commends Mr Hain for having defied the South African Government, and calls on the British government to strictly enforce the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement against sporting contact with the Republic. — Sapa.

'FW must now run with the ball'

Hain launches plan for SA sport

By Alan Robinson,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Peter Hain has drawn up a detailed, five-point plan which he believes could lead to South Africa's early re-entry into international sport.

Launching the proposal yes-

terday, Mr Hain said: "If the five conditions are met in full I believe we could see Springbok tours again much sooner than many have supposed.

"I am sure black sports officials are willing to negotiate. It is up to white sports officials and President de Klerk to pick up the ball and run with it now."

The Hain plan calls for:

- Negotiations to establish genuine non-racial sports structures from school and club level upwards.
- These negotiations to coincide with talks involving the Government, the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement to establish a constitutional settlement.
- New legislation that will outlaw racially exclusive or segregated clubs and school sport, with all sports leagues at all levels to be non-racial by law.
- Further legislation to open all sports and leisure facilities — pools, parks, sports centres etc — to all races and giving the right of appeal to a Race Relations Court to anyone denied entry of race grounds, and
- Government and business to launch a multi-million rand crash programme to upgrade black sports facilities and the State to equalise its sports spending on black and white sport.

The proposal was formulated after Mr Hain's recent secret visit to South Africa.

ARGUS 12/11/90
**'Mandela
cannot be
freed into
a vacuum'**

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE government is not ready to release Nelson Mandela because it realises the jailed African National Congress leader "cannot be freed into a vacuum", says Mr Pius Langa, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Mr Langa led an association delegation, which included Mr E Moosa, Mr R Pillay, Mr S Nkanunu and Mr P Majeke, to meet Mr Mandela, the association's honorary life president, at his request at Victor Verster Prison yesterday.

"Mr Mandela wants to be freed. He did not give us the impression that he expects to be freed in a matter of days," Mr Langa said.

"WILL NOT BEG"

The delegation had asked Mr Mandela "directly" when he would be released.

"He said he did not know because it was not in his hands. He will not beg for his release," Mr Langa said.

His (Mr Langa's) view was that the government was not ready to free Mr Mandela because he could not be freed "into a vacuum" and he believed Mr Mandela shared this view.

Mr Mandela told the lawyers' group he had had talks with the government.

"His position is clear: he is a member of the ANC and has not been authorised to negotiate with the government. He sees his role as that of a facilitator."

● See pages 3 and 5.

CMT TALKS 13/1/90 (11A) (H)

Hurd 'firmly committed' to Sisulu meeting



Mr Hurd



Mr Sisulu

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A senior British Foreign Office Minister is now firmly committed to meeting ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, should he request such a meeting during his expected visit here next week or later this month.

Should the meeting occur, it will be the highest level contact ever between London and the ANC.

At a press briefing yesterday, a Foreign Office spokesman cited the "evolving" situation in South Africa for this change in the government's former policy of having no contact with the organisation, which remains banned in South Africa.

Developments expected to follow the meeting include a visit to South Africa next month by Mr Douglas

Hurd or another senior minister, planned to coincide with his attendance of the Namibian independence celebrations.

This would be a precursor to a visit later this year by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who this week said she would "love to go" to South Africa, which she last visited in 1973 as Minister for Education and Science in the Heath government.

Such developments hinge, however, on whether the SA government releases Mr Nelson Mandela and whether President F W de Klerk announces fundamental changes, including the unbanning of the ANC and lifting of the state of emergency, when he opens parliament on February 2.

While he could give no date for the meeting, it is expected the ANC group will fly to Europe and Britain after

meeting the ANC executive in Lusaka, where they are due on Monday.

When in London, he said, Mr Sisulu was expected to call on the Foreign Office and he "couldn't rule out" that he would meet either the Foreign Minister, Mr Hurd, or if he was out of town, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs responsible for South Africa, Mr William Waldegrave.

Asked if there wasn't a ban on British ministers meeting with the ANC, he said there was not.

He said the agreement to meet the ANC leader was "a development made in response to the evolving situation in South Africa".

It was evident, he said, that there were "certain individuals under the ANC umbrella who are intent on entering into peaceful dialogue with the South African government. We be-

lieve Mr Sisulu is amongst them and therefore meeting with him is a natural development of our policy".

Asked about Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's view expressed a year ago that the ANC were just "terrorists", he repeated that there were individuals under the "ANC umbrella" committed to negotiation.

"There is an evolving situation in South Africa. Things are moving and our policy will develop to meet that evolving situation."

● The meeting with Mr Hurd, should it take place, will be the highest level contact ever between London and the ANC. While former Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe met ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1986, the government stressed at the time it was in his capacity as a minister of the European Council and not as a British Minister.

Honorary UCT degree for Mandela

CMT 7-44
13/1/90

Staff Reporter

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has agreed to accept an honorary Doctor of Laws (LLD) degree from the University of Cape Town later this year.

A UCT spokesman said yesterday that the university was hoping that he would be able to attend the ceremony in person, but no date had yet been arranged.

Four other honorary degrees would be awarded this year: To child psychiatrist Dr Vera Bührmann, academic jurist Professor Tony Honoré, journalist Mr René de Villiers and CSIR president Dr Chris Garbers.

• Mr Mandela was described by UCT as "a living legend in the struggle against apartheid". He was banned for the first time in 1952. Nine years later, after the ANC was banned, he began organising a new military wing.

He was caught and arrested on August 5, 1962, and found guilty of incitement to strike and leaving the country illegally. He received a five-year sentence for those convictions.

He was also tried in 1963 for his rôle in the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command and sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964.

• Dr Bührmann established the first child psychiatric unit at the Red Cross

Children's Hospital in 1964 and also a school for autistic children, named after her. She is an authority on Xhosa healing practices and on Jungian analysis.

• Professor Honoré is a former Capetonian who has been at Oxford since shortly after World War II. He is an expert on Roman and Roman Dutch Law, on the South African Law of Trusts, on causation and the law, on property law in general, on family law and on obligations in law.

• Dr Garbers was on the staff of Stellenbosch University for 20 years from 1958. He was Professor of Organic Chemistry there for 12 years. Since becoming CSIR president he has established the Foundation for Research and Development which determines the level of grants given to academics according to their productivity and research excellence.

• Mr De Villiers intended to go into law but was distracted into journalism. He became editor of the Friend, the Daily News and the Star in turn. He also played a rôle in founding the World newspaper.

In 1974 he was elected MP for Parktown, a post he held for until he retired in 1977. He became president of the Institute of Race Relations in 1980.

Hands across the ak

PRICK LAURENCE

Two men hold the key to a new era of peace in South Africa

SOUTH Africa is in political limbo, awaiting the emergence from prison after more than 27 years of the legendary African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

His release — now expected within weeks by his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela — will remain the central obstacle to negotiations between credible black leaders and President de Klerk's administration.

With exception, black leaders have set the return to freedom of Mr Mandela as a precondition for negotiations.

Talks about talks, which often ended negotiations have already begun; they started with the meeting between Mr Mandela and de Klerk last month. But as Mr Mandela emerges from his prison bungalow at Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl, negotiations in a fuller sense do not start.

What he does, South Africa will mark on a momentous, breathing political odyssey, comparable to the last decade of the century which culminated in the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.

When it ends disastrously in full-scale war or takes South Africa to a new era of peace depends largely on two men: Nelson Mandela and Frederic Willem de Klerk.

To grasp the awesome responsibility which lies on their shoulders it is instructive to look at the two men, the prisoner who has steadily emerged as a dominant force and the jailer who must be free until he liberates his captive.

The upright and slim, Mr Mandela, aged 71, has impressed all those who have met him; admirers have left his bungalow with their esteem deepened; adversaries in the upper echelons of the National Party have come to respect him.

Opinion must be made immediately about Mr Mandela: he is a real member of the ANC.

They seem a superfluous observation about the number one accused in the Rivonia trial of 1964; it is necessary to put it on record because of a belief in government circles that Mr Muregi is more reasonable, and more committed to peaceful resolution of South Africa's conflict than his comrades in the ANC.

Mr Mandela's *modus operandi* is to consult as closely as possible with the exiled leadership of the ANC; he communicates either indirectly through pro-ANC visitors to his bungalow where he himself is in contact with the ANC leaders in Lusaka or directly by telephone.

The Harare declaration, which delineates the ANC's conditions for negotiations, is based in large measure on a document drawn up by Mr Mandela, according to a well-placed source. Significantly, the document envisages a "suspension of hostilities on both sides", not a unilateral

laying down of arms by the ANC's fighters.

Thus ambitions which President de Klerk and/or his lieutenants may have of driving a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC's national executive have scant chance of being realised.

One of Mr Mandela's interlocutors tells the Saturday Star that the jailed ANC leader remains staunchly committed to the ANC's ally of many decades, the South African Communist Party (SACP).

He acknowledges that the SACP has stood shoulder to shoulder with the ANC for many decades in the struggle to end apartheid. He will not reject the SACP as the alliance nears fulfilment of its long quest to achieve "national liberation" and the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

Whether, having consigned apartheid to history, South Africa should move on to the next phase and establish a socialist state is a question Mr Mandela is prepared to leave for the future, his interlocutors report.

It is, however, worth recording that in his famous address from the dock in the Rivonia trial Mr Mandela denied that he was a communist. In his trial speech he admits that he is at-

ttracted to the Marxist idea of a classless society but defines himself as an "African patriot" and an admirer of multi-party parliamentary democracy.

Four key sentences in that exposition of Mr Mandela's political beliefs bear repeating now that his release is imminent:

"The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African nationalism... The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the Freedom Charter. It is by no means a blue print for a socialist state. It calls for redistribution, but not nationalisation, of land..."

His commitment to African nationalism leads to another critical aspect of Mr Mandela's political outlook: he is not a bigoted sectarian unwilling to work with people who are not members of the ANC.

His aim is to forge as broad an alliance as possible with progressive forces. They include men who, while operating within the officially-sanctioned bantustans and township councils, realise that apartheid is doomed

and who are thus ready to fall in behind the ANC in a final push for a non-racial democracy.

His idea is to draw these men on to the ANC's side and thereby to deny them as ancillaries to Mr de Klerk; he wants to broaden the ANC's base while narrowing Mr de Klerk's.

It is, one can infer, one of the considerations which led him to write a conciliatory letter to the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu, expressing concern at the devastating fighting in Natal between Inkatha and pro-ANC forces.

"The most challenging task facing the leadership of today is that of national unity," Mr Mandela says in his letter, which opens, significantly, by addressing Chief Buthelezi by his praise name "Shenge".

But the Saturday Star can disclose an even more startling development: Mr Mandela is known to have approached Mr Lennox Sebe, President for Life of Ciskei, in a bid to detach him from his sinecure and persuade him to join the ANC-led alliance.

It is important to reiterate that Mr Mandela is not making these moves in isolation. They are part of the ANC's broader strategy of enlisting as many

forces as possible under its banner.

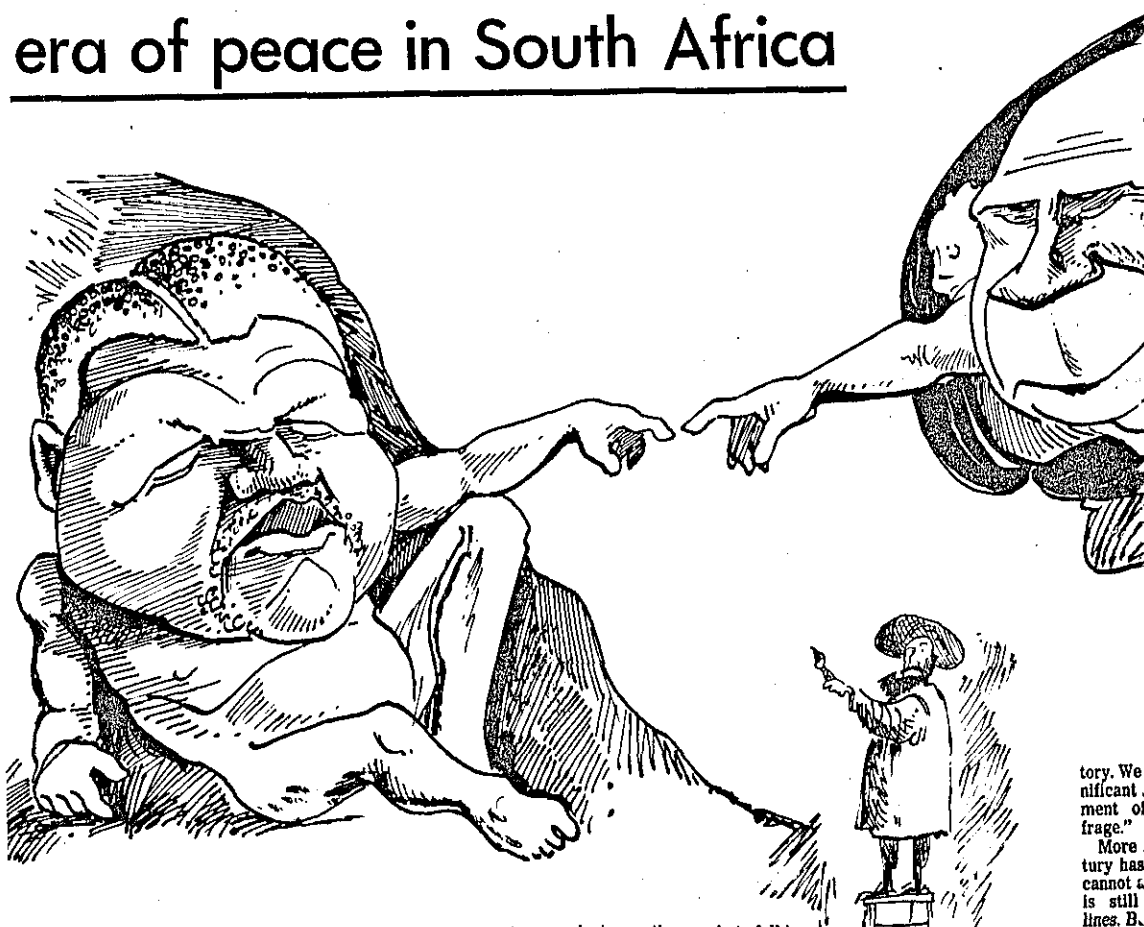
The strategy is manifested most clearly by the formation of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), which seeks to recruit and, if necessary, re-educate political chiefs who in the past might have been dismissed as incorrigible reactionaries.

The reception of "bantustan leaders" Mr Enos Mabuza, of kaNgwane, and Major-General Bantu Holomisa, of Transkei, by the expatriate ANC leadership in Lusaka is part of the same pattern.

There is one further point to make about Mr Mandela: he remains, his interlocutors say, a reasonable man willing to address "white fears".

In a fascinating article in *Indicator*, SA Professor Fatima Meer, a close friend of the Mandela family, recalls that at his trial Mr Mandela offered to concede 60 seats in parliament to whites as an interim measure.

She quotes him as saying: "In my view that would be a vic-



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She quotes him as saying: "In my view that would be a vic-

tory. We would have taken a significant step towards the attainment of universal adult suffrage."

More than a quarter of a century has passed since then. One cannot assume that Mr Mandela is still thinking along those lines. But those who have talked to him recently confirm Mrs Helen Suzman's assessment of him first as an essentially reasonable man.

Mr Mandela may be the last "reasonable" black leader of substance willing to talk to Mr de Klerk. For that reason alone Mr de Klerk carries an enormous burden.

His task is compounded by the exigency of time; he does not have a lot of it to ponder each move.

Mr Mandela is already in his 70s. Powerful men in the outside world are setting time limits for Mr de Klerk to prove his sincerity, warning of escalating sanctions if he falters or filibusters.

The demographic explosion continues in the under-serviced and under-privileged black community; the number of semi-educated young men and women who are unable to find work commensurate with their ambitions grows; they roam the streets restlessly, anger churning in and corroding their minds.

Demagogues, surveying the scene, rub their hands in anticipation, waiting for negotiations to break down.

President de Klerk, however, has surprised many observers. On October 15, hardly more than

a month after taking office, he released eight prominent political prisoners. On October 29 his policemen turned a blind eye to a mass rally under the banners of the still outlawed ANC and SACP. On December 13 he met to Mr Mandela to discuss impediments to dialogue.

One major obstruction is the continued ban on the ANC and the PAC. Whether Mr de Klerk can remove it remains to be seen.

He has one important trait on his side: as a member of the small Gereformeerde Kerk and a graduate of the University of Potchefstroom, Mr de Klerk was reared in the tradition manifested by the surprisingly challenging publication, *Woord en Daad*.

Rooted in the scriptures, *Woord en Daad* was a vanguard force in rejecting apartheid on biblical grounds in the Afrikaans community; it is the guardian of a Calvinist intellectual tradition encapsulated in the Afrikaans word, *konsekwent*.

It translates in English as "consistent"; in Afrikaans it has deeper, almost Hegelian overtones.

If Mr de Klerk, having taken, for him, major steps down the road away from apartheid to a non-racial society, is *konsekwent* in the months ahead, the faint glow on the horizon may not be a false dawn but the glorious start of a new era.

end of the year could be destroyed.

jobs," Mrs Thatcher told MPs at question time.

Doctorate for Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, will be awarded a law doctorate, one of five honorary degrees conferred by the University of Cape Town.

Former editor of The Star and MP, Mr Rene de Villiers, will also receive an honorary Doctor of Laws.

Pioneer in the field of child psychiatry in SA, Dr Vera Buhrmann, will become a Doc-

tor of Medicine, and President of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Dr Chris Gerbers, becomes a Doctor of Science. (11A)

World renowned academic jurist, Professor Tony Honorore, will receive a law doctorate. Stew 13/11/90.

The degrees are to be conferred on dates decided in consultation with the honorary graduands. — Sapa.

ANC leaders was a

Offer for talks with 'moderate' Sisulu

Britain opens doors to ANC

Star 13/1/90

11A

pace with developments concerning the organisation within South Africa.

It also took into account the distinction between militant "rhetoric" from members aimed at maintaining support for the organisation and its actions on the ground.

In sifting out the rhetoric from the action, the Foreign Office was looking at "key" players within the total ANC spectrum, such as Mr Sisulu.

Observers have pointed in recent weeks to the virtual suspension by the ANC of guerrilla activities, such as bomb blasts, inside South Africa, and its willingness, on certain conditions, to negotiate with the South African Government on a new constitutional future.

Britain's ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robert Ren-

wick, returned recently to brief Mrs Thatcher on recent developments in the country, including the expected release within weeks of Mr Nelson Mandela.

In an interview published in *The Daily Telegraph* here, Mrs Thatcher said yesterday that she expected Mr Mandela's early release, saying "the only question is precisely when and how". She indicated the release could pave the way for her to visit South Africa later this year.

Mr Mandela's release has been her prime precondition for a visit to South Africa — an event seen as vital to President de Klerk's campaign for South Africa's re-admission to the international community after years of isolation.

Mrs Thatcher was also full of praise in the interview for the way President de Klerk was handling the dismantling of what she described as the "shocking invention" of apartheid. — Sapa.

LONDON — In a significant shift in its policy of having no ministerial contact with the ANC, the British government has opened its doors to consultations with moderate leaders within the organisation on a South African solution. In what amounts to a clear invitation, the Foreign Office indicated yesterday that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd

- It's looking good for SA's return to international sport — Page 2.
- Soviet official says SA is moving towards being accepted back into the international community. — Page 5.
- Mandela and FW are reaching out across the abyss - Page 9.

would welcome talks with former ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, who has established a relatively moderate profile under the ANC umbrella since his release last year. The official standpoint of no ministerial

contact with the exiled organisation, which it has labelled "terrorist", still stood — although it was continuously under review.

An open door to Mr Sisulu did not mean the same applied to any member of the ANC, a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday.

Responding cautiously to reports that Mr Sisulu was likely to meet Mr Hurd later this month, the spokesman said it was understood the ANC stalwart was due to visit Europe soon, although it was not known exactly when he would do so.

"As we pressed for Mr Sisulu's release from prison, it would be unusual if he visited London and did not call at the Foreign Office. A meeting with Mr Hurd cannot be ruled out."

Moderate

If Mr Hurd was not available, Mr Sisulu would be seen by one of his deputies, Mr William Waldegrave, Minister of State Responsible for Southern Africa.

Calling the organisation "terrorist", Premier Margaret Thatcher has ruled out any ministerial contact with the ANC until it drops its armed struggle.

Former Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe met ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo — also a known moderate within the organisation — but the government emphasised at the time it was in his capacity as a Minister of the European Council and not as a British Minister.

The Foreign Office spokesman described the apparent shift in policy on the ANC as more of a "development", to keep

● TO PAGE 2.



Dr David Owen, leader of the British Social Democratic Party and former foreign secretary, met former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday. ● Picture by John Hogg.

Owen: no increase in sanctions yet

Visiting British parliamentarian, Dr David Owen, believes the world will not increase sanctions against South Africa in the present climate of political reform.

But he still believes sanctions are one of the legitimate pressures which the world can use to force the South African government to the negotiating table.

"A sensible negotiation strategy is to hold onto sanctions until the crucial parts of negotiation are closer," Dr Owen said when addressing the media at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

Speaking shortly before his departure for London, Dr Owen said he believed ANC leader Mr Nelson

Mandela will be free in time for Namibia's independence celebrations.

Dr Owen, leader of the British Social Democratic Party and former foreign secretary, said he had met State President Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on Monday.

"Mr de Klerk did not specify a date for Mr Mandela's release, but I do believe he will be free before Namibia's independence. I also have no doubt the

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

Owen visit

FROM PAGE 1

ANC will eventually be unbanned — the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders was a testing of the waters, and the granting of passports to certain ANC leaders is virtual recognition of the banned organisation."

Asked what impact Mr Mandela's release could have on South African politics, Dr Owen said Mr Mandela was a politician who belonged to the nation in addition to being leader of the ANC.

"His support goes wider than the ANC and the black population and I do not believe they (the ANC) will hold him to themselves," he said.

After meeting the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday, where talks centered on negotiations and the crisis in black education, Dr Owen said Mr Sisulu had handled himself "with consummate skill", especially considering the pressures on him from both his followers and the State.

Speaking about his meeting with State President de Klerk, Dr Owen said he believes Mr de Klerk's reform intentions are honourable, but "the extent to which he will go is unknown".

"Is Mr de Klerk serious about reform? I have a suspicion he doesn't know himself. Negotiations often develop their own momentum, however, and Mr de Klerk told me he was a man in a hurry. But, he also talked like a man who wants to jump his fences one by one."

"I do believe Mr de Klerk is genuinely committed to an open agenda in future reform negotiations and there is great potential for a far-reaching settlement."

Dr Owen said he did not believe the relaxation of the Separate Amenities Act was in itself indicative of a genuine commitment to reform which would, he pointed out, be best demonstrated by an open voting roll.

"An end to the Group Areas Act would indicate a genuine commitment," he said.

Gear up for talks, US Govt urges SA blacks

Nov 12/11 90
LUSAKA — The United States yesterday urged anti-apartheid movements to prepare for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen hinted in a satellite interview with African journalists that Pretoria was ready for negotiations.

"The message that I have for the blacks in South Africa is that you must continue the struggle. But I think the emphasis right now should be on negotiations.

"I believe Nelson Mandela is likely to be released in the next few weeks.

"This should set the stage for real negotiations. I urge the Mass Democratic Movement to take advantage of it by developing its negotiation strategy," Mr Cohen said.

— Reuter.

Amsterdam conference to build national SA women's group

WOMEN from a broad range of local anti-apartheid women's organisations began meeting in Amsterdam yesterday for a 10-day conference which is expected to lay the foundations for a national women's organisation in South Africa.

The Malibongwe Conference is

being seen as the most crucial women's meeting in the history of South African women's organisations, said a conference organiser.

An estimated 100 delegate representatives from the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw), the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), Black Sash, United Womens

Congress, Women for Peace, Cosatu and other groups will attend the conference.

The conference takes place from January 12 to January 23 and will be hosted by the Netherlands Anti-

^{Stw}
14/11/90 **PAT DEVEREAUX**

(11A)

Apartheid Movement.

A spokesman for the National Interim Committee, Ms Feroza Adam, said: "Our aim is to build national women's unity and we will form a national women's organisation soon after our meeting."

The only national women's organisation, the Federation of South

African Women, which organised the march to the Union Buildings in 1956, was smashed in the early 1960s through the banning or harassment of key leaders.

The conference also aims to build international solidarity with other women's groups and help to further isolate apartheid.

Sisulu Seven^{11A} off on trip to Europe

By DRIES van HEERDEN

ANC kingpin Mr Walter Sisulu and his six recently released colleagues will embark on a whistle-stop tour of European capitals soon after their hero's welcome in Lusaka tomorrow.

The trip will take them to Stockholm and London, where they are expected to meet British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. The British government this week announced a major policy shift by stating that it is abandoning its policy of having no ministerial contact with the ANC.

The Foreign Office said Mr Hurd is prepared to meet "moderate leaders" within the organisation — including Mr Sisulu.

Meetings with other European leaders will also be included on the itinerary. The seven will fly into Lusaka tomorrow to a rousing reception.

Hundreds of exiled ANC members, senior Zambian politicians and members of the diplomatic corps will be waiting at the airport to welcome them.

On Wednesday, Mr Sisulu will address a meeting of ANC members, which will be followed by a closed-doors session to discuss strategies for the future.

It is there that the first major debate among rank-and-file ANC members on possible negotiations with the South African Government is expected to take place.

Vacuum

The debate has been simmering below the surface ever since President F W de Klerk launched his reform movement.

It gained momentum after Foreign Minister Pik Botha's recent statement that the Government is ready to address the "remaining obstacles" to negotiations.

This is seen in ANC circles as the first real indication that the Government may be prepared to meet the ANC's preconditions for talks — the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the organisation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Another issue expected to be raised is the leadership vacuum since the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, suffered a stroke.

He is recuperating in a clinic in Stockholm and is not expected to return to the helm of the organisation he has led for the past 25 years.

Officially, the secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, has taken over Mr Tambo's duties in his absence, and the issue will only be resolved in July this year when the quadrennial meeting of the Consultative Conference takes place to elect a leader and National Executive Committee.

There is a strong feeling among some members that Mr Mandela — expected to be released within the next six weeks — should be elected as a "bridging figure".

Mr Sisulu enjoys tremendous respect among members, both inside and outside the country, but his age — 77 — may preclude him from filling an active leadership role.

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Dinner in style with Nelson

A FASCINATING insight into Nelson Mandela's lifestyle in his prison bungalow at Paarl has been given by a lifelong friend.

Johannesburg businessman Richard Maponya described how the ANC leader hosted a splendid dinner for him — waited on by his white prison warder.

Mr Maponya, 63, said he had his first meeting with his friend in almost 30 years in the dining room of Mr Mandela's whitewashed bungalow, where the meal was served by the prisoner's white guard of the past 22 years, a Warrant Officer Gregory.

"It was a five-star meal," said Mr Maponya.

"There was tender sirloin beef and lamb chops served with a wide variety of beautifully cooked fresh vegetables. We washed it down

By FRED BRIDGLAND

with two very fine South African wines, one white and one red, and finished up with coffee."

Mr Mandela bubbled with questions, he said. "He was every excited and happy to know that a number of us are doing very well.

"He really did want to know what is going on in the black economic world, and he was really surprised to know that I have a dealership for BMW cars."

Impressed

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He called W/O Gregory to the table and said: "If you look after me well, I may be

able to give you a BMW to drive when I get out."

The warrant officer replied: "I don't earn enough money, sir, to own a BMW."

Mr Mandela shook with merriment again and quipped: "Don't worry, we'll give you soft terms."

Mr Mandela had also spoken well of President F W de Klerk, whose reforms the

ANC executive in Lusaka has described as cosmetic.

"He said he was impressed by Mr De Klerk," said Mr Maponya. "He perceives him as a man of few but precise words who acts on them. He liked his style."

Mr Maponya said Mr Mandela had also stressed that

□ To Page 2

Nose op for Pik

Sunday Times Reporter

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha underwent an operation to clear his sinus cavities in a private hospital in Pretoria yesterday.

A spokesman for his office said doctors found that a blockage had developed in a growth, which could have worked through to the brain. The surgeons bored a hole above his eye to insert a tube to drain the fluid.

The spokesman said Mr Botha was feeling well after the operation and would be discharged within the next two days, before moving to Cape Town for the annual parliamentary session.

Dinner with Mandela

□ From Page 1

whites must stay permanently in South Africa, that the peaceful path was now the best way forward to black emancipation, and that it was vital to reverse the previous ANC philosophy of "liberation before education" which had contributed towards a drastic decline in black academic achievements in the 80s.

"He feels passionately that black people must be given much better educational opportunities and that they must take them up if post-apartheid South Africa is to be a success."

He said Mr Mandela no longer favours state control of industry and business as an instrument of black liberation, although for many years he endorsed the Freedom Charter of the ANC which calls for the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industries".

Mr Maponya said: "The message Mr Mandela wanted me to take away from Victor Verster Prison was his belief that the economy is the backbone of any nation.

"He emphasised that it is necessary for our young black people to have the best possible educational qualifi-

cations so that they will be able to take the many challenges which will arise as they begin entering commerce and government.

"He did not believe in nationalisation, saying it was clear that such a policy ran counter to the need to keep the South African economy growing to provide jobs and to generate resources for training our young people.

"He is very concerned about whether blacks are ready to take the opportunities that will open up.

"He said it was important because he did not want to see the same mistakes made in South Africa as were made in post-independence African states when blacks gained a share in power. It's unbelievable how well informed he is.

"He's doing a lot of reading and a lot of information has filtered through to him. He's very aware of the dramatic changes going on in the world and of the failure of communism in Eastern Europe."

Sunday Telegraph

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Sisulu Seven off on trip to Europe

By DRIES van HEERDEN

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S. Times 14/11/90

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Walter Sisulu packs his bags before departing for a multi-nation tour which begins in Zambia. Pic: NIKE MZILENI

Veterans set to greet ANC in exile

ANC veteran Walter Sisulu and his delegation will be given a hero's welcome by the ANC leadership in Lusaka tomorrow after being separated from their comrades for 26 years.

The ANC will inform Sisulu and his seven-man delegation about the exiled movement's activities during a series of meetings in the Zambian capital during their one-week stay.

Sisulu will be accompanied by Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni.

A senior ANC spokesman said in Lusaka it was important for the delegation to know what the ANC had been doing outside South Africa in the fight against apartheid.

They will meet the ANC National Executive Committee and Zambian government leaders.

"This will be a historic reunion," the spokesman noted, adding that a major address by Sisulu and his

delegation to the ANC cadres was being planned.

Also on the three-week multi-nation tour is a visit to Tanzania, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) headquarters in Addis Ababa, a visit to ANC leader Oliver Tambo in a Swedish clinic, and possibly a visit to London.

The visit to Tanzania is of particular interest because at Mazimbu and Dakawa are two pioneering ANC projects which provide sanctuary, education and training for South Africans in exile.

In a significant development in its policy of no ministerial contact with the "terrorist" ANC, the British government has opened its doors to consultations with moderate, but not militant, leaders within the organisation on a South African solution.

The Foreign Office indicated on Friday that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd would welcome talks with Sisulu, who has established a relatively moderate profile under the ANC umbrella since his release.

Dinner in style with Nelson

S/Times 14/11/90

By FRED BRIDGLAND

A FASCINATING insight into Nelson Mandela's lifestyle in his prison bungalow at Paarl has been given by a lifelong friend.

Johannesburg businessman Richard Maponya described how the ANC leader hosted a splendid dinner for him — waited on by his white prison warder.

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"It was a five-star meal," said Mr Maponya.

"There was tender sirloin beef and lamb chops served with a wide variety of beautifully cooked fresh vegetables. We washed it down

with two very fine South African wines, one white and one red, and finished up with coffee."

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INTERVIEW

Walter Sisulu returns to the airwaves

WALTER Sisulu who, before his conviction in the Rivonia Trial had run *Freedom Radio* from an "underground" station, this week went on radio again in South Africa.

But this time it was legal and people of all races on the Witwatersrand had an opportunity of speaking to him.

Sisulu was the guest on the John Berks mid-morning talk show on Radio 702, and as Berks told the first caller, Rita: "You are making history. It is the first time any South African radio listener has spoken to a member of the ANC over the air."

RITA: In 1963 you interrupted an SABC broadcast (with *Radio Freedom*). What did you say and what happened thereafter?

SISULU: I made a call to the people of South Africa to join the struggle. I was calling from "underground" and describing the situation as I saw it and calling on my people and the people of South Africa to support it. I was arrested the following day and faced the Rivonia trial.

Berks interviewed Sisulu extensively before questions poured in to a timed switchboard.

Berks asked Sisulu about the raid on Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, in 1963 when he and others were arrested and a "key document" was seized named "Operation Comeback".

SISULU: "Operation Mayibuye".

BERKS: Which was described in evidence as a detailed plan for the waging of guerrilla warfare and thereafter a full-scale rebellion against the government of the country.

The main charge in the famous Rivonia Trial was one of conspiracy, which is interesting. It was conspiracy and not treason. Had it been treason there is every chance you may not have been sitting with me today. Am I right in saying that?

SISULU: That is what the charge said. Had we been charged with trea-

son the situation would have been different.

BERKS: What was the main objective of "Operation Comeback"?

SISULU: It was to prepare for guerrilla warfare in due course. It was not an immediate issue. It was merely preparations. At that stage we were concerned with acts of sabotage.

BERKS: So it would have been a plan for guerrilla warfare and thereafter a full-scale rebellion against the South African government?

SISULU: Guerrilla warfare develops as time goes by into regular warfare.

BERKS: You were in prison for 26 years. You were found guilty on a charge of conspiracy and jailed for 26 years.

SISULU: That's right. But it was for sabotage.

BERKS: How many of the 26 years did you spend on Robben Island?

SISULU: I was there for 17 years and the rest was spent in Pollsmoor.

BERKS: What is Robben Island like?

SISULU: It is a beautiful place from the point of nature, except that it is a prison and nothing is beautiful about a prison. Conditions were horrible, especially in the beginning when we had to break stones and dig the lime quarry. I cannot recall for how many years we had to dig the quarry but I think it went on until the middle of the 1970s.

BERKS: So for a period of about 17 years what you were doing was hard labour?

SISULU: Hard labour it was indeed.

BERKS: What happened after that?

SISULU: Well I have no idea precisely of what the reason was for moving four of us at that stage - and later five - to Pollsmoor from Robben Island. We were given 30 minutes to prepare and were never told precisely where we were going or why.

The four who were transferred were Nelson Mandela, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and myself. Later

In 1963 Walter Sisulu interrupted an SABC broadcast with a radio message calling South Africans to join the struggle. This week he spoke legally on Radio 702 with John Berks. DESMOND BLOW reports.

we were joined by Ahmed Kathrada. **BERKS:** During those years in prison were you allowed any special privileges that other prisoners were not allowed? Were you allowed, for example, access to information, the right to listen to radio, to read newspapers? Were you allowed to be in touch with what was happening in the outside world?

SISULU: On the contrary we were treated worse than ordinary prisoners as far as those privileges were concerned. We were refused newspapers, radio and television until much later - I think in the 1980s.

BERKS: It has been said Nelson Mandela is a very informed man.

SISULU: Well, I agree with that. He is a very hard-working man. He reads extensively and will use anything that is available. We were allowed to study and sometimes we were able to get books from others who were studying. We were able to make use of those books even if it wasn't part of our studies. Incidentally, Mandela was later given Afrikaans books by Minister of Police Jimmy Kruger. I think they were biographies dealing with South African Prime Ministers.

BERKS: Was there ever a time in prison that you nearly gave up, when you realised there was no way you could carry on?

SISULU: No.

BERKS: What gave you the spirit to carry on?

SISULU: When I entered the struggle I knew that at some stage I would have to face long-term imprisonment

or even death. With that determination one has the spirit of resistance in oneself and we never allowed our spirits to be low. We even used the hard labour as a driving force. The brutality of the prison could not break our spirit, even though this was their aim in the beginning.

BERKS: In a newspaper you were quoted as saying that when you went to prison you lived in a matchbox house and when you returned after 26 years you still found matchboxes - that there had been no change.

Will you truthfully tell me that during all those years, seeing what you see now has not given you hope?

SISULU: No, I did not say there was no change. Change there was, but it was a change in the people themselves. There was a high standard of political consciousness among the working class.

As to material conditions there were people who had beautiful houses but the rest of the population, as in Soweto - I will take you there tomorrow - you'll see the matchbox houses. They still live in the same conditions.

BERKS: You were quoted as saying there should be no let-up on economic sanctions. Why do you believe economic sanctions could be the answer to the problem?

SISULU: Because it is the most powerful international weapon short of war. We think it is the only way we can compel the government to heed our demands coupled, of course, with other forms of struggle.

BERKS: The objectives of the ANC have always been totally communistic.

SISULU: You are completely wrong. They have never been. May I remind you that when the ANC was charged with treason - in the 1950s in a trial that lasted five years - three judges were appointed and they finally came to the conclusion there was no truth whatsoever in allegations that the

ANC was communistic or communist-led. Those judges were respectable men of standing.

BERKS: So why is it that in South Africa the ANC is linked with the SA Communist Party?

SISULU: Complete ignorance perhaps leads people to that conclusion simply because the ANC works with the South African Communist Party. It does this because the Communist Party from the beginning identified itself with the demands of the majority of the oppressed people of this country.

BERKS: May I ask you, as far as the ANC is concerned, if it would not be of greater value to have Mandela in prison than free? The reason I say this to you is, realising his age and realising while he is still in prison the media has something to focus on, fingers have the right to be pointed at the South African government.

Should he be released surely this will change the situation? What is your view on that?

SISULU: Not at all. The situation in South Africa is such that it does not depend on Mandela being in jail.

As long as the apartheid system has not been changed the world will still have something to point at South Africa.

The people of South Africa are demanding the release of Mandela immediately and the international community does the same - so it is of no advantage to us, to Mandela, nor to anybody except the government that he should be in prison.

BERKS: What about the young members of the ANC realising that Mandela is now an old man. What about the up-and-coming members of your party?

SISULU: They don't rule him out as an old man. They look on him as a dynamic leader capable of leading them in the present situation to a new South Africa.



Walter Sisulu kept radio listeners spellbound on 702 this week.

Two miss conference

Clips 14/11/90

BY LULAMA LUTI

TWO prominent South Africans missed a women's conference which started this week in Amsterdam, Holland.

Transvaal UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu was unwell and well-known church activist Sister Bernard Ncube got her passport three days after the conference had started.

Ncube was scheduled to leave last Sunday and was to deliver the opening address at the conference which is organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Ncube told *City Press* this week she was disappointed but was confident the delegation of more than 100 women was capable of representing the interest of those not attending.

She said the conference would focus on the consolidation of women's involvement in the struggle for "the establishment of a new order".

Delegates attending the gathering include women from the Mass Democratic Movement, Cosatu, students, youth and church organisations.

Women from other countries, including exiles within the ANC, were also said to be attending.

Ncube said her paper was read for her.

She challenged all South Africans in and outside the country to enter the decade of the 1990s with a commitment to liberate their country and to establish a new order.

For the Dutch gathering to be significant it would have to come up with a concrete programme of action to allow the revival and consolidation of unity among women of different political persuasions.

She said this was in a bid to consolidate women's involvement in the struggle for a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society.

Ncube said her paper

challenged participants to unite and strengthen woman power.

"We must identify our divisions, differences and our common enemy. We should also formulate strategies that will effect our aims and intentions - strategies that would bring us closer to our vision," she quoted from the speech.



Sister Bernard Ncube.

Ambitious brainy



This ambitious beauty not only wants with her good looks, but later in her career she has spare time she models or music.

Education vital for liberation

Oppres 14/11/90

BY DESMOND BLOW

11A

The ANC had never advocated "liberation before education", Walter Sisulu told John Berks on Radio 702 this week.

On the contrary the ANC believed education was vital for the liberation of the people of South Africa, he said.

The slogan "Education brings Liberation" was necessary to try and make sure a clear perspective was given to the younger people.

Sisulu said the slogan "Liberation before Education" had been coined during the "People's War" by over-enthusiastic young activists.

"It was not a slogan given the stamp of approval as a policy statement by the national executive of the ANC.

"It was a statement based on what young activists were feeling at the time."

A caller named Theresa asked Sisulu whether he thought the government of State President FW de Klerk was only making minor changes like opening beaches to all races, instead of tackling top priorities like education.

Said Theresa: "What worries me is education for blacks. We don't need open beaches at the moment, we need education. Less than 40 percent of black students passed and only a few got exemptions.

"What do you think about that Mr Sisulu? Don't you think you should pressure the government into making real change for us because we need education, we need equality.

Sisulu answered: "I fully agree with you. Education is vital for the liberation of our people."

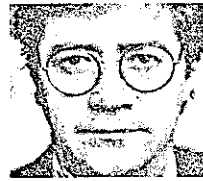
He said the South African government made one of its biggest blunders when it threw into jail members of the National Education Crisis Committee - which was set up to try to solve the education crisis.

"The DET says one of the major reasons for the poor results in 1989 was because of school boycotts, but the boycott was more intense the previous year when the pass rate was 12 percent higher.

"There is something wrong with the education system, principally because it is discriminatory. Unless that is solved and the department works with the people to find a solution, we are not going to get anywhere."

See Page 10

THE



by Lester
Venter
Political
Correspondent



MANDIELA

FACTOR

14/1/90
S. Times



THE world's attention is grasped by blossoming of liberty and democracy in what were until very recently captive nations. In that atmosphere the timing of the release of the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, has become one of the main international speculative issues.

This time, however, South Africans will not be reading about awesome but far-off events. Mr Mandela's release will signal the start of a process of events that will, in all likelihood, eventually change the way they live.

Certain

Naturally, when State President F W de Klerk first contemplated Mr Mandela's release even before he formally took office he, like everyone else, could not foresee the happenings that have swept Eastern Europe and created a new mood in the world.

Those happenings have a significance greater than can be fully comprehended at present — and the setting free of the man, who for so long has symbolised political bondage, may very well become the convenient metaphor for the bewildering events of recent months.

Without all this, the consequences of Mr Mandela's release would have been difficult enough to predict. Now they are more so.

Nevertheless, as South Africans prepare themselves for this seminal event, some things are certain:

● The first is that it will happen;

● Mr Mandela will not, indeed cannot, be released "into a vacuum";

● His release will change the ANC and the way the SA Government deals with it;

● Finally, it will not be the end but the beginning of a new chapter of change.

When Mr De Klerk's government-in-waiting began contemplating power in the run-up to last year's election, he and his closest advisers knew they would have to tackle head-on the issue that had been skirted in the last years of his predecessor's rule — Mr Mandela's release.

At the time, the release was targeted for some time between late this month and the end of March. Although the timing is not yet fixed, and probably won't finally be until hours before it happens, that target still remains.

The negative reason behind the release — that Mr Mandela, turning 72 this year, could not be allowed to languish forever in jail, and die there to become a permanent symbol of martyrdom — is now more inconceivable than ever.

Recent

In making the decision to release Mandela, it was also realised by the De Klerk government that it could not for ever put off talking to the ANC.

So many South Africans of stature were already doing so that the Government's refusal was rapidly becoming not only absurd, but a splitting of hairs.

Yet the Government remains stuck with the problem that it cannot enter serious discussion about the nation's future with an organisation it has banned. That would

merely pile one absurdity upon another.

So Mr Mandela's release will have to be accompanied by the unbanning of his organisation. That is largely what is meant by "not releasing him into a vacuum".

Having said that, though, the Government cannot baldly recant and unban the ANC with a mumbled apology. Some quid pro quo will be necessary, and it is likely to be in the nature of a ceasefire or truce.

The Government has already opened the way by seeking from the ANC a "commitment to a peaceful solution".

Esteemed

Something along these lines is undoubtedly already in the pipeline. There have been many ministerial contacts with Mr Mandela, and it would be foolish to assume that Mr De Klerk's own meeting with his prisoner was no more than a gesture of pre-Christmas goodwill.

This immediately raises the question of Mr Mandela's status within the ANC. The ANC today is an organisation characterised more by its dualities than its homogeneity.

It is divided between its communists and its nationalists, its external and internal wings, its negotiators and its militants, and the two distinct generations within it.

Mr Mandela's release will have a dramatic impact on these divisions. It is likely to favour a rise of the nationalists against a decline of the communists.

Apart from a kernel of hardline communist ideologues like Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC's communists are largely a loose affiliation of old-

timers who called themselves communists in the 1950s, mainly because the communist movement of those years was synonymous with non-racialism when hardly any other was.

The organisation's former general secretary and life-long Mandela confidant, Mr Walter Sisulu, for example, is one of those. So is Mr Govan Mbeki.

Today they are esteemed for their moderation. And, besides, the point that communism has become an embarrassment even to communists need hardly be emphasised.

Mr Mandela's impact on the external-internal divide remains to be seen. But if anyone can reconcile those who have commanded the struggle from the diplomatic lounges of the world's capitals and those who have faced the daily brunt of State action, Mr Mandela can.

Mr Mandela's favouring of negotiation above military action is implicit in everything that happened up to now. Remarkably, he has proved his negotiating credentials while still a prisoner — even though it may be cynically said he has hardly had an option.

The point, nevertheless, was made once again this week by Mr Sisulu in interviews broadcast in America and South Africa. Along with the generation gap comes the leadership issue in the ANC.

Quite ominously this week, the ANC said Mr Mandela would be accorded "a position on the executive".

True enough, it did not say what the position would be — but it did reveal that Mr Mandela's assumption of the leadership was not a given fact.

This potential blood-letting in

the unforgiving ways of politics is partly defused by the fact that the present leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, is receiving care for a stroke in a Swedish clinic specialising in brain-damaged patients.

And any of the younger pretenders, like Mr Thabo Mbeki, would surely not rate themselves against Mr Mandela.

Disagree

In any event, the ANC would do well to acknowledge that, whatever it does, the world will consider Mr Mandela the leader. All these factors taken together, a split between the "negotiators" (who are pre-

pared to compromise) and the hardline communists and militarists, is not inconceivable.

It will be that willingness to give while taking, with an absence of bitterness, that the Government and South Africans in general will have to count on in Mr Mandela.

And it is a remarkable expectation from a man who has spent the prime of his life locked away for something the ANC asked for since its inception in 1912, and that his jailers now propound as a great good of their own invention: Negotiations for a common future.

The final certainty is that nothing, after all, is certain. The two sides have agreed to nothing more

than that negotiations are desirable.

Beyond that, they disagree on how the negotiations should take place. The ANC, for example, wants an interim government installed while a constituent assembly writes a new constitution. The Government will not even entertain the thought.

They disagree, too, on what will be negotiated. The Government wants to negotiate a role for a demilitarised ANC in a group-based society with heavy ethnic and racial overtones. The ANC will not even entertain the thought.

Still, the situation is not without hope. A crack in the impasse emerged only this week when Mr Sisulu spoke of a "transition period" — and indicated it could take 10 years.

His remarks, though, as much represent a split in ANC thinking as they do a way of breaking deadlock. The months following Mr Mandela's release will show which way the balance will tip.

Nationalists may reunite

THE release of Nelson Mandela could pave the way for reunification of South Africa's two outlawed black nationalist groups, a PAC leader said this week.

Mandela, 71, leader of the ANC, has been in prison since 1962 and is serving a life sentence on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

His wife Winnie said on Monday she believed he would be released within weeks.

A senior member of the

rival PAC told Reuters this week Mandela was a person committed to unity and his release could add momentum to the ideal of unity between the two anti-apartheid groups.

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 PAC said last year ideological differences were a factor preventing unity.

Other differences between the two organisations include the PAC's anti-communism - influential members of the South African Communist Party are members of the ANC - and the PAC's rejection of talks with the white-dominated government.

The ANC says it is prepared to discuss South Africa's future with Pretoria but only if the government first ends the state of emergency, releases all political prisoners and detainees and lifts a ban on anti-apartheid groups. - Sapa-Reuter

UCT degree to Mandela

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela will be awarded an honorary law doctorate by the University of Cape Town.

Child psychiatry pioneer in SA Dr Vera Buhrmann will be awarded a doctorate of medicine, while academic jurist Professor Tony Honorore will receive a doctorate of law. - Sapa.

PELE TO MEET MANDELA

By WIM VAN VOLSEM
Rio de Janeiro

119

LEGENDARY Pele, the world's all-time soccer great, is coming to South Africa ... once Nelson Mandela's release date has been confirmed.

SI Times 14/1190

He said in Rio de Janeiro that he hopes to be at Victor Verster Prison to greet Mr

Mandela as the ANC leader walks free.

Pele, who until now had constantly refused to visit South Africa because of apartheid, said he was now "eager and waiting".

"I have a great admiration for that man and the struggle of the African people in that country," he said.

He is in touch with Archbishop Desmond Tutu about Mr Mandela's release date.

Sisulu disturbed by Natal fighting

C/Pren
14/1/90

11A

By SANDILE MEMELA

Black leaders to blame for not finding solution

ANC leader Walter Sisulu has expressed deep concern at the continuing fighting in Natal and has blamed the lack of a solution on black leadership inside and outside South Africa.

Sisulu told *City Press* the raging battle between elements of the UDF and Inkatha made it difficult to hold a rally in the region.

It is feared that holding a gathering similar to the huge ANC "welcome home" gathering at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, may fuel the fierce fighting.

"The ongoing conflict among our people in the region is a source of grave concern to me personally and it is a shattering reality that no solution has been found by black leadership.

"I consider myself as responsible as anyone for failing to make a significant contribution to find-

ing solutions to the raging violence among our people in the area," said Sisulu.

The matter has affected Sisulu so much that his voice chokes with emotion when the issue is raised.

Consequently he has committed himself to making it a major item on the agenda for his visit to Lusaka in the next few weeks and a challenge for the new year.

"I aim to raise the issue with the ANC leadership in Lusaka and call for a more vigorous campaign aimed at putting a stop to this violence," said Sisulu.

The violence has raged at a furious pace since late 1986, leaving an estimated 2 500 dead. The fighting which began in Maritzburg has spread

across Natal and is at its most intense just outside Durban.

"The fierce fighting is a horrible blot on the glorious history and noble ideals of our struggle for liberation. I am personally deeply affected that no significant contribution has been made by the leadership to solve the issue," said Sisulu.

He condemned the violence and the loss of lives.

"I find such events shocking," said the ANC stalwart.

"We have been condemning violence in the area and been calling for peace. It is really unfortunate a situation like this should develop at the break of a new decade.

"I hope people in that region will be calm. Such events in no way further the interest of the strug-

gle," he said.

The violence has tarnished the image of the black liberation movement so much that it becomes difficult for the leadership to account for it to foreign parties.

Sisulu said the issue was raised during his consultation with a huge American delegation, including visiting Congressman Howard Wolpe recently. However, no convincing declaration on the issue could be made.

He admitted not much is known of a serious concerted effort on the part of warring parties to end the conflict.

But the sad fact is that ordinary people at grassroots level continue to be cannon fodder for differing ideologies.

The horror of the kill-

ings has aroused not only concern but embarrassment to the ANC leadership inside the country.

"We find it very disturbing," said Sisulu.

In the absence of any notable success by the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha in solving the conflict, many quarters are now looking to the recently-released ANC leadership to find a solution.

"We are aware of the people's expectations and it is now up to us to do something about the whole issue. We hope to have come up with something concrete in the near future," said Sisulu.

The influence and prestige that Sisulu wields in the leadership in Lusaka could help end the trauma that the killings has brought to the trouble-torn area in Durban.

He said finding peace in Natal would be the main challenge for black leadership inside and outside South Africa.

Sowetan 15/1/90

Mandela goes out of prison

• From page 1

Stern also recounts two other incidents where Mandela escaped being recognised.

The first happened the day Mandela returned to his prison house after a meeting with P W Botha.

He quotes Mandela: "The Press were all there. They stood around as my car slid by a few yards away. (P.S.)"

"If anyone had turned around they would have seen Nelson Mandela being driven around by a white man.

"They would have got the picture that they all want through the car windows very easily indeed."

On the second occasion, says Stern, as the Press corps interviewed Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the prison gates, "there was a tall figure watching in the shadows nearby. It was Mandela himself and the photographers never noticed." (IA)

Mandela's old friend, businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who visited the jailed ANC leader recently, says Mandela is demanding three conditions to be met before he will come to the negotiating table.

Maponya told the *Sunday Telegraph* that Mandela wanted to see the ANC unbanned, the release of all political prisoners and an end to prosecutions and executions of convicted ANC guerillas.

Maponya told the paper: "The bottom line is one man, one vote, but there are a number of constitutional systems within which that can be accommodated. Everything is open to negotiation.

* One of Mandela's first tasks on release will be to unify his own people, writes Shaun Johnson in the *Sunday Correspondent*.

"Although he is the only man in South African who could attempt such a thing, success is far from guaranteed."

ANC holds Swede

Charlene Smith 15/1/90

LUSAKA — The ANC has admitted it is holding a Swedish citizen, H Human, in connection with the assassination of ANC Paris representative Dulcie September in March 1988. September was shot as she opened the door of her Paris apartment.

A senior spokesman would not reveal where they were holding Human who, it was alleged, was recruited by the SA security police a few years before the assassination. The ANC is also investigating a military intelligence link that Human has claimed.

Human allegedly claims he did not take part in the assassination, but accommodated the two killers en route to Paris.

The ANC says it knows the identities of the killers but will not reveal them yet.

Human was detained by the ANC in Harare in December last year — he apparently fled SA after the revelations of former security police captain Dirk Coetzee.

Rousing welcome for freed seven

LUSAKA — The internal ANC delegation including Walter Sisulu, will arrive in Lusaka early today to a joyous welcome from the entire external leadership of the ANC and the 1 000 ANC members resident here.

About 250 journalists have gathered here for the event.

Representatives from Britain and Canada, among other nations, have already arrived in Zambia to cover the historically significant meeting of the exiled leadership and the released Rivonia trialists and other leaders, including Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Harry Gwala, Raymond Mahlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada and Wilton Mkwayi.

In addition, the exiled children of Sisulu, Mbeki, Mlangeni and Mahlaba have travelled from as far away as Denmark to see the men they have not seen in more than 26 years.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs

11A
CHARLENE SMITH

spokesman who is often tipped as a future leader of the organisation, dismissed as foolish questions on how he felt about seeing his father after so many years.

The ANC leaders will be involved in three days of extensive discussions before leaving Lusaka for Tanzania on Thursday.

They will also go to Kenya for two days for talks with President Daniel arap Moi before consultations with the OAU in Addis Ababa. *By day 15/11/90.*

They will then proceed to Sweden to visit convalescing leader Oliver Tambo and may go to Britain for discussions with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd or senior foreign ministry officials.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London the British government is now firmly committed to meeting Sisulu, should he request such a meeting.

Return land, then negotiate - PAM

IT is not true that Africanists do not want to take their place at the negotiating table for a future South Africa, the president of the Pan Africanist Movement, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said in Cofimvababa, in the Transkei, yesterday.

Speaking at the regional launch of PAM, Makwetu said the land first had to be returned to its rightful owners then the question of negotiations would follow.

"Besides that, why are we forced to negotiate? Why is the UK, US, USSR and even China of late saying that black people should negotiate?" he asked.

Another speaker, Mr M Mbandazayo, also an executive member of PAM, said the organisation was not racist.

"We say we recognise one race - only the human race. To us there is no race such as the Afrikaner or the Indian.

"We are not going to drive whites into the sea."

Mbandazayo warned PAM members against people who claimed they were the true spokesmen for Pan Africanists.

One such person, he charged, once gave evidence for the State at the trial of PAC member Walter Tshikila, who was jailed for 20 years. *Southern 15/11/90*

However, he did not name the person. - Sapa.

Back words with action, FW urged

star 15/11/90
Back up words with actions — that was the message sent to the South African State President this weekend by the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

Speaking at the opening of the Johannesburg headquarters of the MCSA's sister Methodist denomination in South Africa, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Mogoba called on Mr F W de Klerk to give immediate amnesty and free passage to all.

This would include the release of all political prisoners and detainees, allowing refugees to return and lifting the ban on the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and other Black Consciousness movements.

These acts, said Dr Mogoba, "would be a signal that the new dispensation has come", but he warned that "a slow, almost reluctant, change can only encourage pre-historic conservatives and other extremists to force their way on to the stage of history".

He pleaded before a capacity crowd: "Mr de Klerk, in the name of God, heed the biblical call: 'Let my people go'."

Dr Mogoba said he welcomed an invitation to speak to Mr de Klerk, "but he needs to understand that when and if the speaking takes place, actions need to follow".

However, he gave Mr de Klerk credit for some "tangible results". — Sapa.

Mandela rides Paarl lanes, goes shopping, says report

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela has been allowed to cycle round the countryside near Paarl and shop in Cape Town for Christmas gifts for his family, according to the Mail on Sunday.

The newspaper's Chester Stern said this was made possible by the fact that very few people recognised the modern-day Mandela.

"For the past four years since he had a prostate operation he has made regular visits to his urologist, Dr Willem Laubscher, in Cape Town.

"Travelling in the lifts with patients and staff, walking around the corridors, Mr Mandela has never once been recognised."

MEETING WITH PW BOTHA

Stern also recounts two other incidents where Mr Mandela escaped being recognised.

The first was when he returned to his prison house after a meeting with Mr P W Botha.

He quotes Mr Mandela: "The Press were all there. They stood around as my car slid by a few yards away. If anyone had turned around they would have seen Nelson Mandela being driven around by a white man."

On the second occasion, says Stern, as the press corps interviewed Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the prison gates, "there was a tall figure watching in the shadows nearby. It was Mr Mandela himself and the photographers never noticed."

Colonel Danie Immelman, deputy director of

liaison for the Prison Services, when asked to comment on Mr Mandela cycling around Paarl and shopping in Cape Town said from Pretoria last night: "The authorities are not prepared to comment on this extraordinary exercise in imagination."

Mr Mandela's old friend, businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who visited the jailed ANC leader recently, says Mr Mandela is demanding three conditions to be met before he will come to the negotiating table.

He told the *Sunday Telegraph* Mr Mandela wanted to see the ANC unbanned, the release of all political prisoners and an end to prosecutions and executions of convicted ANC terrorists.

● One of Mr Mandela's first tasks on release will be to unify his own people, writes Shaun Johnson in the *Sunday Correspondent*.

"He will face hostility from the small but vocal 'Africanist' and Black Consciousness groups ... (and) he will have to convince the more doctrinaire activists ... that he has not sold out the struggle by dealing with the Government.

"But for the moment the problems are dwarfed by the prospect (of his release). Mr Mandela commands such fervent loyalty — love, even, because he has become a repository for black South Africans of their trampled dignity — that he must stand a chance of living up to at least some of their expectations."

Stern 15/11/90

(11A)
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ANC wings meet in Lusaka for crucial talks

By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other internal leaders of African National Congress arrive in Lusaka today for a week of reunion and crucial deliberation with the external leadership.

It will be the first meeting of the internal and external wings.

But, although tactics in dealing with the "reformist" South African Government under President de Klerk are high on the agenda, ANC spokesmen insist this will not be the time to discuss the pecking order of their own hierarchy to accommodate the former old guard.

The ANC's national consultative

conference is due in June and the leaders in exile say any leadership questions will have to be addressed then. "And in any event," a spokesman said yesterday, "making those decisions should pose no problems."

"We are not two separate governments. These (the contingent from South Africa) are people who have been members and who will be getting back into the ranks."

Despite ANC attempts to play down the personal aspects of today's reunion, there are likely to be scenes of great emotion when parents meet the sons they have not seen for more than a quarter of a century.

Mr Sisulu will be reunited with

his 42-year-old son, Max, who fled South Africa in 1963.

And Mr Govan Mbeki, who was also found guilty at the Rivonia trial, will be meeting his son, Thabo, who is effectively now third in seniority in the external ANC. The two have not seen each other for 27 years.

A contingent of more than 100 international journalists will be on hand to record the meeting between the two fathers and sons.

During the week, the group from South Africa will meet other ANC members based in Zambia, said to number more than a thousand, in encounters which will also be highly emotional.

Mr Sisulu and his party, together with members of the Mass Democratic Movement, are due to arrive at 2 pm on a Zambian Airways aircraft and be driven to meet President Kenneth Kaunda.

The party's programme for the rest of the week is still under discussion but Mr Sisulu is due to speak at the United States embassy on Wednesday.

The South African ANC members will leave Zambia at the weekend for Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa. They will then fly to Sweden to visit ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo who is undergoing treatment in a clinic there after suffering a stroke.

skr 15/11/90

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — "Mandela mania" is starting to sweep Britain in anticipation of the expected release during the next few weeks of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last week's television, radio and newspaper reports about his imminent release culminated in several weighty articles on Mr Mandela in the Sunday press yesterday.

And, as expectations grow that his release will be accompanied by a package of major changes committing the Pretoria government irrevocably to a negotiated democratic future, failure to deliver could, a la Rubicon, prove disastrous for South Africa.

Much hinges, therefore, on how far the government is prepared to go on such issues as the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the cessation of political trials and executions.

Concomitant reforms include the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Lands Act.

'Mandela mania' sweeping Britain

APR 7 1990
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The major reforms introduced by President FW de Klerk last year won him a breathing space and prevented the rand from plummeting uncontrollably. Goodwill in Britain and Europe towards South Africa is better now than it has been in years.

However, failure to maintain the momentum by starting to tackle the cornerstones of apartheid could see the gains of the past year disappear down the drain.

Mr De Klerk's credibility hinges on what he announces when he opens parliament on February 2.

Substantial changes could pave

the way for South Africa's gradual return to the Western community of nations — symbolically spearheaded by a visit later this year by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

In a half-page article in the broadsheet Sunday Correspondent, Shaun Johnson said yesterday Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had "intentionally allowed expectations to reach such a pitch that they cannot be disappointed without precipitating an internal and international backlash".

Writing in the Observer, Allister Sparks said the ANC was likely to take a decision on negotiations with Pretoria at its five-yearly congress in June. If it agreed, he expected formal negotiations to start before the end of the year.

The Sunday Telegraph's Fred Bridgland said Mr Mandela's economic views — according to him Mr Mandela told Nafcoc's Mr Richard Maponya he no longer favoured state control of industry and business — might not be welcome throughout the ANC and MDM.

CAP- Times 15/11/90

Crowd cheers Winnie at funeral

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. ... Mandela fever gripped Uitenhage yesterday.

Roaring sounds of: "Winnie! ... Winnie!" greeted Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, as she walked under a guard of honour formed by marshalls during Uitenhage's mass political funeral for nine people.



Mrs Mandela

For between 35 000 and 40 000 mourners at the funeral her presence was seen as a symbol of hope to the strife-torn KwaNobuhle township, where 11 people have died in clashes between supporters of the MDM and Ama-Afrika supporters during the past three weeks.

A police helicopter hovered as the nine coffins, draped in the ANC colours, were laid to rest. No incidents were reported.

Swede 'helped' September killers

114
CAMP TIMES 15/1/88

Own Correspondent

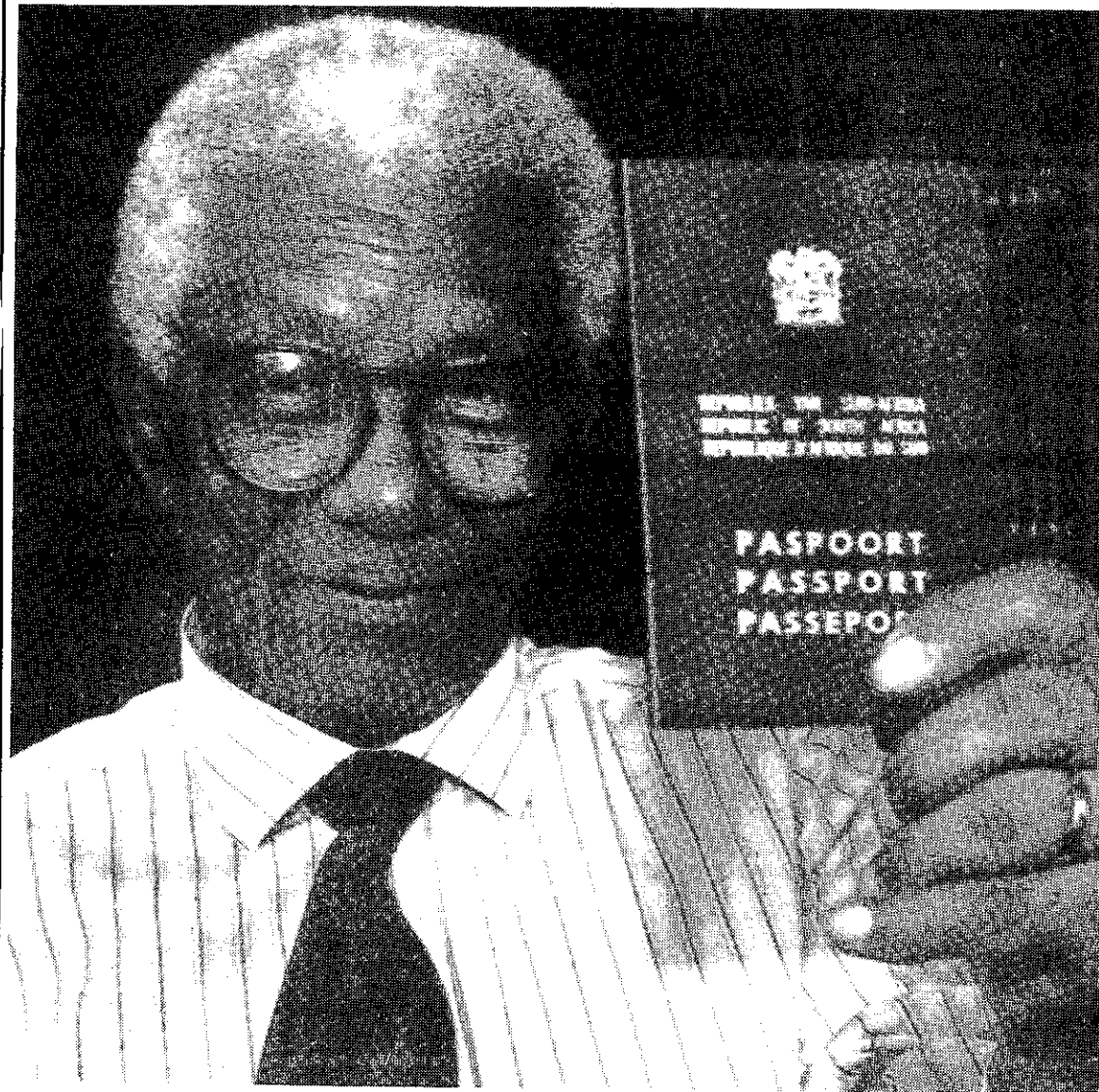
LUSAKA. — The African National Congress claims it is holding a Swedish citizen, Mr H Human, in connection with the assassination of ANC Paris representative Miss Dulcie September in 1988. Miss September was shot in March 1988 as she opened the door of her Paris apartment.

Senior ANC officials in London, however, claimed last night they suspected the Swede who claims he was involved in the murder of Dulcie September was a hoaxer or a disturbed person. They said they believe they know the names of the "people" who carried out the murder in Paris and they are "not interested in this man who calls himself Mr Human".

A senior Lusaka spokesman would not reveal where they were holding Mr Human, who the ANC say was recruited by the South African security branch a few years before the assassination. The ANC says it is also investigating a military intelligence link that Mr Human has claimed.

Mr Human allegedly says he did not take part in the assassination but accommodated two killers on the way to the Paris assassination. They apparently entered France from Sweden, choosing a circuitous route to prevent suspicion or easy detection of their way from South Africa.

Mr Human was detained by the ANC in Harare early in December last year.



ON HIS WAY . . . ANC veteran Mr Walter Sisulu with the South African passport issued to him recently, enabling him to leave today for a tour of Africa and European countries.

Picture: REUTERS

Lusaka plans *CAN trip 15/1/90* huge welcome for ANC group

Own Correspondent

114

LUSAKA. — An internal South African ANC delegation, including Mr Walter Sisulu, will arrive here early today to a joyous welcome from the entire external leadership of the ANC, the 1 000 members of the ANC living here and about 250 journalists — many of whom have specially travelled here from the United States.

Journalists from Britain and Canada, among other nations, have already arrived in Zambia to cover the historic meeting of the exiled leadership and the recently-released Rivonia trialists and other leaders, including Mr Sisulu and Messrs Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Harry Gwala, Raymond Mahlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada and Wilton Mkwayi.

Doctors are monitoring the condition of Mr Oscar Mpetha, the ailing former leader of the SA Congress of Trades Unions, in the hopes that he will also be able to attend.

In addition, the exiled children of four of the internal leadership have travelled from as far as Denmark to see their fathers, whom they have not seen in more than 26 years. These include the children of Messrs Sisulu, Mbeki, Mlangeni and Mahlaba.

Mrs Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, who is often tipped as a future leader of the organisation, dismissed as "foolish" questions about how he felt about seeing his father after so many years.

He said it would be like a reunion with more than one father, as the families of the Rivonia trialists had always been very close.

The ANC leaders will be involved in three days of extensive discussion before leaving Lusaka for Tanzania on Thursday. They will then travel to Kenya for two days for talks with President Daniel Arap Moi before proceeding to Addis Ababa in Ethiopia for consultations with the Organisation of African Unity. They will go on to Sweden and Britain.



Internal ANC 8 due in Lusaka for historic talks

AKGUS 15/1/90

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other internal leaders of the African National Congress arrive here today for a week of reunion and consultation with their external leadership. It will be the first meeting of the two wings.

Although tactics in dealing with the "reformist" South African government under President F W de Klerk are high on the agenda, ANC spokesmen insist this will not be the time to discuss the pecking order of their own hierarchy to accommodate the former old guard.

The ANC's national get-together is due in June and the leaders in exile say any leadership questions will have to be addressed then.

"In any event," a spokesman said yesterday, "making those decisions should pose no problems."

"We are not two separate governments. These (the contingent from South Africa) are people who have been members and who will be getting back into the ranks."

In spite of ANC attempts to play down the personal aspects of today's reunion, there are likely to be scenes of emotion when parents meet sons they have not seen for more than a quarter of a century.

Mr Sisulu will be reunited with his 42-year-old son, Max, who fled South Africa in 1963.

EMBASSY DATE

Another Rivonia trialist, Mr Govan Mbeki, will be meeting his son, Thabo, who effectively is now third in seniority in the external ANC. The two have not seen each other for 27 years.

A contingent of over 100 international journalists will be on hand to record the meeting between the two fathers and sons.

The visitors will be met on arrival by Mr Grey Zulu, secretary-general of the ruling United National Independence Party, the most senior politician in Zambia after President Kenneth Kaunda.

President Kaunda will receive them privately at State House soon afterwards. Mr Sisulu is due to speak at the United States Embassy on Wednesday night — the anniversary of the birth of Dr Martin Luther King.

The South African ANC members will leave Zambia at the weekend for Dar es Salam and Addis Ababa. Then they will fly to Sweden to visit ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo who is in a clinic there recovering from a stroke last August.

Dons will put up a fight over doctorate for Tutu

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Some Oxford dons are trying to stop the awarding of honorary doctorates to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the economist Professor John Kenneth Galbraith.

The *Sunday Telegraph* diarist says the awards, proposed by the Hebdomadal Council, still have to be ratified by the Congregation, the dons' "Parliament".

Normally the Congregation does so, "and the likelihood is that the vote will go in favour of these latest doctorates — but not without a fight."

PERSONAL AGITATION

"Among the Oxford dissidents Archbishop Tutu is regarded as rather more interested in personal agitation than in personal salvation. This feeling is particularly strong among both High Anglican and Low Church dons."

The diarist cites various statements by the Archbishop, including one in the *Washington Post* in 1986 when he referred to white school buses as "soft targets" and spoke of black domestic servants "slipping something" into their employers' early morning coffee.

"Doubtless," says the diarist, "the Archbishop would argue that he was merely warning of the sort of things which would happen unless the South African Government took his advice. But there did seem to be a certain amount of gloating in his tone."

Joy as ANC leaders unite

LUSAKA — Hundreds of chanting, singing SA exiles and Zambian praise-singers stood in pouring rain to welcome the ANC internal leaders who arrived here late yesterday afternoon.

The eight-man internal ANC delegation, including Walter Sisulu and leading MDM members, will spend more than a week in the Zambian capital discussing the SA situation and negotiating with the membership and national executive committee of the ANC in exile. 16/11/90

On Monday they will take part in a specially convened summit of the Front-line states, including the presidents of Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

Leading ANC members are in Zambia for the meeting with the internal ANC leaders who are accompanied by leading members of the MDM, including Sydney Mafumadi of Cosatu, NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa, Murphy Morobe of the UDF and Chris Dlamini of Cosatu.

CHARLENE SMITH

Ailing ANC leader Oscar Mpetha was not permitted to attend and ANC acting president Alfred Nzo made special reference to him, to Oliver Tambo who is recuperating in Sweden, and to Nelson Mandela who remains jailed in Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

The aircraft was two hours later than expected and journalists interviewed leading external ANC members in the interim.

The most touching welcomes were the reunions between parents and children.

Max Sisulu, visibly moved after hugging his father Walter Sisulu and presenting his young son Duma to him, said words could not begin to describe how he felt.

The 44-year-old national executive committee member last saw his father in 1963 when he was 17 years old.

Thabo Mbeki stood in the disciplined reception line waiting to meet his father

□ To Page 2



Former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday shortly before departing for Lusaka for talks with ANC leaders. Picture: REUTERS.

ANC leaders

whom he last saw when he was 20.

The 47-year-old foreign affairs representative of the ANC is widely tipped to be the next leader of the organisation and a possible future SA president.

One ANC leader said the expected release of Mandela would change the political climate within SA and inspire people to work harder to defeat racism.

However, another leading voice and rising star noted that whereas P W Botha still had the space to sloganise and make empty promises, the internal and international expectations of President F W de Klerk made it dangerous for him to make promises that remained unfulfilled.

A top ANC official said the movement still retained a cautious position towards De Klerk: "We have not forgotten that John Vorster asked for six months, or that P W

Botha said they had to adapt or die; we are waiting to see if F W de Klerk is a man of his word and a man of courage."

Walter Sisulu told a brief airport Press conference that leadership issues would not be discussed this week.

"The executive of the ANC remains supreme. They have been democratically elected. Our function is to help them in whatever takes place."

Sisulu said the ANC was "ready for negotiations at any time", but negotiating conditions laid down in the Harare Declaration had to be fulfilled.

These included the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations and individuals, the cessation of political trials and political executions.

● See Page 6

□ From Page 1

Threatened by 'AWB letter'

By MATSHUBE
MFOLOE

A Soweto student leader, Mr Siphon Dhlomo, received a threatening letter allegedly from the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging. Soweto 16/1/90

The letter was apparently slipped under the door at a friend's home in town on Sunday "with full knowledge that I frequent the place".

Dhlomo refused to disclose the address where the letter was received for fear of further reprisals from the right-wing or-

ganisation.

The Soweto Youth Congress member said, however, he was not intimidated by the letter which threatened him with death.

The author of the letter said Dhlomo's movements were scrutinised in Soweto.

"So you ANC pig...you will be dead very soon," the letter said.

Asked if he had reported the matter to the police, Dhlomo retorted "I have no faith in them."

Winnie lays blame at State's door

Sowetan 16/1/90



PORT ELIZABETH - The killings at Uitenhage which resulted in the funeral of nine people at Kwano-buhle on Sunday could not be seen in isolation from the State's repressive measures, a huge crowd at the funeral was told.

In a message to State President FW de Klerk, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said at Jabavu Stadium:

"That we are here today to comfort the bereaved families and bury our fallen heroes should be viewed as a challenge to the people's liberation movement, the ANC, because we know who is responsible for all this - the South African Government.

"De Klerk wants the people to believe that after the release of our comrades this is what happens - the fanning of violence.

"We are saying to De Klerk that if he does not unban the ANC, release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, and allow Oliver Tambo and other comrades to come back home, we shall never negotiate."

To chants of "Viva Mandela" she said the ANC was going to negotiate from a position of strength.

The aim

"When we say we are prepared to talk we mean negotiating the handing over of power from the hands of the minority regime to the people of South Africa - both black and white," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela re-emphasised: "Comrade Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela is coming back home".

Most of those buried at the weekend died during a clash on December 28 between Mass Democratic Movement supporters and the Ama-Afrika group.

Recently-released

ANC veterans Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki said in a message read at the funeral that political ideological differences were not resolved through physical force.

They appealed for calm.

Those buried were: Mr Fezile Msutu, 49, Mr Gladman Kopo, 34, Miss Nokuzola Kulati, 29, Mr Gladwell Belesi, 21, Mr Mfusi Mshubana, 27, Mr Daki Sowazi, 41, Mr Zoneli Mangesi, 20, Mr Mbuyiseli Jonas, 22, and Mr Mtuzimele Manziya 37. - Sapa.



Winnie - challenge to De Klerk.

Ululations as ANC 8 jet off to Lusaka

11A



By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

JAN Smuts Airport reverberated with song, ululations, whistling and slogans when 14 leaders of the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement left for Lusaka, Zambia, yesterday.

The 14, led by former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, headed for the ANC headquarters in the Zambian capital where a massive welcome rally for the eight stalwarts was to be held.

The eight are Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Andrew Mlangeni and Wilton Mkwayi. Some were accompanied by their wives.

The MDM leaders were: Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; Mr Chris Dlamini, first vice president of Cosatu; Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of Cosatu; Mr Titus Mafola, a national execu-

tive member of the UDF; Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, a UDF executive member in the Western Cape; and Mr Alfred Metele, president of the Border region of the UDF.

On arriving in Lusaka the group was to be met by the secretary of the ruling United National Independence Party, Mr Grey Zulu, the most senior politician in Zambia after President Kenneth Kaunda. Later they were to be received by Kaunda privately at the State House.

Stroke

The group is to leave Zambia at the weekend for Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa. They will then fly to Sweden to visit ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering after having a stroke.

Mr Murphy Morobe, another official of the MDM, could not leave with the group yesterday as he is still waiting for his passport. He hopes to join the group later.

Scores of people in the international section of the airport were taken aback when the Young Lions, teenage ANC supporters clad in khaki uniform with the ANC colours on the lapel of their shirts, and members of the Federation of Transvaal Women and other well-wishers, started singing freedom songs accompanied by the "toyi-toyi" dance. There were shouts of "Amandla" and other slogans in praise of the ANC and its leadership.

Police could also be seen everywhere, but did not take action against the well-wishers. On at least two occasions, a senior police official appealed to the crowd not to make noise "as it was against airport regulations.

The trip by the group is historic as it will be the first meeting of the internal and external wings of the ANC. Many of those undertaking the trip said they were looking forward to it as it will afford them an opportunity

to see other comrades after many years.

two have not seen each other for 27 years.

Another important aspect of the trip is that it will afford Mbeki to be reunited with his son, Thabo, who is effectively now third in seniority in the external ANC. The

During this week, the group from South Africa will meet other ANC members based in Zambia - said to number more than a thousand - in encounters which will also be highly emotional.

Martin Luther King's birthday to be honoured

Soweto 16/1/90

(11A)

By MATSHUBE
MFOLOE

THE Institute of Professional Music, which is also the Ecumenical Consultancy of South Africa, is to celebrate the late Dr Martin Luther King's birthday on January 20 in Soweto.

This would be the first time that various church groupings and leaders formally observed Martin Luther Day in South Africa.

The activities will begin at 9am at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

According to the organisers of the gathering, the main objective is to celebrate King's birthday and focus on his text "I have a Dream".

Tribute

The Reverend Tsietsi Thandekiso said the festivities would also serve to acknowledge and pay tribute to South African church leaders who were inspired by King's belief in non-violence.

"The event will provide an opportunity for South African Christians to salute their leaders for the role they played in promoting peace and justice in South Africa," said the Reverend Garrine Domingo.

Peace

He said participants would be involved in:

- * Praying for peace and justice in South Africa and the world.
- * Symbolic actions of protest against apartheid.
- * International solidarity action.
- * Pastoral care of the victim of apartheid.

A series of activities to mark the day has been lined up with the dinner party at the Braamfontein Protea Hotel that evening.

From 9am to 11.30am - Musical Grand March I from Eyethu Cinema at Jabulani Amphitheatre and also from Chiawelo Civic Centre.

From noon to 2pm - commemoration service at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

From 2pm to 6pm - gospel music festival and a dinner party at the Braamfontein Hotel from 7pm.

For further information Thandekiso may be contacted by telephone at (011) 337-8647.

MIDM leaders differ on Mandela role

By BARRY STREEK

TWO leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) — the United Democratic Front's Mr Murphy Morobe and the National Union of Mineworkers' Mr Cyril Ramaphosa — have differed publicly about the position of Mr Nelson Mandela.

In November last year Mr Ramaphosa caused a stir when he denied that Mr Mandela had any special claim to the leadership of the ANC and said his status was no different from that of any other ANC member.

But Mr Morobe has rejected this statement in an interview with the weekly newspaper New Nation.

Though he did not refer specifically to Mr Ramaphosa's views, Mr Morobe did say: "Nelson Man-

dela is not only the leader of the UDF or Cosatu or even the ANC; he is the people's leader and his leadership transcends parochial ideological concerns.

"He is the kind of leader who has an appeal to a broad range of people of different ideological persuasions and classes.

"The challenge for Nelson Mandela and his organisation is to ensure that he remains the unifying figure he has become."

However, Mr Ramaphosa said in an interview, published in the magazine Leadership, that Mr Mandela's "stature as a leader is such that his views have a lot of bearing on the leadership of the ANC".

"Once he is released and the processes start unfolding, he is one of those people who may have to be considered for a leadership position in the ANC," he

said then.

Throughout the interview, in which Mr Ramaphosa stressed that Mr Oliver Tambo was the ANC president, he downplayed any special leadership role for Mr Mandela and emphasised the "collective leadership" of the ANC.

New Nation put it to Mr Morobe that "some observers claim that there is a personality cult around Mandela and he could operate beyond the organisational discipline of the liberation forces".

Mr Morobe responded by saying: "We must not deny him the space to realise his true leadership and not just that of the UDF or Cosatu.

"This approach would not be undermined by any fears of the personality cult because the modus operandi within the ANC guards against the development of a personality cult.

B1 Day 16/11/90

ANC keen to start talking

ANC leaders say they are in a hurry to get negotiation going and that their preconditions have been framed to enable quick action by President F W de Klerk rather than requiring a lengthy parliamentary process.

The leaders, gathering here for their discussion with internal ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu, say the ANC deliberately did not call for the dismantling of apartheid as a prenegotiation demand, because NP policy is based on group rights.

They believe their five-point "checklist" could almost without exception be implemented by presidential decree.

The five points were set out in the Harare Declaration on negotiations adopted by the ANC, OAU, UN and last year's Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg, viz.:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees;
- The removal of bans and restrictions on organisations and individuals;
- The removal of troops from townships;
- An end to the state of emergency, and
- The cessation of political trials and political executions.

A top ANC source outlined the way the organisation hoped the demands would be treated.

"The release of Mandela does not require Parliament's approval.

"The state of emergency was enacted by presidential decree and could be removed in the same way.

"The unbanning of the ANC may require some changes in law, but other organisations like the UDF were banned under the state of emergency and De Klerk does not require Parliament for that.

"In the end the things we are asking De Klerk to do can be done in a couple of weeks. We are not waiting for Parliament. We have a much shorter time perspective, the issue of negotiations must move speedily."

The ANC sources said they were very conscious of the example of resolution 435 on Namibian independence, which was adopted in 1978 and implemented only in 1989. They said they did not want a situation where the negotiation process was seen as a way of buying time.

Sources close to the ANC national executive committee said they did not believe De Klerk was constrained by the white electorate, indeed "the leadership of the NP has been marching behind its own constituency for some time".

(11A) ~~SECRET~~

CHARLENE SMITH in Lusaka

They said it was believed that De Klerk still considered the group concept central to his policies, whereas the ANC was committed to a united non-racial democratic SA.

But they believed it was necessary to move as rapidly as possible towards a political settlement and for that reason it was necessary that a climate exist for equal political representation among all parties and organisations expected to participate in that process.

The question most frequently asked of the ANC here, sources said, was who would decide who would sit around the negotiating table. Their answer was that the people must decide through the ballot box in a similar manner to the Namibian process.

The ANC took heart from the fact that De Klerk was quoted in a business magazine last year as saying it might be necessary to hold such elections to determine who would be

elected to a constituent assembly.

"FW thinks that sitting around the negotiating table there will be groups like leaders of bantustans, the tricameral system, the ANC, UDF and suchlike. But the ANC says that you cannot use the structures of apartheid to end apartheid," one source told.

Such elections would be based on the principle of one man, one vote.

ANC leaders have expressed their concern that the initiatives of businessmen in the mid-1980s towards ending apartheid appear to have evaporated.

They noted that it was the visit of Anglo American chairman Gavin Reilly to Lusaka in 1985 that started the "great trek" of white opinion-makers and opinion seekers to Lusaka. Businessmen expressed their opposition to apartheid but it appeared to amount to little more than "dinner table rhetoric" as they fully participated in armaments industries and little progress was seen in union moves to have the Labour Relations Amendment Act abolished.

Discussions are under way in the ANC on the issue of privatisation.

A top source said discussions were proceeding from the position that any new government of a democratic SA would have to address very quickly the economic questions of the impoverishment of millions of people, education, and health.

"That government will have to ensure that it disposes of sizeable resources to address this urgent need.

"Privatisation surely goes to the root of who will control the economy.

"It is interesting to note that the Nats used the nationalisation of industries to promote their ideals and uplift their people. If privatisation weakens the capital of a government it could face serious social problems. However, the ANC has taken no final decision on the matter."

The ANC has said it does not believe recent events in Eastern Europe will have a major impact on the organisation as it is not based on a socialist model, but rather on the needs of SA people.

As an example, the ANC believed the issue of land redistribution would have to be addressed.

"We are also concerned about issues such as the domination of the JSE by only five companies."

If anything, the ANC believed the events in Eastern Europe would help remove the bogey the NP had used to stay in power — the perceived threat of Soviet imperialist aims in southern Africa.

REVIEW

Pretty but not authentic Victorians

CRITIC'S CHOICE

Murder: ^{CAK} Bail for ^{11/19/6} 'headmen' refused ²⁰⁰

^{11/19}
Staff Reporter

BAIL was yesterday refused for two men — said to be headmen loyal to Mr Mali Hoza, mayor of Lingelethu West Town Council — who are charged with two counts of murder and a further charge of attempted murder.

The decision was passed in the Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court after a week-long bail application.

The magistrate, Mr G S Claassen, said Mr David Olifant and Mr Pieter Thetani had failed to prove they would not interfere, assault or intimidate state witnesses.

The state alleged in the charge sheet the two had murdered Mr Mthobeli Punayo, 21, and his sister Yandiswa, 10, both of section A, Site C on December 8.

Mr Nathan Erasmus appeared for the state. Mr W Welgemoed of Borman and Hayward appeared for the men.

ANC leaders fly to Lusaka



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, a member of the National Reception Committee, (right) discussing a slight problem with Mr Raymond Mhlaba (centre) regarding his boarding pass at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Looking on is Mr Mohammad Vaill, an executive member of the United Democratic Front. This was shortly before the internal leaders of the ANC, as well as representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, left for Lusaka to consult with the external leadership of the ANC.



The recently released ANC leaders and their wives at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The group was photographed shortly before they departed for Lusaka where they are to meet with the external leadership of the ANC. Also on the trip, were six members of the Mass Democratic Movement.



A member of the Federation of Transvaal Women raising a clenched fist to bid farewell to the recently released leaders of the ANC, as well as representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, who jetted out of the country yesterday for Lusaka. The group will meet with the external leadership of the ANC and later travel to two African capitals before going to Europe.

Pics by LEN KUMALO



Internal leaders of the ANC and six members of the Mass Democratic Movement left the country yesterday for Lusaka where they will consult with external leadership of the ANC. Seen at Jan Smuts Airport are from left: Mr Raymond Mhlaba and his wife, Dideka, and Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina. Pic: LEN KUMALO

ANC 8

Sowetan
16/11/90

11A

ARRIVE

LUSAKA - Anti-apartheid veterans from inside and outside South Africa, reunited after more than 25 years of separation, hugged each other and danced for joy on Monday on the rainsoaked tarmac of Lusaka airport.

Walter Sisulu and seven other African National Congress (ANC) leaders recently freed from South African jails rejoined the movement's exiled chiefs at their headquarters in Zambia.

Later, ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo addressed

a news conference.

His remarks may not be quoted in South Africa.

Heavy rain drenched the airport as a Zambian Airways turboprop sent to Johannesburg by President Kenneth Kaunda touched down. Hundreds of young ANC exiles in black berets chanted and waved portraits of their leaders.

"I never thought I would see this. I thought it might happen about the year 2000," said one South African exile.

A cheer went up and women ululated as Sisulu gave

• To page 2



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Starting Dates

Johannesburg

Pretoria

P.T.O

ANC eight arrive

Stwejan
16/11/90

NA

From Page 1

a clenched fist salute at the door of the plane, then plunged into the crowd followed by his wife Albertina.

Seconds after greeting Nzo and Kaunda's deputy Grey Zulu, Sisulu embraced his son Max for the first time since 1963 and hugged three grandchildren he had never seen.

"I have not only been reunited with my son. I have been reunited with grandchildren and my daughter-in-law," Sisulu said.

ANC and South African Communist Party veteran Govan Mbeki was reunited with his son Thabo, the ANC's external affairs secretary. The elder Mbeki was freed from jail two years ago but his movements were restricted until last October.

The other ANC leaders, most of whom were freed with Sisulu in October and accompanied him here are Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Wilton Mkwayi and Harry Gwala.

Oscar Mpetha, another released prisoner, did not make the trip because of poor health. The ANC leaders will attend a three-day session of its exiled national executive committee, to which at present none of them belong.

President Kaunda, welcoming the visitors to his official residence, urged them to seek unity among anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, saying failure lead to future problems.

"Even as I merely welcome you to Zambia at this moment, there is need to remind you of the importance of unity of all freedom fighters in South Africa...For you know if there is any form of disunity all of us will live to regret that," Kaunda told Sisulu and his colleagues.

On January 22 they will meet leaders of the six Front Line states here before going on to visit Tanzania and European countries including Sweden, where ANC President Oliver Tambo is recovering in hospital from a brain spasm suffered last August.

See pages 7 and 8.

Anti-SA body to launch new campaign

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement will launch its "South Africa: Freedom Now" campaign for 1990 at a media briefing with African National Congress representatives in the House of Commons today.

Labour MP Mr Robert Hughes, chairman of the AAM, has booked rooms for the conference at which AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston will outline policy objectives of the campaign.

This would be done against the background of the possible impending release of Nelson Mandela, a spokesman said.

The programme up to March is scheduled to culminate in a rally in Trafalgar Square, opposite the South African embassy, with a message to British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher to "stop supporting apartheid".

The ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Mendi Msimang, will also outline moves so far to establish the Nelson Mandela National Reception Committee in Britain — part of an international initiative launched by Archbishop Huddleston on January 8. — Sapa.

NO T

Zambia hosts historic meeting

Emotional reunion for ANC leaders

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — It rained on the ANC's parade in Lusaka yesterday when the organisation's recently released leaders arrived for their historic meeting with the leadership in exile.

Pelting rain and raised umbrellas spoilt the world media's vision of the long-awaited reunion between two fathers and sons, Walter and Max Sisulu and Govan and Thabo Mbeki.

But the weather could not dampen the high emotions of the occasion.

ANC cadres, banners and clothes drenched from more than an hours waiting on the apron, toyi-toyed through the puddles shouting slogans and waving raised fists.

Schoolchildren, the sons and daughters of ANC members, were almost trampled by a hoard of TV crews as they

rushed forward to present flowers to the arriving veterans.

As it turned out, the father and son reunions were somewhat different in character.

Mr Max Sisulu, the former ANC secretary-general's oldest son, rushed forward to embrace his father and handed him his young granddaughter. The eyes of both men were moist.

Formal

Max, now aged 42 and an official in the ANC's economics department, had not seen his father since 1963.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the organisation's foreign affairs department and son of recently released Mr Govan Mbeki, had to wait in line with 32 other members of the National Executive Committee who formed the main welcoming party.

When the Mbekis came abreast they shook hands rather formally and exchanged words.

Then they hugged each other. The two last met in 1962.

The reception at Lusaka's airport was of the sort Zambia usually reserves for heads of states. Groups of women in the colours of the ruling United National Independence Party danced alongside the ANC's youth wing.

Drums provided the background music from noon until the rain came just after 3 pm, dispersing all except the ANC cadres in a crowd of about 700.

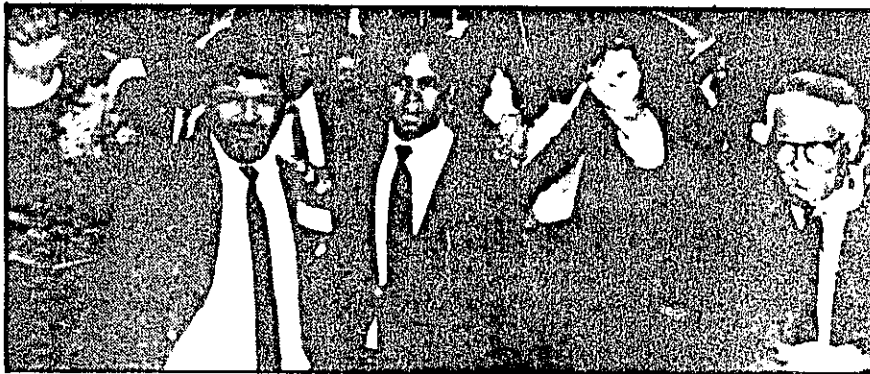
The Sisulu party was met by Mr Grey Zulu, the most senior politician in Zambia after President Kenneth Kaunda.

Most of the local diplomatic corps were also present.

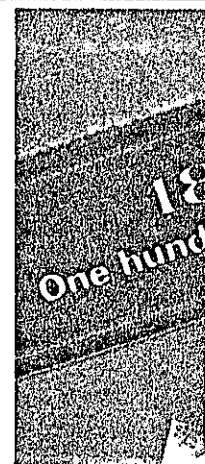
After a brief press conference, the party went to a private reception given by President Kaunda at State House.

The group will hold meetings and discussions with the National Executive between now and the weekend.

They will also meet the other rank and file members of the ANC in Zambia said to number more than a thousand.



Walter Sisulu (right) and two African National Congress leaders give clenched fist salutes after arrival in Lusaka yesterday.



Quick action plan from ANC leaders

CAT Times 16/11/90 11A

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — ANC leaders say they are in a hurry to get negotiation going and that their preconditions have been framed to enable quick action by President F W de Klerk rather than requiring a lengthy parliamentary process.

The leaders, gathering here for their discussion with internal ANC leaders including Mr Walter Sisulu, say the ANC deliberately did not call for the dismantling of apartheid as a pre-negotiation demand, because National Party policy is based on group rights.

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The ANC sources said they were very conscious of the example of resolution 435 on Namibian independence, which was adopted in 1978 and only implemented in 1989. They said they did not want a situation where the negotiation process is seen as a way of buying time.

Sources close to the ANC national executive committee said they did not believe Mr De Klerk was constrained by the white electorate. "The leadership of the NP has been marching behind its own constituency for some time."

They said it was believed that Mr De Klerk still considered the group concept central to his policies.

Settlement

They believed it was necessary to move as rapidly as possible toward a political settlement and for that reason it was necessary that an appropriate climate be created, the bottom line of which was a demand for equal political representation among all parties and organisations that would be expected to participate in that process.

People must choose those at the negotiation table through the ballot box in a similar manner to the Namibian process.

The ANC "took heart" from the fact that Mr De Klerk was quoted in a business magazine last year as saying that it may be

necessary to host such elections to determine who would be elected to a constituent assembly.

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Mr Max Sisulu, visibly moved after hugging his father and presenting his young son Duma to him, said words could not begin to describe how he felt. He last saw his father when he was 17 in 1963.

ANC and SA Communist Party veteran Mr Govan Mbeki was reunited with his son Thabo, 47, the ANC's external affairs secretary, after 27 years. The elder Mbeki was freed from jail two years ago, but his movements were restricted until last October.

"I never thought I would see this. I thought it might happen about the year 2000," said one South African exile.

Fathers and sons in ANC reunion

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

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on the airport runway, were drenched. They toyi-toyed through the puddles shouting slogans and waving fists.

Schoolchildren, the sons and daughters of ANC members, were almost trampled by TV crews as they presented flow-ers to the arriving veterans.

The two father-and-son re-unions were different in character.

Mr Max Sisulu, the former ANC secretary-general's oldest son, rushed forward to embrace his father and handed him his young granddaughter. The eyes of both men were

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

moist. Max, now 42 and an official in the ANC's economics department, had not seen his father since 1963.

However, Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the organisation's foreign affairs department, waited in line with 32 other members of the national executive committee who formed the main welcoming party.

When Govan Mbeki and son came abreast they shook hands

formally and exchanged words. Then they hugged each other. They were last together in 1962.

The reception was the sort Zambia usually reserves for heads of state.

Groups of women in the colours of the ruling United National Independence Party danced alongside the ANC's youth wing.

Drums provided the background music from noon until the rain came just after 3pm, dispersing all except the ANC supporters in a crowd of about 700.

The Sisulu party was met by Mr Grey Zulu, President Kenneth Kaunda's most senior politician.

Most of the local diplomatic corp were also present.

After a brief Press conference at which Mr Walker Sisulu expressed his excitement at re-joining the leaders in exile, the party went to a private reception given by President Kaunda at State House.

The group will hold meetings and discussions with the national executive between now and the weekend.



LUSAKA SALUTE: Mr Walker Sisulu, right, and his son Max, left, give clenched-fist salutes at Lusaka Airport.

11A

Star 16/11/90

(11A) ~~82A~~

ANC suspect shot dead, arms cache found in N Tvl

One suspected "trained ANC terrorist" was killed, another arrested and a small arms cache was discovered in follow-up operations by the SA Police after last week's shooting of a police constable in Pietersburg. The SAP Public Relations division in Pretoria said in a statement yesterday that Pietersburg Security Branch police launched a search for the suspects after Constable FP Voster was shot and wounded while arresting two men in the town

on Friday. The suspects managed to escape, but on Saturday one of the men was traced to a house near Pietersburg. Police confronted him but he was fatally wounded when he tried to flee. Yesterday, a second suspect

was traced to a house in the same area. After resisting arrest shots were fired and he was wounded and arrested. Police seized two Makarov pistols from the suspects. Police also discovered two AKM rifles, eight full magazines

and four handgrenade detonators of Russian origin. "The two are suspected trained ANC terrorists who entered the country recently," the statement said. An investigation into a link between the suspects and the shooting incident last Friday has not yet been completed, "but evidence in the possession of the police indicates they were the two involved in the shooting incident," the statement said. — Sapa.

B/Day 16/1190

SACP sidelined by new Soviet thought

(11A) KIN BENTLEY (SOPA)

LONDON — At the start of what could become the most important decade in SA history, the South African Communist Party (SACP) finds itself increasingly isolated due to an ideological split with Moscow under Gorbachev, says the January issue of the London publication Africa Confidential.

But reports of deep division within the ANC between SACP members and non-members are false, it says.

It also believes that while the SACP has succeeded in "hemming in" ANC president Oliver Tambo, while effectively taking control of the ANC, it is "ambivalent" about the release of Nelson Mandela, whom it "fears".

It says the SACP "quarantined" Tambo, keeping him out of the daily ANC political life through "an exhausting round of diplomatic visits".

Those wishing to reform the SACP face the risk of expulsion.

"This is probably why Thabo Mbeki has elected to challenge the Party positions through his work in the ANC rather than from within party structures."

It says there is a suspicion that the SACP is behind the rumours circulating within the MDM that Mandela could strike a deal with President F W de Klerk.

"The object of such rumours would be to discredit Mandela in the MDM and to alienate him from his recently released comrades.

"With his power-base eroded, the party could take on Mandela."

The publication notes that the "ANC coat-tails and the harshness of apartheid government have worked well for the party".

"Literally thousands of black activists have embraced socialism at a time when the communist world is shrinking."

It says the party's applause for Gorbachev has now turned to alarm as perestroika brings Moscow and Washington closer together.

The article says Soviet theoreticians have "even gone so far as to state publicly that socialism is unattainable in SA in the foreseeable future.

"This and other acts of 'betrayal' by the Soviets have led to a polemical combat between Slovo and Soviet Communist Party ideologues, which has received extensive coverage in the Soviet media."

Mandela 'release' causes chaos

11A

Sowetan
17/01/90

Sowetan Reporter

RUMOURS of Mr Nelson Mandela's release from the Victor Verster Prison yesterday have caused total confusion.

Speculation has been rife of Mandela's release in order for him to join the South African delegation, headed by recently-released Mr Walter Sisulu, in Lusaka for talks with the ANC exiled leadership.

Mandela's wife, Winnie, who visited him at Victor Verster Prison, near Paarl, about 10 days ago, is also in Lusaka.

Fruitless

All attempts at trying to contact members of the South African delegation or the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, or Mrs Mandela, proved fruitless.

A source close to the Mandela family said in Cape Town night he had no knowledge of the rumoured release and he still believed Mr Mandela would not be set free before the end of February or early March.

No comment

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said he was also aware of the rumours, but was not prepared to comment on pure speculation.

Interviewed in London, a spokesman for the

Foreign Office said "we know nothing about the release on Tuesday morning".

The rumours were started by anonymous telephone calls to representatives of the major media, corroborated by a second source.

Mxenge's brother gets death threats

17/07/90
THREATS were made this week on the life of Dr Fumbatha Mxenge, the younger brother of Mr Griffiths Mxenge - the Durban civil rights lawyer who was assassinated in November 1981.

The latest threat came on Monday when a woman telephoned Dr Mxenge at his New Brighton, Port Elizabeth home to warn him that three strange men would be coming to his surgery in Motherwell to assassinate him.

Dr Mxenge said the threats on his life followed instructions he gave to his Durban lawyers to investigate his brother's death.

His instructions were given after dis-

11A Sowetan
closures made by a former policeman, Butana Almond Nofomele, 32, presently on Death Row for the murder of a farmer.

Nofomele claims he was a member of a special assassination squad under the command of Captain Dirk Coetzee that was sent to eliminate Mr Mxenge who was taken to the Umlazi Sports Stadium in Durban where he was kicked, punched then stabbed to death.

Nofomele appeared briefly before Mr GLS Holland in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court in December and pleaded guilty to the murder of Mr Mxenge on November 19 1981. - Sapa.

So stupid to believe FW — Boesak

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Dr Allan Boesak told a large gathering of labour and political leaders yesterday he found it difficult to understand how Americans "could be so stupid" as to believe the movement for change promised by President de Klerk was any different from the "deliberate confusion" created by ex-president Mr P W Botha. *Star 17/11/90*

Mr Botha had also "presented himself as a reformist" in his early days in office, he told a meeting hosted by the Public Employees Federation, the largest white-collar trade union in the United States, in the New York

State capital, Albany.

In a lengthy and unflattering comparison between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, in which he accused both of employing the same tactics, Dr Boesak added: "Everywhere I find a remarkable confusion about events in South Africa. It is a confusion deliberately created by President de Klerk and his Government in precisely the same way as did Mr Botha."

"What we have now under President de Klerk is a smiling government still maintaining apartheid. For my part, I just can't believe that people can be so stupid as to be caught twice by the same gag."

Anglo presents ANC with 'guide to constitution'

JOHANNESBURG. — Anglo American executives Mr Michael Spicer and Mr Bobby Godsell met the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend when they presented Anglo's "citizen's guide to constitutional questions" to them.

Mr Spicer, personal secretary to Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Rely, said last night that a four-man Anglo team had drawn up the corporation's contribution to the constitutional debate which would be presented to all the major political parties.

The document dealt with the choices citizens would be making as negotiations on a new constitution got into high gear, Mr Spicer said.

It aimed to demystify code words used by political actors in discussing a new constitution and looked at constitutional options.

He said he hoped the document, which was not prescriptive, would raise the level of debate by defining the basic terms which were confusing to the lay person.

Mr Godsell said Anglo hoped to publish the document as a book once it been given to all the major political players.

The success of a future SA constitution depended on the active participation of citizens. The document was the corporation's "modest contribution" to this end, Mr Godsell said.



Walter Sisulu (right) and his son Max (left) give the clenched fist salute shortly after the delegation's arrival in Lusaka.

Dr K WARNS ANC 8

11A
Sowetan
17/10/90

LUSAKA - ANC leaders, reunited after more than 25 years in jail and exile, promised yesterday to seek an end to violent clashes in Natal in which scores of have died.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, speaking at a reception for Walter Sisulu and other recently freed veterans of the banned nationalist movement, said he and other Frontline leaders "cannot hide our dismay" at the killings in Natal.

He warned South Africa's Afrikaner-led government would play tricks and use sectarian splits and

fighting among blacks to divide and rule unless they patched up their differences.

The Natal fighting, which has defied mediation attempts, pits Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu Inkatha movement against supporters of the United Democratic Front, aligned with the African National Congress.

Kaunda warned if anti-apartheid forces inherited a divided country "it will be a tragedy for all of us". He urged the ANC to work with leaders inside the homeland system who were ready to rethink their cooperation with the Pretoria government.

Sisulu, standing beside Kaunda on the lawns of Lusaka's State House, said he was particularly

• To page 2

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**ANC says it's
Ready for talks**

From Page 1. Sowetan 17/10/90
touched by Kaunda's reference to the violence in Natal.

"It is something which makes me feel I have not done my work -- indeed I have not," he exclaimed and promised to take Kaunda's message of unity back to South Africa.

He and the other ANC leaders arrived here on Monday for a week's stay in Zambia, headquarters in exile of their movement.

Predicting that a non-racial democracy in South Africa was merely a question of time, Sisulu, who is 77, declared: "We are determined to see our children are not going to continue fighting a losing battle -- we are going to fight and win the battle in our lifetime."

The ANC leaders began talks on yesterday to clarify their political strategy for negotiations with the South African government.

A Johannesburg newspaper yesterday reported that the ANC broadcast messages to the world on Monday night that it is prepared to negotiate with SA while key features of apartheid are still in place.

The report said the ANC indicated from Lusaka that it would negotiate if it was unbanned and free to engage in peaceful political activity, even with bed-rock statutes like the Group Areas Act still in force. Sapa-Reuter.

Anglo hands ANC its constitutional guide

8/Dec 17/11/90
ANGLO American executives Michael Spicer and Bobby Godsell met the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend and presented the organisation with Anglo's Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Questions.

Spicer, personal secretary to Anglo chairman Gavin Relly, said last night a four-man Anglo team had drawn up the corporation's contribution to the constitutional debate, which would be presented to all the major political players.

The document, written for the man in the street, dealt with the choices citizens would be making as negotiations on a new

11A
CHARLENE SMITH
and EDYTH BULBRING

constitution got into top gear, he said.

It aimed to demystify words used in discussing a new constitution.

Spicer said that while they had not expected any response from the ANC on the document until they had read it, the ANC representatives had been happy to receive it.

Godsell, director Public Affairs and Industrial Relations said the weekend meeting should be seen in the context of regular

contact Anglo maintained with all the major political actors.

Meanwhile, in Lusaka, ANC internal leader Govan Mbeki told the Soviet ambassador in Lusaka today that he hoped the situation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would be resolved to "show the people's of the world that socialism is far, by far, better than capitalism".

Mbeki told the ambassador before a media gathering at the start of talks with the Soviets on perestroika and the Soviet's attitude to the situation in SA that South-

□ To Page 2

Anglo guide

8/Dec 17/11/90
Africans had been involved in a struggle for 300 years.

He said without the October 1917 revolution, he doubted whether any nation would have been favourably disposed towards the SA liberation struggle.

A source close to the SA Communist Party said they believed De Klerk's moves were not cosmetic, but that neither did they think they had reached the point to meet the real needs of a democratic SA.

□ KIN BENTLEY reports from London that a meeting between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and ANC leader Walter Sisulu will only take place if initiated by Thatcher.

The ANC will not approach her office for

11A □ From Page 1
a meeting because of her "attitude" towards it, a Press conference was told yesterday.

However, Sisulu's meeting with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd seems certain to take place when the ANC delegation arrives in London in the next few days.

□ MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from HARARE that Heine Human, the 39-year-old Swede alleged to have confessed to involvement in the murder of Dulcie September, is reportedly known to Stockholm's security police.

Human is reported to have confessed to involvement in the 1988 assassination in Paris of September, an ANC representative in Paris.

g up the front concrete patio of the now infamous 227 Malherbe Street, Pretoria, house of suspected child abductor Mr Cornelius van Rooyen.

Namibian schools open to all

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibian schools reopened for the new term today and, for the first time, admission of pupils was on a non-racial basis. *Star 17/11/90*

The opening of all the country's schools to all races follows last week's decision by the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, to waive discriminatory measures at Namibia's educational and health institutions.

It also comes after recommendations last month by the constituent assembly that all schools in the country be considered open to all races from January 1.

At present the assembly has no powers to make or effect any laws.

The administration for whites — the body which up to now has strictly applied the apartheid rules of admitting no other races to its schools — said today that selection committees at the various schools would consider all applications for enrolment.

Among the prerequisites for enrolment would be pupils' readiness for learning, language proficiency, and certain age limits.

The whites' administration made it clear race and colour would be no criteria for pupils' applications.

During the December holidays an uproar over the white schools was sparked by disclosures that Mr Pienaar was planning to remove control of white education from state to private hands before independence.

US stupid to believe FW — Boesak

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Dr Allan Boesak told a large gathering of labour and political leaders yesterday he found it difficult to understand how Americans "could be so stupid" as to believe the movement for change promised by President de Klerk was any different from the "deliberate confusion" created by ex-president Mr P W Botha. *Star 17/11/90*

Mr Botha had also "presented himself as a reformist" in his early days in office, he told a meeting hosted by the Public Employees Federation, the largest white-collar trade union in the United States, in the New York

State capital, Albany. *Star 17/11/90*

In a lengthy and unflattering comparison between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, in which he accused both of employing the same tactics, Dr Boesak added: "Everywhere I find a remarkable confusion about events in South Africa. It is a confusion deliberately created by President de Klerk and his Government in precisely the same way as did Mr Botha."

"What we have now under President de Klerk is a smiling government still maintaining apartheid. For my part, I just can't believe that people can be so stupid as to be caught twice by the same gag."

ANC sits down to talk about talking

Star
17/1/90
By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The external and internal wings of the African National Congress got down to business here yesterday with talks about talks to plan a strategy aimed at lifting the barriers in the way of negotiations with the South African Government.

Former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and the seven other ANC members who arrived on Monday from Johannesburg met some of the organisation's local leaders to discuss informally how to put together an agenda on this critical issue and the complex problems of marrying its two leaderships.

Pretoria has yet to issue any sort of position paper on the ANC's Harare Declaration last August, which set out the pre-conditions for negotiations on the future of South Africa.

These included the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

A senior ANC spokesman conceded yesterday that the recent release of Mr Sisulu and other ANC prisoners was a "hopeful sign" that Mr F W de Klerk's government might be moving closer to the negotiating table.

But he said this development would not induce the ANC to make concessions on the demands contained in the Harare Declaration, which has assumed the status of a Resolution 435 in the eyes of many international bodies.

"Those are reasonable conditions," the spokesman said. "And they would set the proper climate for negotiations if the government were to agree to them."

"Mr de Klerk's people say we must lay down our arms before talks can even be considered. But how can you have a unilateral ceasefire? In any state of war, both sides must agree to a ceasefire."

ANC leaders say they would be prepared to negotiate at once if their terms were met. Some fear that the longer Mr de Klerk stalls, the greater the chance of the situation sliding back into a stalemate.

The BBC reported yesterday that a conflict had arisen within the ANC about the whole question of negotiations.

However, this appears to be more a difference of opinion than anything else between those who believe Mr de Klerk will respond positively to the Harare Declaration soon and those who are convinced he will not.

The ANC will begin its formal discussions about tactics tomorrow morning when the eight members from South Africa will be involved in a three-day session with the national executive committee.



A policeman orders placard-wielding members of the Pan Africanist Movement who yesterday demonstrated outside the Johannesburg Sun where Mike Gatting's English cricket team will be staying during their South African tour. The tour which has been riddled with controversy begins next week despite opposition from local and foreign anti-apartheid groups. The team arrives on Friday. In the foreground is PAM general secretary Bennie Alexander.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

PAM holds demo 11A

THE Pan Africanist Movement, at a placard demonstration outside the Johannesburg Sun Hotel yesterday, vowed to "practically and physically" stop the forthcoming rebel cricket tour of England's players led by Mike Gatting.

Carrying placards with slogans such as "war against the cricket terrorists" written on them, about 50 PAM members sang and chanted slogans outside the hotel for 30 minutes because they believed the rebel cricketers would be accommodated there.

Addressing the media at the scene, PAM general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said his organ-

isation's information was that the rebel cricketers would be accommodated at the Johannesburg Sun and other Southern Sun hotels.

"We are here to send a message to the Southern Sun's management that as a movement, PAM will take action against all those who support the rebels.

"Rebels are not welcome here irrespective of the rigged survey which showed that they were," Mr Alexander said.

"He said had met with the South African Council of Sports (Sacos) and would consult with other organisations to decide on the kind of action to be taken against the rebels.

Mr Alexander dis-

pelled rumours that some of the cricketers already in the country were staying at the Johannesburg Sun Hotel. "We are expecting them sometime this week," he said.

He also announced that more similar demonstrations were planned.

The demonstrators

marched to Lekton House in Wanderers Street as police arrived on the scene.

The demonstration kicked off protest action planned against the rebel cricketers, due to arrive in the country on Friday.

In Cape Town last night, a mass meeting - which was to be address-

ed by leader of the United Democratic Front - was due to be held in the City Hall.

Another meeting of trade union and community organisations was due to be held in Johannesburg last night to discuss the nature of action to be taken against the rebel cricketers.

Draft of Anglo's political guide handed to govt

B/Daw
18/1/90 ANDREW GILL I/A

A DRAFT of Anglo American's Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Questions has been handed to government, Anglo American director public affairs and industrial relations Bobby Godsell said yesterday. The document, which has not yet been made public, was also presented to the ANC by Godsell and fellow executive Michael Spicer in Lusaka on Saturday. So far there has been no response from either party.

Godsell said he and Spicer handed the document to the ANC, and that they had spoken to legal and economic advisers of the organisation.

"Although there has been no feedback as yet, they were pleased to receive it," he said.

Anglo American intended handing the document to every interested party "including the PAC and internal groups connected to the ANC", Godsell said.

"We have not made the guide public yet because it is incomplete. The book still has to be printed and finalised."

Concepts

The 85-page document offers various constitutional options and interprets them, but, he said: "It poses questions rather than gives answers.

"It poses questions like 'what does democracy mean?' and offers various popular interpretations."

Spicer said the guide "debates issues essential to comprehensive democracy".

He added it was Anglo's "modest contribution" to deepening the constitutional debate.

It also offered a guide to the various interpretations of political buzzwords.

The Anglo guide clarifies political issues and concepts alluding to nation, state and democracy.

The book — compiled by Anglo's scenario planning section consisting of Godsell, Spicer, director Michael O'Dowd and Margie Keeton of public affairs — was completed in six months.

It was ready last week and was now in the hands of the publishers, Godsell said.

"It should be on the streets in about two months."

Sisulu's unity call at Lusaka reunion

LUSAKA. — There was a flurry of activity here this week as the leaders of the ANC met each other for the first time in 27 years.

The emotional scene at the airport as Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Mtofoleli, Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlaba and Harry Gwala disembarked from the Zambian charter plane made it clear that there was no confusion about the leadership of Oliver Tambo and the National Executive.

Sisulu said there was definitely no division between the internal and external ANC and that their Lusaka visit would be used to emphasise this fact.

Sisulu reiterated that the ANC was ready to negotiate an end to apartheid and stressed the importance of the Harare Declaration which has been adopted by the international community.

Sisulu said: "I've been united with my son Max, my grandchildren, daughter-in-law and friends and I'm excited."

In an interview before his father's arrival, Max Sisulu, who last saw his father 27 years ago when he was only 17, said: "The release of my father is cause for jubilation. I'm extremely excited, as it is an event I have been looking forward to for so many years."

"I hope I can have some time with him and for him to meet his four grandchildren — one of whom is named after him."

The rest of the week was a round of meetings, briefings, consultations, and social engagements.

Reception

The most prestigious social event was the reception hosted by president Kenneth Kaunda at State House.

Kaunda told the crowd of about 1 000 guests that the end of apartheid was eventually in sight. He said the ANC had the unqualified support of the Frontline States.

Sisulu and the other released leaders will meet the heads of the Frontline States on Monday.

On Wednesday they briefed members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) on the situation in South Africa. The NEC assemblies today for a crucial three-day meeting.

Sisulu and the others were also guests at the American Centre where there was a Martin Luther King Day commemoration.

Sisulu told the reception that the oppressed in the country needed the continued support of the international community.

"The small clique of racists in our country cannot withstand the universal revolt against apartheid. FW de Klerk should release Nelson Mandela not next month or next week but now."

Earlier at the briefing, he said the ANC had to concentrate on correcting mistakes and facing problems.

"We must criticise constructively and be critical. There should be honesty, discipline and order. But unconstructive criticism is a greater danger than the enemy," said Sisulu.

He appealed to people to unite behind the leadership of ANC president Oliver Tambo.



ANC leaders Walter Sisulu, left and Govan Mbeki lay a wreath for African heroes in Lusaka

Unbanned ANC tied to Mandela release

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is expecting the announcement of his release to be tied to the unbanning of the ANC — possibly when Parliament opens next month.

He told a delegation of lawyers representing the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) who saw him recently that he was "hopeful" that the government would make an important announcement at the opening of parliament.

"He is hopeful that the announcement will include the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency," said Cape Town attorney Essa Moosa.

Negotiate

Moosa stressed that as a prisoner, Mandela was in no position to negotiate his own release nor had the government given him any assurances that he would be released soon.

Mandela briefed the Nadel delegation on his role as a facilitator in bringing the government and the ANC to meet.

Meanwhile a second meeting between Mandela and state president FW de Klerk may be on the cards after the ANC has discussed the proceedings of their first encounter.

However, it is not known whether Mandela will meet De Klerk as a prisoner or a free man.

Mandela was allowed to brief ANC official Thabo Mbeki telephonically on his discussions with De Klerk.

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Closing date for all applications: 26 January, 1990.



UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

'White Zulu' sings liberation song

Soweto 18/11/90

11A
REED

EIGHT thousand young white South Africans swayed to the African rhythms of Johnny Clegg's band Savuka and sang their hearts out for Nelson Mandela.

Almost all the young white South Africans who seemed to know the opening line of Clegg's tribute to the jailed African National Congress leader - *Asimbonanga Mandela* (We have not seen Mandela) - and sang it with enthusiasm.

Later in the show, a dress rehearsal for a world tour starting in West Germany on January 21 and scheduled to end in Moscow, they waved their arms as they sang with him: "One man, one vote ... our future guaranteed".

Clegg (36) believes he is the only musician in South Africa who is making the white youth sing about ideas that would have been unthinkable and probably illegal just months ago.

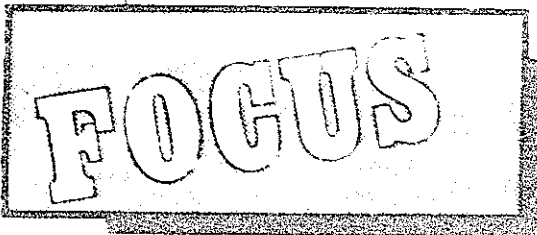
He hopes that by singing these ideas they will come to accept them and ultimately practise them, too.

"I think there are two South Africas," Clegg said in an interview after the sell-out show in Cape Town's Good Hope Centre.

"One is the old South Africa struggling to survive and the other is a new South Africa struggling to get born. I love the new one and that is the country I sing about," he said in between gulps of a cold beer as the sweat of two hours on stage rolled off him.

Clegg made his name playing to black audiences in the red-dirt arenas of Soweto.

Now there are few bla-



ck faces in the crowd he draws.

"I don't need any racial group's acknowledgement. I look at South Africans as just people. But the message I have is superfluous in the townships. The black people believe that stuff anyway," he said.

Clegg also blamed the state-run South African Broadcasting Corporation, which he says has banned his political songs, because most blacks assume he has stopped making a statement.

"Black music has gone dance oriented and I don't make dance music. My music is message music and the Government radio stations don't want to give me a platform for that.

"For me the hope is the white youth. It is important that they should have their symbol; somebody (about whom) they can say 'some of this guy's ideas are cool'. We white people should be shaping white attitudes, shaping each other for a new South Africa."

Though Clegg says he does not make dance music, he is an expert at *Inhlangwini*, the dramatic, foot-stomping ritual dance that Zulu warriors have used for centuries to prepare themselves for war.

His music does not suit modern disco dancing trends, but it does get fans dancing wherever he goes and his own dancing with black guitarist Dudu Zulu is a highlight of each concert.

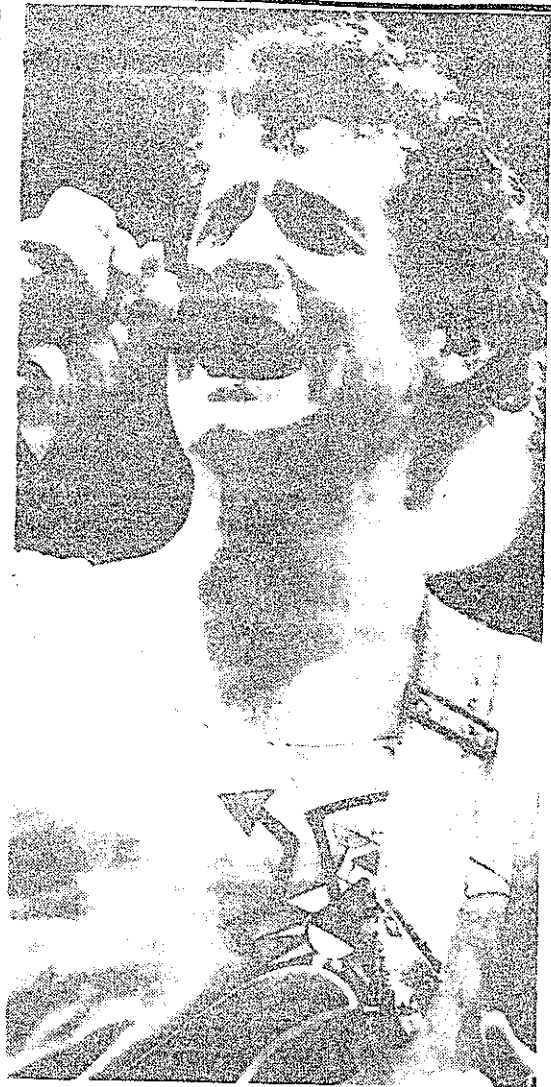
Clegg was born near Manchester in Britain, but grew up in Johannesburg where his father was a journalist and his mother a cabaret singer.

He learned traditional African guitar rhythms and the basics of traditional Zulu dancing from an illiterate black cleaner who took him to shebeens when he was only 14.

That experience laid the basis for the cross-cultural lifestyle that has earned him the title of the "white Zulu" and for his early career as an anthropologist.

Now his mixture of traditional African music with Western rhythms, reggae and jazz has produced a distinctive sound and a worldwide following that has made him probably the best known South African musician in Europe.

On Saturday Clegg and Savuka - the name means "we have arisen" in Zulu - leave for a 10-month world tour that will take them to Europe, North and South America, Australia, the Far East and finally the Soviet Union.



Johnny Clegg - man with a message.

"South Africa is critical not just for Africa, but for the world. I think it is important that people outside should know what is happening here," he said.

"I want to bring people in to hear the music and send them out with a message that they can feel good about. I don't want to make people feel angry or guilty ... they must feel a part of it, that they can claim it as their own."

Clegg feels a profound anger himself at apartheid and its consequences and that also plays a part in his music.

The title track of his latest album, *Cruel Crazy Beautiful World*, explores the confusion of last year, when he married Jenny, the mother of his two-year-old son, in a traditional Zulu wedding and learned of the murder of his close friend David Webster. - Sapa-Reuter.

Threat to rebels

THE Pan Africanist Student Organisation has threatened the rebel English cricketers due to arrive in South Africa soon that they will be met with physical violence and are not welcome in the country. *70/11/90*

"We wish not only to remind the rebels but to give a positive signal that Paso will meet them physically with violence if they do not consider withdrawing their participation," Paso said in a statement to Sapa yesterday.

Paso also called on

"African communities" and students to boycott the planned coaching by the South African Cricket Union (Sacu). *(SACU)*

"We are committed and not going to compromise." *(CIA)*

"Our view is there can be no normal sporting in an abnormal society," the statement said.

Sacu and the rebels were trying to give the international community a false impression about the situation in "occupied Azania", the statement said.

UDF out in the open

Sowetan Reporters

THE United Democratic Front has unbanned itself and will operate openly, executive members of the organisation said at a Press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday. *Sowetan 18/11/90*

The decision to work openly after four-and-a-half years of operating under "the most repressive conditions" imposed by the ongoing state of emergency, was taken when the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the UDF met last weekend.

A delegation of 22 UDF members from all sectors of

the organisation will be meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison in the next few weeks.

Meanwhile the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, last night said the UDF was not a banned organisation, although it was necessary in February 1988 to restrict certain of the organisation's activities and operations.

Reacting to a decision by the UDF to "unban" itself, he said in a statement from Pretoria the actions

• To page 2

UDF unbans itself

From Page 1

taken in February 1988 against the UDF were necessary in order to ensure the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the end of the emergency situation. *Sowetan 18/11/90*

"The regulations at the same time made allowance for the UDF to apply to the Minister of Law and Order to carry on with its activities and operations."

He said should the UDF now be of the opinion that its activities and operations no longer endangered the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the ending of the emergency situation, it was free to apply to the Minister (of Law and Order) for the continuation of its activities and operations.

"I therefore invite the UDF to let me have the necessary representations. However, should the UDF violate (oortree) the restrictions placed on it without permission, it could be a transgression of the emergency regulations and the alleged infringements will be investigated in the normal course and handed to an Attorney-General for a decision."

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF said: "In what we see as a challenging period ahead of us we have decided to claim our rights, to engage in open opposition activity .

"We owe it to our people that the leadership of our movement is openly available at this crucial moment in the struggle for freedom and democracy in our country and the world over.

"The UDF steadfastly refuses to give in and will continue to challenge apartheid at every turn."

The NEC also decided that the National General Council (NGC), the highest decision making body of the UDF would meet from April 6 to 8. Key policy matters are expected to be dealt with, including the issue of negotiation and strategies for the intensification of the struggle against the apartheid regime.

Sisulu tells ANC to step up struggle

LUSAKA — African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu called yesterday for political and military intensification of the fight against apartheid.

He told about 1 000 exiled ANC members they should work toward negotiations with the South African Government, but pursue their armed struggle to maintain pressure for rapid change of racial laws.

He called on the ANC's political and military wings and the international community to "intensify the struggle against apartheid, even though there may be an easing of tensions at home."

Later, Mr Sisulu spoke at the United States Information Centre at a ceremony marking the birthday of assassinated American civil rights activist Dr Martin Luther King.

US ambassador Mr Jeffrey Davidow spoke about King's commitment to non-violence: "He understood that violence in the pursuit of justice provides the proponents of injustice the rationale to continue oppression."

Mr Sisulu said: "In Martin Luther King, we saw a prophet for African liberation. Martin Luther King provided us with a glorious vision, a sense of self-confidence, the assurance of the certainty of victory." — Associated Press.

Apartheid's old friends will be remembered

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — Former ANC secretary general Mr Walter Sisulu said in Lusaka yesterday that a "free and united South African people" would remember the friends and collaborators of apartheid.

He called for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela — "not next week, or next month, but now".

Mr Sisulu was delivering the Martin Luther King Day address at the United States Cultural Centre in Lusaka.

The ANC is known to be concerned about the relationship which several Western countries, particularly Britain, have with South Africa.

Mr Sisulu, who was visiting the ANC headquarters-in-exile with several other recently-released members of the organisation, said: "We need the continued support of the international community. We need your sup-

port in saying that apartheid must end now."

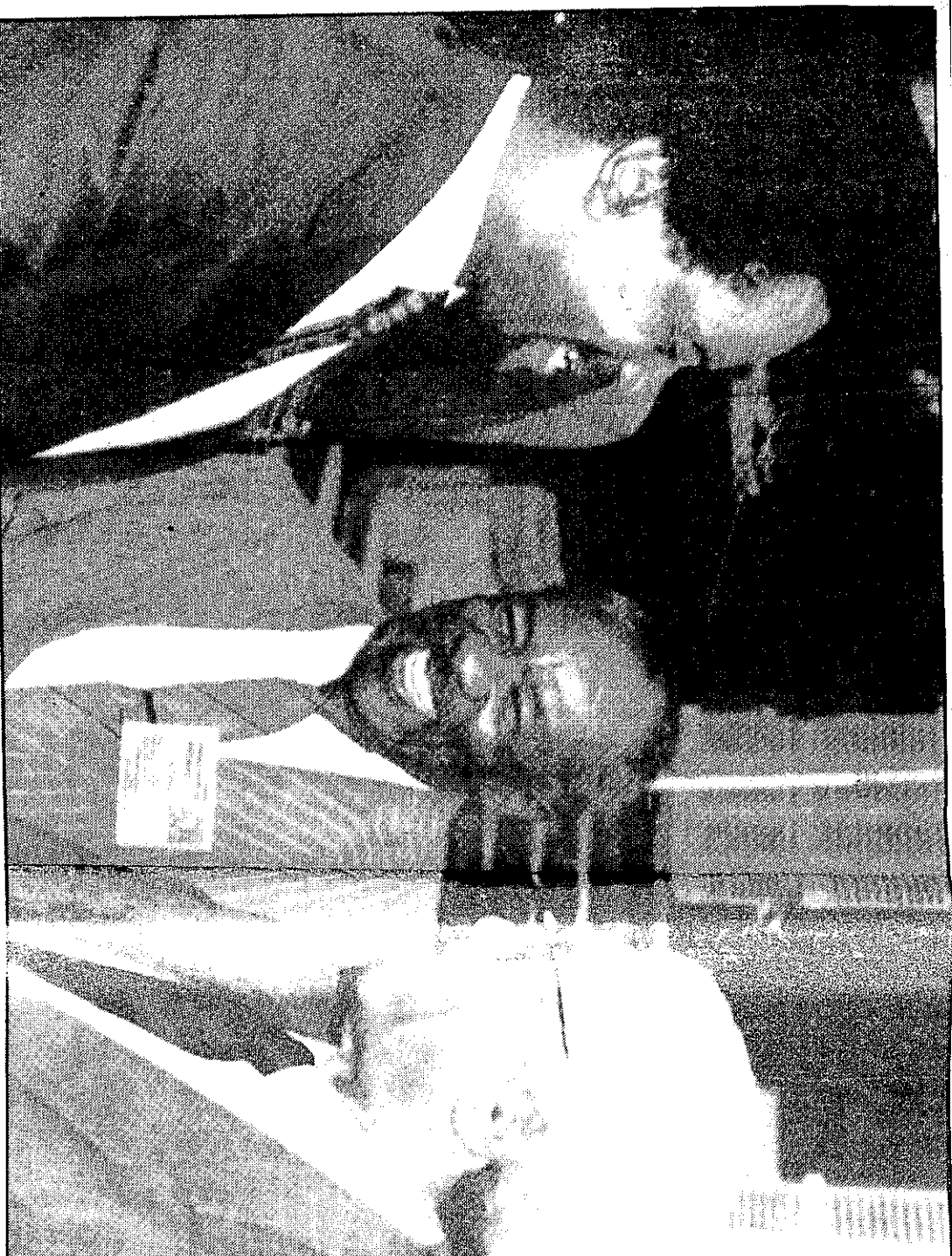
"We need your continued engagement in the common struggle against the system for the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and nonracial country."

He said the ANC considered it encouragement for the perpetuation of apartheid that some countries had now begun to enter into a "manner of intercourse with Pretoria".

"When building the system of international friendship and co-operation tomorrow as a united and free South African people, we will have to take into account the important question of who were the friends and collaborators of apartheid."

"It is false to argue that change will be advanced by the absence or reduction of action."

"To maintain the momentum towards the final destruction of the Apartheid system requires that F W de Klerk moves with expedition to release Nelson Mandela."



African National Congress secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo (centre) shares a joke with Mr Walter Sisulu (right) and his son Mr Max Sisulu at a State House reception in Lusaka. Mr Sisulu is currently visiting the organisation's headquarters in exile.



United States television presenter Ted Koppel of "Koppel Report".
He is likely to cover Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

It's the show of the year

11A

By DAVID BRAUN, The Star Bureau

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WASHINGTON — The release of Mr Nelson Mandela is set to become one of the biggest international media stories of the year.

At least one major United States television network is planning to send some of its biggest media stars to South Africa for a week of live programming, reminiscent of last year's coverage of the opening of the Berlin Wall and other major events in Eastern Europe.

ABC News is planning to move "Nightline", "Koppel Report", "World News Tonight" and "Prime Time Live" to South Africa for Mr Mandela's release.

str 18/1/90

Most, if not all, these programmes are hoping to be able to get Mr Mandela on their shows.

This week's meeting between former ANC prisoners and the movement's external leaders in Lusaka made major news on most US television channels.

Mr Mandela has been frequently billed as the world's most famous and respected political prisoner.

Anglo offers ANC 'constitutional guide'

By Montshiwa Moroke

Anglo American has given both the ANC and the Government a document containing Anglo's "Citizen's Guide to Constitutional Questions".

Anglo executives Mr Michael Spicer and Mr Bobby Godsell met ANC representatives from the Legal and Constitutional Department in Lusaka at the weekend.

While they had not expected the ANC to respond to the document until they had read it, the ANC representatives had been happy to receive it and Anglo was expecting a response.

Addressing a media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Godsell said the document, called the "Constitutional Options Project", was aimed at provoking debate and dealt with choices citizens would be making regarding negotiations and discussions on a new constitution.

He said the 85-page document, which is ultimately aimed at the public, will not be made available

to the press until it has been presented to all the "key political actors".

The document was compiled by what is collectively known as the Anglo Scenario Planning Team and some international constitutional experts.

Other organisations

Anglo's team comprises Mr Godsell, a director of the corporation, responsible for public affairs and industrial relations, and Mr Spicer, personal assistant to Anglo chairman Mr Gavin Relly.

The others are Mrs Margie Keeton, of the corporation's public affairs division, and Mr Michael O'Dowd, a director, and chairman of the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund.

Asked about other organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mr Godsell said:

"We are going to get to all

the other groups outside. We are going to distribute it as widely as possible."

He said they had started work on the document about six months ago and they were putting it into book form to be published "sooner or later".

"We are trying to create a debate on democracies and constitutions for the public. Our aim is to give anyone with an interest in the political future of South Africa, a guide to words and concepts that are in current circulation.

"Different people from different countries do not always mean the same thing when they speak of democracy. We are not playing a negotiating role and this does not preclude a solution. It seeks to look at various options.

"We are simply a tool that will facilitate debate on political issues," Mr Godsell said.

Mr Spicer added: "It is merely a way of deepening the debate, which has sometimes been superficial."



UDF general secretary "Terror" is carried shoulder high by supporters on his release last week

Lekota's challenge to De Klerk

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Lekota was addressing a reception organised to welcome him and four other Delmas trialists — UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, UDF Transvaal regional executive member Moss Chikane, the SACC's Tom Mantata and Gcimu Muzi Malindi, a member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association.

Lekota said he was not satisfied with the government "allowing" the peoples' leaders to participate in marches or to hold rallies in the Transkei.

Marooned

"They must sit down with them now — and of course with the exiles — and talk with them about a new and democratic constitution for our country.

"That is the message we bring back tonight. That is the determination with which we have come back."

Lekota said he brought special greetings from people who remained "marooned" on Robben Island.

"We bring with us the determination of young men who have survived Death Row, who are here now, many who have no families, no homes to return to, but this movement and yourselves.

"They want you to know that they remain eager for this movement to make it possible for them to be released from Robben Island, that they may come and constitute a process of resolving the problems of our country."

Lekota said that included in the message was the "quiet and silent yearning" of Nelson Mandela to return to Johannesburg.

Lekota had seen Mandela when a delegation of Robben Island prisoners met him at his Victor Verster prison home.

"He wants to come here and finish off the job which he and our forefathers began when they set up the movement for freedom," Lekota said.

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota maintains he was not "frightened" by Robben Island — and would be prepared to return there if necessary.

Lekota, who was released last week after four and half years in jail, said he and his fellow Delmas trialists were prepared to talk to the government if it was serious about negotiating an acceptable solution to the country's problems.

"But unless we are satisfied that they are serious, there can be no peace, there can be no quiet in this country," he said.

"We cannot be frightened by Robben Island. If we are prevented from talking, we will return there."

UDF 'unbans itself' to operate openly

CAH & TMS 15/11/80 (10)

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has unbanned itself and will operate openly, executive members of the organisation said at a press conference here yesterday.

The decision to work openly after 4½ years of operating under "most repressive conditions" imposed by the ongoing state of emergency, was taken when the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the UDF met last weekend.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Murphy Morobe were chosen at the weekend meeting as assistant general secretary and assistant publicity secretary respectively.

The NEC also decided that recently released general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota would take up the positions they had held before their arrest. — Sapa

2 Cape Times, Thursday, January 18, 1980

Sisulu's call to arms

ANC urges militants to intensify struggle

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday called for political and military intensification of the fight against apartheid, while the organisation said from London that the armed struggle would not be stopped as a precondition to talks.

Mr Sisulu told about 1 000 exiled ANC members in Lusaka that they should work to-

ward negotiations with Pretoria, but pursue the armed struggle to maintain pressure.

"The political struggle and the armed struggle go side by side."

He and other recently freed leaders of the ANC's old guard were cheered wildly by exiled young ANC militants who came face-to-face yesterday with revered anti-apartheid leaders sent to jail long before most of them were born.

Mr Sisulu urged them to intensify their struggle even

though there might appear to be a lessening of tension under President FW de Klerk.

In London, a senior national executive committee adviser of the ANC said its policy had never considered the military overthrow of white rule.

It had always been one of a political struggle with a military component.

The ANC scenario for negotiations — presumably after a ceasefire — was that an end to the policy of armed struggle and South Africa's use of mili-

tary force should be considered together as part of the process.

It was in this essence that the ANC was prepared to enter negotiations while pillars of apartheid law like the Group Areas Act were in force.

● The principle of a one-party state had been abandoned by the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, and it now accepted the idea of a multi-party democracy. SABC-TV news reported last night.

Govt reviewing restrictions

GOVERNMENT is reviewing the restrictions imposed on all banned organisations, a Justice Ministry spokesman said yesterday. *15/Jan 18/1/90*

The statement came as the UDF national executive announced it would resume full-scale, above-ground operations as a challenge to government.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday in a statement the UDF was not a banned organisation. However, during February 1988 it was necessary to restrict certain of its activities.

Vlok said if the UDF felt its activities were no longer a threat to the public or the maintenance of law and order, or to the

MATTHEW CURTIN

ending of the state of emergency, then it was free to apply to him to continue its activities unrestricted, and he invited it to do so. *(11A)*

The resumption of its activities without the necessary permission would constitute a contravention of the emergency regulations. Any contraventions would be investigated in the normal way and passed on to the Attorney General for a decision.

Senior leaders of the UDF, representing more than 700 organisations with more than two million members, said they would re-open offices across the country and

To Page 2

Restrictions *15/Jan 18/1/90*

begin planning for a national conference in April. *(11A)*

UDF treasurer Azar Cachalia said yesterday the reviewing of restrictions by government was "news to us".

"As recently as this weekend, Titus Mafolo, National Executive Council member, was approached by officials in Pretoria and reminded of his restricted status. The government is concerned about its reformist image and it is a standard tactic when opposition groups take the initiative for it to say it has the situation under review already."

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the UDF would co-ordinate "an intensification of the mass struggle inside the country."

"We owe it to our people that the leadership of our movement is openly available at this crucial moment in the struggle for freedom and democracy in our country."

Morobe said UDF offices would be opening shortly, and gave notice of the organisation's national general conference — its

first in five years — to be held from April 6 to April 8.

As part of the UDF's revitalised strategy, Morobe said, a 22-person UDF delegation headed by co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu would be meeting Nelson Mandela in Victor Verster Prison at a date to be confirmed.

Cachalia said it was wrong to say the emergency regulations had been de facto lifted.

"But it is true that their purpose has failed. The UDF is as strong as ever and now we are challenging President F W de Klerk's commitment to a new SA."

Asked what the UDF's position was in relationship to the ANC, he said they were two autonomous organisations "but the aims were as one".

Yesterday's media conference also saw the official public welcoming of freed Delmas trialists Popo Molefe and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, who have re-assumed their positions as general secretary and publicity secretary on the UDF executive.

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● Picture: Page 3

Sisulu's unity call at Lusaka reunion

LUSAKA. — There was a flurry of activity here this week as the leaders of the ANC met each other for the first time in 27 years.

The emotional scene at the airport as Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlaba and Harry Gwala disembarked from the Zambian charter plane made it clear that there was no confusion about the leadership of Oliver Tambo and the National Executive.

Sisulu said there was definitely no division between the internal and external ANC and that their Lusaka visit would be used to emphasise this fact.

Sisulu reiterated that the ANC was ready to negotiate an end to apartheid and stressed the importance of the Harare Declaration which has been adopted by the international community.

Sisulu said: "I've been united with my son Max, my grandchildren, daughter-in-law and friends and I'm excited."

In an interview before his father's arrival, Max Sisulu, who last saw his father 27 years ago when he was only 17, said: "The release of my father is cause for jubilation. I'm extremely excited, as it is an event I have been looking forward to for so many years."

"I hope I can have some time with him and for him to meet his four grandchildren — one of whom is named after him."

The rest of the week was a round of meetings, briefings, consultations, and social engagements.

Reception

The most prestigious social event was the reception hosted by president Kenneth Kaunda at State House.

Kaunda told the crowd of about 1 000 guests that the end of apartheid was eventually in sight. He said the ANC had the unqualified support of the Frontline States.

Sisulu and the other released leaders will meet the heads of the Frontline States on Monday.

On Wednesday they briefed members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) on the situation in South Africa. The NEC assembles today for a crucial three-day meeting.

Sisulu and the others were also guests at the American Centre where there was a Martin Luther King Day commemoration.

Sisulu told the reception that the oppressed in the country needed the continued support of the international community.

"The small clique of racists in our country cannot withstand the universal revolt against apartheid. FW de Klerk should release Nelson Mandela not next month or next week but now."

Earlier at the briefing, he said the ANC had to concentrate on correcting mistakes and facing problems.

"We must criticise constructively and be critical. There should be honesty, discipline and order. But unconstructive criticism is a greater danger than the enemy," said Sisulu.

He appealed to people to unite behind the leadership of ANC president Oliver Tambo.



ANC leaders Walter Sisulu, left, and Govan Mbeki lay a wreath for African heroes in Lusaka

Unbanned ANC tied to Mandela release

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is expecting the announcement of his release to be tied to the unbanning of the ANC — possibly when Parliament opens next month.

He told a delegation of lawyers representing the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) who saw him recently that he was "hopeful" that the government would make an important announcement at the opening of parliament.

"He is hopeful that the announcement will include the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency," said Cape Town attorney Essa Moosa.

Negotiate

Moosa stressed that as a prisoner, Mandela was in no position to negotiate his own release nor had the government given him any assurances that he would be released soon.

Mandela briefed the Nadel delegation on his role as a facilitator in bringing the government and the ANC to meet.

Meanwhile a second meeting between Mandela and state president FW de Klerk may be on the cards after the ANC has discussed the proceedings of their first encounter.

However, it is not known whether Mandela will meet De Klerk as a prisoner or a free man.

Mandela was allowed to brief ANC official Thabo Mbeki telephonically on his discussions with De Klerk.

All banned organisations 'reviewed'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is reviewing the restrictions imposed on all banned organisations, a Justice Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

The statement came as the UDF national executive yesterday announced it would resume full-scale, above-ground operations as a challenge to the government.

In response to the question of whether the ANC and SA Communist Party were included in the review, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said a "comprehensive review" was being made of all organisations. It is not known when a decision will be made.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday said the UDF was not a banned organisation. However, during February 1988 it was necessary to restrict certain of its activities.

Mr Vlok said that if the UDF felt its activities were no longer a threat to the public, the maintenance of law and order or the ending of the state of emergency then it was free to apply to him to continue its activities unrestricted.

The resumption of its activities without permission would constitute a contravention of the emergency regulations and would be investigated in the normal way and passed on to the attorney-general for a decision, he said.

UDF treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia said yesterday that the UDF's review by government was "news to us".

● UDF 'unbans itself' — Page 7

Mandela - the enigma in the prison at Paarl

Star
18/1/90
11A

By PATRICK LAURENCE

As Mr Nelson Mandela's long sojourn as a prisoner draws to a close, a spate of reports offering differing and sometimes conflicting perspectives on him have appeared in the local and foreign media.

They have been superimposed on the legend which has built up around Mr Mandela as the world's most famous political prisoner and the man who refused to submit to the once seemingly immutable forces of apartheid and white hegemony.

These reports have emanated, directly or indirectly, from the long stream of people who have visited the African National Congress leader at his prison bungalow at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

A recent report, based on an interview with the wealthy Soweto mogul, Mr Richard Maponya, a friend of Mr Mandela from the old days, portrayed Mr Mandela as a gourmet, if not a sybarite, entertaining his guest to a "five star meal" and "washing down" the delicious food with fine wines.

The report went on to present Mr Mandela as a man who had turned his back on the socialist ideals of his younger, pre-jail days; he was, the report said, no longer in favour of the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry" as prescribed by the Freedom Charter.

The report was followed up by the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld*; it proclaimed in a front page headline "Mandela now thinks differently about politics".

But what Mr Mandela's visitors see and hear, what impresses them most, and what they choose to emphasise in their subsequent accounts of the meeting, varies according to their beliefs and values.

Many of Mr Mandela's interlocutors have been impressed by his physical and intellectual discipline; he is a dedicated exerciser who has kept abreast of contemporary events.

One of his visitors was Mr Popo Molefe, the general secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), who returned to freedom last month



Professor Meer . . . "Mandela sees socialism as intrinsically African".

after the Appeal Court quashed his conviction for treason.

He was impressed by Mr Mandela's astonishing grasp of detail, a grasp which extended from the political domain to the minutiae of the personal lives of his visitors. Mr Mandela inquired about Mr Molefe's young daughter, Tina.

Grafted on to his detailed knowledge of the situation on the ground is a clear overview and strategic vision of how to bring apartheid to an end, avers Mr Azhar Cachalia, an executive member of the UDF.

Not everyone shares the view that Mr Mandela has rejected socialism. Professor Fatima Meer, Mr Mandela's official biographer, records: "He sees socialism itself as intrinsically African. He is open to discussing its modern forms, to consolidating a policy securing mass freedom from want, rather than serving prosperous elitist pockets."

of Mr Mandela's visitors is his reasonable approach: his willingness to take account of white fears and to "hasten slowly" when the occasion demands it.

His tactical flexibility was manifest even before he was jailed for life in 1964. To cite two examples:

- He was prepared to accept 60 seats in Parliament for blacks as an interim measure towards universal adult suffrage for all.
- He advocated the use of the boycott as a tactical weapon and, on tactical grounds, advised coloured people to vote in the 1958 general election, even though they were registered on a racially separate voters roll and only entitled to elect four white representatives.

Tactical flexibility should not, however, be confused with abandonment of objectives and ideals; Lenin, it may be recalled, spoke of taking two steps backward in order to take one forward.

Deciphering all the information — and perhaps some disinformation — about Mr Mandela is a difficult task even for observers with a degree of expertise in political exegesis.

There are perhaps two guidelines to follow for those who are too impatient — or too excited — to wait for Mr Mandela to emerge and speak directly to the nation.

Last July after his meeting with President P W Botha, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa." But, he added, he had not deviated from the position he had taken for the last 28 years.

Twenty-eight years earlier, despairing of the chance of peaceful negotiation, he went underground and helped launch the ANC's underground army, saying: "The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

Today, the opportunity for the peaceful establishment of a non-racial society has re-emerged and Mr Mandela is trying to take the peaceful route he always preferred. The terrain and the method are different but the struggle continues.

Mr Molefe does not project Mr Mandela as a man who has turned away from the Freedom Charter's commitment to nationalising "monopoly industry".

His immediate priority is the establishment of a non-racial democratic state, Mr Molefe says. But that does not infer a rejection of socialism in favour of capitalism, he adds.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, another top member of the UDF who has visited Mr Mandela, agrees: "My own impression is that Mr Mandela is deeply committed to the Freedom Charter."

He says of the Mandela who emerges from the interview with Mr Maponya: "It is not the Mandela experienced by those of us who have been fortunate enough to meet him."

Another trait which strikes many

Stew 18/11/90

UDF calls for an ^(11A) end to ~~UDF~~ violence in Lebowa

By Esmaré
van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front has called for an immediate end to the violence in Lebowa which it claims has already left one person dead, others injured and many families homeless.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, officials of the UDF and the Bushbuckridge Youth Congress claimed the SADF, SA Police and Lebowa Police were participating in incidents of violence and intimidation against UDF supporters and organisations in the Bushbuckridge area.

It was claimed they were acting on instruction of Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, through the Sofasonke vigilante group.

Spokesmen said the Lebowa government was trying to stifle political freedom as a result of UDF mobilisation in the homeland.

At least one person, Mr Matthews Thibela, had died and another was in hospital.

Fifteen houses had been attacked, 10 of which had been destroyed. Police had refused to take statements, it was claimed.

HARASSMENT

Also present at the media conference were two independent Lebowa MPs, Mr Laynas Mashile and Mr Winias Mashile. The brothers said they were ANC supporters and had been the victims of harassment by the homeland's government.

Spokesmen for the Bushbuckridge Youth Congress claimed police ammunition had been

used in some attacks, while vigilantes involved in the attacks had been spotted at roadblocks, wearing police uniforms.

They said the clampdown on political expression had started in September following a Youth Congress protest march against lack of democracy and freedom of expression, police brutality and water shortages.

A SAP spokesman denied the allegations but urged people to report incidents of violence to the police. A SADF spokesman said he was not aware of any SADF involvement, but asked people to forward details of the allegations to the SADF's public relations directorate in Pretoria for investigation.

The Lebowa police denied the allegations, and Chief Minister Ramodike could not be reached for comment.

LUSAKA — SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo has rejected a one-party system for SA, saying the SACP is learning from the distortions that took place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. bloom 12/11/90

Slovo said in an interview yesterday a one-party system would be a mistake as it would be doubtful if democracy could survive.

"We have also looked at the experiences of the world and noted that there are more one-party states in the capitalist world, especially in Africa, than in the socialist world."

Slovo said party membership had been growing steadily since 1984.

Stalinism

He had noted at past congresses that some delegates displayed a narrow doctrinaire approach and intolerance of debate.

"They regarded party policy as a catechism that could not be disputed."

He said many people had tied themselves to an embrace of Stalinism and still tried to find excuses for it, "instead of recognising the enormity of the tragedy of what went on".

Slovo said his doubts about Stalin began in 1956 with the Krushchev revelations and had since persisted.

He warned against Western impressions that communism was dead.

"What we are seeing is the death of distorted socialism."

"There has to be a distinction between

CHARLENE SMITH

dogma and distortion. Socialism will now enter a new phase."

In discussions throughout the week with journalists, Slovo has adopted a conciliatory, understanding attitude towards SA President F W de Klerk.

He said: "So far De Klerk does not have a secret agenda, although he has made it clear that he is not and will not discuss the process of moving towards majority rule."

"As long as he is not prepared to do that, there is no certainty that negotiations will result in a settlement."

He said that he did not think De Klerk had much time. "He's raised expectations and unless he comes up with something, he will be in terrible trouble and I think he is aware of that."

Slovo expected that De Klerk might, in his February 2 speech at the opening of Parliament, implement some of the pre-negotiation clauses of the Harare declaration such as the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

He said it would be difficult for De Klerk to unban the ANC and not the SACP.

"The ANC could not have an alliance with a banned organisation."

Slovo said major issues under discussion this week would include means "of improving ourselves organisationally".

"The political and military sides will be under scrutiny."

Star 18/1/70

11A

Briefing



"Obviously we can't leave him in here much longer." The Independent

Sisulu calls for unity



Mr Walter Sisulu.

110
Sowetan
18/1/90

LUSAKA- Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday appealed for unity in the run up to talks with Pretoria in his first speech to members of the ANC in exile.

Sisulu, who last October was released after more than 25 years of imprisonment in South Africa, addressed several hundred rank-and-file ANC members in this Zambian capital, headquarters of the banned organization.

The white-haired leader, now 77, was enthusiastically greeted on his first trip out of South Africa with songs and dance by party members, many who have been in exile for over two decades.

Sisulu paid tribute to the political, organizational, and military contributions made by the ANC in exile. Their sacrifices for the anti-apartheid movement, he said, made the exile's role the most difficult of all. Today we are no longer crying in the wilderness, he stated.

While Sisulu praised the past activities of the organization's military wing, he emphasised the importance of rank and-file support for initiatives by ANC leaders to achieve a negotiated settlement with Pretoria.

Referring to an ANC paper which outlines a strategy for creating a political climate suitable for negotiation - it was adopted by the Organization of African Unity last August - the leader said that the document must be clearly understood by every ANC member if it were not to become a dead letter.

A constant theme throughout Sisulu's address was the vital need for discipline and unity within the ANC.



FRIENDS: African National Congress secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, centre, shares a joke with Mr Walter Sisulu, right, and his son Max in Lusaka.

Sisulu sounds warning to 'friends of apartheid'

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Former African National Congress secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu told an audience which included several foreign diplomats that a "free and united South African people" would remember the friends and collaborators of apartheid.

And he called for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela — "not next week or next month, but now".

Mr Sisulu was delivering the Martin Luther King Day address at the United States Cultural Centre in Lusaka.

The ANC is known to be concerned about the relationship several Western countries, particularly Britain, have with the South African government.

Mr Sisulu said: "We need the continued support of the international community represented here today.

"We need your support in saying that apartheid must end now. We need your continued engagement in the common struggle against the system for the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

"When building the system of international friendship and co-operation as a united and free South African people, we will have to take into account the important question of

who were the friends and collaborators of apartheid.

"It is false to argue that the prospect of change will be advanced by the absence or reduction of action against apartheid. These pressures should not be relaxed until profound and irreversible changes have taken place."

Mr Sisulu said the ANC was determined to maintain the momentum towards ending apartheid and indeed accelerating it.

"To maintain the momentum towards the final destruction of the apartheid system requires that (President) FW de Klerk moves with expedition to release Nelson Mandela now and stop all speculation once and for all."

● From London the Argus Foreign Service reports that plans for a meeting between Mr Sisulu and British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd could be in doubt if the British minister insists on seeing the Mr Sisulu in his capacity as a private individual.

An ANC spokesman said here that while Mr Sisulu was keen on a meeting "he must be received as a leader of the ANC and not as a private individual".

It has long been British government policy not to have contact with the ANC at ministerial level. But this has changed since the release of Mr Sisulu and his calls for a peaceful solution.

Copy links 18/1/90

APL
Thinks **Hendrickse**
out of debate.

18/1/84
11A

LONDON. — Political pressure appears to have forced Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to pull out of an Oxford University debate on South Africa with representatives of the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert are now scheduled to cross verbal swords tonight with Mr George Lobo, of the AAM, and an ANC political analyst who goes only by the name of "Mzala".

The ANC and AAM have in the past refused to share public platforms with coloured and Indian politicians who opted to participate in the 1984 tricameral parliamentary system which excluded blacks. — Sapa

Stalked UDF man slain at wedding

DURBAN. — United Democratic Front organiser Victor Ntuli, who lived in hiding after a gunman looking for him massacred 13 people at his parents' KwaMakhutha home three years ago, has been shot dead at a wedding reception.

Ntuli, past secretary of the KwaMakhutha Youth League and delegate to the Harare conference on Children under Apartheid, was buried last weekend at a mass funeral in KwaMakhutha.

The South African Defence Force provided an escort to the cemetery following a dispute between funeral organisers and the KwaZulu police, who wished marchers on foot to be transported in buses. No incidents were reported.

The computer student was shot dead at a wedding re-

ception on January 7 by a gunman believed to be an Inkatha supporter.

KwaZulu police confirmed that a murder docket has been opened.

Police reported 150 spent AK 47 rifle shells after attackers petrol-bombed the Ntuli home and gunned down its fleeing occupants during the January 20 1987 mass slaying.

Among those killed were Reverend Willie Ntuli, 50, his daughters Sthembile, 6, Jabu, 16, and Phumele, 19; Mrs Nombuso Ndlwalane, 50, and Nomusa Ndlwalane, 7; Isable Khubeka, 50; and Jabu Gumede.

The dead included five children, aged five to 10, from a family visiting on holiday. —

DURBANNEWS

UDF is to operate openly

18/11/90
By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

11A

The restricted United Democratic Front announced yesterday that it was resuming its political activities in order to intensify the struggle for freedom and to challenge the reform measures of State President F W de Klerk.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, UDF leaders also announced that a 22-man official UDF delegation would soon meet jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

And the organisation's national general council, the highest decision-making body, would discuss key policy issues such as negotiations at a three-day meeting starting on April 6.

ENFORCE LAW

Reacting to the UDF's decision to "unban" itself yesterday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the organisation was not banned, although it had been necessary in February 1988 to restrict certain of its activities and operations in order to ensure the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the end of the emergency situation.

"The regulations at the same time made allowance for the UDF to apply to the Minister of Law and Order to carry on with its activities and operations.

"I therefore invite the UDF to let me have the necessary representations. However, should the UDF violate (oortree) the restrictions placed on it without permission, it could be a transgression of the emergency regulations and the alleged infringements will be investigated in the normal course and handed to an Attorney-General for a decision."

UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe told scores of local and international journalists that the ban on the organisation was in sharp contrast to State President F W de Klerk's stated aim of working towards negotiations.

"In what we see as a challenging period ahead of us, we have decided to claim our rights to engage in open opposition activities. We owe it to our people that the leadership of our movement is openly available at this crucial moment in the struggle for freedom and democracy."

Two recently-released UDF leaders, general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, would resume their positions. Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Murphy Morobe, who had acted in those capacities, would in future be assistant general secretary and assistant publicity secretary respectively.

Formed in 1983, the UDF was restricted two years ago but "unbanned" itself last year. Now offices would be reopened, organisational structures built up and the defiance campaign intensified.

The UDF would also remain part of the Mass Democratic Movement.

"The expectations created by F W de Klerk have made our people impatient. We believe that the possibility of large-scale mass action is greater than at any other time in our history," Mr Morobe said.

Mr Valli Moosa said the UDF would not dissolve when the ANC was unbanned. The future relationship between the two organisations was already being discussed at grass-roots level.

● See Page 9.

Govt 'to lift curbs, avoid showdown'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government is expected to lift restrictions on organisations such as the UDF to avoid a damaging showdown with them and with the press.

The Democratic Party forecast this today following the UDF's decision this week to resume their political activities as a challenge to the Government.

The press also has openly challenged the Government by deliberately flouting the law which prohibits the quoting of banned people. Yesterday the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper *Beeld* criticised the ban on quoting in an editorial and published a front page report quoting the banned South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

The financial newspaper *Business Day* followed *Beeld*'s example by doing so in a news report today. So far there has been no indication from the Govern-

ment that these newspapers would be prosecuted for doing so. ~~STW~~ STW 18/1/90

The Star carried the gist of Mr Slovo's remarks in a news report last week and took up the matter again in its Undercurrent Affairs column on Saturday. Mr Slovo's main point was: "We have ... noted that there are more one-party states in the capitalist world, especially in Africa, than in the socialist world." But the SACP rejected a one-party system for SA, he said.

Responding to the earlier, separate challenge to the regulations by the UDF, the Justice Department said yesterday this was no real challenge, and the restrictions on the UDF and other organisations were in any case under review.

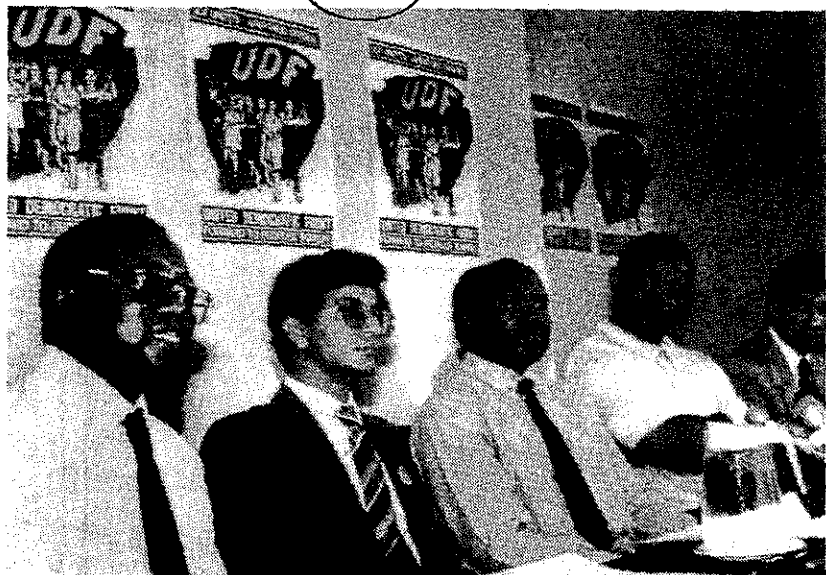
The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok invited the UDF and other organisations to apply to have their restrictions lifted.

It seems likely that such applications would be considered favourably, as Government sources said today that the security climate was far better now than it had been in February 1988 when the organisations were restricted.

DP deputy justice spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said today that the changed political climate made it essential for the restrictions to be reviewed and lifted so that the country could move into a climate of open political debate and to avoid losing current momentum.

B/Day 18/1/90 (11A)

BUSINESS DAY,



The UDF leadership at yesterday's conference in Johannesburg held to announce that the organisation would open its regional offices and begin to canvass openly. From left: Popo Molefe, Mohammed Valli, Murphy Morobe, Patrick Lekota and Azar Cachalia.

Picture: REUTERS

BIDM 18/11/90

THE MARKET'S 'MANDELA FACTOR'

ROBERT GENTLE

THE likely effect the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela will have on the finrand has been largely discounted and is already reflected in the present price, broking and banking sources said yesterday.

There was therefore unlikely to be a sharp rise in the value of the currency. Sudden heavy buying or selling by non-residents of gilts was therefore also unlikely.

The sources were responding to suggestions that what one trader called "the Mandela factor" may cause sharp movements in the finrand and gilts markets.

"It has already been largely discounted," said a Standard Merchant Bank spokesman, who described the finrand as the real political barometer of the country.

This was echoed by a spokesman from First National Bank, who said that non-residents were now buying SA gilts for purely financial reasons. "If the yields drop to below 20%, we could see some profit-taking," he said.

A Finansbank spokesman said the world may yet get bullish on SA after an eventual Mandela release. This would push the finrand up still further.

But a gilts trader from brokers Simpson McKie said: "I think the finrand has

already reached the point where its attraction is starting to wane."

Yields may soon dip to under 20% and if rates moved up any further, it could be a sign to foreign buyers to start taking profits.

"The tone of the market is now bearish and I don't see Mandela making that much of a difference," she said.

11A Instability

A trader from another broking firm said even if yields dipped below present levels, they would still be among the highest on offer in the world.

A spokesman from a merchant bank took a different tack, saying that cautious German and Swiss investors — whom he estimates at 75% of the market — may see in the Mandela release the beginnings of political instability and start selling.

"It's the Americans that are calling for the release of Mandela, but they're not really in the market anyway," he said.

On a positive note, he said, Mandela's release might take the political heat off London and bring its banks and institutions back into the market.

Sisulu 'hint' of softer role for Umkhonto

18/11/90 CHARLENE SMITH 11A

LUSAKA — ANC leader Walter Sisulu made a speech to the ANC-in-exile here yesterday that political observers are widely interpreting as a prelude to discussions about a softening of the role of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Sisulu said: "When Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed it was because there was no alternative at that stage. There was no more effective method of meeting the brutality of apartheid. It was necessary to defend our people."

Sisulu said the decade would not end "without us winning our freedom" and called for active self-criticism in the organisation.

He referred to the importance of the international community's support in reaching the present situation where negotiations were actively being discussed.

He called on "you here, MK, the people, the international community to intensify the struggle at home, even if there appears to be a lessening of tension at home. If we do not the regime will dominate."

The ANC had learnt from the lessons of Eastern Europe but "those who are thinking there is an end to socialism are making a big mistake," Sisulu said.

11A (307A)

19/1/90

Cape Times, Friday, Ja

FW 'willing', says Worrall

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would express his government's willingness to act on most of the ANC's pre-conditions for negotiation when he opens Parliament on February 2, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall predicted last night during a debate in the prestigious Oxford Union.

Mr De Klerk would do this "on the basis that he gets a quid pro quo from the ANC on the use of violence".

The ANC had helped Mr De Klerk by not insisting that the remaining apartheid laws, such as the Group Areas, Population Registration and Land Acts, be repealed before serious talks could get under way.

But Dr Worrall warned that expectations both inside and outside the country were running away from reality.

"Quick solutions are as unlikely in South Africa as they are in Northern Ireland or the Middle East. And, as with these two situations, the contribution outsiders can make to finding answers is a limited one."

South Africa had unquestionably, in the words of Mr Walter Sisulu, en-

tered a new era.

"Most whites recognise, without necessarily understanding what this means, that apartheid days are over.

"And they are beginning to realise that the new political order has to be worked out by all South Africans and have the stamp of approval of a majority of South Africans if it is to work."

Dr Worrall said the two major political actors, the National Party government and the ANC, were definitely moving toward agreement on the pre-conditions for negotiation.

"The extra-parliamentary organisations, and the ANC in particular, have said there will be no negotiations unless they can engage in political activity on the same basis as the NP."

"President De Klerk and his government accept this, and interpret it to mean that there should be a 'normalised security situation'."

The rough convergence between the NP and the ANC on pre-conditions were the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the lifting of restrictions on political organisations and individuals, the removal of troops from townships — which was already virtually complete, the cessation of all 'political' trials and executions, although there was less agreement on this, and an end to the emergency.

F/M 19/11/90

HIGH ROAD TO NELSON

(11A) ~~23~~

One unpublicised visitor to Nelson Mandela, among the stream of callers at his Victor Verster prison villa, was Anglo American's Clem Sunter, newly appointed chairman of the corporation's Gold Division. He saw him last Tuesday.

Sunter had been hoping that word of the meeting would not get out but suspected that some journalist would hear of it sooner or later. Though he preferred not to reply to specific questions on what the great man had to say, Sunter nevertheless shared some of his impressions (far less effulgently than Soweto businessman Richard Maponya, after his visit to Mandela).

Even leaving aside the enormous myth that goes with the name Mandela, says Sunter, "he came across as a very impressive man indeed, and very open-minded." Their discussion — mainly politics and economics, but nothing about the date of his release — was an "unbelievably good" one. Sunter came away with "great hope" for the future of this country.

Mandela also struck him as very practical, not wedded to a particular "ism," but sharing belief in a more pragmatic blend of ideologies (which Sunter himself propagates). He is concerned about "so-

cial justice and social responsibility," says Sunter, without wishing to elaborate.

Mandela seems "remarkably well-read and up-to-date" and very aware of events such as those across eastern Europe, which have probably influenced his thinking. What most impressed Sunter was that Mandela judges people as individuals and not by their backgrounds.

While it was difficult to say whether Mandela saw himself as a national leader (as opposed to a purely ANC one), there was no doubt that there is "consensus" between him and the ANC on the issue of negotiations.

Pity it couldn't all be spelled out with the clarity of one of Sunter's scenario presentations.

□ Amidst rejoicing in Lusaka last Monday over the reunion visit to ANC exiles by Walter Sisulu and those released with him, the ANC announced that it is prepared to start negotiating with Pretoria even though key apartheid laws remain on the statute book. If unbanned, it added, the ANC would engage in peaceful political activity.

It was also suggested that Sisulu and comrades could be co-opted on to the ANC national executive committee.

ANC hints at fighting limits

LUSAKA — The ANC admitted yesterday it did not have "the capacity" to intensify the armed struggle.

This view, expressed at the opening here of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) conference with the internal leadership and observers from the mass democratic movement, would be clarified only on Monday, the ANC said. At the same time, a programme of action based on this week's meetings might be published.

The ANC leadership told delegates, diplomats and Zambian officials that the Harare Declaration made provision for the mutual suspension of armed hostilities and a negotiated end to hostilities, but while this had not happened, "the armed struggle must continue".

Acknowledging that it lacked the capacity to intensify the armed struggle effectively, the ANC said the main military

11A
- CHARLENE SMITH

priority would be to rectify that — "both to fight effectively should the need arise" and to form a future SA army.

The need to consider what to do when the ANC was formally unbanned — whether to operate solely as a legal movement or to maintain some underground units — was put to the conference.

The ANC said, with regard to President F W de Klerk, it should be expected that government would work to engage the organisation in negotiation once it had tackled ending the state of emergency, unbanning organisations and returning exiles.

De Klerk could well move with speed, to catch the ANC off balance and retain the initiative, the conference heard.

A secret proposal drafted by Nelson Mandela and conveyed to the conference

□ To Page 2

ANC

11/11/90
appeared crucial to this. He would telephone Lusaka on Sunday to determine what resolutions had been adopted with regard to his proposal. The NEC is to discuss what tasks Mandela should assume after his release, which it was made clear was expected to be "soon".

On the issue of international support, the conference heard that as the situation in SA improved, the more difficult it would be to have further sanctions imposed.

11A
The UN secretary general was expected to begin a major diplomatic initiative to inform nations of the content of the Harare Declaration and the General Assembly resolution supporting the declaration.

Finally, regarding the health of ANC president Oliver Tambo, the conference heard he had been paralysed on his right side but had now begun walking and writing unaided.

□ From Page 1

Cohen urges parties to work for consensus

ANTI-apartheid campaigners should work to achieve consensus among diverse and often hostile opposition elements, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said in a report published in the Los Angeles Times this week.

The report said campaigners should formulate constructive principles for the negotiating process that might be emerging. There were signs such an effort, with the support of the international community, had already begun.

"The ANC has indicated it is taking the possibility of dialogue seriously. Its expressed preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement was endorsed in 1989 by the OAU," he said.

Cohen said the declaration, adopted at the UN special session on apartheid on December 14, not only urged the people of SA to join together to negotiate an end to apartheid, but also postulated fundamental principles that could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solution in SA.

He said while a non-racial democratic SA was not yet at hand, there was a growing sense that most South Africans were ready to break out of the isolation imposed by apartheid.

ANDREW GILL

He said US policy towards SA was guided by five basic principles:

- Unequivocal opposition to apartheid;
- A commitment to building a post-apartheid democratic SA through assistance to black South Africans;
- Active US diplomacy to resolve conflicts and support economic developments throughout southern Africa;
- Co-operation with US allies and other concerned nations in a multilateral approach to SA; and
- The maintenance of a bipartisan consensus with Congress on general approach to the region.

"In claiming a mandate for change after the last elections, President de Klerk has taken a number of encouraging steps to get dialogue under way.

"It is premature to predict whether these steps will lead to a continuing dialogue, but they constitute tangible evidence that things are changing, and they offer reason for hope.

"For its part, the anti-apartheid movement must look beyond the rhetoric of the past to find creative ways of responding to the unexpected opportunities that may now be arising."

CNA Times 19/1/90 (11A) ~~SEA~~

ANC admit limits to armed struggle

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday that while they accept the principle of intensifying the armed struggle, "looking at the situation realistically, we do not have the capacity to intensify the armed struggle in every meaning of the word".

This admission was made at the opening of the national executive committee (NEC) conference with the internal leadership and observers from the Mass Democratic Movement here yesterday.

Delegates, diplomats and Zambian officials were told by a senior ANC spokesman that the Harare Declaration provided for the mutual suspension of armed hostilities and a negotiated end to hostilities.

"While this has not happened, the armed struggle must continue," he said.

But he acknowledged that the

ANC did not have the capacity to intensify the armed struggle effectively, and that the main military task for the future was building up that capacity in the country — "both to fight effectively should the need arise", and to form a future South African army.

The spokesman said the conference had to consider what to do when the ANC was formally unbanned.

"We should consider whether to operate solely as a legal movement or continue to maintain some underground units."

He said these discussions would also be related to the return of exiles.

These views were expressed in a report delivered by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, who is the acting president of the ANC while President Oliver Tambo recuperates from a brain spasm in a Swedish hospital.

"We must not stand behind the fence with our feet shackled by old perceptions, and fear to confront a new reality," he said. "We

must be ready to break new ground."

The conference was told that Mr Tambo had been paralysed down the right side of his body but, with encouragement from doctors, had begun walking and writing unaided.

Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela drafted a secret proposal which is being considered by the conference.

He contacted the organisation late yesterday afternoon to inquire about progress thus far and said he would telephone the ANC in Lusaka on Sunday to discover what resolutions had been adopted with regard to his proposal.

The NEC is also to discuss tasks Mr Mandela should assume after his release from prison.

● Sapa-Reuter reports that former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders will visit Norway at the end of this month and will have talks with Foreign Minister Mr Kjell Magne Bondevik.

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Cape Times, Friday, January 19, 1990 3

By MARIUS BOSCH

MR Nelson Mandela does not believe that his release will be announced by President F W de Klerk at the opening of Parliament next month, a delegation of youth leaders said after a two-day visit to the jailed ANC leader.

South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) president Mr Peter Makoba said Mr Mandela had told the eight-member delegation that he believed his release would "not come on a platter" and that he was not going to beg for it.

"He said he would like to leave with us," Mr Makoba said.

Among the issues discussed with Mr Mandela was the meetings he had with cabinet ministers, former president Mr P W Botha and Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela had stressed again that he was not

Mandela's 'fighting spirit' praised

negotiating with the government but saw himself as a facilitator, Mr Makoba said.

The meetings with the government was a result of Mr Mandela wanting to draw the government's attention to "the desperate situation of our people", he said.

Mr Mandela had tried for more than three years to speak to the government and this showed that the government had never been prepared to enter into talks with the ANC, Mr Makoba said.

These issues had been raised during his meetings with Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha, Mr Mandela told the delegation.

According to Mr Makoba, Mr Mandela said some

of his views had been distorted by previous visitors, especially on nationalisation.

"He referred us to a statement he made in court in which he said political liberation can only be accompanied by some measure of socialism."

Other matters which had been discussed were that the ANC had never stood for black domination and had no intention of espousing communism, Mr Makoba said.

The members of the delegation said they had been impressed by Mr Mandela's "fighting spirit".

"He can come out (of prison) and replace any youth leader with his progressive militancy," one member of the delegation remarked.

ANC plans training programmes for youths

5/1/2001 17/11/20
LUSAKA — The ANC and Mass Democratic Movement will establish training programmes in and outside SA to upgrade skills and provide alternative futures for unemployed young people, say senior ANC sources here.

The sources expressed concern about the education crisis and the large number of unemployed youths, which they estimated at about two-million.

They said the ANC conducted a skills survey in SA some time ago.

The survey found there was a dearth of skills in areas such as engineering, mining engineering, hi-tech, management and administration.

The programmes would attempt to redress some of those skills imbalances.

Details of the planned programmes were not available.

CHARLENE SMITH

The sources said business should be a microcosm of the kind of society the ANC wanted.

A senior ANC economics official said the ANC envisaged a mixed economy. However, there were different types of mixed economies.

He said the organisation was opposed to privatisation as it eroded the ability to upgrade services and to implement effective wealth redistribution.

Privatisation served those who could afford to buy shares and those who already controlled a substantial chunk of the economy.

"We are taking away one part of a monopoly to serve another monopoly.

"We are talking about huge wealth in the hands of a few, and massive poverty, particu-

larly in rural areas."

The ANC, which met Anglo American executives last weekend, said it was compiling an action programme for businessmen.

Areas identified, of agreement and disagreement, included business communities' leverage with government and the fact that they were involved in arms manufacture and the supply of essentials to the police and military.

Whenever there were disagreements with the labour force, the business community called in the police, the senior sources said.

Business paid huge taxes to the government and had taken no position on conscription.

The ANC was also disturbed that businessmen travelled to Lusaka to hold talks with the ANC, but had not done the same with the MDM or Cosatu, the sources said.

UDF defiance 'indicates its determination'

CAF
TMB
19/1/70

Political Staff

11/4

THE fact that the United Democratic Front (UDF) had remained intact and was defying the emergency regulations was an indication of its determination, the UDF in the Western Cape said last night.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had tried to create the misleading impression that only certain UDF activities were circumscribed by the emergency regulations, it said.

"In fact, all UDF activities have been prohibited in terms of the emergency regulations," the organisation said in a statement.

"If UDF had to adhere to the letter of the regulations, it could not perform any act or take part in any activity whatsoever."

The statement said: "We are determined to continue to defy the state of emergency, because it is a stumbling block to the establishment of peace in our communities."

● In Johannesburg the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said he felt that a reappraisal of restricted organisations, as announced by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, was "welcome" and "overdue", reports Sapa

Cape Times 19/11/90
SACP decried as 'bourgeois'

HARARE. — The South African Communist Party (SACP), an ally of the ANC, was yesterday denounced for opting for a "multi-party bourgeois democracy" by an Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) official after SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo's statement accepting a multi-racial, multi-party democracy in South Africa.

The SACP was "shamelessly guilty of social betrayal of the toiling masses, and their actions confirm our long-held belief that they were never socialist but petit bourgeois liberal quacks which have mastered the art of abusing neo-Marxian phraseology", general secretary Mr Carter Seleke said in an interview with the Ziana news agency. — Sapa

Court hears of informer in cell

Secretan (11A) 19/01/90

By MANDLA NDLAZI

A police informer was planted in the cells where one of the seven alleged members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was detained, a Klerksdorp Regional Court Magistrate heard yesterday.

This was revealed by Mr Imraam Moosa - defence counsel for some of the seven accused appearing before Mr JD Pretorius on charges of terrorism - during cross-examination of Lieutenant SJ Hugo of the Welkom security police.

Police

Hugo said he did not know that Miss Mirriam Modiegi Mphono of Welkom was a police informer. He said he did not know that Mphono slept with a security police officer at Protea police station in Soweto on the night of December 5 1988. He also did not know that she was bought soap and a washing cloth in the morning by the policeman.

Hugo said he also did not know that Mphono spent the next night at Lenasia police cells were Miss Dorris Kuki Tlhako, one of the seven alleged members of the BCMA, was detained.

He said Mphono was detained by Warrant Officer Lemmer of the Soweto security police.

(Proceeding)

UDF 11R review

THE South African Government is to review the position of restricted organisations, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday in a press release from Cape Town, SABC radio news reports. 19/1/90

Reacting to the United Democratic Front national executive's announcement on Wednesday that it would resume full-scale, overt operations to challenge the government, Mr Coetsee said the position of restricted organisations was reviewed from time to time.

He added such an exercise was in the pipeline. *Sowetan*

Asked if the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party were included in the review, Mr Coetsee said a comprehensive approach was being adopted.

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S Africa's communist party steps ahead of Moscow

A draft discussion paper distributed in Lusaka during the visit of the ANC leaders this week, pledges South Africa's communists to multi-party democracy and freedom of speech and organisation, reports ANTON HARBER in Lusaka

THE South African Communist Party is about to publish a major new policy paper entitled "Has Socialism Failed?" that reveals serious rethinking in the organisation in the wake of recent developments in Eastern Europe.

A draft copy of the lengthy discussion paper, which was distributed in Lusaka this week, contains harsh criticism — using sometimes bitter language — of the "distorted" path socialism has taken and the role of the SACP itself in this.

While restating a commitment to the fundamentals of socialism, the party has pledged itself to a "multi-party post-apartheid democracy of organisation, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience and religion; full trade union rights for all workers including the right to strike and one person, one vote in free and democratic elections".

The SACP also commits itself to "winning the majority to its side" in normal democratic elections, rather than imposing itself or claiming "any right to exclusive control of the struggle".

In rejecting the notion of a one-party state, the SACP has gone further than its current mentor, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev has gone only so far as to say one-party democracy is a "noble but very difficult mission". The SACP says that it may, in fact, be impossible.

"Where a single-party state is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability within 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," it said.

The document reflects many months of rethinking in the SACP, hastened by recent developments in Eastern Europe and the increasing

uncertainty of the relationship between the SACP and its alliance partner, the African National Congress, with the Eastern European states that have supported them for decades.

For the first time in many years, the South African liberation movement cannot assume Eastern European support and has to lobby for it, much as it does in the West. In particular, the SACP and ANC appear to be shaken by the surprise visit of Foreign Minister Pik Botha to Hungary last month, calling it "unacceptable" and "deeply distressing". One SACP leader said: "We can't leave it at that. If we don't do anything about it, others may follow."

So, while the ANC continues to make major diplomatic gains in the

West, it is uncertain and nervous of its position in the East. For example, the main ANC publication, *Sechaba*, has for many years been printed free of charge in East Germany. Staff members say now that they don't know if that arrangement still holds and whether they will be able to print

the next edition.

The SACP discussion paper says that socialists must come to terms with the reality that the dramatic collapse of East European Communist Party governments were "popular revolts against unpopular regimes". This has thrown socialism into its



greatest crisis since 1917, it says.

The paper attacks those who still defend or find excuses for Stalinism or those who blame Gorbachev's reforms for recent events. "To blame *perestroika* and *glasnost* for the ailments of socialism is like blaming the diagnosis and the prescription for the illness." It also criticises East Europeans "mesmerised by ... the glitter of Western consumerism".

"The fault," it says, "lies with us, not with socialism ... or the founders of Marxism." It goes on to blame "bureaucratic distortions ... a mechanical and out-of-context invocation of Marxist dogma ... (and) genuinely motivated but tragic misapplication of socialist theory."

It includes a strong polemic against the "dictatorship of the proletariat", the "steady erosion of people's power in Eastern Europe", the old concept of the vanguard party and the one-party state.

It also attacked the Eastern European economic model: "The over-centralised and commandist economies of the socialist world helped to entrench a form of socialist alienation."

Reasserting the fundamental superiority of the socialist system, the paper is for a "genuine socialist humanitarianism". The lesson of the past is that socialism must be based on democracy, it concludes.

The SACP must lead by winning open elections and then going back regularly for a renewed mandate. "The alternative to this is self-perpetuating power with all its implications for corruption and dictatorship."

"In short, the way forward is through thorough-going democratic socialism, a way which can only be charted by a party which wins its support through democratic persuasion and ideological contest and not, as has too often happened up to now, a claim of right."

UDF shuns Vlok's offer

BY VUSI GUNENE

11A) ~~22~~
THE United Democratic Front has rejected Adriaan Vlok's invitation to "apply" to his department to lift restrictions placed upon the organisation two years ago. This follows the UDF's announcement that full-scale overt operations are to be resumed.

The UDF argues it has already "unbanned" itself — on August 20 1988, its sixth anniversary. Vlok's invitation, says the UDF's national assistant publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, has come too late.

Morobe called Vlok's strange remarks to the effect that if the UDF felt its activities no longer "endangered public safety" it could apply to have its restrictions lifted, "both interesting and disturbing".

"It is interesting Mr Vlok does not state what those activities are because he knows very well the nature of the restrictions on the UDF were intended to have an the effect of an actual banning," said Morobe.

The UDF announced it was going to avail itself openly to its membership at a press conference this week.

Reacting to the announcement, Vlok said the UDF was not a banned organisation, although it was necessary in February 1988 to restrict certain of the organisation's activities.

Vlok said should the UDF be of the opinion its operations no longer endangered the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the ending of the Emergency, it was free to apply to him as minister of law and order for a change of status.

The organisation says its announcement this week was "in line with the

defiance campaign of the Mass Democratic Movement. Therefore, there is no reason to apply to the minister for anything. That the UDF is once again fully operational is a *fait accompli*.

The re-emergence of the UDF comes after five years of semi-underground activities.

Azar Cachalia, national UDF treasurer, while conceding the State of Emergency "hurt the organisation", asserts the Emergency failed to kill it off. During this period its affiliates met regularly and executed campaigns such as the anti-municipal elections and a number of stayaways.

Also during this time the UDF has emerged with the Congress of South African Trade Unions as the core of the Mass Democratic Movement in leading the defiance campaign.

The confident mood at press conference made it clear that the UDF sees itself playing a leading role in the future of the anti-apartheid struggle. This is illustrated by the manner in which they see their impending meeting with jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, sometime in the next few weeks.

A delegation of 22 NEC members will visit Mandela to "inform (him) of our full confidence and support in the various initiatives and ANC consultations he has been involved in so far", the statement said.

● Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the government is to review the position of banned and restricted organisations.

w/mad 17/1/90 - 25/1/90

New Soviet thinking puts the ANC under pressure

Star 19/11/90

11A

"When spokespersons of a trusted ally start interpreting your policy in ways which cannot be regarded as anything less than a prescriptive mode, something has gone wrong with the alliance.

"Despite repeated assurances that Moscow has not changed its policy towards the ANC, a careful reading of statements by both Soviet leaders and publicists reveals that this is exactly what is happening with the Soviet-SACP-ANC alliance."

With these words, Dr Philip Nel, head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, sets out to argue in a recent publication that there has been a divergence of interests between the ANC and Moscow as a result of the "new political thinking" in the Soviet Union.

And while the ANC has recently come to accept some aspects of the new thinking, he says, this appears not to apply to the SACP.

In fact, Dr Nel sees the SACP getting farther and farther away from the Soviet government.

Important

"Ironically, it may be no longer true that the SACP represents the Soviet viewpoint in the ANC but rather that the ANC remains closer to Moscow than does the SACP," he says.

Dr Nel does not discuss in any detail the implications of his conclusions but clearly these are important for all South Africans, considering the fact that for more than a decade the Soviet Union has been the main source of foreign support for the ANC and of the weapons for its military activities and has been the inspiration for SACP ideology and strategy.

The switching of Moscow's support from armed struggle to negotiation has changed attitudes not only in the ANC hierarchy but also in Pretoria, and may have a profound effect not only on relations between the ANC and the SACP, which have long been close, but also, by projection, on the ANC's

Perestroika in the Soviet Union has led to a divergence between Moscow and the African National Congress but perhaps to an even bigger split between Moscow and the South African Communist Party, says a noted South African Sovietologist. GERALD L'ANGE of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

ability to negotiate with Pretoria. In this light, Dr Nel's conclusions are of more than academic interest.

He sees nothing surprising in the development of a divergence between Moscow and the ANC and the SACP.

He regards it as inevitable that Moscow's interest in stabilising international affairs in order to gain access to Western technology and finance had to clash with the parochial interests of the ANC and SACP.

The prospects of these two organisations depend, he says, on the continuation of some form of instability in and around South Africa. While Moscow has been careful to avoid a straightforward choice between its own interests and theirs, such choices could not be avoided altogether.

One way of avoiding such choices is to get your allies to broaden their perspectives and Moscow has tried to do that through repeated meetings with ANC and SACP leaders, Dr Nel says.

"According to ANC sources, the message that came through loud and clear was that the Soviet government would be prepared to continue its support for the ANC only on condition that the ANC (and the SACP) commit itself clearly to a political programme which could lead to a negotiated stabilisation of the South African situation."

Because the message was unpopular, pressure had to be applied.

"Soviet officials and commentators prescriptively interpret ANC policy and add nuances over which there is no unanimity in the ANC."

Dr Nel says Soviet "new political thinking" has three basic elements as far as southern Africa is concerned.

● The Soviet leadership's commitment in 1986 to the resolution of all Third World conflicts by diplomatic-political means.

● The emergence in 1988 of a willingness to co-operate with the West in stabilising the Third World.

● The replacement of class interests by more universal values as a basis for international relations.

When Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev told the UN General Assembly in 1988 that Moscow would not prescribe the road of development to be taken by other countries, "he signalled the death of the traditional Soviet belief that socialism is a natural choice for newly independent countries".

Moscow's attitude to South Africa was also shaped by the perception that the Republic was one of the flashpoints where Soviet and Western interests could clash head-on.

Soviet commentators then discovered the factors inhibiting a negotiated settlement and those which could contribute to it: the legitimate fears of whites as an impediment and the divisions among them as a positive factor; the intransigence of the South African Government as an impediment, offset by the Government's isolation; the commitment of the ANC and SACP to a revolutionary "people's war"; the inability of the ANC to consolidate its gains in international stature and exploit the divisions among the whites.

While working to soften white intransigence, Moscow put discreet pressure on the ANC and SACP to discard the notion of a revolutionary takeover and to prepare for a negotiated settlement.

The evolution of "new thinking" since 1985 has introduced new factors that have led to a gradual divergence between Soviet interests and those of the ANC and SACP, Dr Nel says.

"While in private discussions Soviet leaders have increased their pressure on the ANC to become more receptive to the idea of nego-



Stellenbosch University academic Dr Philip Nel

tiation, the public image is one of continued solidarity with the ANC and SACP.

"Despite some backtracking and deliberate ambiguity, the ANC and SACP did get the message that the Soviet Union was adamant that eventually negotiations must take place."

Debate

While the debate on negotiations continues within the ANC, says Dr Nel, the joint ANC-UDF-Cosatu negotiations platform agreed on in 1989 shows evidence of a greater receptiveness to the idea of eventual negotiations.

Suspecting that Moscow may be losing patience with it, especially as the Angola-Namibia negotiations convinced Moscow that compromises with Pretoria could be found, the ANC leadership published material intended to pre-empt accusations that it was not taking the Soviet Union seriously enough.

Dr Nel says the SACP has also moved marginally closer to the Moscow position.

"Yet, judging from its new programme, 'The Path to Power', the SACP still seems to be far removed from the spirit and letter of the most recent phase of Soviet 'new political thinking'."



SPECIAL GREETING: Mrs Farieda Omar opens the gift she received from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison

'Sweet' greeting from Mandela

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela had a special greeting for Mrs Farieda Omar, wife of UDF vice-president Mr Dullah Omar, when she visited him at Victor Verster last Friday.

For Mrs Omar, who was visiting Mandela for the first time, the greeting was very "sweet" indeed.

Mandela presented her with a Christmas card and a box of delectable chocolates.

"I had asked if I could bring something for him, but the prison authorities had said this was not allowed," said Omar.

"So I came into his house empty-handed and he gave me a gift instead."

Omar said it was "very painful" to have seen an "intelligent" man such as Mandela locked away from his fellow human beings.

"He is in a cold, lonely prison house. The house has everything but it can never be a home. There is no joy, no laughter, no warmth.

"My Christmas wish for Mandela and all political prisoners is that they will be free to come home and work together with us for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

In good health

Attached to her gift was a Christmas card with the inscription: "To Farieda, from Nelson".

Mr Dullah Omar said he and his wife had spent three hours with Mandela and found him in good health.

Omar said Mandela did not hold the keys to the prison in which he is being held.

"The keys are in the hands of the government, and as soon as they unlock the doors of his prison he will leave without a moment's waste of time.

"It is clear to me as a result of my discussions with him that the government persists in linking his release to the unfolding events in South Africa."

Omar said the government knew that it had no alternative but to negotiate with the liberation movement, particularly the ANC.

A top-level delegation from the Congress of South African Trade Unions met with Mandela on Tuesday — the first meeting Mandela has held with union leaders.

The meeting lasted six hours and covered a wide range of topics, including Mandela's role in facilitating discussion between the government and the extra-parliamentary movement inside and outside South Africa.

Another Cosatu delegation was due to meet with Mandela later.

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Mandela's plan 'right on mark' say ANC

©From PAGE 1

It deals with a number of issues, but centres around a proposal of how negotiations should be handled.

It emerged yesterday that Mandela is in regular contact with the ANC. Acting ANC president Alfred Nzo indicated in a speech that he had communicated with Mandela as recently as Wednesday.

Nzo said this weekend's meeting of the National Executive Committee would discuss and decide on Mandela's proposals.

ANC leaders were not giving away any details of the contents. However, one NEC member indicated that the document showed that Mandela was "right on the mark" and any speculation that his position differed from that of the ANC or the United Democratic Front was ludicrous.

Even before Mandela's proposal was made it was clear the three-day meeting in Lusaka would be vitally important, taking place amid debate about the direction of the ANC.

For the first time, the meeting

brings together the 35-member NEC, eight released political prisoners, led by Walter Sisulu, and representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, led by Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers and Chris Dlamini of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The meeting will be crucial in setting attitudes towards the prospect of negotiations with Pretoria, the future of armed struggle, sorting out leadership structures following the release of the prisoners and ANC president Oliver Tambo's illness, and charting a course for the rest of the year.

They settled down behind closed doors yesterday morning for what a senior ANC member called "a terribly important meeting".

The gathering comes on the eve of a special frontline state summit, starting in Lusaka on Monday, and called by the ANC. It is also seen as the precursor to the Consultative Confer-

ence called by the ANC for later this year. This is the ANC's highest decision-making body and it will be meeting for only the third time since the organisation was banned.

The ANC is grappling with political developments in South Africa, implications of changes in Eastern Europe, and the difficult issues of leadership. However, much of the debate centres around negotiations: are they likely to happen, will they succeed, how will they affect armed struggle?

Sisulu set a harsh tone for the meeting yesterday when he addressed about 700 ANC members at a welcoming ceremony.

He called on ANC members to be open to strong criticism and to subject themselves to constructive self-criticism.

"The important thing is that when an organisation makes mistakes, it must learn to correct them," he said. "A political movement can only succeed if there is criticism and self-criticism, if there is honesty, disci-

pline and order."

Sisulu's speech appears to be part of an attempt by ANC leaders to prepare their cadres for adaptations that may be made necessary by the fluid situation in South Africa. ANC leaders and ordinary members alike confirm there is some resistance in their ranks to talk of negotiations.

"The feeling that MK cadres are being railroaded into something not of our making is real," said a guerrilla.

The ANC leadership, military and political, are united in their support for the ANC's document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration. While the diplomats and most Lusaka cadres appear to be optimistic about the prospect of a imminent negotiated change, the military leaders scoff at such a suggestion.

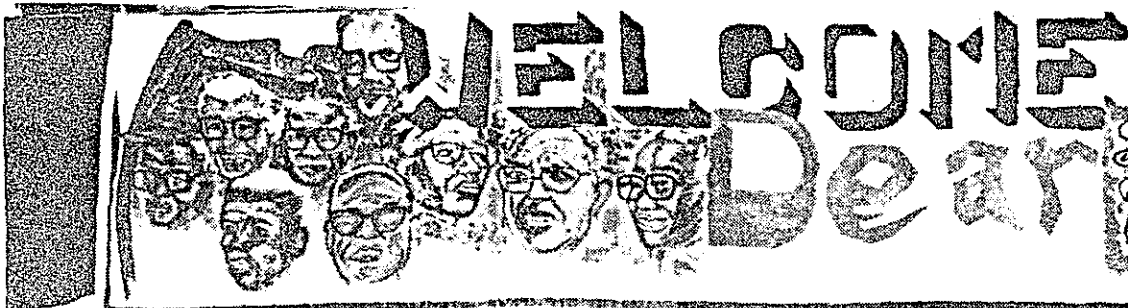
"The Harare Declaration is important because it wins us support internationally, helps isolate the South African government and gives us the initiative on the issue. But we don't believe FW de Klerk is ready to talk. Even if he meets our preconditions, I don't think he is ready to talk about real democracy," a senior MK commander said.

Military leaders concede, the armed struggle is faltering. Last year saw a drop in the number of insurgency incidents over the previous year. While nobody in Lusaka would consider a suspension of armed struggle until De Klerk "gives us a sign that he is serious", it is the ANC diplomat — those leading the push for negotiations — who hold sway in the organisation.

This has given rise to strategising over how to handle negotiations. The ANC is assuming Mandela will soon be released, it will be unbanned and the State of Emergency lifted.

The meeting will consider how the ANC will react to an unbanning. Will it operate openly or will it maintain underground structures? How will it relate to other organisations, like the

United Democratic Front and MDM? It will also be a priority to sort out the complex leadership problems: how to absorb the recently released leaders and Mandela on his release. A constant theme in speeches and interviews this week was: whether or not negotiations begin the military must step up its mobilisation and activities. Sisulu himself called on MK guerrillas to step up their actions. The meeting will deal with ways of increasing pressure on the government. The ANC is known to be worried that De Klerk's actions may make it difficult to maintain sanctions.



Mandela

W/Mail 19/1/90 - 25/1/90

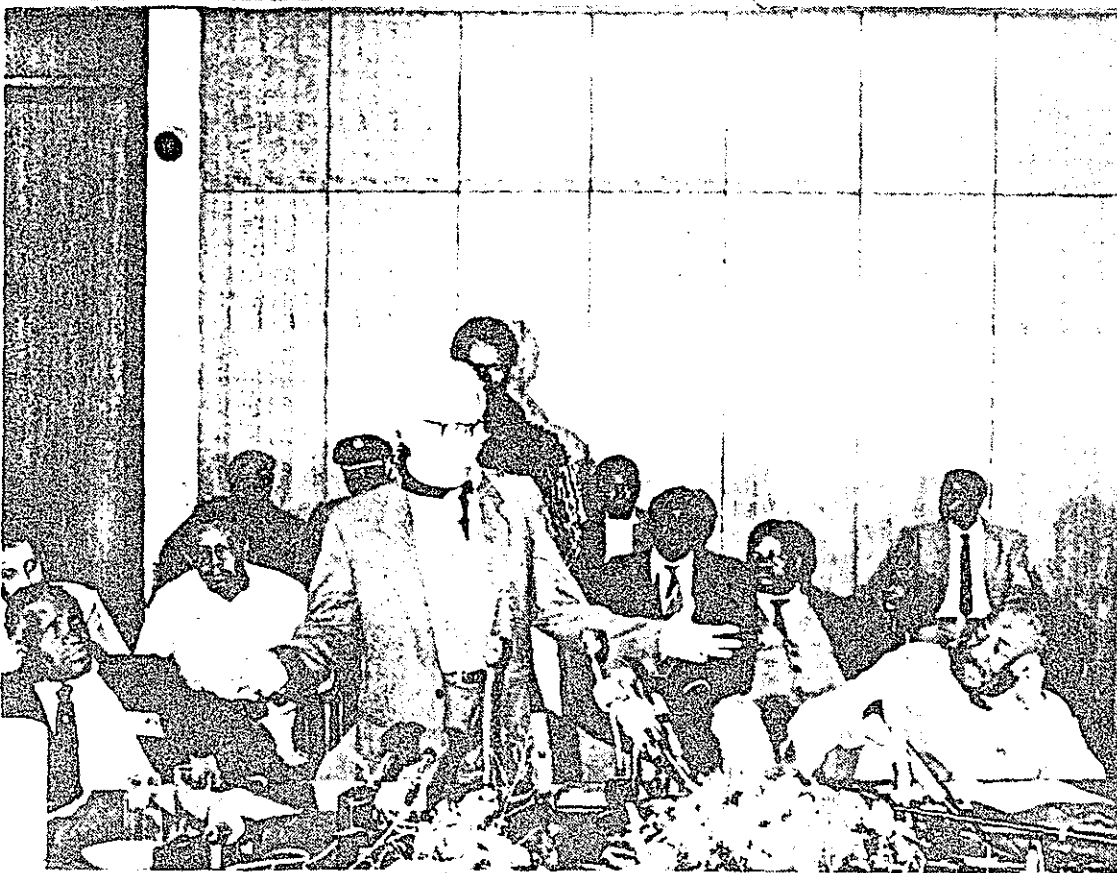
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11A

ANC his

plan for

peace



Walter Sisulu does some tough talking while compatriots Thomas Nkobi, left, and Alfred Nzo listen

PICTURE: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

By ANTON HARBER, Lusaka

NELSON MANDELA has sent a 10-point proposal on negotiations to the African National Congress to be considered at a crucial meeting which began in Lusaka yesterday. Mandela told the ANC he would phone them on Sunday to hear their response.

The document, which was brought to Lusaka some weeks ago, is the same one he presented to State President FW de Klerk during their meeting last year.

Lusaka to discuss the plan he presented to FW

P. T. P.

From CHRISTINA SCOTT
 DURBAN. — Half-an-hour inland from the Indian Ocean beaches, kiddy rides and curio shops of a top tourist resort here, a brutal war moves into its third year.

Sipho, 37, is on scout duty, outfitted in a woollen overcoat with a white rag sashed across his chest, and armed with a wooden stick and a knife.

Behind Sipho is a gutted pale blue Peugeot. A stone's throw away is a neighbour's petrol-bombed house.

A shot echoes in the night. It comes from a "qwasha", a homemade firearm made from piping and named after its explosive sound.

"Suka lapha, wena (you, move out of here)," a man shouts in Zulu from the Lindelani squatter camp which sprawls up and over the hills across the narrow road.

Sipho shrugs his shoulders when asked whether he is afraid: "The situation is very tense. So even if I am prepared to sleep, I can't."

Recruited

He points out torches flashing from squatter shack to squatter shack, their windows dimly lit by paraffin lamps, as the impi, the Inkatha fighting force, is recruited.

Two shacks, attacked earlier, burn far to the left on the hilly horizon, the smoke rising to join low clouds reflecting the city glow of Durban.

Sipho's border zone suburb in Ntuzuma township is dark. A resident electrician disconnected the street lamps after snipers from Lindelani grew too accurate. Drivers are cautioned to turn off and avoid the giveaway red glow of their brake lights.

A slug clangs on the corrugated iron roof of a nearby house, prompting low whistles and giggles from the teenagers among the group of defenders.

This is Saturday night in Ntuzuma, where 37 people died and 100 homes were petrol-bombed in two weeks in December.

The 1989 death toll for Natal, provided by police unrest reports and a handful of independent monitors hampered by emergency regulations, is at least 1 200.

Most of the victims belonged to the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Survivors put the blame on the 1-million plus members of Inkatha

Season of blood



CHILDREN OF WAR: Young "comrades" in Mpumalanga township

Yenkululeko YeSizwe, a conservative tribal organisation with roots in local rural chiefdoms.

Sipho's white sash identifies him as friendly to the *amaqabane* (comrades), but he insists that he is not a political activist.

"There's nothing wrong with them," he said, gesturing towards Lindelani shackland less than 10m away.

"We are not against Inkatha but we want to live like people, not like animals. They call us Indians because we live in houses and they live in shacks."

Despite the emergency regulations, which indemnify security forces, three interdicts have been granted against South African and kwaZulu homeland police after residents claimed that they were assisting Inkatha vigilantes in fighting and looting sprees.

At 4am the sky lightens. Roosters, irrespective of their owner's political affiliations, start crowing in Lindelani and Ntuzuma.

The men get up, say goodbye to a few youths who arrive to hold the daytime watch, and make their way home.

"Have a happy Christmas," says Sipho. And grins wryly.



Jubilant youths on their way to Victor Verster to demand the release of Nelson Mandela

AWB threat scuttles non-racial peace picnic

114
South
20/12-18/1/9

A PICNIC planned to be held on a Mossel Bay beach on December 16 was cancelled after a person claiming to represent the AWB telephoned the organisers and threatened to burn the buses taking people to the beach.

The picnic, organised by Mossel Bay residents at Hartenbos Beach, was planned to heal the divisions between the races.

Mossel Bay clergy have now laid charges against the unidentified man who made the threats.

And in Cape Town, a candlelight service at the gates of Victor Verster prison on Sunday to demand the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners was prohibited by a Paarl magistrate.

After a rally in Paarl East, addressed by Mrs Winnie Mandela and South African Youth Congress leader Peter Mokaba, a convoy of 12 buses and cars left for the

prison.

Police set up roadblocks on the Franschoek Road which passes the prison and stopped the convoy from reaching the entrance to the prison.

Police told the marchers that the gathering had been prohibited and gave the crowd five minutes to disperse.

United Democratic Front officials negotiated with the police to allow the protestors to deliver a memorandum to the prison. Police refused the request.

An hour later, the kilometre-long convoy returned to Paarl.

Jubilant youths danced on the roofs of the buses, waving their placards and shouting slogans.

About 1 000 people packed the Planet theatre in Paarl East after the convoy returned for a report-back meeting.

UDF Western Cape chairperson Mr Bulelani Ngcuka read a memorandum from the Mass Democratic Movement entitled "Message to all our comrades in apartheid's jails" which was to have been presented to prison officials at the gates of Victor Verster.

"We are gathering outside the Victor Verster prison today at 6.30pm," the memorandum stated.

"We will gather to remind ourselves and the world at large that your continued imprisonment proves the emptiness of (President) De Klerk's talks of change.

"We will light candles as a symbol of our hope for the future of our country. You are now behind bars because of your contribution to our struggle for freedom.

"You and all other political prisoners have become symbols of hope for us."

Mpetha to spend Xmas in hospital

Smith
20/12 - 18/1/90

VETERAN trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, in hospital for the past two weeks following a slight stroke, will not be home for Christmas.

Mpetha was released in October after serving four years imprisonment on charges of terrorism.

Mpetha spent most of his prison sentence in the Groote Schuur Hos-

pital.

Last year, Mpetha's fervent Christmas wish was to be home with his family over the festive season.

"He is not unhappy though, because this year he is not a prisoner," his daughter, Esther Mpetha said.

"The family will be able to spend Christmas day with him, unlike last year."

Mpetha said she did not know when her father would be discharged from hospital, but did not think it would be soon as he was still experiencing discomfort.

"He is not actually in pain but he is not yet in a good condition," she said.

Mpetha's left arm and leg were slightly paralysed by the stroke.



Oscar Mpetha

SA invitation brings rumpus to the campus

Saw
20/11/90

DAVID BRAUN



WASHINGTON — Angry students at the University of Alberta in Canada have threatened there will be mass demonstrations and blood on the campus if plans proceed to invite a representative of the South African Embassy to give a speech there this week.

The Graduate Students' Association of the university has nonetheless decided to uphold its invitation to Mr Gerrit Pretorius, First Secretary at the embassy in Ottawa.

Angry exchange

The association has, however, agreed to now also invite a representative of the African National Congress in Canada to speak.

Angry words were exchanged at a meeting of students this week when outraged black students and members of the Caribbean Students Association tried to get the invitation to Mr Pretorius withdrawn.

"The day Pretorius appears there will be blood on this campus," one student screamed at the meeting.

Freedom of speech

Students in favour of the meeting with Mr Pretorius argued it was possible to be against apartheid and still listen. "Get to know your enemy," one student suggested.

The students passed a motion denouncing apartheid while supporting freedom of speech.

They also agreed Mr Pretorius would have to pay his own way while travel costs would be covered for the ANC speaker.

Militant (11A) Sayco South launch in W Cape 20/12-18/1/90

THE South African Youth Congress (Sayco) last weekend launched its Western Cape region in a mood of renewed militancy.

Stretching from Lambert's Bay on the West Coast to Ceres in the Boland, the region now consists of about 60 branches.

The launch took place on December 16 under the theme: "All youth to the battle, all youth to the frontline."

Both the theme and date indicate the increased militancy of the youth sector.

A spokesperson of the region said December 16, known as Heroes' Day, was an important date for the organisation.

The president of the new region is Maxwell Moss from Saldanha on the West Coast. Vice president Mzonke Jacobs and general secretary Neville Naidoo are both from Cape Town.

Among the region's priorities are an emphasis on rural work and uniting all youth under the banner of Sayco.



Maxwell Moss

My son, my son

21/1/90 STimes

The emotional moment in Lusaka when Walter Sisulu met Max and young Duma, after 27 years apart

THIS was the moment when decades of separation melted emotionally away on the tarmac of Lusaka Airport.

Max Sisulu, holding his three-year-old son Duma, pressed his way through the throng of people as his father Walter, the veteran ANC leader, made his way down the aircraft steps.

Moments later, the two men were suddenly face to face for the first time in 27 years.

There was pandemonium as crowds of children and well-wishers drummed out a welcome for the seven ANC leaders from South Africa — until recently political prisoners serving long sentences. For a few seconds, their eyes met — the Sisulus, father, son and grandson.

Then they fused. Arms wrapped around each other in an embrace which momentarily swept away the long, hard years.

When Max last saw his father, Walter was secretary-general of the ANC.

Angry 17-year-old Max was in detention when his father was arrested at Lilliesleaf farm in Rivonia.

Alive

Max, an economist for the ANC, said this week: "As a family we have survived. All of us are still alive and for that we must be thankful."

"But there were years, dark years, when I thought I would never see him again."

Further away on the tarmac was the majority of the 33-member ANC national executive, which had waited for decades to meet the leaders.

Far down the line, the majority of the 33-member ANC national executive, which had waited for decades to meet the leaders.

He has probably done more than anyone to raise the status of the capitals of the world.

Nuances

He usually wears a big smile, but on that day it covered his face as he waited for his parents.

He indicated he didn't want to talk about how he felt, and that he would only discuss the reunion in political terms.

But politics and the nuances of the ANC's struggle were not on his mind as he waited for his dignified and aged father and mother.

He last saw them in 1962 when he left South Africa to study economics at the University of Surrey in Britain.

The entourage battled through the crowds and



TWO FATHERS ... Max Sisulu and his son Duma with granddad Walter Sisulu at the emotionally charged reunion at Lusaka Airport

By PETA THORNYCROFT
in Lusaka
Pictures:
MARK PETERS

umbrellas dripping with rain. Zambian army personnel were unable to contain the surge.

Mr Sisulu and his group hugged members of the national executive committee, old comrades from almost 30 years ago, as well as the new generation of the ANC's charismatic leaders.

Eventually the decades of separation for the two Mbekis were over.

Jostling and bumping,

TV cameramen recorded the open, private joy of a father and son, both of whom had chosen to sacrifice the greater part of their lives to jail or exile.

It was almost all too much — an overabundance of emotion.

Ran

The rain came down as the leaders and their wives ran for cover, while the rank-and-file membership did the toyi-toyi — the cadres were not worried about the downpour.

And as they ran, South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo and Rivonia trialist Elias Motsoaledi also saw each other for the first time in decades.



AT LAST ... Walter Sisulu hugs his grandson for the first time

University Staff Associations, Mr Derek Young, said no one had yet supplied Udusa with information which they felt could lead to them claiming the reward.

"We want people to realise this substantial amount of money is there for the taking, but only until December 31.

"It is being offered to anyone other than members of the South African Police's investigating team."

Asked whether Udusa considered those men presently detained as not being responsible for Dr Webster's murder,

another member of the Wits pledge committee, Mr Scott Hazelhurst said there were reasons why Udusa was still advertising the reward.

He said the men were being detained under Section 29 which meant they were being held for questioning and no one knew whether they were responsible.

"Secondly, even if they are responsible, there might still be others who have not yet been arrested and if they are the only ones responsible, then the police might not have enough evidence to convict them and the reward might entice people to come forward."

De-Klerk must think again, say academics



DAVID WEBSTER

Probe death squads - Wits

Sowetan 20/12/89

THE Council of the University of the Witwatersrand has called for the State President to reconsider his decision not to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into alleged hit squad activities.

Wits University's acting vice-chancellor, Professor Mervyn Shear, said in a statement yesterday the Council was concerned that the State President had decided not to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into such allegations.

"At a meeting on Friday December 15, the Council of the University of the Witwatersrand noted with gratification that the police had made substantial progress in their investigation of the murder of Wits lecturer, Dr David Webster, and the indication by the State President that he was determined to identify alleged members of the 'hit squad' and ensure prosecution," he said.

"Nevertheless, the Council was seriously concerned that the State President had decided

against the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry.

"It was of the opinion that while it is essential that prosecutions proceed expeditiously, it is of absolute importance that everyone involved in these alleged 'hit squad activities', of whatever rank or seniority, be identified and brought to justice, and that this be seen by all to have been

done." He said the Council had, therefore, written to the State President urging him to reconsider his decision and to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry without delay.

"The Council has also asked that the State President receive a delegation from the university at his earliest convenience, in order to discuss the matter." - Sapa.

Oxford split over doctorate for Tutu

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

DISSENT is spreading through the sleepy courts of Oxford as 2 300 dons and lecturers prepare to go to the polls on Tuesday to decide whether Archbishop Desmond Tutu should receive an honorary doctorate.

Academics are divided on whether to confer the honour. If the vote goes against him, Archbishop Tutu would become only the third public figure in the university's 800-year history to be rejected.

The proposal that he be given the divinity doctorate was made earlier this month by the university's 25-man cabinet, the Hebdomadal Council.

Salvo

Teaching staff who make up the Congregation will now have the final say on the issue.

The archbishop's name was forwarded with seven other people recommended for different doctorates.

In 1985 Oxford broke a centuries' old tradition of conferring doctorates on British prime ministers by flatly refusing to do the same for Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

In the 60s a similar proposal for the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr Ali Bhutto, was also rejected.

The opening salvo in the battle leading up to Tuesday's congress was fired last weekend by Sunday Telegraph columnist Mandrake.

In reporting the split, Man-

drake drew attention to the "more lurid" aspects of Archbishop Tutu's teaching.

He had, said Mandrake, described white school buses as "soft targets" in a 1986 interview in Washington.

He was also reported in the Washington Post as speculating on the ease with which the ANC would be able to persuade black servants to "slip something" into their employers' morning coffee.

"Also, dons who do not believe Israel is entirely to blame for the Middle East's troubles should ponder the archbishop's recent pronouncement that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's struggle is as just as that of the South African blacks," added Mandrake.

The extent to which dons are opposed to Archbishop Tutu remains unknown.

"No one will know how the Congregation is divided until the final vote is cast on Tuesday," said a university spokesman.

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IT'S A DEAL!

Top ANC exiles set to return to SA as part of Nat pact with Mandela.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

ANC members of ANC in exile may return to South Africa shortly to re-organise movement internally and become involved in the negotiating process.

This is said to be part of a deal hammered out in recent months between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior members of President FW de Klerk's Cabinet.

The ANC leadership in Zambia yesterday discussed a 10-point document drafted by Mr Mandela and taken to Lusaka by recently released Walter Sisulu.

BLESSING

And, in a surprising move, Mr Mandela will telephone his comrades from his bungalow at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl today to hear their response.

Government sources spoke this week about "major developments" in the continuing efforts to get the ANC to the negotiating table.

This has the blessing of Mr Mandela — the result of months of talks between him and senior Cabinet members including Mr De Klerk, Jus-

tice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Details of the plan are expected to be announced by President De Klerk when he opens Parliament on February 2.

- It involves:
- The release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners;
 - The unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of restrictions on affiliated organisations such as the United Democratic Front;
 - The lifting — in stages — of the state of emergency;
 - The return of exiled ANC members.

In turn the ANC is expected to give a public undertaking that it is committed to a peaceful settlement of the country's political problems.

According to government sources no fixed date has yet been set for Mr Mandela's release although it is expected before the end of March.

Sources say his release has everything to do with the Government's agenda for negotiation, and a senior ANC member in Lusaka told the Sunday Times the organisation expected it to happen only once the Government was satisfied that "its cards are in place for the talks to come".

"When Nelson leaves prison it will be the signal for the game to start," he said.

The strongest indication yet that the Government is on the brink of this process came from Foreign Minister Pik Botha on his recent return from Hungary.

PROBLEM

He said the Government was ready to tackle "obstacles to negotiations" — considered code words for what the ANC labelled "preconditions" in its recent Harare Declaration.

The question of the unbanning of the ANC is said to be

at the top of the Cabinet's agenda. It is accepted this process should be concurrent with the Mandela release, otherwise he would have to "operate in a vacuum".

The high-profile visit of Mr Sisulu to ANC headquarters in Lusaka poses a problem. With him and his seven comrades — re-installed in the ANC leadership — back in South Africa and addressing mass rallies, the ANC will be de facto unbanned.

A trickier problem may be the return of senior ANC exiles to South Africa to take over the leadership of the internal organisation.

Sources say the Govern-

ment is working on a strategy that will draw a distinction between the ANC's political and diplomatic personnel and the cadres of the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This would allow the "politicals" to return while the "MK soldiers" would have to remain in exile.

Such a move may mean the return to South Africa of some of the ANC's most visible leaders, like secretary for external affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and the movement's intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

ANC sources estimate there are between 12 000 and

15 000 members of the organisation in exile — the majority either in Zambia or in training camps and educational facilities in Tanzania and Angola.

Up to 7 000 can be regarded as MK cadres.

Mr De Klerk is also expected to announce an amnesty for prisoners convicted for political offences in which no violence was used. ANC sources claim there are at least 350 of its members still in detention of which only a third have been convicted of "terrorist activities".

On its part the ANC leadership is expected to come up with an unequivocal commitment to a peaceful process of political change.

PEACE

In recent months the Government has dropped its precondition that the ANC renounce violence before talks start.

A senior ANC member told the Sunday Times a public commitment to peace "need not be an insurmountable obstacle".

And this week acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo all but acknowledged in Lusaka the movement doesn't have the ability to step up the armed struggle.

PAC SPEAKS OUT

C/P News 21/1/90

11A

'PAC leaders' are all dissidents

LA TE last year you alleged there were two PAC factions abroad. One led from London by the so-called National Executive and the other one from Dar-es-Salaam by the Central Committee.

It is generally believed journalists of your calibre cross-check the information before putting it on paper. But in this case you deliberately did not phone the PAC office in London.

For that matter you should have contacted the PAC External Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam to get the other side of the story.

Please be informed there is only one PAC External Mission led by the Central Committee - with External Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

We suspect the people who misinformed you in London are PAC dissidents. The people who were members of the National Executive were either expelled or left the PAC on their own in 1968.

Such people were never involved in any matters of struggle all those years. They have spent their time amassing either academic degrees or wealth.

They have never even interfered with the PAC all those years.

In the *City Press* of January 7, 1990, you came up with a big headline: "PAC leaders slip into SA".

We have always known the imperialist liberal Press was against the PAC, but we never expected a paper run by an African to publish such an irresponsible and fictitious story.

Documents revealed to *City Press* and published in a front page story in the January 7 edition this year have been dismissed as fakes by JOE MKWANAZI, administrative secretary at the PAC executive headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. In this edited letter he claims those who allegedly held meetings in this country - among them AB Ngcobo and Selby Ngendane - are agents provocateur. He also points to certain "matters of fact" which he alleges *City Press* chose to ignore.

It is necessary to repeat a few facts which you know.

For the record, AB Ngcobo was expelled from the PAC in 1968. He has been living and teaching in London ever since. He came to South Africa legally.

He is reported to have addressed an Inkatha rally in Johannesburg. It is assumed he came under the auspices of Inkatha.

The PAC has no objection to him joining Inkatha. PAC

membership is voluntary. The same applies to Velckhaya Shange. What the PAC objects to is their posing as PAC leaders when in fact they are not.

Moreover their activities may cause conflict between the PAC and Inkatha. The PAC does not want that. The principal conflict is with the South African government which occupies our land by right of conquest.

Therefore the crucial question is: Both

Ngcobo and Shange are wanted people in South Africa. What price did they pay to be allowed in and not arrested?

In 1965 two Swazi nationals mistaken for Shange and myself (Mkwanazi) were shot by South African Special Branch officers.

The case went to court where the Durban head of the Special Branch admitted in evidence that he had given orders for Shange and Mkwanazi to be shot on sight.

Now in 1989 the same Shange gets into Durban and addresses a large Inkatha rally. Your paper has the nerve to ignore all those facts which I believe are well known to you.

Selby Ngendane betrayed his own comrades by giving evidence against them in the courts. One of his comrades, Tshikila, was sentenced to 18 years as a result of Ngendane's evidence.

What kind of leader is that? Your paper had that information but still put his photo on the front page!

The documents allegedly shown to your reporter are not even signed. They are the usual misinformation fraud of the Info Scandal type.

Your paper quotes them word-for-word without cross-checking their authenticity. If you

read them carefully you will discover a lot of confusion within the documents themselves.

The most objectionable thing about your story is the question of security. The article purports to warn the South African Security machinery about the activities of the PAC.

What is interesting is that Ngendane talks publicly about the activities of a banned organisation. But nothing happens to him. It is clear he is an agent provocateur.

The president of the PAC has always made it clear the PAC is a banned organisation. Ngendane is just making up stories.

How can a banned PAC hold a big conference inside the country? That is a dream!

PAC LEADERS SLIP INTO SA

Exec in mission for 'final push' against Nats

BY DAVID...

AT least five top PAC executives (PAC) members have slipped into South Africa to help the PAC in its mission against the National Party (Nats).

The PAC is believed to be planning a major offensive against the Nats in the coming months.

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Penniless after pension scam

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Lexington

The *City Press* story that has stirred up a hornet's nest with the PAC.

ANC and US leaders join up to praise King Sisulu tells of tears

A ZAMBIAN gospel choir sang *One More River to Cross* and *We Shall Overcome* as Walter Sisulu and the ANC leadership joined US diplomats in Lusaka this week to mark Martin Luther King day.

Sisulu and the seven top ANC members recently freed from jail sat under a bronze bust of the American black civil rights leader who was assassinated in 1968.

The occasion, given a high profile by the US Embassy, reflected improving ties between the ANC and Washington over the past year.

In a 15-minute address at the Martin Luther King Memorial Library, Sisulu told how he and other ANC prisoners shed tears at the news of King's death.

"The assassin came too late. Martin Luther King had already bequeathed to us all we needed," he said.

"As South Africans we enter this critical period in our history impressed by that glorious vision . . . sure that victory is within our grasp."

Sisulu told a packed audience of invited guests, including Soviet ambassador Oleg Miroshihin, that President FW de Klerk

should end speculation about the release of Nelson Mandela by setting him free "not next week or next month, but now".

Quoting one of King's most famous phrases, he said: "We shall not be satisfied until justice runs down like a mighty stream."

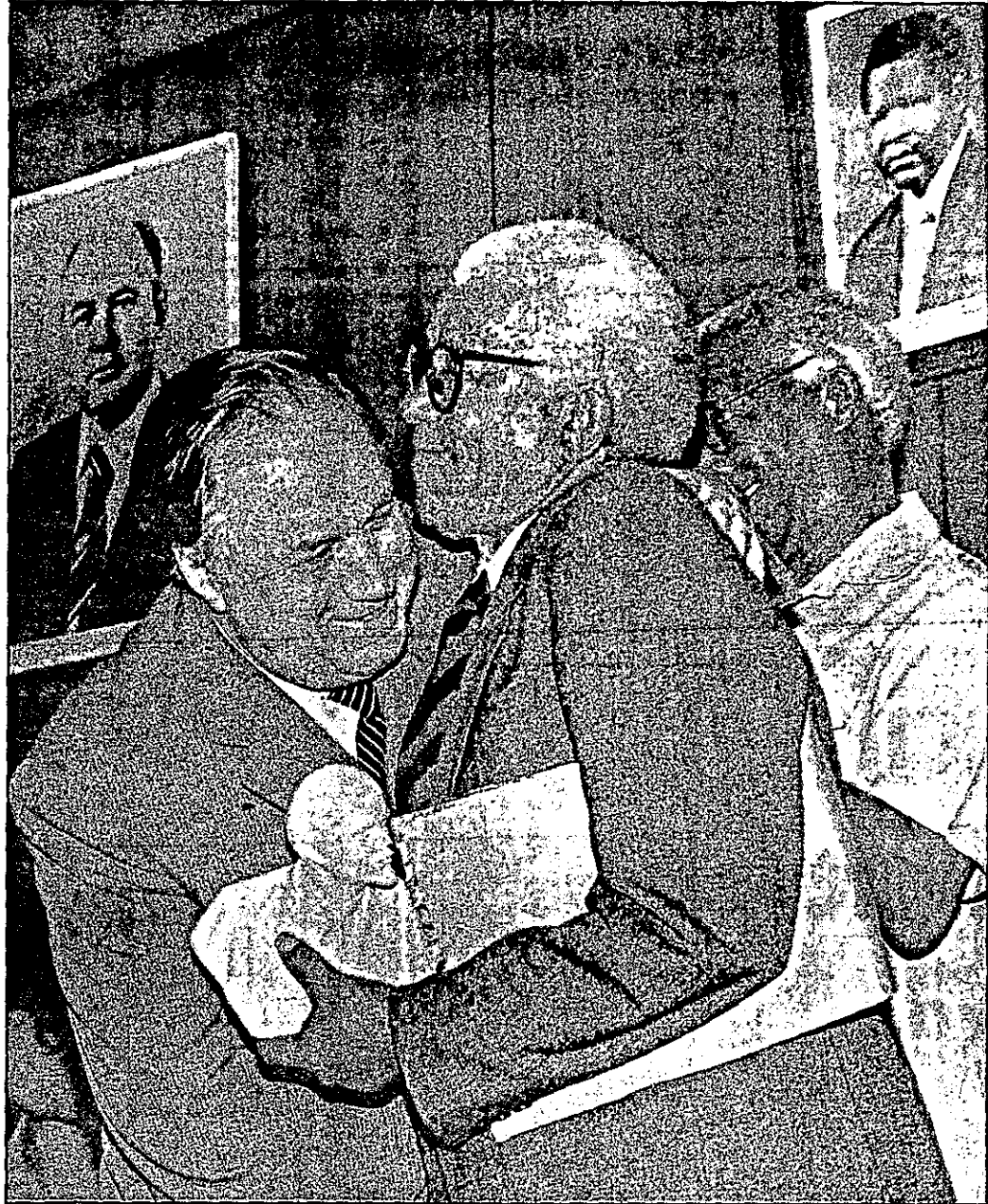
He criticised countries which were developing relations with Pretoria, saying a future democratic government in South Africa would have to bear in mind who were friends of the "small clique of racists now ruling the country".

The ANC was angered this month when Hungary became the first East European state to host a visit by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The ANC has always received military aid from the Soviet bloc but much of its political and financial support now comes from the West.

The organisation says American policy has changed for the better since President George Bush took office.

Bush has received Sisulu's wife Albertina at the White House but has not issued a similar invitation to the South African government. - Sapa-Reuter



Soviet Ambassador Oleg Miroshihin hugs ANC leader Walter Sisulu at a welcoming ceremony in Lusaka this week. They later attended a commemoration service to mark Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968. Sisulu quoted from the works of the American black civil rights leader, and said South Africans were impressed by King's vision.

All parties can come to the ball, ^(11A) says SACP

IN A major policy shift the South African Communist Party (SACP) said this week that it would campaign for a multi-party political system in South Africa under majority rule.

This shift can be directly attributed to the changes taking place in Eastern Europe.

"Socialism is undoubtedly in the throes of a crisis greater than at any time since 1917 (the year of the great October Revolution in the Soviet Union)," the statement, issued in Lusaka, said.

The leadership of the SACP, in the document entitled *Has Socialism Failed?*, said the discussion paper would be used as a launching pad for further "critical thought" within the party.

The 27-page document aims to lay out the party's views on the changes sweeping Eastern Europe and how they affected its own policies.

As to the "dramatic collapse" of most of the communist governments in Eastern Europe, the SACP says these were popular revolts against unpopular regimes, adding "if socialists are unable to come to terms with this reality, the future of socialism is indeed bleak".

The document is regarded as a very necessary exercise of self-examination, although the party states that "for our part, we firmly believe in the future of socialism, nor do we dismiss its whole past as an unmitigated failure". Socialism certainly produced Stalin and Ceausescu, but also Lenin and Gorbachev.

Against this background of denouncing the failures of socialism under Stalin and the political changes currently under way in the Eastern Bloc countries, the SACP conceded that its policy changes and shifts had not come about as a result of "our own independent evolution". These shifts owed a prime debt to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's processes of *perestroika* and *glasnost*.

The party's new programme, adopted at its seventh congress last year, says the SACP holds firmly to a post-apartheid South Africa which will guarantee all citizens the basic human rights and freedoms of organisation, speech, thought, Press, movement, residence, conscience and religion.

It also guarantees full trade union rights for all workers, including the right to strike, and one-person-one vote in free and democratic elections.

In conclusion the document says socialism is not enough. The lessons of the past failures have to be learnt. "Above all, we have to ensure that its fundamental tenet, socialist democracy, occupies a rightful place in all future practice." — ANO.

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Released ANC men will not join executive committee

11A

C/P res 21/1/90

WALTER Sisulu and other prominent ANC leaders who were recently released will not be co-opted on to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), a spokesman for the movement said in Lusaka this week.

It also became clear these leaders do not aspire to top positions in the party.

An ANC spokesman said they would not be co-opted to the NEC, the ANC's supreme policy-making body, because it would complicate matters for them in South Africa. They might be restricted and the ANC did not want that.

Released veteran Raymond Mhlaba said the ANC had produced dynamic young leaders who were experienced and they had to carry on with the work.

Veterans Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada said they would not aspire for posts on the NEC because

they were too old. The job of spearheading the ANC was better left to the energetic young generation, they said.

■ Cape Town advocate Dullah Omar, who recently visited Mandela, said Mandela told him he would resume the struggle after his release if he found no meaningful change in South Africa.

If there was no change Mandela would report to Lusaka and then come back to South Africa. He could be back in prison in less than a month, Omar said.

■ In Cape Town Sayco president Peter Mokaba said after a meeting with Mandela that Sayco was planning a march to Victor Verster Prison within the next few weeks to campaign for Mandela's release.

■ S'BU MNGADI reports from Durban that it is hoped Mandela will be able to attend the the open-air rally to be held for Sisulu and his six comrades on February 11 in Durban.

Nelson Mandela ... to resume the struggle?

Press back

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Rebel tour in jeopardy

21/1/90 C/P res

By **DESMOND BLOW**
and **RODNEY MTSHAZO**

BRITAIN'S leading conservative newspaper *The Times* yesterday claimed the Mike Gatting rebel cricket tour was now in jeopardy following what it described as peaceful anti-apartheid demonstrations being broken up by police using teargas and dogs.

Another conservative newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* says the tour is totally counter-productive and concludes:

"The hope must be that the first match, scheduled for next Friday, will never be played."

And further pressure is being put on Gatting's team by the threat of African countries to expel England from the Commonwealth games in New Zealand this week if the tour continues.

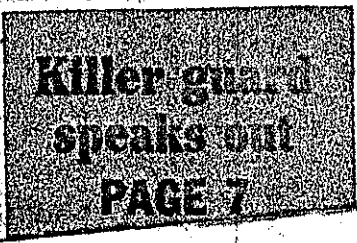
"Whether the English team continues its tour after such a beginning remains to be seen. If it is going to be

■ To Page 2

It is also hoped that four senior ANC activists from Natal will be released soon. A spokesman for the National Medical and Dental Association, Dr Diliza Mji, who saw Mandela this week, said Mandela had been negotiating the release of Matthews Meyiwa, 65; Zakhele Mdladlose, 65; Vusumuzi Nene, 47; and Anthony Xaba, 56. - ANO



**Fearless
legal
advisor
PAGE 6**



**Killer guard
speaks out
PAGE 7**



**Ngema:
box-office
hero**

'Intimidation won't stop us'

By DAN DHLAMINI

INTIMIDATION and harassment will not stop the Jouberton Youth Congress (Joyco) from performing its duties.

This was said this week by the entire executive committee after they were briefly detained. Some claimed they were threatened with detention and violence and told to quit the organisation and become police informers.

Joyco chairman Thabo Sithole told *City Press* the police swoop on Joyco members followed a parents' meeting last Thursday where the education crisis was discussed.

He said at least 14 people - including a parent who spoke about the Back to School Campaign and highlighted the plight of pupils who have been turned away due to lack of space in high schools - had been detained.

Henry Molema, a parent, told *City Press* he was awakened by loud knocks and flashing torches in the early hours of Monday.

He said he was taken to the Riot Squad offices where he was questioned about his involvement in the Education Crisis Committee.

"I told them it was my duty as a

parent to see to it that all students pupils were admitted back to school because we don't want a generation of illiterates."

Other committee members also claimed they were threatened with violence for being members of Joyco.

Western Transvaal Police spokesman Major Ben van Heerden denied Joyco members were ever detained, and all allegations against the police.

This week the Ikageng Education Crisis Committee (IECC) in Potchefstroom met regional officials of the DET about the admission of all pupils and non-payment of registration fees. Pupils and some parents had resolved earlier that no parent should be forced to pay registration fees because this was a voluntary donation.

IECC spokesman Dudu Modise said the committee was told the schools were already overcrowded and there was an acute shortage of teachers. Some ministers of religion had already offered to make their churches available to accommodate pupils.

Modise said the committee would meet school management councils next week for an in-depth discussion over registration money and its use.

CP Press 2/1/90

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PERSPECTIVES 3

STOVO'S GLASSNOST

changes. "This could lead to an abandonment of the strategy which made those victories possible." The need to reflect on the relationship between strategy and tactics has never been greater, Umsebenzi says. "It calls for both flexibility and adherence to tactics." Besides the debate about one-party rule versus a multi-party system, a number of other issues are also being re-examined within the party structures: These include:

- Pure socialism versus a mixed economy. Again, Stovo says, doctrinaire socialism has had its undoing behind the Iron Curtain and the right mix for the economy should be worked out so as to further the aims of the working class.
- It is extending a hand to homeland leaders — previously beyond redemption — saying "we cannot afford to be rigid about alliances that could emerge"; it is re-thinking its prerequisites for negotiation and urging white people to join the struggle in greater numbers.

Ultimate

This is not to say that the SACP has dropped all its ambitions to gain ultimate power in South Africa — if need be by force. But also it is no longer the intransigent, Stalinist party it once was. Inside the party a debate is developing that may have far-reaching implications for the future of South Africa. And, if developments towards freedom and autonomy inside Soviet Lithuania continue at their present pace, they will have a continuing influence on the man who left that country of his birth 54 years ago to settle in South Africa.

racist regime through the armed struggle and for the working class to establish a classless society. Yet it is also the first indication that the tremors of the Gorbachev earthquake are reaching the corners on the periphery. An even better indication of the new thinking in the party can be found in the latest issue of its official newsletter, Umsebenzi (Work). The uncertainty of what the new political developments inside South Africa mean is vividly reflected in the headlines: "Beware the traps ahead"; "Is the table ready?"; and "De Klerk: Comman or Liberal?".

When it writes about the possibility of people in the SA military and police joining the struggle it warns: "We must not look a gift horse in the mouth." And, when it addresses the armed struggle, it cautions: "Let us not shoot ourselves in the foot." Clearly Mr De Klerk and his actions are unknown quantities to them. So, Umsebenzi warns against "two extreme positions that may spell danger for the future of the struggle". One is "to maintain that nothing has really changed"; "This would close our minds to certain tactical readjustments needed to build on the victories already scored". The other is to exaggerate the

Most members of the ANC's National Executive Committee who are also SACP members joined the party in the 50s and 60s when all other white groupings turned their backs on black political aspirations. The SACP accepted them with open arms and the links have been cordial ever since. There are very few — if any — ANC executive members I have met who are uncomfortable with the SACP links or regard the party as a Trojan Horse which will be of another colour once "victory" has been won. Stovo himself is highly regarded in ANC circles. When, in 1985, the ANC first allowed non-black members on the NEC he was the first white to be elected to this high position. Very recently he is said to have addressed closed meetings of ANC membership to explain recent political developments. Stovo believes that in a future democratic South Africa the SACP should function as a political party, competing for the vote in elections and — if elected — returning to the polls regularly for new mandates. He says the alternative is "self-perpetuating power which inevitably leads to corruption and dictatorship". The first signs that glacial change is under way in the SACP came at its seventh congress late last year. There the SACP adopted



SACP leader Joe Stovo

a new programme called "Paths to Power" — the first re-analysis of its position since its original manifesto was drafted in 1962. This was followed up recently with a discussion paper aptly titled, "Has Socialism Failed?" which examines the failures of Eastern European regimes and commits the SACP to a multi-party democracy and freedom of speech, Press, movement and religion. Paths to Power is still heavy on socialist rhetoric. It still calls for the masses to rise up against the

membership is kept a close secret (Constitution Clause xiii a). Stovo is almost the only known member of the top structure. The day-to-day running is left to a six-member Politburo led by the general secretary and the national chairman (viii a). They are chosen from the ranks of the Central Committee directly or indirectly elected at the five-yearly congress (vi e iii).

The general secretary is in a powerful position. He handles all correspondence, keeps all minutes and documents and is the sole link between the membership, the CC and the PB. He can only be removed by a unanimous vote from the PB or a two-thirds majority of the CC (x a).

Cordial

Discipline is strong. Although clause v allows members "the maximum opportunity permitted by existing conditions to take part in the formulation of party policy" it also states that all decisions taken by higher organs are "absolute, binding, on individual members. Much has been said and written about the role and influence of the SACP within the ANC — much of it rubbish. And, for many years, the government wasted time and effort in trying to split the ANC between "communists" and "nationalists" — to absolutely no avail.

for the party to openly admit socialism. For the party to talk freely about it — constitutes an almost Danascone conversion. No other communist party — with the possible exception of that in Albania — has aligned itself more closely and more uncritically with every action and excess of the Soviet Union.

When the Euro-communists started on an independent tack, their South African comrades stuck to orthodoxy. When Enrico Berlinguer took his Italian party on a direct collision course with Brezhnev over Poland and Afghanistan, Stovo praised both the crackdown and the invasion. Hungary 1956, East Berlin 1960, Czechoslovakia 1968, Afghanistan 1975... not once did the SACP depart from official Soviet dogma.

But this was pre-Gorbachev. Now Stovo openly urges his fellow party members to "reject doctrinaire approaches" and to be tolerant of debate. His own public admissions about the "failure of socialism" are the furthest any senior ANC figure has yet gone in criticising conventional thinking.

I will never forget my first meeting with the enigmatic leader of the SACP who has been demonised for decades as South Africa's Public Enemy Number One. It was late one night in 1986 when the phone rang in my Lusaka hotel room. "This is Joe Stovo speaking. I am downstairs in the lobby. Can I come up to see you?" My first impressions were favourable. For starters, he did not have horns and a long tail as South Africans have been led to believe by years of government propaganda. Here was a man, witty, erudite, highly intelligent and, most important, imbued with a love and a passion for South Africa and all its people. And, as the night turned into morning, we found ourselves in agreement on almost everything — the one glaring exception being the use of violence to attain political ideals. We parted amiably — but not be-



Dries van Heerden analyses the winds of change now blowing through the once seemingly immutable SA Communist Party

I called him an "unreconstructed Stalinist". The worst insult he could find for me was "my Quaker friend". I had to consult the encyclopaedia to find that it was meant as a reference to my complete rejection of violence as a means to an end. Last December we met again in a hotel room in the Zambian capital and found that both of us had changed in the intervening years. Although still rejecting violence, I have come to a greater understanding of why some of my fellow South Africans decided to embark on the armed struggle. And Stovo is leading his party through its own process of glasnost and perestroika. Easy it is not. There are numerous recalcitrants said to be lurking in the wings. But, to his credit, it should be noted that he is in the vanguard of the debate. The SACP is a highly structured and disciplined organisation. Its

Handwritten notes: 11A

Handwritten note: 11A

Hand over the country's land before we negotiate PAC

By CP Correspondent

2/11/90

THE PAC is prepared to take its place at the negotiating table for the future South Africa if the land is first returned to its rightful owners.

Speaking at the launch of the Confimvaba branch of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) president Clarence Makwetu told more than 400 people that the land issue must be rectified by the government.

Makwetu told the gathering it was not true the PAC refused to participate in the Congress for a Democratic Future (CDF) held in December last year.

"Two PAC delegates were sent to the congress but were told that because their organisation did not participate at the preparatory stages of the congress they would not be allowed to sit in," Makwetu said.

Another speaker, chairman of PAM's ad hoc committee Mahlubandile Mbandazayo warned someone who recently

claimed to be a PAC spokesman.

He added that some people outside South Africa who were also claiming to be in the PAC hierarchy were not PAC members.

Mbandazayo told the gathering the PAC was not racist.

"We recognise one

race, the human race.

"We are not going to drive whites into the sea. What we are striving for is to get our freedom," he said.

Sthembele Mgxaji of the Pan Africanist Student Movement urged youths to remain at school because education was their future weapon.

Saths Cooper returns to ^(D) take up UWC lecture post

CP Correspondent

CPren 2/11/90

(11A)

FORMER Azapo president Dr Saths Cooper will take up a post at the University of the Western Cape as a senior lecturer in psychology when it opens next month.

Cooper returned from Boston University in America this month after completing a PhD programme and thesis on youth violence.

Cooper, who got his first degree *cum laude* while serving a sentence on Robben Island after the marathon trial of Black Consciousness leaders in the mid-1970s, also returned with advanced qualifications in hypno-therapy and gerontology. He specialised in clinical, community and social psychology.

At Boston University he worked with Prof Hussein Bulhan, a Somali who studied Franz Fanon's works on the effects of oppression on people's minds.

In his three-year study period Cooper became director of the violence intervention programme at the Community Health Centre in Roxbury, a ghetto area of Boston.

From November 1988 he was an assistant director of the mental and social health department of the centre where he supervised other therapists.

Cooper said he was proud to accept a post at UWC because he saw the university as the most progressive institute of higher learning in the country.

"I was appointed to the University of Cape Town as well, but I have not accepted that yet. I am considering my options because the UCT post is to co-ordinate a masters programme in relevant psychology."

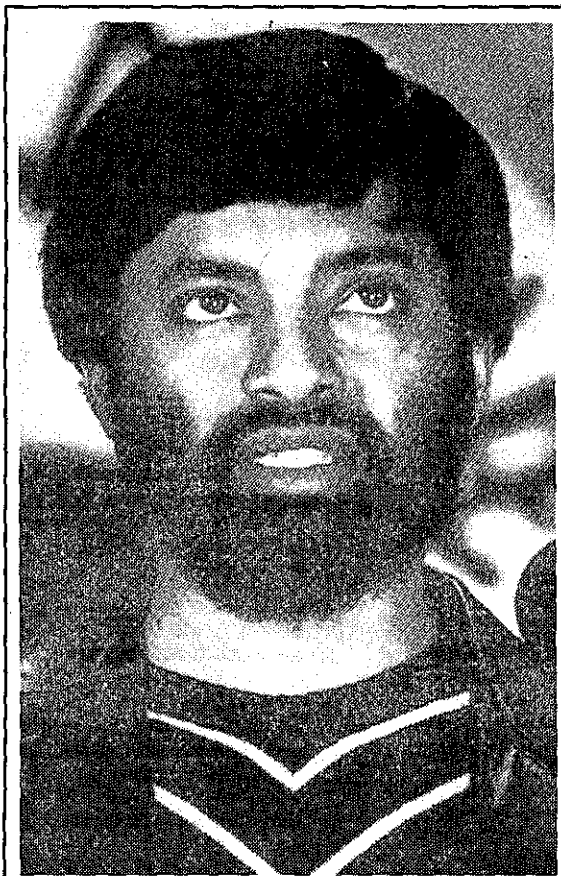
He said a neglected area of study in this country is the psycho-social effect of oppression and exploitation, from the perspective of both the oppressed and the oppressor/exploiter.

Cooper, who was elected president of the Azania People's Organisation in 1985, said he was not impressed with President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives.

"Too many people overlook the fact FW spent his entire adult life being part of a political party that was integral to apartheid, the events of Sharpeville 1960, Soweto 1976, repression and the states of emergency from the mid-1980s into 1990.

"It is an unfortunate fact that right now FW holds the initiative with his programmes as opposed to the liberation movement as a whole.

"He is introducing changes, not because he wants to, but because he has to. Closing the beaches was abnormal in-the first place, so opening them up is not



DR SATHS Cooper is back in South Africa to take up a post as senior lecturer at UWC after completing a PhD at Boston University. A former Azapo president, Dr Cooper is a founder member of the Black People's Convention who was arrested in 1974 and sentenced to six years on Robben Island in December 1976. He completed a psychology masters degree at Wits after his release in 1982 and was elected vice-president of Azapo in 1983.

freedom. It is a returning to the fringes of civilisation. There is more he has to do.

"Lifting the state of emergency, unbanning organisations and allowing free political activity would be important victories, but in themselves they do not constitute the resolution of conflict.

"What will, is when the country is able to say we have no homeless people, when people's labour is valued and their dignity ensured through complete political, economic and social success. Only then will we be achieving true freedom.

"One of the essential issues, for me, is meaningful black empowerment, not merely changing FW's white face for whoever's black face.

"It is rooting out the institutions of oppression and exploitation rather than making them more palatable or giving it new heads, that is important."

IF South Africans are preparing themselves for the political event of the century - the release of Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela - the signals from the world media are even more frenetic.

The world's electronic services from America to Europe are putting every conceivable plan into place, so much so that local media will be and are already intimidated by the media extravangaza that will be launched.

South African commentators and editors are writing and sharpening their plans for the big moment.

I fear we are going to be overwhelmed and overshadowed by the rest of the world.

The reason some of us were rather cautious at throwing bricks at the Mandela family at their moment of personal and political anguish was caused by the respect we held for the family and its head.

Colossus

The reason I feel it is important for me to give my views about this historic figure is simply because I fear we almost desperately need a colossus to bestride our world at the auspicious historic moment.

An American journalist from Chicago fleshed the thought out for me.

He wanted to know how the present white administration was shaping and if we had the type of

Mandela - man of stature

It's hard to find a man like him in other race groups



ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaaste

of the first black university in Africa, Fort Hare.

The late Robert Sobukwe was among them.

They had almost all the elements that I believe are necessary to build strong people or a strong nation.

They were spiritual and often quite boringly Christian.

They read the Classics from the West and would have first hand knowledge of the works of Charles Dickens and William Shakespeare.

They read American writers like Marcus Garvey, Booker T Washington, Dr E W du Bois and

Langston Hughes.

My father, for instance, named me after such black leaders from those days.

Aggrey was the name of an African doctor who was so powerful that he was called Dr Aggrey of Africa.

My other name is Robes after the famous black American singer and controversial world political figure, Paul Robes.

Mandela and his peers are from that school.

At first their thinking was all that was required for the black man to "educate" or "civilise" himself to match the stan-

dards of whites.

They believed, most of them, rather sentimentally that the white man would undergo a moral change one day.

Dr Alan Eaton, the great white scholar and liberal espoused such views.

In *Cry the Beloved Country*, he said the tragedy would be the day when the white man turns

to loving and the black man turns to hating.

They were wrong historically.

In the first place, the white man has not and is not exactly going to love anybody but himself and the black man is hardly ever going to hate.

These men and women will change, have been changed by the objective historical realities of their day.

The strangest thing today is the softening of attitudes from Afrikaners who not so long ago regarded blacks as "savage" and most likely still do.

Our biggest piece of luck is that people like Mandela are likely to play a pivotal role in this country's future.

I am looking very hard but it is extremely difficult to find men of equal or fairly similar stature

from the Government and even other race groups.

I am not being racist. It seems proper, especially if it falls within the type of creative dreaming I indulge in.

I believe blacks will not only rule and save this country, but I believe we have that indescribable ethic that will make us rulers of the world.

Mandela will start the ball rolling.

charismatic and powerful figure to lead this sunny land into peace and happiness.

He thought we needed a JF Kennedy or Martin Luther King.

Such leaders are rather scarce, but I believe Nelson Mandela could fit the bill.

I believe for instance that all the veterans from the war should be inspired in the hearts of the young people for elderly statesmen.

Respect

It is not only traditional for blacks to have this respect, this awe, almost, for their elders, but the mantle of courage and determination displayed by people who have served their dues in jail for more than 20 years cannot but inspire respect.

I have been saying with conviction that Mandela's release will surprise a great many people.

It will surprise especially whites who have traditionally misread the potential power in black leaders on the continent.

But let me speak at a personal historical level. Messrs Walter Sisulu, Jeff Masemola, Nelson Mandela and Zephania

Mothopeng come from the golden age of the 1940s when black leaders were distinguished not only for their political strength, but through a rectitude of personal honour and sound education. These leaders came from the missionary schools of yore and most of them became graduates

Negotiations a result of 'wars'

TALKS about negotiations do not indicate a change of heart within the National Party, but was the result of "wars against the regime."

This was said by student and community leaders during the relaunch of the Ratanda Youth Congress on the East-Rand.

Security police kept a low profile outside the Roman Catholic Church while speakers called for the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency.

About 500 people - mainly youths - dressed in UDF, Swapo and ANC T-Shirts toyi toyed, sang freedom songs and roared as Mzwakhe Mbuli captivated the audience with his poetry.

The red South African Communist Party and the blue, green and red Swapo flags were displayed on the stage.

A member of the Ratanda Civic Association said President F W De Klerk should meet the "people's demands" by releasing Nelson Mandela

By MASHUBE
MFOLOE

unconditionally.

He said the ANC should be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted before any talks with the Government could begin.

He warned that there would not be any genuine negotiations on terms dictated by the Government.

Student leaders also called for the re-establishment of street committees to combat crime.

UDF's southern Transvaal regional secretary, Mr Jackson Mthembu, said the youth were the backbone of the struggle.

He urged Ratanda community organisations to unite and revive community-based structures to help address the education crisis and look into post apartheid education.

06/10/90
Sowetan
11P

ANC may be unbanned

11A

THE Government last week strongly hinted at the possibility of unbanning the African National Congress amid indications that the ban had become virtually impossible to enforce.

Some attorney-generals confirmed privately that an increasing number of charges against people for promoting the aims and objects of the banned ANC were being withdrawn.

They said they were taking their cue from recent Supreme Court judgments, while lawyers representing people facing charges were now more inclined to discuss the withdrawal of charges compared to the more confrontational approach a few years ago.

These charges relate to petty charges such as possessing ANC pamphlet and not charges involving violence.

"The ANC is effectively unbanned", said Democratic Party chairman and spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van Der Merwe.

"The Government should bring the law into line with the new political realities," he said, referring to recent mass marches.

Conservative Party spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager said the Government was putting courts in an impossible position, expecting them to sentence people for promoting the ANC while the Government was talking to its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

"If you talk to them, how can you charge people for possessing their pamphlets?" he asked.

06/10/90
Sowetan

Court told of assault



WEARING a black and yellow shirt with a red star, Mr Mziwamadoda Lawrence Kondile told the Klerksdorp Regional Court on Friday he had bled profusely from his left ear after he had been severely assaulted by the police who interrogated him.

Mr Kondile is one of seven alleged members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania appearing before Mr D J Pretorius on charges of terrorism. They have pleaded not guilty and are in custody.

Kondile was giving evidence in his defence after the State had closed

its case in the trial within a trial that started two weeks ago following a dispute between the defence and the State over the admissibility of statements allegedly made by some of the accused.

Appearing with Mr Kondile [21] are, Mr Matikela Mashiqana [27], Mr Motsamia Patrick Nthako [24], Mr Nelson Joyi [27], Mr Saxon Mokonyanya [20], Mr Simon Ndlovu [18] and Miss Doris Kuki Tlhako [18], all from townships in Port Elizabeth, Welkom and Johannesburg.

The case continues today.

Sowetan
22/01/90

D... M...

CAPE TOWN 22/11/70

Hit squad man may be ANC — claim

JOHANNESBURG. — A white former police captain may have joined the African National Congress since he fled abroad after claiming he led a "hit squad" that killed anti-apartheid activists, the Sunday Star here reported.

It said Mr Dirk Coetzee had held talks with several ANC officials since he left South Africa in November and provided them with information about the activities of alleged police death squads.

The newspaper said there had been no official confirmation from ANC officials that Mr Coetzee had joined, but "speculation is growing that he has in fact done so".

If this was the case, the Star said, Mr Coetzee would be the first white from the police force to join the predominantly black ANC. An arrest warrant has been issued for Mr Coetzee, whose whereabouts are not known. — Sapa-AP

Star 22/1/90

11A

Police see new emphasis

ANC 'switching from war to jaw'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

ALEXANDER BAY — The ANC's armed struggle had lost momentum and the emphasis had shifted to negotiations, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, head of the security police, said at the weekend.

The main reasons for the change were the Government's reform initiatives and the success of security police actions, he told journalists at a briefing in Alexander Bay on police action in the 1990s.

Civilians avoided

General Smit said the number of "terrorist incidents" last year was the lowest since 1985, dropping to 199 from 281 in 1988.

The targets for terrorist action had also changed. The ANC was "avoiding civilian targets like the plague" and concentrating on attacking the police.

He said the only exception to the rule was the Natal violence and the violence surrounding the Transport Services strike.

Although the ANC had again committed itself to the armed struggle in its New Year message, all the signs pointed to a decline in violence and a

change in the ANC's attitude. The ANC now had two approaches — the military and the constitutional — and in the '90s one would almost certainly see more of the latter.

The Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said the NP's reform initiatives would make at least the ANC's moderate wing less inclined to violence.

As long as the Government's new reform programme enjoyed international support, it would be difficult for the ANC to pursue its strategy of violence and to continue its campaign of terrorism against civilians.

General Smit added that if the ANC had a change of heart, the security forces were ready to counter a return to a fully fledged armed struggle.

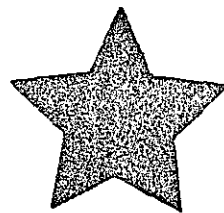
General van der Merwe said the police were ready and able to adapt to the "drastic" changes which would take place in the 1990s as a result of the Government's reform initiative.

However, the police would need special understanding and insight to deal with the changes.

Policemen would require more training to keep pace with the changes. The SAP did not regard the changing social order as an obstacle but as an "interesting challenge"

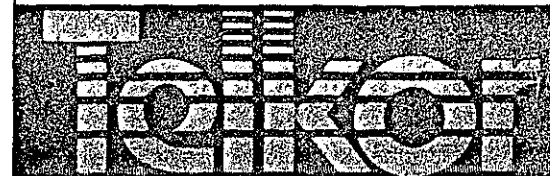
Star

newspaper.



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952

'Death threat' phone call an 'evil lie'

A row has broken out between the general secretary of the National Sports Congress (NSC) attorney Mr Krish Naidoo and the South African Cricket Union (Sacu) chief Mr Geoff Dakin over an alleged death threat.

Mr Naidoo yesterday filed criminal charges against Mr Dakin, who he says, threatened him during a telephone conversation yesterday morning.

Mr Naidoo said:

"A man who said he was a Mr Abbot telephoned at about 10 am yesterday morning and first spoke to my wife. But when I spoke to him I immediately recognised his voice and said 'Hello Geoff'. He then confirmed that it was him (Mr Dakin) speaking.

"He said my life would be in danger if anything happen to the English cricketers during their tour. Dakin also said he knew the identity of the people who would carry out this threat but refused to give me details.

"I asked him whether he realised what he was saying, but he said he did not care. I immediately went down to John Vorster Square and laid the charges. I have repeated it to the police under oath.

Mr Dakin said:

"This is an evil lie.

"I am amazed by the evil treachery and lie of the whole thing. I don't know what kind of trickery this is but it is an evil lie. Mr Naidoo was desperate because the tour is obviously going on."

He is to take legal advice.

star 22/11/90 BACHER

Dr Ali Bacher, managing director of Sacu, also denied that that Mr Naidoo was telephoned or threatened by Mr Dakin. He told Sapa that Mr Dakin last spoke to Mr Naidoo in November.

"Although it is possible that somebody telephoned Mr Naidoo yesterday, it is ridiculous to say that Mr Dakin was responsible for the threat," Dr Bacher said.

Frontline meeting to talk about talks in SA

By Robin Drew, The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Today's meeting in Lusaka between the ANC and Frontline states leaders is headline news in Zimbabwe, whose president, Mr Robert Mugabe, will be present. Star 22/11/90

The historic gathering has been called to map out strategies aimed at capitalising on changes in South Africa, *The Herald* said in its main report today.

It said a major item would be the adoption of a common position in any talks with Pretoria.

The newspaper quoted ANC officials saying the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) felt it had been caught off balance by the pace at which events were unfolding in South Africa.

The ANC had to be prepared to change its tactics should its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, be released before apartheid was abolished.

One official was quoted as saying anti-apartheid groups would be thoroughly destabilised by Pretoria if the ANC did not work out a counter-strategy.

Mr Nelson Mandela's ideas on negotiations had been debated by the NEC. Its views were expected to be presented at today's summit.

● See Page 2.

SA/ANC talks suggestion

ARG 645 22/1/90
11A

Argus Africa News Service
LUSAKA. — The South African government is understood to have suggested to the African National Congress that the two parties enter into exploratory talks to find out what the chances would be of formal negotiations on the future of South Africa succeeding.

This prospect is believed to have been raised by government officials in discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela, who has passed the suggestion on to the ANC leadership for discussion at the meeting here of the organisation's national executive committee.

Such exploratory talks would suit the government in that it would not have to commit itself to meeting the terms of the ANC's Harare Declaration before investigating the prospects of a deal with the ANC. For this reason, the suggestion is likely to be rejected by the national executive committee.

The terms of the Harare Declaration include a call for the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the return of political refugees, the removal of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of security forces from the townships.

Mr Mandela's part in passing on the message does not suggest he sees merit in the proposal. He has acted as a conduit for other messages directed at the ANC in Lusaka by the government.

An ANC spokesman confirmed that Mr Mandela had no mandate to deal with the government on the ANC's behalf.

According to an ANC source, another proposal from the government which has been tabled at the executive committee meeting is that South Africa should be allowed to open consulates in the countries where the ANC has members in exile — Zambia and Tanzania

— to issue travel documents for these members once they are allowed to return home.

The source said the suggestion was turned down flat by the executive meeting.

Mr Mandela himself has submitted to the meeting a ten-point plan on negotiations. The ANC refuses to give details of his proposals but it is known that the jailed leader considers them extremely important.

Renamo support

The ANC source also disclosed that the question of negotiating with the ANC was raised at the meeting between President FW De Klerk and Mozambique's president Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on December 8.

He said Mr De Klerk proposed that he would do his best to ensure that any further support for the Renamo rebels from South African elements was withdrawn if President Chissano helped try to "deliver" the ANC.

Table with multiple columns and rows, containing names and other data, likely a list of members or a directory. The text is very faint and difficult to read.

ANC Seven plan rally to end faction violence in Natal

ARG 645 22/1/90

11A

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service
LUSAKA. — The recently released leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) plan to stage a rally in Natal to try and end the violence in the province.

They also will try to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini, the ANC announced last night at a press conference here.

After an extensive three-day meeting between Mr Walter Sisulu and the other leaders from South Africa, the national executive committee and members of the ANC's military wing said the organisation viewed "this continuing massacre of the people" as totally unacceptable.

It said the situation in Natal was a national problem which required the direct intervention of "our national leaders to interact with the people affected by this violence and all other

forces interested in ending it". An attempt to end the violence would be made without delay.

The meeting, the first between external and internal ANC leaders, had emphasised the importance of engaging all South Africans in united action against apartheid, said a post-meeting statement.

It also had expressed grave concern that there were still "some patriots" on death row and demanded that they should not be hanged under any circumstances.

Those at the meeting also called on people working within the "Bantustan" structures to commit themselves to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

However, the statement said nothing about what had been decided during the three-day conference on issues vital to the ANC — such as a strategy for possible negotiations with

the South African government and the specific role the released leaders would play in the hierarchy.

It merely said these leaders were part of "one united leadership of our movement" and would operate together with the national executive.

It is understood the ANC fears the leaders from South Africa could be rebanned if they are appointed to official positions within the banned organisation.

Today, the ANC leaders will attend a summit meeting of the frontline states which they asked to be held here.

The statement said the organisation would take the opportunity to extend to the frontline heads "our deep appreciation for the unwavering support for our movement and discuss with them what needs to be done further to intensify the offensive against the apartheid system".

UDF to protest against 'brutality'

(11A) By Janet Heard (2/2)

A peaceful march to the Carletonville police station is scheduled to take place today in protest against alleged police brutality in the township, a United Democratic Front spokesman announced yesterday.

One of the aims of the march is to protest against the "mysterious death" last Tuesday of Mbuyiselo Phiri (16). The spokesman said the march would also highlight the "mysterious disappearance" of two youths in the township.

2/2/82

ANC leaders plan rally in Natal

11A

By John Ryan

LUSAKA — The recently released African National Congress leaders plan to stage a rally in Natal in an attempt to end the violence in the province.

They will also try to meet King Goodwill Zwelethini, the ANC announced in Lusaka last night.

A statement issued after a three-day meeting between Mr Walter Sisulu and the other leaders from South Africa, the national executive committee and members of the ANC's military wing said the organisation viewed "this continuing massacre" as totally unacceptable.

(scribble) star 22/11/90

INTERVENTION

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against apartheid, the statement said.

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Participants in the meeting also called on all those working within the "bantustan" structures to commit themselves to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

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Today the ANC leaders will attend a summit meeting of the Frontline states in Lusaka, the statement said.

The ANC would take the opportunity to extend to the Frontline heads "our deep appreciation for the unswerving support for our movement and discuss with them what needs to be done further to intensify the offensive against the apartheid system".

HARARE. — Today's historic summit of front-line states in Lusaka will be the first to be held with a group of ex-South African political prisoners.

The meeting, to be attended by former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and his recently released colleagues, will work out a transitional agenda for peace in South Africa, reports Zimbabwe's Ziara news agency.

Sources close to the organisers said the meeting was being held

CAP 72/1/90
Lusaka
summit

'historic'

at the request of the ANC, which began a strategy session on Thursday to work out a programme that would enable it to capitalise on changes in South Africa.

Major items on the agenda at the Lusaka

summit include ratification of resolutions of the ANC's 35-member National Executive Committee (NEC), the question of Mr Nelson Mandela's release and his future role and the adoption of a common position for talks with Pretoria.

ANC officials said the NEC had agreed that the 78-year-old liberation movement had been caught off-balance by the pace at which events were unfolding in the Republic. — Sapa

Capl TINTS 22/11/90

FW, Mandela are 'negotiating now'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela have met on more than one occasion to discuss ways of each side facilitating round-table negotiations, reliable sources on both sides said last week.

The government and the ANC are already involved in direct negotiations, sources said. Mr Mandela, who has been meeting senior cabinet ministers for the past three years, has been meeting with them more frequently recently and is in constant contact with the ANC by telephone and through intermediaries who visit him.

Mr Mandela apparently likes Mr De Klerk but in the 10-point plan he submitted to the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) last week he apparently made it clear that the ANC should not go into negotiations too hastily or against its better judgement.

Further strategies would have to be worked out around the issue of negotiations to prevent the movement from painting itself

into a corner, an ANC spokesman said.

It has also become reasonably clear from ANC and government sources that although the government has not worked out the exact date of Mr Mandela's release, it will be around February 14 to 16.

The ANC gave strong indications of assurances conveyed to it by the De Klerk government in an opening speech, characterised by a lack of ambiguity, to the special ANC NEC meeting in Lusaka this week.

"All indications are that Comrade Nelson Mandela and other comrades will be released in the near future. The Pretoria regime will also address in one way or another the issues of ending the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other organisations and allowing the exiles to return," a senior ANC spokesman said.

There are some senior executives in the ANC so confident of the early return of exiles that they are discussing whether or not the National Consultative Conference of the ANC scheduled for late June should be held in Johannesburg for the first time

in three decades. However, others believe this is an over-optimistic assesment.

An issue on which Mr Mandela and the ANC have not yet reached agreement with the government is that of the hundreds of young people convicted and jailed for public violence offences since 1984. It is believed that Mr Mandela and the ANC maintain they are political prisoners as their acts were motivated by political frustrations and also the presence of police and SADF troops in the townships.

However, the government is apparently maintaining that those jailed for public violence are criminals. The ANC and Mandela want public violence offenders to be released at the same time and in the same way as political offenders.

A senior ANC spokesman said Mr De Klerk was expected to play his cards carefully and "things like the lifting of the State of Emergency are the sort of trumps with which he picks up quite good hands. He will play one card and then another. We think he may release some long-term political prisoners even before Mandela".

Copy Times 22/1/90.
11A

Mandela: Foreign media flock to SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A flood of foreign news teams are expected in SA from the beginning of next month in expectation of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and for the opening of Parliament.

At least four major networks have reserved more than 150 rooms at five-star hotels in Johannesburg and Cape Town during the next month.

The largest contingent is that of CBS News, which has booked 50 rooms at the Carlton Hotel for next month. ABC has booked 40 rooms for one-and-a-half months. Others teams include the BBC and NBC.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that a spokesman for ABC-TV's news programme Nightline flatly denied reports that Nightline presenter Mr Ted Koppel had locked up rights to the first US interview with Mr Mandela after his release.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that it has also become reasonably clear from ANC and government sources that although government has not worked out the exact date of Mr Mandela's release, it will be around February 14 to 16.

Nightline spokesman Ms Laura Wessner said Mr Koppel was making "protective" contingency plans to broadcast from SA in February. She stressed that the arrangements were at a "very sensitive stage".

She said she had no knowledge of reports that ABC news president Mr Rooney Arledge had been negotiating with the government for special access in SA and had been given advance word that Mr Mandela was to be freed on February 16.

SA embassy officials in Washington have confirmed that Mr Koppel had been given approval to travel to SA, but said no dates had been set. They predicted he would be on the scene in time for President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament.

Of ABC's two main rivals, CBS would say only that it was "keeping our options open" while NBC publicists failed to return reporters' calls.

Mandela's secret

Plan for talks

P.T.O.

frontline states yesterday endorsed a secret proposal by Mr Nelson Mandela for negotiations with the South African government, ending a one-day summit with the ANC leadership.

The proposal may involve a power-sharing period as an interim measure without the immediate transfer of power the ANC earlier insisted on.

Frontline chairman President Kenneth Kaunda announced that Mr Mandela's 10-point proposal on negotiations had been endorsed, but declined to disclose details.

The document put to the ANC national executive was apparently delivered to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka several weeks ago.

It is believed to have been submitted to President F W de Klerk by Mr Mandela when they met in December.

Power sharing

In London, The Times reported that Mr Mandela suggests in his peace formula that an immediate transfer of power to a black majority is unrealistic. Instead, power sharing as an interim measure will have to be negotiated.

The newspaper said Mr Mandela had been acting as a broker between the government and the ANC leadership, and had apparently advised both to accept interim power sharing.

Times writer Gavin Bell said Mr De Klerk was expected to accede to the pre-conditions for negotiations during the coming session of Parliament, which begins on February 2.

This would be in exchange for an ANC commitment to seek peaceful solutions.

"After discussions with Mr De Klerk, at least four cabinet ministers, and ANC comrades, Mr Mandela has reshaped strategies on both sides."

The Times said morale was low in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This was exacerbated by the admission last week by acting president Mr Alfred Nzo that the movement did not have the capacity to intensify its low-key armed struggle.

"The military wing does not share the enthusiasm of ANC politicians and diplomats for dialogue with Pretoria," Bell wrote.

He added that in the absence of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in a Swedish clinic from a brain spasm, conflicting views were being expressed by Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the international department, and Mr Chris Hani, the military wing's chief of staff.

LUSAKA. — Leaders of the

*Apr - 1991
23/1/90*

11A

To page 3

DR KAUNDA ... Frontline states back the plan



AA (11) 7005 23/11/96 288
From page 1

Mandela

"The indications are that Mr Hani's influence is waning and the more moderate and pragmatic Mr Mbeki is gaining ground. Pretoria is well aware of the divisions and may be prepared to exploit them."

Dr Kaunda yesterday opened the summit by declaring that the international community was "now waiting" for South Africa's formal response to the United Nations-approved Harare document spelling out the ANC's conditions for negotiations.

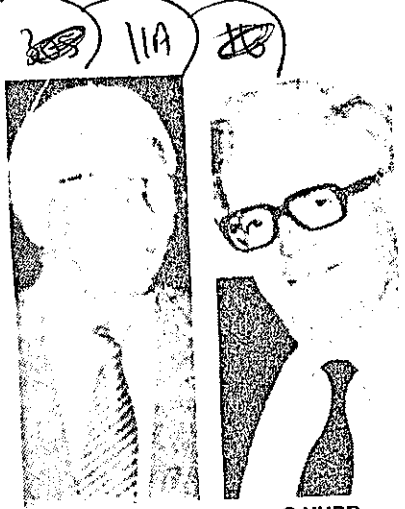
The Zambian president said he had been told on Sunday night by UN secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar that the document adopted by the UN General Assembly in December had been officially delivered to Pretoria soon after Christmas.

The summit followed a three-day session of the ANC's National Executive Committee. The NEC reasserted the ANC's willingness to negotiate with Pretoria on the condition it meets key pre-conditions.

The recently freed ANC leaders present at the summit and their exiled colleagues, meeting for the first time in 27 years, said they were committed to negotiations and "a mutual suspension of hostilities".

Yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he had been impressed by the level of understanding and lack of bitterness among those ANC leaders who had been jailed for many years. — Own Correspondent and UPI

9/04/23/1190



● SISULU ● HURD

SAIRR predicts UK stance shift

THE British government might be shifting in favour of the ANC's negotiating position, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

This emerges from the latest issue of Quarterly Countdown, the institute's monitor of political reform.

The publication said yesterday reports that a possible meeting between British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and ANC official Walter Sisulu would herald a shift in the British position were "more than three years behind the times".

ANC leader Oliver Tambo had held talks with the then British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe outside London as long ago as September 1986. Subsequently Downing Street claimed Howe had seen Tambo in his capacity as EEC president.

"This meeting in fact followed an earlier abortive attempt by Sir Geoffrey to meet Mr Tambo, which was rebuffed by Mr Tambo."

The significant new development, Countdown said, was thus not any Sisulu/Hurd meeting but the British government's support for the UN Declaration on Apartheid endorsed by the OAU in Harare last year. The declaration was based on the ANC's guidelines, and was endorsed by both Britain and the US, despite the existence of other negotiating documents and despite strong opposition from the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

"The General Assembly appears to have ignored these objections," says Countdown, and points out that it also ignored Inkatha's constitutional guidelines and the South African government's five-year plan.

Countdown said Britain and the US lobbied for modifications to the document later made by the UN.

The ANC's claim to special status was watered down and the ANC's reference to the need for an interim government, to which the South African government had strongly objected, was deleted.

The BCM said the ANC was anxious to secure a strategic advantage over both the South African government and rival liberation movements, and had drawn up the document in order to get the widest possible acceptance of its own negotiating position. — Sapa.

Frontline, ANC unity on Mandela 'peace plan'

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Star 23/11/90

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Proposals by jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said to amount to a peace plan for South Africa, have been considered by the six Frontline states meeting leaders of the African National Congress.

The Frontline states have endorsed the ANC executive's reaction.

Mr Mandela's 10-point plan was discussed for the first time at the meeting here last week between the exiled ANC leadership and the ANC members recently released from detention in South Africa.

REFUSED

The details of his proposals have not been made public, and both ANC and Frontline sources have refused to disclose them or their reaction to them. The ANC executive appears, however, to have endorsed the proposals.

The chairman of the Frontline

group, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, intimated after yesterday's conference that increased pressure would be brought to bear by the Frontline states and on President de Klerk to react suitably to the ANC stance.

The leadership meeting comes at a time when it is becoming increasingly clear to moderates of the ANC that there is little alternative to a negotiated settlement between it and Pretoria.

There is an expectation that the release of Mr Mandela will be accompanied by pre-emptive initiatives by Pretoria on such issues as the state of emergency, the banned status of the ANC and the return of exiled leaders. There is a growing feeling that the ANC should prepare negotiating positions to prevent losing the initiative.

The Mandela plan is thought to be close to the Harare Declaration, which was issued in August after a meeting between ANC and Organisation of African Unity members.

Emission control for horses?

Improved party line service

Argus (11A) [initials]

UDF tells Vlok to lift restrictions by April

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front, which resumed its political activities last week, was optimistic that the government would lift the restrictions on it before April, spokesman Mr Azhar Cachalia has said.

But he warned yesterday that the UDF's national general council meeting, planned for early April, would go ahead "with or without the blessing of Mr Adriaan Vlok", the Minister of Law and Order.

Restricted two years ago, the UDF "unbanned" itself on 20 August 1988, its sixth anniversary. Last week it announced that it would now resume all political activities.

OFFICES

Mr Cachalia said the organisation's eight regions were looking for venues to reopen offices. A Western Cape office had already been opened and the UDF's head office would remain in Johannesburg.

"Since the UDF's restriction there have been no public campaigns under the UDF banner. We merely concentrated on holding the organisation together. Now we will resume high-profile activities such as those prior to the restrictions."

He said the UDF would form "the backbone" of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's national reception committee. UDF affiliates would be involved in protests against the rebel cricket tour.

He said it would be in the government's interest to unban the UDF. It would have a favourable international response and would enable the government to "understand the people's demands better", which would enable it to "chart the path forward".

SA given anti-apartheid paper

11/19am 23/11/90
LUSAKA — The UN resolution based on the Harare Declaration — a blueprint for negotiation which spells out ways to end apartheid and restore peace in SA — has been handed to Pretoria, a Frontline summit meeting was told yesterday.

Opening the special meeting of the six states, organisation chairman and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said he was informed by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the resolution was handed over to Pretoria soon after Christmas.

The Harare Declaration calls for the introduction of "a climate conducive for talks in SA". Such an atmosphere, it says, requires the unbanning of political parties, mass democratic groups and trade union activities; the release of

Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and the right of any mass movement to organise politically.

Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reports that Kaunda paid special tribute to the ANC and the Frontline states for making such a move towards the abolition of apartheid.

The declaration had won the support of African movements before being presented to the UN General Assembly's special session against apartheid last December.

At yesterday's summit Kaunda said African leaders would take further instructions from the ANC on future action to fight apartheid.

He had been impressed by "the level of understanding and the lack of bitterness" prevailing among ANC leaders

who had been jailed until recently.

"There is absolutely no bitterness towards the Boers who have detained them for so long," Kaunda said. "These leaders, led by Comrade Walter Sisulu, are speaking with clarity of mind. That clarity should make (SA President F W) De Klerk move very fast indeed."

He told Sisulu: "We are proud of you for what you are doing. We are prepared to listen to you; we are prepared to take your commands to intensify the struggle."

In a statement issued at the end of the ANC National Executive Committee meeting on Sunday night, the 78-year-old movement said yesterday's summit would discuss its requirements to promote the offensive against the apartheid system. — Sapa.

Mandela,



President De Klerk

AGGUS 23/1/90

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bannings on FW's agenda

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

THE first Cabinet meeting of the year, to be chaired by President De Klerk in Cape Town tomorrow, will give attention to the release of African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as well as the possible lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC.

This was the expectation among Nationalist MPs today as Mr De Klerk kept his followers guessing about when Mr Mandela will be released.

The MPs said that politically there was no longer any problem about the fact that he would be released, but the exact date remained a problem.

They have been left in the dark about this and the growing impression was that no date had been set.

There was also the growing feeling in Nationalist circles that Mr De Klerk would not make a definite announcement in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2.

Right timing

If he announced a date for Mr Mandela's release in that speech it would dominate any other announcement on reform and future negotiations that he might want to make, the MPs said. Some thought that he might even be released before parliament started or shortly afterwards.

Mr De Klerk was said to be grappling with the question of the right timing for Mr Mandela's release.

Some top Nationalists think it should be done in a way that would not benefit the ANC too much.

On the other hand there are indications that a final announcement on the release of Mr Mandela could be linked with one on the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

These are among the pre-conditions to negotiations that Mr De Klerk is expected to deal with when he opens parliament on Friday week.

Tomorrow's Cabinet meeting will also deal with aspects of the opening speech. Various Ministers will make contributions to this speech.

Nationalist MPs are concerned about expectations that are being created about the speech. They warned today that Mr De Klerk could not be expected to make one "wonder stroke" speech

that would at this stage sweep aside all race-based measures such as the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has been in regular contact with Mr Mandela over the past few years and especially lately, has for the first time commented on the role Mr Mandela has played in his contacts with the government as well as the ANC.

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In an interview in the latest issue of "Nationalist", the National Party's propaganda sheet, Mr Coetsee said this role of Mr Mandela had been a "giant leap" in the negotiation process.

Mr Coetsee said it was no longer a question if Mr Mandela would be released but when and in what circumstances.

Star 23/1/90 Networks all want Nelson's first interview

By Ramsay Milne,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — US television networks have joined in a frantic scramble to be the first to interview jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, with some of the biggest TV "names" personally handling negotiations.

Spokesmen for the networks said yesterday they were all acting in the belief that Parliament would vote in favour of freeing Mr Mandela during its new session next month and have started "a frantic, competitive scramble".

CBS anchor Dan Rather is one of the senior TV personalities seeking a Mandela interview.

But insiders say they believe ABC's Ted Koppel has an edge in the contest, based on his series of "Nightline" shows from South Africa in 1985.

"Obviously we are very interested in the story," said a "Nightline" spokesman.

"It's at a very sensitive stage and, ultimately, we don't know what will happen."

There is no deal, contract or promises.

A CBS spokesman said "many things are in the works", but added: "We don't wish to discuss them at this time."

An NBC spokesman said: "Every news organisation is interested in an interview with Mandela, and an exclusive interview would be all the more rewarding."

There is widespread, almost daily, speculation in US news media concerning Mr Mandela's release, a "story" that one journalist said US news organisations saw as being "bigger than what's happening in Eastern Europe, if and when it happens".

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We're back in business and hopeful, says UDF

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front, which resumed its political activities last week, is hopeful that the Government will lift the restrictions on it before April, spokesman Azhar Cachalia said yesterday.

But he warned that the UDF's national general council meeting, planned for early April, would go ahead "with or without the blessing of (Law and Order Minister) Mr Adriaan Vlok".

Looking for venues

Restricted two years ago, the UDF "unbanned" itself on August 20 1988, its sixth anniversary. Last week it announced that it would now resume all political activities.

Mr Cachalia said the UDF's eight regions were looking for venues to reopen offices. A western Cape office had been



Mr Azhar Cachalia: We will resume high-profile activities, including anti-tour protests.

opened and the head office would remain in Johannesburg.

"Since the UDF's restriction, there has been no public campaigns under the UDF banner. We merely concentrated on holding the organisation together. Now we will resume high-profile activities such as those prior to the restrictions."



Mr Murphy Morobe: The nature of the restrictions on us was effectively a banning.

He said the UDF would form "the backbone" of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's national reception committee, and UDF affiliates would be involved in protests against the current English cricket tour.

Other activities planned included a Natal peace initiative and campaigns for press freedom

and against the death penalty.

"Large sections of the community, particularly whites, have been bewildered by political developments in recent years. Now there will be a constant flow of information from the townships. The people of South Africa will know firsthand what is happening.

"If we are working as if we are unbanned, the Government will have to bring its laws into line with the political realities."

Semantics

⊙ Reacting to Mr Vlok's request last week that the UDF, which he said had never been a forbidden organisation, should request the right to continue its activities, UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said: "Of course Mr Vlok knows very well that the nature of the restrictions on the UDF was intended to have the effect of an actual banning.

Women's conferences face up to the challenges ahead

Star 24/1/90

(11A) (2A)
Both conferences, one held in Pretoria, the other in Amsterdam, focused on the role of women in the future. However, organisations differed on a number of policies and methods at the two major conferences.

More than 200 women representing all races of South Africa as well as representatives from neighbouring states met at the University of Pretoria last week and discussed the role of women in the 21st Century.

The conference was organised by the Women's Bureau of South Africa.

"There are many challenges that lie ahead but women who know where they are going and why will provide the stability for our changing society," said Ms Margaret Lessing, chairman of the Women's Bureau.

The conference covered diverse topics, ranging from health and finance to technology and politics.

Keynote speaker at the opening was Mrs Joan Whitmore, a member of the Women's Bureau, who said most of the country's problems stemmed from growing population pressure.

"The problem can be combated through education, training and the provision of job opportunities," she said.

Census figures for 1985 indicated South Africa was home to about 3,7 million uneducated people and 7,8 million more who held only a Std 4 qualification.

Mrs Whitmore added that organisers of class boycotts enhanced the prospects of South Africa developing into an economic wasteland and should be expected to be held accountable to the people.

Women are on the move countrywide . . . Women's organisations of different political persuasions have in the past two weeks held separate conferences both inside and outside the country — and are geared up to work towards a better future. SHEHNAAZ BULBULIA reports.

Conference participants believed that through technological aid, financial support and general co-operation South Africa would benefit economically, while sanctions, disinvestment and boycotts would inhibit development.

On the issue of women in the workplace, it was decided that all women should unite and work towards a common goal to change discriminatory laws and practices.

At the same time, a South African anti-apartheid women's conference named the Malibongwe Conference, under the theme "Women united for a unitary non-racial South Africa", was held in Amsterdam.

Delegates debated a wide range of issues and resolved that the root cause of the problems of the country stemmed from apartheid . . . not population pressures. The conference resolved: "that women should chart the way for mobilisation towards forceful unity in action against apartheid".

The Malibongwe conference also called on progressive forces to lay the foundations for change in the education field. In the struggles related to rural women, delegates agreed to the establishment of the "Malibongwe Fund" to provide educational bursaries for rural women throughout South Africa.

Sisulu to visit ANC's HQ in Lusaka

JANUARY 90

LUSAKA — The banned African National Congress said yesterday it expected Mr Walter Sisulu and others freed from South African jails to visit its Zambia headquarters on January 15.

There was no formal announcement of the dates but notices displayed at all ANC offices in Lusaka said: "We expect the arrival of our leaders on January 15."

Mr. Sisulu and other veterans freed in October are likely to address exiled ANC leaders at Lusaka's Mulungushi Conference Centre on January 17.

They were recently granted passports to travel to Zambia for the first meeting between the internal and external wings of the banned nationalist movement for a quarter of a century. — Sapa-Reuter.

were running at about 15% to 20% of capacity, he said.
Formerly Johannesburg High

ed library books, a piano, an overhead projector and science equipment, McGurk said.

Vlok's planned talks criticised

CHARLENE SMITH

DISSENT has arisen about a planned series of meetings with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Durban tomorrow to secure peace in the violence-ridden areas in Natal.

Some of those invited say Vlok's office has ignored repeated requests for an agenda and they find it impossible to send mandated delegates if they do not know the purpose of the discussions.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet will not comment on these allegations, but says the talks will include members of the UDF, Inkatha and "interested individuals".

At least one group has declined the invitation. A group of prominent church leaders, including Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley and former Methodist president Khosa

Ngojo, who applied for an interview with President F W de Klerk last year and were referred to Vlok to discuss an end to the conflict, were among those who complained about the lack of an agenda.

They faxed a letter to De Klerk yesterday expressing their concern that their attempts for a private meeting to discuss the Natal violence were being ignored. They said Vlok had invited them to a further series of talks he was having with church people in Cape Town on Janaury 29, but there was insufficient notice given of that meeting.

Vlok's discussions will be held at the Tropicana Hotel on the Durban beachfront tomorrow.

Wilson's death 'a great loss'

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Cabinet to adopt plan to aid talks

B/D Day 24/1/90

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CAPE TOWN — Cabinet meets today to finalise a package of measures aimed at creating a climate into which Nelson Mandela can be released to facilitate negotiations between government and the ANC.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has said Mandela's description of himself as a facilitator between government and the ANC is a giant leap in the negotiation process.

Coetsee is one of the members of the Cabinet's inner circle of four which will take the final decision on the date of Mandela's release.

It is the first Cabinet meeting of the year and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, who heads government's negotiating team, is expected to brief his colleagues on recent statements by the ANC outlining its position on negotiations and on Mandela's 10-point plan which is reported to contain proposals to negotiate power-sharing.

Prior to their going on holiday in mid-December, senior government ministers said they were looking for some kind of commitment from the ANC to seek peaceful solutions to make it possible for government to unban it and other organisations.

With the ANC having hinted at a willingness to negotiate under certain conditions, Cabinet is now in a position to take decisions on unbanning it and lifting the emergency (while retaining the ban on televi-

MIKE ROBERTSON

sion coverage of unrest) to create a climate for negotiation into which Mandela can be released.

Mandela's 10-point plan was discussed by the ANC executive last week and, according to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, was endorsed by the Frontline states. The plan was believed to have been submitted to De Klerk when he met Mandela in December.

Despite the recent spate of rumours on Mandela's release, ministers said yesterday only De Klerk, Coetsee, Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha would know the exact date on which the ANC leader would be freed.

Ministers are not ruling out the possibility that Mandela could even be released before the opening of Parliament on February 2. However, the general expectation is that his release will follow the announcement of a package of measures designed to create conditions in which negotiations can take place.

Interviewed by the NP official newspaper Nationalist, Coetsee said Mandela's description of himself as a facilitator between government and the ANC could be interpreted as a giant leap in the negotiat-

□ To Page 2

Cabinet plan

B/D Day 24/1/90

ing process.

Mandela told SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, when they met on December 18, he was not negotiating with government. Rather he was acting as a facilitator to create the conditions for genuine negotiations.

Coetsee told the Nationalist that government was weighing up this possible role for Mandela.

In the interview, Coetsee also underlined a recent statement by former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu that Mandela could not be released into a vacuum.

Other ministers had also endorsed this view saying Mandela's release was part of a process and could not be determined by events like the opening of Parliament. Rather it would take place when government believed it had created the conditions in which he could play a meaningful role in negotiations.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that sources close to the President said yesterday Mandela and De Klerk would host a joint Press conference after the release of the world's most famous political prisoner.

However, the President's office said the claim was "speculation in its purest form" and the media was rife with rumours, "some based on fact, and others not".

A spokesman for the President's office.

~~SOA~~ 11A

□ From Page 1

Anton Pretorius, said the office had made no plans yet concerning the release of Mandela.

The MDM also said yesterday it had made no special plans for Mandela's release.

An MDM spokesman said a special office to deal with the Press might be set up, but otherwise the release of Mandela would be handled on a similar basis to that of the seven released ANC Rivonia trialists on October 15, last year.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Social Democratic Party co-leader and former Foreign Secretary David Owen said yesterday Mandela would make a speech in Afrikaans when he was released.

The speech would be addressed to SA's five-million whites, acknowledging their "vital role" in a united future.

□ In a leader page article in the Daily Telegraph yesterday, Owen praised the Gorbachev-like changes introduced by De Klerk last year. He said his most crucial decision was to accept direct negotiations on an open agenda with the ANC and other parties.

He also predicted that the ANC and other black leaders would adopt a more pragmatic stance once negotiations began.

● See Pages 4 and 8

Mr. Nelson Mandela's "10-point plan" for negotiations almost certainly contains clauses which are embarrassing to the ANC, according to PATRICK LAURENCE.

Efforts by Mandela to form a united black front

Swing towards negotiations

11A


8 Jan 24/1/90

A degree of ambiguity seems to characterise recent statements by South Africa's outlawed African National Congress, as it declares itself in favour of negotiated settlement in one breath and calls for intensification of armed struggle in the next.

But the equivocation is almost certainly more apparent than real: for the moment, at any rate, there is a definite tilt away from the battlefield to the negotiating table.

Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC's acting president, made that clear in his speech at the start of the extended ANC national executive committee meeting which ended at the weekend.

"Looking at our situation realistically, we must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country, in fact, to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way," he said.

He warned, too, that the "Pretoria regime" would — not might — address the issues which the ANC has set as conditions for negotiations: release of political prisoners, including, of course, Mr Nelson Mandela; unbanning of the ANC; and agreeing to the return of the exiles.

Political settlement

Mr Nzo then added significantly: "(President) de Klerk will, in all likelihood, seek to move with some speed in order to catch us unprepared and off-balance, allowing us no time to regain our balance, so that the initiative remains in his hands."

The emphasis on negotiations is perhaps less manifest in the statement issued by the ANC national executive at the end of its confidential meeting in Lusaka on Sunday.

But, crucially, while insisting that President de Klerk would have to



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . Mr Mandela seeks his help at the negotiation table.

create a climate for negotiations, it re-affirmed the "preference of the ANC for a settlement arrived at by political means".

Mr Nzo's address contained another pivotally important sentence: "We must, of course, also discuss and decide on the proposal communicated to us by Comrade Nelson (Mandela)."

The executive committee paid tribute to Mr Mandela and ex-

pressed its full support for his continuing actions, even from within prison; Mr Mandela's initiatives were, the committee elaborated, "fully in keeping with the policies and objectives of our movement to take the struggle to end apartheid further forward".

Mr Mandela's proposals to the ANC executive committee have been described as a "10-point plan,"

which — some reports have averred — was the same peace plan which he presented to Mr de Klerk at their meeting in Cape Town last month.

For once details of the 10-point plan have not leaked out, despite the presence in Lusaka of scores of journalists used to wheedling information out of politicians.

From that one deduction can be



Mr Alfred Nzo, acting ANC president . . . admission on armed struggle in South Africa.

made confidently: the 10 point plan contain proposals which are either extremely sensitive or even embarrassing to the ANC.

One line of conjecture is that one of the 10 points is a proposal to establish a "pre-negotiation committee" to remove obstacles to negotiations. But, it is postulated, the proposal goes further and names as members of the committee Chief

Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, of KwaZulu, and South Africa's Justice Minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

A well placed foreign observer told The Star yesterday that the pre-negotiation committee was one option under consideration. On the speculation that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Kobie Coetsee were under consideration as possible members, he replied: "They would be logical

choices."

Mr Mandela, as distinct from the many members of the ANC, appears to be keen to make sure that Chief Buthelezi is on the same side as the ANC at the negotiating table; Chief Buthelezi's foes in the ANC insist that he should be on the government's side.

One of the functions of the pre-negotiating committee would be to make decisions on the forum and format of the negotiations or, in more mundane language, deal with questions about the size and shape of the negotiating table, who should sit where, and how representatives should be chosen to participate.

Another reported item in the 10 point plan is the establishment of South African government offices — de facto consulates — in Lusaka or Dar es Salaam to facilitate or screen the return of exiles to South Africa:

Ahead of game

The well-placed foreign observer, however, said on the consulate notion: "That is running ahead of the game."

If there are proposals in the 10 point plan about which the ANC executive — or sections of it — have reservations, there is undoubtedly much in it that they agree with.

If there are indeed differences, they are not insurmountable, the 10-point plan was put to the ANC national executive for discussion, modification and refinement, not automatic endorsement.

Mr Mandela's idea of joining black political forces in a united nationalist block — which one can assume was mentioned in his 10-point plan — was endorsed by the ANC national executive.

Its statement speaks of the need for the struggle to be carried forward by the ANC and all "democratic and anti-apartheid forces".

The executive identifies the recently released ANC leaders — Mr Walter Sisulu and his six co-prisoners who were freed on October 15 last year — as men who can, and should, help to end the fratricidal strife in Natal.

Tanzania welcomes ANC group

DAR ES SALAAM — Eight veteran leaders of the ANC, led by Mr Walter Sisulu, arrived in Tanzania yesterday to an emotional welcome from hundreds of exiled supporters.

The ANC veterans embraced Tanzanian President Ali Mwinyi and former president Mr Julius Nyerere when they arrived in the western town of Dodoma after a week's consultations at the party's headquarters in Lusaka.

"Independence still remains a privilege for Africa until South Africa is free, until apartheid is destroyed, and until you people are free," Mr Nyerere told them.

The ANC eight were introduced to a younger generation of party

members — most of whom not born when they were jailed for plotting to overthrow white rule.

"This is a moment of excitement and joy for us to see and meet our leaders," an ANC representative said.

TRAINING CAMPS

He added that the group would hold talks with Mr Nyerere and President Mwinyi, and see ANC farming and educational settlements near Morogoro, 280 km west of Dar es Salaam.

They will also visit ANC secret military training camps near Nachingwea.

After the Tanzanian visit, Mr Sisulu leaves for a two-week tour

of European capitals. He is also likely to visit ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in a Swedish clinic from a stroke.

Mr Nyerere said he had been informed by the Swedish government that Mr Tambo was recovering and would soon resume his old post.

While in Lusaka, the group had talks on the release of jailed leader Mr Nelson Mandela — expected within weeks — as well as the future leadership of the movement and the programme of apartheid reform launched by President F W de Klerk.

They also met leaders of the six South African Frontline states. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela could be mediator - Owen

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen believes Nelson Mandela could emerge from prison as a "father of the nation" and take up a mediating role in negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

He told a BBC interviewer yesterday: "I think there are quite a number of people who do wonder whether it would be wiser for

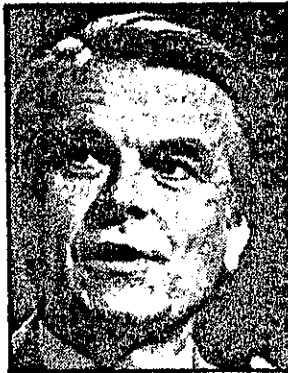
Nelson Mandela . . . not to actually lead the ANC delegation in the talks but to hold himself, if you like, above the battle.

"He is a man who could appeal to all the people in South Africa," said Dr Owen.

"He'll be closely linked to ANC, but I think the ANC will also see merit in his being cast almost as the father of the nation with a much wider appeal. So in that sense I think he will be more of a mediator than a protagonist."

Dr Owen felt Mr Mandela could bring together other groups such as Inkatha and the PAC.

He believed the ANC leader's release was "a matter of a few weeks" away and would probably follow Mr de Klerk's speech to Parliament on February 2.



Dr David Owen: Mandela could hold himself above the battle.

'Reconciliation will be stressed'

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela, who has been learning Afrikaans in jail, is understood to be preparing to make a speech in that language to South Africa's whites when he is released to call for reconciliation, former British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen said yesterday.

"It's interesting that he has been learning Afrikaans in prison, and I believe he will make a speech in Afrikaans saying directly to those 5 million whites: 'Look, we recognise that you have a vital role in a united future for South Africa,'" Dr Owen said on BBC television following reports that Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had said Mr Mandela's release was only a matter of "when and how". — Sapa.

Young exiles greet ANC 8

DODOMA — Eight veteran ANC leaders led by Walter Sisulu arrived in Tanzania yesterday to an emotional welcome from hundreds of exiled young comrades.

They embraced Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and former president Julius Nyerere when they arrived here after a week's consultations at party headquarters in Lusaka.

"Independence still remains a privilege for Africa until SA is free, until apartheid is destroyed and until you people are free," Nyerere told them.

The eight were introduced to members of a younger generation of ANC members, most not yet born when they were jailed for plotting to overthrow white rule.

An ANC representative said the group would hold talks with Nyerere, Mwinyi and visit ANC farming and educational settlements near Morogoro, 280km west of Dar es Salaam.

They would also visit ANC secret military training camps near Nachingwea,

450km south of Dar es Salaam, ANC sources said.

After the Tanzanian visit, Sisulu leaves for a two-week tour of European capitals and is also likely to visit ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a stroke in a Swedish clinic.

Nyerere said the Swedish government had informed him Tambo was recovering and would soon resume his old post.

While in Lusaka the group held talks on the release of jailed leader Nelson Mandela — expected within weeks — on the future leadership of the movement, and on the programme of apartheid reform launched by President F W de Klerk.

They also met leaders of the six South African Frontline states.

□ PAC president Zeph Mothopeng visited PAC members in a Gaborone prison on Monday while on a four-day visit to Botswana. Some of the prisoners were released the same day, the PAC said yesterday.

24/11/90
B
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Salojee 'not notified' of lifted restriction

(11A) By Shehnaaz Bulbulia (6228)

Former Transvaal deputy president of the UDF, Dr Ram Salojee, said yesterday that he had learnt through a third party that his restriction order under the state of emergency had been lifted.

The Government had not officially informed him, instead they sent a letter detailing the revoking of his restriction to an organisation in which he holds a key position, said Dr Salojee.

Dr Salojee, who is the deputy president of the Islamic Council of South Africa (Icsa) and an official of the Central Islamic Trust (CIT), said: "My colleagues at the CIT showed me a letter that they had received from the Minister of Law and Order on Friday. I can't understand why I was not notified."

Mr Vlok's letter, dated January 11 1990 and which the CIT received eight days later, said: "Further to my letter dated 27 November 1989, I wish to advise that Mr Salojee's restriction order has been revoked."

"The notice of revocation will be forwarded to him in due course."

Mr Salojee said: "The department has not informed me of the lifting of my restriction, but I accept the details of the letter sent to the CIT in good faith. As far as I'm concerned I am no longer restricted."

Shortly before the first tricameral election in 1984, he was detained for six months following a security police swoop on UDF and Azapo leaders. In 1986, Dr Salojee was detained again for four months and in 1987 he was detained for the third time for two months and then restricted under the emergency regulations until now.



Dr Ram Salojee . . . never brought to court although he was detained a number of times over the years.

Through all the detentions and restrictions, not once had he been charged in court.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday: "On the same day that the Minister signed the letter to the CIT another had been sent to Dr Salojee. The time delay is a matter of logistics. We are checking to make certain that Dr Salojee would be given an official letter by hand."

We will free Mandela, says govt

Cape
Times
24/1/90

11A

Political Staff

THE government has decided to free Mr Nelson Mandela from life imprisonment but is still considering the timing and circumstances of his release, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In an interview in the Nationalist, the National Party mouthpiece, Mr Coetsee said speculation that Mr Mandela's release was imminent was "a reasonable deduction" considering that prominent political prisoners were released in October.

Mr Mandela appears to have been acting almost as a negotiator between the government and the ANC and has had regular contacts with Mr Kobie Coetsee in particular.

Mr Coetsee described Mr Mandela's role as a "giant leap" for negotiation.

At the same time, however, Mr Coetsee warned that both Mr Mandela's release and proposed power-sharing

negotiations between the government and black leaders were internal issues. Foreign attempts to take credit "could only delay matters".

But there was speculation on the eve of today's first cabinet meeting of 1990 that Mr Mandela would not be freed until the ANC was unbanned.

This new complication and other important issues such as the partial lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts will be high on today's agenda as a prelude to President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament next week.

Some people believe Mr Mandela should be released as soon as possible to capitalise on the apparent disarray in ANC ranks.

It is believed there is a degree of division between members of the "old guard" who favour negotiations, as Mr Mandela appears to be doing, and the "young Turks" who seem set on continuing the armed struggle. — UPI and Political Staff

2/11A

11A

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

ANC leader proposes sharing power

A compromise settlement plan proposed by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela might have become the key to current efforts to start negotiations between the Government and the ANC as well as other black groups.

According to a report in *The Times* of London, the 10-point plan might involve a power-sharing period as an interim measure without an immediate transfer of power.

Government sources advised

caution on details of the plan but said the reports were "not devoid of truth".

The plan was apparently put to President de Klerk when he met Mr Mandela last month.

● See Pages 7 and 17.

Oxford to award Tutu doctorate

Star 24/1/90

LONDON — Oxford University is to award an honorary doctorate in divinity to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Confirmation of the award was not without its share of controversy.

It was an open secret that a number of "dissident" Oxford dons regarded Archbishop Tutu "as rather more interested in personal agitation than in personal salvation", as one Fleet Street columnist put it.

The confirmation showed the "dissidents" were overruled.— Sapa.

Mandela speech to stress 'role of whites'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — When he is released, Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to make a speech in Afrikaans to South Africa's five million whites, acknowledging their "vital role" in a united future.

This is the view of Dr David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party and former British Foreign Secretary, who met President F W de Klerk and ANC leaders including Mr Walter Sisulu, in South Africa late last year.

Dr Owen was interviewed on BBC television news yesterday about Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that it was possible Mr Mandela would be a mediator in future political negotiations.

Mr Coetsee also said it was a fair assumption that Mr Mandela's release was imminent.

Broad appeal

Asked whether Mr Mandela would be a mediator or a protagonist in negotiations with the government, Dr Owen said quite a number of people believed it would be wiser for Mr Mandela, while remaining an ANC leader, not to actually lead the ANC delegation in the talks. He should rather "hold himself, if you like, above the battle".

"He's a man who could appeal to all the people of South Africa.

"It's interesting that he's learning Afrikaans in prison, and I believe will make a speech in Afrikaans directly saying to those five million whites: Look we recognise that you have a vital role in a united future for South Africa.

"And it may be that he can bring together the likes of Inkatha leader

Chief Buthelezi, even the PAC and other African leaders."

Dr Owen said Mr Mandela would remain "closely linked to the ANC".

"He's not going to desert the ANC. But I think the ANC will also see merit in him being cast as almost the father of the nation ... with a much wider appeal. So in that sense I think he will be more of a mediator than a protagonist."

"But on the fundamental issue of having a universal franchise in which everybody, all South Africans, can vote, I think he will be very strong. But in introducing things to, if you like, give confidence to the minority white opinion, I think he'll be very pragmatic, very realistic."

Asked whether he saw evidence of Mr Mandela "dictating his own terms for release", Dr Owen replied:

"Well, he's in constant dialogue with the government. The Minister of Justice, who made this comment in the Afrikaans newspaper, has himself seen Mandela on numerous occasions.

"And I think between them they have a fairly clear understanding not just of what is necessary to happen before his release, but the steps that would be taken, even some outlines of what they would negotiate about in the constitutional talks once Nelson Mandela is released."

He said yesterday's comments were "confirming what we all know. Nelson Mandela is coming out. He will come out at a mutually agreed time."

FW's speech

The Mandela Reception Committee was already "very active" in South Africa "preparing for things to come".

"There are tremendous problems associated with his release. The whole question of the management of crowds. But in my judgment you will see the lifting of restrictions on reporting and steps to end the emergency coming out of

Mr De Klerk's speech (on February 2) and that will precede Mandela's release."

On how soon he expected Mr Mandela to be released, Dr Owen said it would occur "in a matter of weeks".

"It would certainly come in my view before Namibian independence, which we expect towards the end of March. But probably I would say the middle to end of February."

The BBC correspondent said the timing of Mr Mandela's release was expected to be high on the agenda for President De Klerk's first Cabinet meeting of the year in the city today.

In a leader page article in the Daily Telegraph yesterday, Dr Owen praised the Gorbachev-like changes introduced by President De Klerk last year. He said his most crucial decision was to accept direct negotiations on an open agenda with the ANC and other parties.

"Maintaining black unity in the negotiating process will be difficult. There is a legitimate place for the Pan Africanist Congress and for Chief Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha.

"And while Mr Mandela, once released, will be loyal to the ANC, he knows he must retain a broad base as the father of a nation that includes and values the Afrikaner."

Transition period

He also predicted that the ANC and other black leaders would adopt a more pragmatic stance once negotiations began.

"It may mean black politicians living with a 10-year transition period, accepting a transitional government with black ministers serving under Mr De Klerk as Prime Minister, with Mr Mandela as a constitutional President — rather like Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia.

"It may mean tolerat-

ing a pattern of local government which allows Nationalist politicians in predominantly white rural areas to retain control of housing, health and education for some years. It may mean accepting Dutch Reform Church schools for Afrikaans state education.

"There are young, self-confident, radical but pragmatic black leaders, such as Cyril Ramaphosa, the mineworkers' leader, the Rev Frank Chikane of the Council of Churches and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC in Lusaka, who will resolutely keep to principles and yet compromise on detail in negotiations.

"They will be rightly adamant that no final constitution can contain any racial provisions, and that the Group Areas Act will have to be progressively dismantled during any transition.

"Under the final constitution everyone would be free to live where they wished."

Dr Owen said Mr Mandela's release would "have the significance internationally of the breaking-down of the Berlin Wall.

"Yet if, in six months, he (Mr Mandela) were convincingly to accuse the South African government of negotiating in bad faith, serious international sanctions would follow."

Debt reschedules

But, he added: "The American Congressional Sanctions Legislation will automatically collapse as negotiations get under way. The UN mandatory arms embargo will remain until there is an agreement. But there will be no intensifying of sanctions while good faith negotiations continue.

"When the international banks come to reschedule South African debt again, it will be crystal clear whether De Klerk has accepted a universal franchise. If he has, we can all rejoice as the days of minority rule in South Africa will be numbered.

"If he has not, the blacks will take up arms again and the world will apply sanctions that will really hurt.

"Faced with these realities, South Africa now seems to be moving irrevocably on a path of reconciliation and unity."

Mr Mandela has already met virtually the entire leadership of the democratic movement within South Africa over the past few months. He also contributed a 10-point document to the meeting last week between the ANC group under Mr Sisulu and the exiled ANC executive in Lusaka.

White details of the document are being kept secret, it is believed they suggest the ANC support the sharing of power as an interim measure to be negotiated.

CAPÉ Times 24/11/90
**Emotional
welcome** (11A)

DODOMA, Tanzania. —
Eight veteran ANC
leaders led by Mr Walter
Sisulu arrived here yes-
terday to an emotional
welcome from hundreds
of exiled young com-
rades.

They embraced Tanza-
nian President Ali Has-
san Mwinyi and former
president Mr Julius
Nyerere as they arrived
after a week's consulta-
tions at ANC headquar-
ters in Lusaka.

The eight will visit
ANC farming and educa-
tional settlements near
Morogoro and ANC mili-
tary training camps near
Nachingwea.

Mr Sisulu then leaves
for a two-week tour of
Europe. — Sapa-Reuter

UDF is flexing its muscles for talks

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

11A

The United Democratic Front's three-day national conference starting on April 6 will probably be in Cape Town, spokesman Mr Azhar Cachalia said yesterday.

24/1/90 Star
"We will grapple with the UDF's future role in a climate where the ANC will probably be unbanned soon, the issue of negotiations, and the task of rebuilding organisations at local level."

It will be only the third meeting of the national general council, the restricted organisation's highest decision-making body.

Formed in 1983, the UDF was restricted in 1988. Several key leaders were jailed in 1985. It "unbanned" itself on 20 August 1988 — its sixth birthday — but has now resumed its high-profile activities since the recent release of key leaders.

Hundreds of delegates from the eight UDF regions, as well as affiliates, will attend the conference. A new national executive will be elected.

Mr Cachalia spelt out the relationship between the Mass Democratic Movement, the UDF and the ANC.

"The UDF has never been an internal wing of the ANC, just as the MDM has never been a euphemism for the restricted UDF. The MDM has at its core the trade union body Cosatu and the UDF. Many organisations which are not affiliated to either Cosatu or the UDF identified themselves with the MDM's recent defiance campaign.

"We don't envisage tension between the UDF and the ANC once the ANC is allowed to operate legally, because the organisations do not compete.

"The UDF is a national front of hundreds of organisations formed on a democratic basis. They include student, education, welfare and sports organisations.

"These community-based organisations will not disappear when the ANC is unbanned. On the contrary, with a legal ANC there will be a close relationship between political and community organisations."

MDM intends to renew defiance

11A

THE Mass Democratic Movement on Tuesday night announced they intended to step up the defiance campaign to include a programme of marches and protests.

Ms Cheryl Carolus, UDF publicity secretary, said in a statement on behalf of the MDM that "our organisations have met tonight and decided to in-

tensify the defiance campaign.

"We believe that the people of South Africa will, like the people of eastern Europe, establish a truly democratic order since we are convinced that an unrepresentative clique is unwilling and unable to bring about change."

The following marches were planned:

* At lunchtime next Wednesday through the city centre to Caledon Square Police Station, along with a lunch time inter-faith service, "to focus on police violence and abuses".

* At 8am on Friday February 2, to Parliament under the banner 'Parliament must dissolve - let the people govern'. - Sapa.

ANC cadres loyal

5/11/90
LUSAKA - The armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe, yesterday reaffirmed its loyalty to the movement and said it would only lay down arms when the South African Government showed signs of seriousness to enter into negotiations.

A senior Umkhonto commander said that ANC cadres "will only back serious negotiations that will result in the transfer of power to the masses, and up to now we have not seen any tangible signs of this development".

Diplomatic sources in Lusaka pointed out that Umkhonto's stance on negotiations complemented the statement issued by the ANC national executive committee following their meeting last week.

WHEN Nelson Mandela is finally released from prison - hopefully in the next few weeks - and is given a chance to speak to the nation, most white South Africans will realise the man should not have been kept in jail after all, especially not for such a long time.

Mr Mandela's views in 1990 have not changed much from what he said from the dock 27 years ago.

There is a strong similarity to what he said then and the letter he wrote to the government last year.

This includes the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party, his attitude towards the SACP, his reason for joining the ANC and his position on violence.

Now that his release is on the cards, does the government concede that the man should not have been jailed after all? Do they admit that they failed to break him and his organisation?

Mr Mandela's letter to the government shows no trace of bitterness or anger towards those who disrupted his family life and successful law practice. In fact it was conciliatory and friendly.

Few people in his posi-

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

C/Prop 28/1/90
11A

Mandela views are unchanged



tion could have taken the bold step of involving his organisation in talks with the government without first consulting with the ANC national executive.

But as he said in the letter, normally he would have put his views to the organisation first for their decisions.

Mr Mandela's letter and many others that he has written to people close to him show his love for his country and commitment to peaceful change. This is despite his many years in prison.

One cannot help but admire his consistency. From the day he joined the ANC in 1944, until he was imprisoned in 1962, he has not deviated from his convictions.

What he said about vio-

lence and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the ANC's military wing he helped form in 1961 - in his speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial of 1964, Mr Mandela once again spelt it out in the letter to the government.

On violence he said the position of the ANC is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people.

At the Rivonia trial he told the court that as a result of the government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalise and control the feelings of blacks, there would be outbreaks of

terrorism which would produce hostility between the races.

Today Mr Mandela says the ANC considers armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which does not even allow peaceful forms of demonstration.

I have often stated in this column that the apartheid system is considered by many blacks as the worst form of institutionalised violence.

We have since seen how violence could be minimised to a point of stopping completely when the government moves towards reform, like scrapping some of the offensive laws.

Since FW de Klerk

took over as president and allowed peaceful demonstrations there has been less violence if one had to make comparisons to previous years.

At least black people, who do not have any representation in Parliament, are able after a long time to stage mass demonstrations.

This is precisely what Mr Mandela was talking about, but demonstrations alone are not a final solution to our problems.

In fact the longer they continue without results, the more frustrated black people will become. There are already signs pointing in this direction.

The Cape Town incident where people went on a rampage after being confronted by the police is but one example of frustration.

When Mr Mandela is released a lot will be expected of him. Some people will expect him to wave a magic wand to end the problems. They should be warned that the road ahead is still very thorny.

People's attitudes have to change for peaceful negotiations to get under way. Mr Mandela would need the backing of all black and white people. After all, his leadership transcends colour barriers.

'No surrender'

FROM PAGE 17

against the ANC, I propose to use this opportunity to give you the correct information, in the hope that this will help you to see the matter in its proper perspective, and to evaluate your strategy afresh.

Cooperation between the ANC and SACP goes back to the early twenties and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society. At no time has the organisation ever adopted or cooperated with communism itself.

Apart from the question of cooperation between the two organisations, members of the SACP have always been free to join the ANC. But once they do so, they become fully bound by the policy of the organisation set out in the Freedom Charter.

As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly relevant. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC.

There is, of course, a firmly established tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt is resisted, from whatever quarter, which is intended to undermine cooperation between the two organisations.

Even within the ranks of the ANC there have been, at one time or other, people — and some of them were highly respected and influential individuals — who were against this cooperation and who wanted SACP members expelled from the organisation. Those who persisted in these activities were themselves ultimately expelled, or they broke away in despair.

In either case their departure ended their political careers, or they formed other political organisations which, in due course, crumbled into splinter groups. No dedicated ANC member will ever heed the call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand as a purely divisive government strategy.

It is in fact a call on us to commit suicide. Which man of honour will ever desert a life-long friend at the instance of a common opponent and still retain a measure of credibility among his people?

Which opponent will ever trust such a treacherous freedom fighter? Yet this is what the government is, in effect, asking us to do: to desert our faithful allies. We will not fall into that trap.

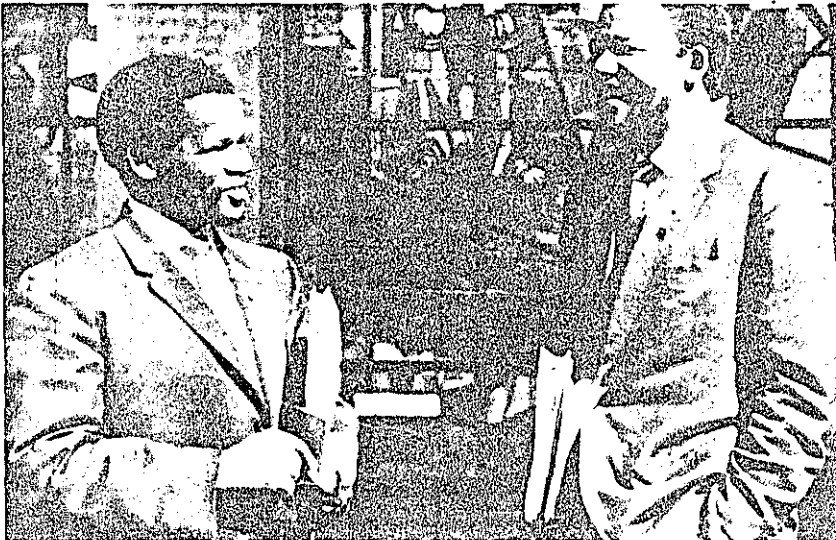
The government also accuses us of being agents of the Soviet Union. The truth is that the ANC is non-aligned, and we welcome support from the East and the West, from the socialist and capitalist countries.

The only difference, as we have explained on countless occasions before, is that the socialist countries supply us with weapons, which the West refuses to give us. We have no intention whatsoever of changing our stand on this question.

The governments' exaggerated hostility to the SACP, and its refusal to have any dealings with that party have a hollow ring. Such an attitude is not only out of step with the growing cooperation between the capitalist and socialist countries in different parts of the world, but it is also inconsistent with the policy of the government itself, when dealing with our neighbouring states.

Not only has South Africa concluded treaties with the Marxist states of Angola and Mozambique — quite rightly in our opinion — but she also wants to strengthen ties with Marxist Zimbabwe.

The government will certainly find it different, if not altogether impossible, to reconcile its readiness to work with foreign Marxists for the peaceful resolution of mutual problems, with its uncompromising refusal to talk to South African Marx-



AFRICAN TOUR: ANC president Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela in Addis Ababa in 1962



PROTEST ACTION: Mandela burns his pass book in 1952



KINGPIN: Joe Slovo of the SACP

ists. The reason for this inconsistency is obvious. As I have already said, the government is still too deeply committed to the principle of white domination and, despite lip-service to reform, it is deadly opposed to the sharing of political power with blacks, and the SACP is merely being used as a smokescreen to retain the monopoly of political power.

The smearing campaign against the ANC also helps the government to evade the real issue at stake, namely, the exclusion from political power of the black majority by a white minority, which is the source of all our troubles.

Concerning my own personal position, I have already informed you that I will not respond to the government's demand that ANC members should state whether they are members of the SACP or not.

But because much has been said by the media, as well as by government leaders regarding my political beliefs, I propose to use this opportunity to put the record straight.

My political beliefs have been explained in the course of several political trials in which I was charged, in the policy documents of the ANC, and in my autobiography "The Struggle is My Life" which I wrote in prison in 1975.

I stated in these trials and publications that I did not belong to any organisation apart from the ANC. In my address to the court which sentenced me to life imprisonment in June 1964, I said:

"Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading, and in part from my admiration of the structure and organisation of early African societies in this country.

"It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world, and to overcome their legacy of poverty."

My views are still the same. Equally important is the fact that many ANC leaders who are labelled communists by the government, embrace nothing different from these beliefs.

The term "communist" when used by the government has a totally different meaning from the conventional one. Practically every freedom fighter who receives his military training or education in the socialist countries is to the government a communist.

It would appear to be established government policy that, as long as the National Party is in power in this country, there can be no black freedom struggle, and no black freedom fighter. Any black political organisation which, like us, fights for the liberation of its people through armed struggle, must inevi-

ably be dominated by the SACP.

This attitude is not the only result of government propaganda, it is a logical consequence of white supremacy. After more than 300 years of racial indoctrination, the country's whites have developed such deep-seated contempt for blacks as to believe that we cannot think for ourselves, that we are incapable of fighting for political rights without incitement by some white agitation.

In accusing the ANC of domination by the SACP, and in calling on ANC members to renounce the party, the government is deliberately exploiting that contempt.

Majority Rule

The government is equally vehement in condemning the principle of majority rule. The principle is rejected despite the fact that it is a pillar of democratic rule in many countries of the world. It is a principle which is fully accepted in the white politics of this country.

Only now that the stark reality has dawned that apartheid has failed, and that blacks will one day have an effective voice in government, are we told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is acceptable to whites as long as it is considered within the context of white politics.

If black political aspirations are to be accommodated, then some other formula must be found, provided that that formula does not raise blacks in

a position of equality with whites.

Yet majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and white South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied.

It is precisely because of its denial that the government has become the enemy of practically every black man. It is that denial that has sparked off the current civil strife.

Negotiated Political Settlement

By insisting on compliance with the above-mentioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country but turnover, no strong and independent ANC, but a weak and servile organisation playing a supportive role to white minority rule, not a non-aligned ANC, but one which is a satellite of the West, and which is ready to serve the interests of capitalism.

No worthy leaders of a freedom movement will ever submit to conditions which are essentially terms of surrender dictated by a victorious commander to a beaten enemy, and which are really intended to weaken the organisation and to humiliate its leadership.

The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement, and a meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country, better relations with our neighbour states, admission to the Organisation of African Unity, re-admission to the United Nations and other world bodies, to international markets and improved international relations generally.

An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a non-racial society is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting; firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state, secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions.

Such reconciliation will be achieved only if both parties are willing to compromise. The organisation will determine precisely how negotiations should be conducted.

It may well be that this should be done at least in two stages. The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations. Up to now both parties have simply been broadcasting their conditions for negotiations without putting them directly to each other.

The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so. Any other approach would entail the danger of an irresolvable stalemate.

Lastly, I must point out that the move I have taken provides you with the opportunity to overcome the current deadlock, and to normalise the country's political situation.

I hope you will seize it without delay. I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten.

Mandela:

South 25/1/90 - 31/1/90

11A

My plan

for peace

'I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten.'

This is the vision of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela as outlined in an historic document submitted to the South African government and which lays the basis for a negotiated political settlement.

● See full text pages 8, 17 and 18



Snooker star released on bail

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South African snooker champion Silvino Francisco, 42, has been released on bail while detectives continue probing an alleged R1.4-million betting fraud.

Officers of Scotland Yard's international and organised crimes squad arrested Francisco at his home in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, on Tuesday but charges were not laid.

Francisco is to present himself at Chesterfield police station on February 1 for further questioning.

Reef school now non-racial

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — For the first time in Barnato Park's 102-year history, black and white pupils sat together on the first day of school.

The former Johannesburg High School for Girls — closed by the government at the end of last year — reopened yesterday as a private non-racial and co-educational high school.

The 256 pupils who started yesterday were predominantly from Soweto.

WASHINGTON. — Ms Makaziwe "Maki" Mandela, daughter of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by his first marriage, says she was "very angry" that her father "chose arrest rather than exile".

She was bitter that he tried to make her answer to Mrs Winnie Mandela rather than her own mother.

She believes she received more help in life from the SA Institute of Race Relations than from her own family.

Her remarkably frank views are laid out in a lengthy interview she gave recently to the Washington Post from her home in Amherst, where she is reading for a doctorate in anthropology at the University of Massachusetts.

She ascribes what she sees as her father's choice of arrest in part to a sense of "self-aggrandisement", but she also accepts that he believed "some leaders have to stay inside and be the galvanising force for the people".

She still feels he treated her mother, Ms Evelyn Ntoko, badly.

The divorce took place in 1958, when she was four.

"My father never discussed the whole issue with her. My mom just read about it in a newspaper. The man didn't even have the decency to let her know 'Look, I no longer love you'."

Mr Mandela was arrested when she was eight and at boarding school in Swaziland.

"My father had the opportunity to leave the country when he travelled throughout Africa and went to London. You ask yourself 'Why did he go back to SA?' because he definitely knew he would be caught. He was hunted. I have really been bitter for not having my father, and very angry — at my father — for not being there."

Reconciliation began slowly in the late 1970s, when her mother persuaded her and her brother Makgatho — now a

Frankness from first Mandela daughter

store owner in Cofimvaba — to visit their father on Robben Island.

Even then there was "friction" because "whatever we would request from my father, my father would say 'Go to Mama-Winnie'."

Ms Mandela studied at Fort Hare till 1981 and did social work in Transkei for a while before being prodded by her parents to finish her degree at the University of Natal.

With more such "prodding", she won the Fulbright scholarship that brought her to Amherst.

Only last year, when Mr Mandela was allowed to celebrate his 71st birthday with a broad array of family and friends, did the two finally come to understand each other.

"Our inhibitions were thrown out there. For the first time he opened to me as a father."

She prefers not to talk about the controversy that has surrounded her stepmother recently — the Soweto mansion, the soccer club — but she has little doubt that it will make her father's life more difficult when he is free.

She worries that too much will be expected of him once he is out.

"He has earned this image of being this more-than-hero, this fairy godfather, who has a magic wand in his hand, who, when he comes out, will make everything rosy. No single man can achieve that."

Police open fire — two killed

JOHANNESBURG. — Police opened fire on a crowd stoning a police vehicle during a protest gathering in Carletonville yesterday, killing two people and wounding three others, police said.

Thirteen people were arrested.

In an unusual midday statement on political unrest, police acknowledged that two people died in police gunfire after some 5 000 people gathered to protest at the death of a youth in police custody.

Organisers of the rally, the

National Union of Mine Workers, said police opened fire without provocation, killing the two and wounding as many as 20 people. But the police announcement said police used live ammunition only after demonstrators stoned a police vehicle, smashing its back window.

In Ntuzuma, KwaZulu, on Tuesday, police exchanged gunfire with demonstrators near a courthouse in the township, killing one woman, police said.

Police liaison in Pretoria yesterday that a man was hacked to death with pangas in Soweto and

a man was shot and fatally wounded by a group of men in KwaMashu, near Durban.

Also in KwaMashu two policemen were shot and wounded by schoolchildren. Police headquarters at Ulundi said a Sergeant Simamane and a Constable Zuma were talking to staff at a school on Tuesday when they were attacked by gun-wielding children.

Sgt Simamane is in a critical condition in hospital and Const Zuma's condition was described as satisfactory. The reason for the attack is not known. — Sapa, UPI

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ORIENTAL FINANCES HAVE

Group C-1, an annual

News in Brief

CAPE TOWN 25/1/90 (11A)
Sisulu to lead march?

PORT ELIZABETH. — Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu has been invited to lead a peaceful protest march planned by the residents of Graaff-Reinet for Saturday, February 3.

CAPE TOWN 25/1/90
Fire in Anglo gold mine

JOHANNESBURG. — A fire broke out in a store-room on 78 level at Vaal Reefs gold mine No 9 shaft about 9am yesterday and 41 workers were admitted to hospital for observation. An Anglo American spokesman said the fire had been extinguished and all employees in the affected section had been brought to the surface.

R9 000 due on phone bill

HARARE. — A parliamentary committee reported yesterday that Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism Ms Victoria Chitepo owed the government more than ZD10 000 (R9 000) in un-

Uitenhage split by strife

PORT ELIZABETH. — A fresh outbreak of violence in Uitenhage's troubled township of Kwanobuhle has claimed more lives.

The fighting comes less than two weeks after the announcement of an historic peace agreement between the Mass Democratic Movement and the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM).

Renewed clashes between supporters of the two groups left at least three youths dead and two houses completely destroyed.

While PAM has blamed undisciplined youths for the violence, the largest UDF affiliate in Uitenhage says the peace accord never existed.

Intervene

Former president of the Uitenhage youth congress Wonga Nkala said the organisation had been approached by Eastern Cape MDM leader, Mike Xhego, who offered to intervene in the conflict.

"Xhego said he wanted to use the relationship, which he and other UDF leaders had built up with the leader of the Africanists, Timothy Jantjies, while they were on Robben Island together, to end the conflict," Nkala said.

"We gave them the go-ahead. The next thing we read about was the so-called peace agreement.

"We were shocked and surprised, but a meeting between us and the MDM leadership in Port Elizabeth has sorted out the problems," he said.

Jantjies, however, blamed the lack of leadership in Uitenhage for the renewed outbreak of hostilities between the two groups.

"The leaders in Port Elizabeth have a high degree of politicisation, which



The funeral of eight people killed recently in the feud between members of the UDF and the Pan Africanist Movement in Uitenhage

is lacking in the people in Uitenhage.

"They call us Ama Afrika, but we detest the name. We are Africanists and members of the Pan Africanist Movement."

Nkala disputed this, saying Ama Afrika was not a political organisation.

"They are thugs, financed and supported by the security forces. If they were a political organisation, we would not mind. They could operate and try to convince people with their ideology," he said.

The divisional commissioner of the SAP in the Eastern Cape, Maj Rust, denied that the police were behind any of the groups involved in the conflict.

He invited the MDM to send three delegates to the police to discuss the matter. — ANA/PEN

Mandela the host

I HAVE been to Victor Verster a few times. I was held there as a detainee in 1986, 1987 and 1988. The last time I was held there for 12 months.

Last week I returned as an honoured guest.

I was told a week before the visit that I would be part of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) delegation to Comrade Mandela.

Obviously I felt very privileged to have the opportunity to see him before his release.

I don't normally show my excitement, but it was like you narrowly avoid having an accident — you're in control but immediately afterwards the shock hits you.

Last year, I went to Victor Verster to visit a comrade who is serving quite a long sentence. After the visit, the warders at the gate told me I would not be allowed to come to the prison again. I was told to sort it out with the head of the prison.

But this time, I had been invited by the "Big Man" and nothing was going to stop me from going.

There were five of us in the delegation: two from Sayco's national executive committee of Sayco, one from Pretoria, one from the southern Transvaal executive and myself.

Prison grounds

We arrived at Victor Verster at 9am last Wednesday and the warders at the gate telephoned a Mr Marais who took us into the prison grounds.

We drove past the prison and on the way I showed the others where the detainees were usually held in the maximum security section.

We drove past the area called Klipbank where the "coloured" warders live and onto a gravel road for about 800m before we reached Comrade Mandela's prison house.

It is painted white and there are two houses in the grounds. There are black gates in front and we were asked if we had any firearms or literature on us before we were allowed to enter the grounds.

Mr Marais introduced us to Comrade Mandela's warder, Lieutenant Gregory, who took us into the house.

We were taken into the lounge where we waited while he went to fetch Comrade Mandela.

The lounge is clean and immaculate. It is furnished with a mixture of antique and normal lounge furniture, including a comfortable couch to relax on.

We sat down and waited. I did not know where Comrade Mandela was.

Boxer

He came into the lounge from the passage a few minutes later. I was expecting a burly man, the boxer we saw in the photographs.

He walked quite fast, very energetically. He is very tall and lean, there is no sign of a paunch. His hair is not completely grey like Walter Sisulu's — there's still a lot of black in it.

If I had only one word to describe him, I would say he is a gentleman — not in the sense that he is better than us, but because he seems to be a



MAXWELL MOSS Lunch with Mandela

Maxwell Moss, Western Cape president of the South African Youth Congress, who was held three times as a detainee at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, returned there last week as part of a delegation to visit Nelson Mandela. He recalls the highlights of the visit, which included a lunch of chicken and noodles:

very gentle person.

We all stood up and he greeted us one by one. We introduced ourselves as he had not met any of us before.

We shook hands and embraced him. After I introduced myself he said: "Oh, Maxwell from Saldanha, I've been to Saldanha."

I asked when he was there and he said last month. I was shocked and asked what he thought of the place. He said it was "nice".

I wasn't sure how to address him — "Comrade Mandela, Mr Mandela, Comrade Leader". I settled for Comrade Mandela.

He greeted the others and offered us a drink. He gave us ginger beer which he said had been made at the prison.

Throughout the visit he wouldn't let

us do anything. He served us.

After lunch, one of the comrades dropped his glass. Such things will happen, especially if you're nervous. Comrade Mandela stood up, fetched a cloth and wiped the cooldrink from the floor. He wouldn't let us do anything.

We had so many questions to ask him, but he spoke about so many things that the time flew and we hardly had a chance to ask all the questions we meant to.

He took us on a tour of the house. He showed us the TV room and the kitchen, then down the passage into a small bedroom. There was a bed and a cupboard where he put our jackets.

There was another bedroom with a double bed and *en suite* which was

obviously his. His Christmas cards were still on display there.

He showed us his study, where he keeps his exercise bicycle. There's also a sickbay where a major in the Prisons Service gives him a medical checkup at 7am and 4pm every day.

We went outside into the garden which has a small pool, with grass, trees and flowers.

We went back into the house and began chatting. He had lots of questions and wanted to know certain things. Then we went into more serious discussion and the first point on his agenda was to correct serious distortions which had been reported in the newspapers.

He has been telling all his visitors that these distortions must be corrected. For example, it was reported

that he was negotiating talks between the ANC and the PAC. This is not true.

He told us about his talks with government officials like Kobie Coetsee, which have been taking place since May 1986. These have been negotiations on the release of political prisoners, especially those serving life imprisonment.

His discipline is marvellous. He constantly refers people to the ANC in Lusaka if they have questions about the organisation.

We had lunch afterwards. He asked us if we wanted beer, wine or cooldrink, but I think the comrades felt they couldn't drink in front of him, so we all settled for cooldrink.

We had chicken, sweetcorn, vegetables and noodles for lunch. He had a trolley next to him and dished our food onto our plates and passed them on.

Orator

We talked widely during lunch. He told us about a demonstration in 1940 when he had just come to Johannesburg from Transkei. He said he never knew the urban blacks could resist like that.

In those years the police were quite burly, but that didn't deter the leader of the demonstration who was quite a good orator.

He told us how the demonstrator bulldozed through a roadblock on the corner of Jeppe Street and Market Street. He said he was very inspired by what he saw that day.

The way he described this demonstration made it seem just like our marches last year. His memory is sharp, he remembers events that happened years ago like it happened yesterday.

He is also quite well-informed about what is happening now. He knows a lot about the homelands, knows all the paramount chiefs.

He gets newspapers without "windows" — no articles are cut out by prison censors — and he watches the news and other programmes which interest him on TV.

We asked him about his release. He said his demands have not changed since PW Botha first offered him his release in 1985. He wants the state of emergency lifted, the ANC unbanned, all exiles back home and an end to political trials and executions.

Sacrifice

He said he would love to go home with us, but at the same time, he knows why he is there and understands the sacrifice he has to make.

When we left, at 2.30pm, he walked us to the gates, greeted us and we drove off.

As we drove away, the thought which kept racing through my mind was that Comrade Mandela is an absolute symbol of peace. He is the best-known, most important political prisoner in the world.

I believe he can lead us to liberation, he can even be the key to world peace. He can make an important contribution.

I was definitely very moved by the visit. During all my periods in detention I have met people who inspired me. The more they detain you, the harder you get.

But I found myself inspired like never before. I left feeling that we have a job to do, that there are sacrifices we have to make to be free in our country.

Jerome 'should know better'

I WISH to register my dismay at the biased reporting of one of your journalists recently, prior to the Battswood/Silvertree baseball clash.

One-sided opinions like those of the second-rated Silvertree pitcher, Jerome Hendricks, can hardly be described as fair. Maybe an interview with the two captains and not an individual player would have been more appropriate.

The problem that arises when one is given free rein to express "my view" is that a distorted opinion is presented to readers and at the end of the day, all that suffers is the sport itself.

Officials and players such as Jerome Hendricks should know better than to air personal, unfounded grievances in public.

COLIN ARENDSE, WYNBERG

LETTERS

Address all letters to The Editor,
P O Box 13094, 7900 Sir Lowry Road

among naked and untidy carrots, cabbages and cauliflowers.

Yesterday, close to closing time while carefully choosing my vegetables, I smelled a sickly-sweet odour.

Uncovered fruit, vegetables, customers and staff alike were being sprayed with a familiar, ozone-unfriendly insecticide.

I complained to the supervisor who, after some running around, apologised that "this should not have happened". I suspect that this should not have happened in front of me, but is regular practice in this store.

From this day forth I and my household are no longer customers

of the P 'n P Corporation. I will not be bought by empty promises.

N MURPHY, MOWBRAY

* HS HERMAN, Managing Director, Pick 'n Pay Stores, responds:

We do have a commitment to fighting pollution and improving the environment and we are working positively in this direction.

However, we have never said that the entire situation can be cured overnight.

The punnets used for our lettuces are CFC-free, while the spray in question is pure water, used to keep the vegetables fresh.

'Stop selling us empty promises'

LAST year Raymond Ackerman publicly announced his (and his corporation's) commitment to ecological issues, promising certain changes regarding packaging and the use of substances containing CFC's.

I shop at P 'n P in Rondebosch (and have done so for many years) but I see NO changes.

Yards of plastic are freely dispensed. Lettuce is only available in a polystyrene tray (produced with CFC's) wrapped in ample plastic sheeting.

Any complaint about this excessive packaging draws a reply about the need to employ extra staff to clean up after these moulting vegetables.

• Ironic that the same lettuce nestles

RUNNER Joseph Kibor, 17, sold his only goat so that he could enter the Kenyan trial for the Commonwealth Games.

He ran barefoot in ragged shorts, came third and will contest the 10 000 metres in Auckland this Saturday.

When his story reached New Zealand, people's hearts were touched. He has been invited to stay for several days after the Games with a goat-farming family on the country's North Island.

Kenya is not going to have a better chance to wave its flag to the world than in the John Walker Stadium, where its phenomenal distance runners are intent on grabbing every gold medal from 800 metres to the marathon.

With talents such as John Ngugi and Yobes Ondieki (5 000m), Joshua Kipkemboi and Julius Kariuki in the steeplechase and world champion Douglas Wakihuri (marathon) leading the charge, not even the absence of Olympic champions Paul Ereng (800m) and Peter Rono (150m) will seriously diminish their charges of dominating the distance events.

England's Seb Coe and Peter Elliot and Scotland's Tom McKean will make the 800m a highlight. Coe certainly has a better chance of a farewell medal than New Zealand hero John Walker (1 500m), who has the stadium named after him.

Clinch gold

But England's men are more likely to hog the podium in the shorter distances, with Linford Christie a hot favourite for a sprint double in the absence of the banned Ben Johnson and Welshman Colin Jackson certain to clinch a gold in the hurdles.

Jamaica is fancied to do likewise in the women's sprints with Marlene Otway and Grace Jackson leading the charge, while Scotland has two outstanding distance women runners in Liz McColgan (favourite to retain

Kenyans hold key to Games

her 10 000 title) and Yvonne Murray (3 000m).

The men's marathon in Auckland will be a world-class affair, dominated by Britons, New Zealanders and Tanzanians. Australian Robert de Castello will be trying to add to his two Commonwealth golds.

The marathon course includes Auckland's waterfront, scene of a marathon of a different kind in the new year as the 23 competitors in the Whitbread round-the-world yacht race sailed in at the end of its third leg.

Thousands of spectators have made the trip to the waterfront to greet New Zealand's boats, Steinlager, the overall leader, and Fisher and Paykel.

The fleet sets off on the next leg of the race, to South America, the day after the Games close.

The Games see the return of two great women swimmers, champion Australian Lisa Currie and Sharon Davies of Britain, who last competed at the Olympics in 1980. Davies won silver in the 400m individual medley, then quit at 18 because she was "fed up and burned out".

She subsequently went into television and radio commentating. But nine years later she is back to swim for her country in the 100m freestyle, 200m backstroke, 200m individual medley and two freestyle relays.

Her presence boosts Britain's chances considerably in what promises to be a major battle.

Swimming is the big hype sport,



Kenya's John Ngugi

and there is no shortage of aggression in the pool or around it. The big favourites are the tremendously strong Australian and Canadian teams.

But English breast-stroke star Adrian Moorhouse, who already has two golds tucked in his trunks, will be looking to add a third and equal the feat of Australian freestyle champion Michael Wenden, who took gold in the 1966, 1970 and 1974 Games.

Not to be outdone, that other Olympic champion, Australia's Kevin Armstrong, should get first touch in the 200m freestyle, while Lara Hoolved and Mike Phibbens are also potential champions from Down Under.

Canada's hopes could rest on Chris Soule, Patricia Noall and Hayley Lewis, who will be out to prevent a

fairy-tale comeback by Davies in the 200m medley.

The New Zealanders fancy their chances in the water too, with top medal hopes Anthony Mosse, Anna Simcic and Paul Kingsman leading the gold medal hopes.

Butterfly exponent Mosse is regarded as New Zealand's best-ever swimmer and is tipped for gold after winning silver in the 200m butterfly at the Seoul Olympics in 1988.

Australia should dominate the gymnastic while England ought to rule the judo mat where their women, currently the world's best, could land a clean sweep.

Northern Ireland's best medal hopes are on the Pakuranga bowling green where their women could win both pairs and fours, while the men's single should see England's pipe-smoking legend David Bryant battle Scotland's Willie Wood.

Malaysia should justify their re-entry to the Games on the badminton court where England's Steve Baddeley will do well to ward off the challenge of Foo Kok Keong for his singles crown.

The Sidek brothers, Razif and Jalani, are favourites for the doubles, while England's durable Helen Troke could complete a hat-trick in the ladies' singles.

Boxing's opening bell is the unlikely christening for the new concert hall. However, with not one of the 48 medals awarded at the recent world amateur championships going to a Commonwealth boxer, standards in the ring are unlikely to be high.

Reigning heavyweight champion

Jimmy Peau is hoping to retain his title on home canvas, but England's John Lyon may struggle to hold his flyweight crown.

The drugs issue will have warned off some weightlifters (England's lightweight champion Dean Willey has just received a life ban for taking steroids), but the return of the Indians, who were absent in 1986, should raise the level in the lighter weights.

Wales, in the persons of David Morgan (light-heavy) and Andrew Davies (super-heavy), ought to lift a double.

The 10 official sports are athletics, cycling, swimming, judo, weightlifting, boxing, badminton, bowls, gymnastics and shooting. The two new sports are judo and gymnastics.

Out has gone wrestling, which has not pleased India and Pakistan, two major forces in that sport. The omission will severely handicap their medal hopes. The two demonstrator sports are netball and triathlon.

Simpler affair

Forty years have passed since Auckland last hosted the Commonwealth Games. And not surprisingly, much has changed in sport since then.

The 1950 Games were a much simpler affair, with the track and field events held at Eden Park, home of the mighty All Blacks rugby union side and the pride of New Zealand.

Athletes did not have the advantages of high-technology timing devices on tracks - at Eden Park they ran on grass.

It is a far cry from Mt Smart athletics stadium that has been rebuilt at vast expense for the 14th Commonwealth Games. It boasts a state-of-the-art track and new seating to accommodate 35 000 spectators.

To accommodate all the athletes, Auckland has had to build a Games Village of more than 300 bungalows.

And it has also had to build a new pool and a cycling velodrome. — GEMINI NEWS

Only gold will satisfy Seb Coe

ONE of the greatest athletes of the 1980s will run off into a golden sunset at the first big athletics meeting of the 1990s, the Commonwealth Games in Auckland.

Seb Coe has chosen New Zealand for his farewell to track and field, and anyone who doubts his conviction that he can wrest the initiative from the Kenyan middle distance kings needs only look at two conspicuous gaps on the Briton's sideboard.

If they fail to notice that those embarrassing spaces coincide with Brisbane '82 and Edinburgh '86, a glance at the video of England's Commonwealth Games trial race in 1989 should end the idea that the prospective British Conservative parliamentary candidate for Falmouth is merely going Down Under for a few postal votes.

In the dramatic trial race, Coe almost lost his deposit after catching the heel of rival Steve Crabb but saved himself through some deft footwork.

As others fell about, Coe called on all his experience, class and grit to summon up a superb performance.

Gradually the gap closed and with the crowds, the commentators and millions of armchair fans in hysterics, the great man drew level. Then, with the effortlessness of a leaf blown by a hurricane, he was in front, not to be headed.

And that is how he clinched his place in the January sun when the Commonwealth jinx appeared to have struck again, glandular fever and influenza having respectively ruled him out of the last Games in Edinburgh in 1986.

His chances have been improved by Kenya's decision to leave out Olympic champion Paul Ereng, whose anticipated clash with Coe was already making mouths water in the Rift Valley.

However, the depth of that country's distance running talent will ensure that the Briton will have no easy passage to glory.

His first major medal was a bronze in the European 800m in Prague, but Bislett was where he realised his full potential for the first time.

It was before a fanatical foot-stamping, hand-clapping Norwegian crowd in the summer of 1979 that Coe classically and effortlessly lowered the world 800m record to 1:42.88.

Just 12 days later, he brought the world mile record down to 3:48:95, then capped a phenomenal 41 days by running 1 500m in 3:23.08.

Gold really is the only colour to end such a career and Coe's quest for it is bound to add lustre to the New Zealand proceedings. — GEMINI NEWS



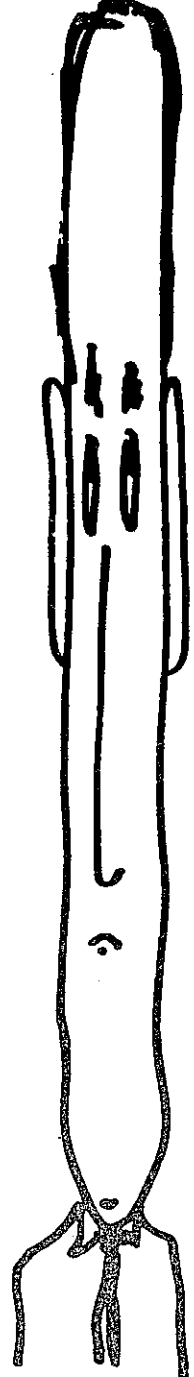
COE: Running for votes

NOT FOR NARROW MINDS

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MDM fears 'detrimental' action

Own Correspondent

11A

CAPE TOWN — The Mass Democratic Movement has expressed fears that the "violent manner in which the police broke up a peaceful procession of students, parents and teachers will unleash emotional action" which will be detrimental to Cape Town and South Africa. Star

An MDM statement yesterday said it demanded that "police desist from such provocative action". 25/11/90

MDM spokesman Ms Cheryl Carolus said the lack of decent education for the vast majority of young South Afri-

cans was a highly emotive issue.

The MDM shared the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's cynicism about applying for permission for its peaceful procession last week.

"Last Friday, striking Sats workers were given permission to hold a protest march. Despite this, police forced them on to trains where they were teargassed and assaulted.

"We're now convinced the De Klerk regime is using technicalities around the application for permission to ensure that substantial demonstrations against Government will be frustrated." (22)

No clarity on Mandela after Cabinet talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet completed its first meeting of the year yesterday with no indication of what decision, if any, had been made on the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Government sources said that although the question of a release date for Mr Mandela had been discussed, no decision had been reached.

This could not be confirmed officially. President F W de Klerk's office had no comment on the meeting.

The Mandela question attracted unprecedented media interest in the Cabinet meeting and hordes of foreign and local journalists laid siege to the official presidential office at Tuynhuys where the Cabinet met.

It was expected that the Cabinet would also discuss other questions concerning the Government's effort to create a climate for negotiation.

Chief among these was whether or not the African National Congress should be unbanned at the same time as Mr Mandela was released.

Government sources have indicated that there is increasing support in the Cabinet for unbanning the ANC as Mr Mandela is released so that he is not released into a negotiation "vacuum".

The Cabinet was also likely to have discussed an apparent deterioration recently in the protest situation.

The Government's new policy of allowing peaceful legal protests is showing signs of going sour as opposition groups increasingly refuse to ask permission — and the police warn that they will stop illegal protests.

This was dramatically illustrated in Cape Town on Tuesday when police dispersed an illegal NECC gathering.

It is also clear that a damaging confrontation is looming between the Government and the opposition National Sports Council (NSC) over protests against the English rebel cricket tour. The NSC has vowed it will not ask for permission while the police insist that illegal protests will not be tolerated.

Government sources suggested other probable items on the Cabinet's agenda were, a plan to restructure the economy, measures to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and possible amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

'Seeds of conflict'

BY MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CONFLICT between the government and the Mass Democratic Movement could escalate in the coming weeks with indications that the MDM is no longer willing to ask for permission to mount protests.

The National Education Coordinating Committee, in particular, has decided not to ask for magisterial permission for future protests, according to a statement issued last night by NECC spokesperson Mr Saleem Mowzer.

He said "further action" was being planned in consultation with the MDM.

However, the government has reiterated that only peaceful marches, with permission from a magistrate, will be allowed to go ahead.

The police advised protesters yesterday: Stay within the limits of the law and there will be no reason for any action on the part of the police.

But, in what amounts to a challenge to President F W de Klerk's new approach, the MDM is showing signs of becoming increasingly impatient with this procedure.

With further marches and other protests planned in various parts of the country, conflict between protesters and the authorities could escalate.

In a broader context, both sides are jockeying for position in the run-up to negotiations and it is invariably at scenes of protest that the two sides meet and test one another.

The NECC revealed last night that it had deliberately not asked for permission for Tuesday's protest because it did not believe magisterial consent would have guaranteed protection from police action.

The NECC statement cited



the January 19 protest by Sats workers: "They had applied for (and were given) permission to hold a protest march, but they were surrounded by razor wire, forced onto trains, tear-gassed and beaten up."

The organisation said it had no assurance the police would not have done the same on Tuesday. "Furthermore, we believe we have a democratic right to engage in protest action without having to apply to the authorities."

Meanwhile, in further reaction to Tuesday's city centre violence, the "stone-throwers" and "hooligans" among the protesters have been sharply attacked for undermining a "serious political protest".

One of the Democratic Party's law and order spokesmen, Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, must accept a large portion of the blame for the "fiasco".

'Hooligans'

However, he added: "The organisers of the protest (the National Education Coordinating Committee) should also bear their part of the blame. They must realise that Tuesday's events have undermined their cause."

"The stone-throwers and hooligans among them have alienated hundreds if not thousands of innocent people who would have sympathised with their plight."

"One simply cannot afford to put a serious political pro-

test at risk by allowing people to participate who are inclined to hooliganism or who do not possess the self-discipline to resist police provocation."

However, Mr van der Merwe laid most of the blame for the conflict at the door of the police.

"Mr Vlok's department turned a peaceful protest into a violent conflict which led to vandalism. They inflamed a situation to the extent where they could no longer control it."

On the issue of legality, Mr van der Merwe said: "Clearly it is not enough for Mr Vlok that a protest is peaceful. To him it is important that his government's permission be obtained to remind everyone they are in control."

The NECC disclaimed responsibility for the violence on Tuesday, saying the police were entirely to blame.

"The discipline our organisation's people built up with the assistance of marshalls... was destroyed by the panic caused by the police action."

"When discipline broke down as a result of the police action, our marshalls and organisers could no longer play any role. Our ability to maintain discipline was taken out of our hands."

• Western diplomats who have gathered in Cape Town for the parliamentary session expressed concern yesterday at the apparent absence of patience on both sides in Tuesday's confrontation. Some felt there ought to be at least some measure of cooperation between police and protesters, if only to nurture the spirit of cooperation at higher levels during a delicate phase in the political process.



Crowds gather outside St George's Cathedral, Wale Street, before the start of Tuesday's protest march.

US urges 'restraint, good sense'

By DAVID BRAUN of the Argus Foreign Service in Washington

THE United States government has urged all South African parties to practice restraint and good sense following this week's violence in Cape Town.

Spokesman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said in response to a question at yesterday's regular State Department brief-

ing: "We deplore the use of force to stifle peaceful protest."

"We have long urged an end to violence and repression as an important step in the process of change in South Africa."

"We have also urged the

government to lift the state of emergency and associated restrictions on political activity."

"Since his election, President de Klerk has allowed several other political demonstrations which were peaceful and contributed to the opening of a dialogue between all

South Africans.

"During the difficult period ahead, in which the process of moving towards negotiations may sometimes become overheated, we ask all parties to practice restraint and good sense in the search for a peaceful avenue for change."

MDM fears 'detrimental' action

Own Correspondent

(11A)

CAPE TOWN — The Mass Democratic Movement has expressed fears that the "violent manner in which the police broke up a peaceful procession of students, parents and teachers will unleash emotional action" which will be detrimental to Cape Town and South Africa. *Star*

An MDM statement yesterday said it demanded that "police desist from such provocative action". 25/11/90

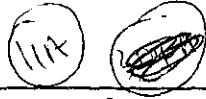
MDM spokesman Ms Cheryl Carolus said the lack of decent education for the vast majority of young South Afri-

cans was a highly emotive issue.

The MDM shared the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's cynicism about applying for permission for its peaceful procession last week.

"Last Friday, striking Sats workers were given permission to hold a protest march. Despite this, police forced them on to trains where they were teargassed and assaulted.

"We're now convinced the De Klerk regime is using technicalities around the application for permission to ensure that substantial demonstrations against Government will be frustrated." (2/11)



THE deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the ANC and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

At the outset, I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC. I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC.

In the normal course of events, I would put my views to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the best qualified members to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

But in my current circumstances, I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will, in due course, endorse my action.

The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

I must further point out that the question of my release from prison is not an issue, at least in this stage of discussions, and I am certainly not asking to be freed.

But I hope that the government will, as soon as possible, give me the opportunity from my present quarters to sound the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move.

I must emphasise right at this stage that this step is not in response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to declare whether or not they are nationalists and to renounce the South African Communist Party before there can be negotiations: no self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to wage the freedom struggle.

Far from responding to that call, my intention is influenced by purely domestic issues, by the civil strife and ruin into which the country is now sliding. I am concerned, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps: blacks on one side (the term blacks is used in a broad sense to indicate all those who are not whites) and whites on the other, slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are build-

'I am concerned by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps'



An edited version of Nelson Mandela's first letter to then State President PW Botha. Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said last night that the government had no record of any such letter. But the Weekly Mail has confirmed its authenticity with a person who visited Mandela and was shown the letter.

ing up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives, a situation which, in turn, foreshadows more violent clashes in the days ahead.

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people.

It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state.

But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen.

It is significant to note that throughout

the past four decades, and more especially over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only, and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue.

White South Africa must accept the plain fact that the ANC will not suspend, to say nothing of abandoning, the armed struggle until the government shows its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power, and to negotiate directly and in good faith with acknowledged black leaders.

The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a pre-condition to but the result of negotiation.

We equally reject the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP and we regard the accusation as part of the smearing campaign the government is waging against us.

Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early twenties and always has been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society. At no time has the organisation ever adopted or cooperated with communism itself.

As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly related. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the

leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC.

There is, of course, a firmly established tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt is resisted, from whatever quarter, which is intended to undermine co-operation between the two organisations.

No dedicated ANC member will heed the call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand as a purely divisive government strategy.

By insisting on compliance with the abovementioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country but turmoil, no strong and independent ANC, but a weak and servile organisation playing a supportive role to a white minority.

The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement and a meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country.

An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a non-racial society, is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions.

Such reconciliation will be achieved only if the parties are willing to compromise.

It may well be that this should bedom in at least two stages. The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations.

The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so.

I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction, will be forgotten.

We will nationalise mines - Mandela

leased yesterday, said: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota said: "Meetings in Lusaka between the ANC and businessmen and rumours that the organisation was calling for a mixed economy sparked off speculation that it was abandoning the position of the Freedom Charter."

Mandela hoped his statement would

put an end to such speculation, Lekota said.

"In the debates surrounding the economic position of the banned movement many newspapers implied that Comrade Mandela was no longer committed to the idea of nationalising certain industrial sectors, thereby conflicting with his comrades abroad."

"It is hoped that this statement will deal a deathblow to those mischievous reports. We need to openly state and restate our position so that people don't get confused," said Lekota.

However, Mandela's statement comes as some surprise. In recent years, the ANC has met a number of

South African businessmen and sought to reassure them that they had little to fear under an ANC government.

ANC statements on this issue have been notably vague, in stark contrast to the baldness of Mandela's sudden assertion.

Mandela's words reasserted the position of the Freedom Charter, Lekota said. "The charter says monopolies — the commanding heights of capitalism — will be nationalised — but it also says people will be allowed to trade freely."

Lekota said the essence of Mandela's statement and the charter was that "when an ANC government takes power it will nationalise industries and sectors monopolised by capital but not the small shop owned by the ordinary man."

"This is a mixed economy in the sense that sectors are nationalised and sectors remain free enterprise."

"Nationalisation of certain industrial sectors would realise the ANC's aims of redistributing the wealth of the country in order to achieve the upliftment of the exploited," he said.

Asked what economic system an ANC government would implement, Lekota said: "The ANC has never committed itself to socialism. Nationalising certain sectors does not mean socialism. The future economic system would be of a transitory nature which could, however, lay the foundations for socialism."

He added that a "transitory phase" referred to that stage between capitalism and socialism and "one could not prophesy what would follow this transitory-mixed economy phase."

Referring to Mandela's mention of "black economic empowerment", Lekota said such a concept encouraged black businessmen to penetrate deeper into the world of capital. While this was fully supported it could not take priority above redistributing the wealth in order to uplift the poor.

How the jailed ANC leader broke the ice

They sent a letter to Mandela endorsing his document. A separate letter was also sent by the leadership of the SACP, agreeing with the ANC.

In fact, the ANC received the document at a time when it was under pressure from some of its allies in the Organisation of African Unity and the frontline states to formulate a position on negotiations. The ANC used Mandela's document as a basis for what was to become the Harare Declaration, which was later endorsed by the OAU, the frontline states and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Shortly afterwards, Mandela and Botha met at Tuynhuis, the presidential residence. At this meeting, the main issue raised and pursued by Mandela was the release of his colleague, Walter Sisulu.

Mandela argued that Sisulu was 77 years old and it was not fair or reasonable to keep him in prison.


Botha resisted, saying he could not release Sisulu with an impending general election, since it could lose him many votes to the far right-wing.

Mandela, known as a persistent arguer, pursued the case. The meeting ended with Botha promising to take up the matter. "I will surprise you," he said.

Mandela replied to Botha's earlier letter in a formal document, saying he stood by the Harare Declaration, which set out the preconditions the government would have to meet to create a climate for talks.

However, this letter was received by the new president, FW de Klerk, who arranged to meet Mandela.

It seems that at this meeting Mandela presented his 10-point plan for peace, which he later also sent to the ANC for their comments. However, no details of this plan have emerged.



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

January 1990

THE AGM WILL TAKE PLACE OVER TWO DAYS

(A) FOR ALL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ONLY:

DATE: SATURDAY, 28 JANUARY 1990
 TIME: 2 pm
 VENUE: CENTRAL METHODIST CHURCH

AGENDA
 * CONSTITUTION
 * RESOLUTIONS
 * ELECTIONS

(B) FOR ALL TENANTS:

DATE: SUNDAY, 20 JANUARY 1990
 TIME: 10 am
 VENUE: CATHEDRAL HALL
 SARATOGA AVE

AGENDA
 * SPEAKERS
 * CULTURAL EVENTS

Mom's bid to see

26/1-1/2/90.

11A Smith

By REHANA ROSSOUW
THE ageing mother of Cape Town political prisoner Cecil Esau is making a determined bid to see her son after she was refused a visit on Robben Island on Christmas Day.

jailed cadre

Mrs Maria Esau, 75, is now insisting on being allowed to see her youngest son, whom she last saw several months ago.

Esau was sentenced in August 1987 to 12 years' imprisonment for terrorism.

His mother travelled from her home in Worcester on Christmas Eve to visit her youngest son the next day. Her daughter June accompanied her as she has difficulty walking.

"My permit had arrived and we went to the docks to board the ferry early on Christmas morning," Esau said.

"Our names were on the warders' list and we were allowed to board the ferry and go to the island."

At the prison, in a waiting room near the visitors' section, a warder told Esau that there would be no visit for her.

"They told me he was rude and abusive, but Cecil is not like that, he is not short-tempered," Esau said.

"We had to wait in the room until the ferry was ready to leave again. I was heartbroken, knowing Cecil was so near but I could not see him."

"I really wanted to spend Christmas with my son. There were so many families who had travelled to the island to spend that special day with their loved ones."

Esau, who has twice suffered a stroke and is plagued with arthritis and high blood pressure, is concerned about missing visits with her son as she is not sure that her health will allow her to visit often.

She last saw him on his birthday in September and he has not had a visit since.

Her attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed that he was instructed to act



Mrs Maria Esau, forbidden by Robben Island warders from seeing her son Cecil Esau

on behalf of the family and had written to the Prisons Services asking them for reasons for refusing Esau's visits.

"Once we have the reasons we will decide whether to take further action. The Prisons Service cannot deny a visit unless they have good

reasons for doing so."

A Prisons Service spokesman said it was their policy not to comment on individual cases.

He said although provision was made for prisoners to receive visits from family and friends, the nature and number of visits depended on the

classification of prisoners according to their behaviour and adaptation to prison.

"On receipt of the attorney's letter, the case will receive the necessary attention and be dealt with appropriately," the spokesman said.

Kitskonstabels set to join union

A GROUP of kitscops from the strife-torn Crossroads squatter camp are poised to join Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

Sources said that a group of about 10 kitscops had approached a community organisation to arrange a meeting with Rockman later this week.

The group is presently meeting with other kitscops who have expressed an interest in joining Popcru.

The kitscops, who do not want to be named until they have met with Rockman, said they are unhappy

with the role played by the authorities in Crossroads.

They are also dissatisfied with working conditions in the police force.

"Many kitscops are unhappy at the fighting in Crossroads which is tearing the community apart," said a United Squatter Association spokesperson.

"They do not want to have to take sides against their own people."

A kitscop who was killed during fighting in the area last December was given an ANC burial in Crossroads earlier this month.

The kitscop, Gosain Jackson, was shot after a vigilante attack on the

house of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, an opponent of controversial Crossroads mayor Johnson Ngxobongwana.

Community leaders claimed that Jackson was shot after remonstrating with a white policeman for not intervening during the attack.

A spokesperson for the SA Police Force said the SAP did not recognise Popcru. "We have no further comment in this regard."

Meanwhile, the situation in Crossroads has been described as tense following an outbreak of violence in the area last week.

The United Squatters' Association, which has begun recruiting members in Old Crossroads, said that last

week's violence followed a mustering of witdoek forces in the area.

Mr Sizwe Dwekesha was shot dead in the violence.

Sworn statements gathered by the USA allege that shortly after midnight last Wednesday, vigilantes forced the occupants of brown tents to join them to fight the "comrades".

They alleged that people had been warned that anyone who refused would be burnt.

Relatives of Dwekesha claimed in an affidavit he had been forced to take part in at least two previous witdoek attacks on Nongwe's supporters.

~~WITDOEK~~

Soviets support the ANC in negotiations, says professor

star 26/1/90

Moscow regards its alliance with the ANC as its strongest card on South Africa and will not "dump" the banned organisation, Professor John Barratt, Director General of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said in Pretoria on Thursday.

Briefing a meeting of the Institute on a recent visit by him to the USSR and Hungary, Professor Barratt said the USSR firmly believed the ANC had majority support in South Africa and widening international support.

He said Eastern European countries would not want to be caught "off sides" by establishing ties with South Africa.

Their governments were

temporary, and faced elections during the next few months.

The degree and pace of change in South Africa's relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe would continue to be determined primarily by the degree and pace of change towards democracy within South Africa itself, Professor Barratt said.

"Normalisation of relations — diplomatic and political — will not be possible while apartheid — the hard remnant of the racially based political and economic system — remains unchanged," he said.

Professor Barratt said the ANC was not a puppet of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union.

"If anything, it has often been the ANC which calls the tune in the relationship, for example on sanctions and even on the 'armed struggle'."

The Soviets now openly advocated a peaceful transition in South Africa rather than violent revolution.

The USSR believed South African whites had an important role to play and should be involved in the political transition.

Professor Barratt said current events in the USSR gave cause for concern that we are in fact seeing "the beginning of a period of spreading instability, disorder and even anarchy in a vital region of the globe". — Sapa.

"So where are you going in your three-piece suit today, Mkhulu?"

The Star Bureau

LONDON - Despite being grey-haired and over 70 years of age, Nelson Mandela remains physically fit, and gets up at three every morning to do exercises in his prison bungalow.

This is revealed by Mr Mandla's 16-year-old grandson, Mandla, in a newspaper interview here. Mandla Mandela is the son of Mr Mandela's son from a previous marriage, Makgatho.

Mandla has kept in constant touch with his grandfather from the time the two first met on Robben Island, separated by glass.

Mandla, according to the article, "makes Nelson's heart swell with pride".

Explaining the close relationship between Mr Mandela and his grandson, Mandla's mother,

Rennie, now remarried and living in Manchester, says:

"It was very important to Nelson that he had a grandson to carry the family name."

Adds Mandla: "I try to see Mkhulu (Xhosa for grandfather) as much as I can. The last time I saw him was in August, after his 71st birthday."

GOOD SPIRITS

"You know he is an old man now. His hair is completely white and his skin is starting to wrinkle. But he is very fit. He gets up at three every morning and exercises for two hours."

Describing his grandfather's life in prison, Mandla says, laughing:

"Sometimes when I visit him, he is wearing a suit — a full, three-piece suit in the middle of the week."

"And I joke, where are you going today? He is always in good spirits."

"He spends his day seeing visitors, his old friends from the Transkei, and also Government Ministers."

"At 4 pm Gregory (his father's white guard for many years) leaves Mkhulu in the house (where Mr Mandela is now held at Pollsmoor Prison) along to read books and listen to classical music."

Mandla, presently a pupil at a Swaziland private school, says Mr Mandela regards education as very important.

"Every time I visit him I discuss my school work. He always asks me about my education and how well all my cousins are doing at school."

Mr Mandela has 12 other grandchildren.

Message from ANC leader says he has not 'softened'.

Mandela adamant on nationalisation

By Patrick Laurence

The jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has re-affirmed his commitment to the nationalisation of banks, mines and "monopoly industries" in a special message from his prison bungalow.

The message was sent to a trusted "comrade" with the request that he give it the "widest publicity".

It comes amidst conjecture that Mr Mandela may have softened in his commitment to clauses in the Freedom Charter which advocate state control of sectors of the economy.

The full text of Mr Mandela's statement, dated January 15 but released publicly for the first time yesterday, reads:

"The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Ownership of people

Mr Mandela's words closely reflect those used in the Freedom Charter, except that the 1955 Charter speaks of transferring mines, banks and monopoly industry to the "ownership of the people as a whole".

Mr "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front, told The Star that Mr Mandela's declaration was prompted by his desire to counter suggestions that ANC economy policy was uncertain.

But, Mr Lekota added, Mr Mandela's statement was motivated by another consideration: to neutralise "innuendoes in the press" that he had softened in his commitment to socialist clauses in the Freedom Charter and that, as a consequence,

15 1 90

give the statement the widest publicity.

"The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Regards. Madiba.

Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of his belief in state control of banks, mines and monopoly industry. It is signed "Madiba", as he is affectionately known by his close friends and family.

he was opposed to his comrades, especially those in the ANC's "external mission".

Mr Lekota did not explain what he meant by "innuendoes in the press" but one of his visitors, Soweto businessman Mr Richard Maponya, was quoted recently as saying that Mr Mandela no longer favoured state control of industry as a means

of black liberation.

Mr Lekota did not see any contradiction between Mr Mandela's support for black economic empowerment and state control of sections of the economy.

Black economic empowerment depended on a redistribution of wealth via state control, Mr Lekota said.

The present moves to de-nationalise and privatise the economy would not benefit black people, as they were too poor to buy shares in the private companies which were taking control of, or obtaining a share in, parastatals like Sasol and Iscor.

For black people to benefit from privatisation there had to be a decrease of state control and a channel-

ing of wealth from rich to poor, Mr Lekota said.

The Freedom Charter's commitment to the right of all people to "equal rights to trade and manufacture" would enable black entrepreneurs to enrich themselves in those sectors of the economy not controlled by the state, Mr Lekota concluded.

We will nationalise - Mandela

26/1 - 1/2/90

11A

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Regards. Madiba.

THIS is a letter from Nelson Mandela confirming the ANC's commitment to the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries.

"A change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable," he says in the letter which he asked the Mass Democratic Movement to distribute widely.

Mandela's full statement, made on January 15 and re-

The January 15 letter, signed in his clan-name, Madiba

●To PAGE 2

We will nationalise mines - Mandela

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From PAGE 1

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PROTEST POLITICS F/M 26/1/90

Head of steam

The ANC-MDM alliance is putting into effect its dual strategy: signalling its readiness to start talks with government (once certain conditions are met, as looks likely) while turning up the pressure. Pressure, it is convinced, is what precipitated government's cautious reforms.

This explains the UDF decision last week, to flout its restriction order by "claiming our right to engage in open opposition activity" and "intensify the mass struggle inside the country," as well as the sanctions campaign abroad. (11A) (20)

The English cricket tour has come as a godsend for creating maximum mayhem and publicity. And the other main terrain of protest now looks like being education, following the appalling black matric results. Explaining that there is "no intention to de-escalate the struggle," an MDM spokesman said that both issues — the tour and the schools crisis — are deeply felt with "real anger" by blacks.

On Tuesday about 100 employees at the Sandton Sun staged a protest at the presence of Mike Gatting's English cricketers. The workers belong to the SA Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union, a Cosatu affiliate.

There have been threats that the cricketers will not be served; similar action could be taken at other Southern Sun hotels.

As the FM went to press the UDF branch in Atteridgeville had called for the end of the SA Cricket Union's local coaching programme. If this action spreads it will undermine the huge Sacu involvement in the townships and give a hollow ring to its claim that township development depends on the revenue from tours. (See *Leaders*)

Also on Tuesday, Cape Town police deployed razor wire and water cannon as an estimated 4 000 chanting students gathered at St George's Cathedral, under the auspices of the National Education Crisis Committee, which is linked to the UDF. They reportedly said they had planned to march on the Department of Education & Training offices in

F/M 26/1/90 (11A) (20)

the city to present a list of demands. A group of senior police officers monitored events and spoke to rally marshals. Among the demands: the abolition of school fees; nonracial sport and education; and more schools. ■

11A

ANC firm on state control of business

Bibing 26/11/90

THE nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries was still the policy of the ANC, organisation leader Nelson Mandela said in a statement yesterday.

A change or modification of this view was "inconceivable", he said in the statement which was issued through the UDF.

UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota said Mandela asked on January 15 for the statement to be issued to rebut innuendo in the media that he had revised his position on a policy formulated nearly 35 years ago and contained in the ANC's Freedom Charter.

Businessman Richard Maponya, who was unavailable for comment last night, said after a meeting with Mandela two weeks ago that Mandela had changed his views on nationalisation.

Lekota said Mandela's statement was a restatement of policy and did not represent a hardening of the ANC's or Mandela's position.

A future ANC government would seek as far as possible to "implement the policy without alienating anyone".

Mandela's full statement said: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable.

"Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Lekota said the word "inconceivable" was important as it "shows how strongly we feel" on the matter. But, he said, businessmen need not be alarmed by this development.

"The question is not simply to say we will nationalise. The crucial question is

ALAN FINE and MIKE ROBERTSON

how this process will be carried out," Lekota said.

"We want to correct social ills without, as far as possible, alienating sections of the population. The movement will try to win them over," he added. He did not elaborate on how this would be done.

Lekota said the positive reaction of the business sector to meetings with the ANC in the past indicated the former's appreciation of the movement's attitude.

In a document published yesterday by Cape-based newspaper, South, Mandela said government needed to compromise on its opposition to majority rule, and the ANC would have to take into account white fears of black domination if there was going to be reconciliation in SA.

Sapa reports a Justice Ministry statement as saying the department had no record of anything "bearing resemblance to the document published in South. It is therefore not possible to vouch for its authenticity".

In the paper, Mandela said the key to peace in SA was negotiated settlement. A meeting between the ANC and government would be the first major step towards achieving lasting peace.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state.

"Secondly, the concern of white SA over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks."

"The most crucial task which will face

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

State control

B11/2001
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From Page 1

government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions. Such reconciliation will be achieved only if both parties are willing to compromise," Mandela said.

He went on to suggest negotiations take place in two phases.

"The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations ...

"The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so."

His plan for getting negotiations going is, in almost every respect, that which government has embarked upon.

Having identified Mandela's release, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC as the essential pre-conditions for negotiations, government is committed to removing all three obstacles during the coming session of Parliament.

Senior government sources said this week it was likely small groups representing government and the ANC would meet each other before the end of the session.

Government sources also said yesterday initial negotiations with the ANC would aim at an agreed formula on how to achieve representation for all at the highest level. Government members would participate in negotiations as NP representatives rather than in their official capacity.

While their new constitutional proposals are not yet clearly thought out, and will

only be unveiled at the negotiating table, it seems government members are looking at a formula which ensures a coalition government with strong federal elements.

Government's attitude towards the protection of groups is now more fluid than in the past, but its bottom line would seem to be that all significant sections of the country's population be guaranteed representation at Cabinet level.

Sources, who said government was in regular contact with opposition groups including the PAC, MDM and ANC, said it had been proposed that the fate of the Population Registration Act be decided by negotiation.

The sources said while government originally wanted a wide variety of groups, including church leaders, represented at a negotiating table, it was likely that only a small group of political organisations with significant support bases would be represented at initial talks.

Suggestions by British SDP leader David Owen for a 10-year transitional period, in which black ministers served under De Klerk as president and Mandela as constitutional president, were described as premature.

While in line with present government thinking, the sources said, this kind of detail would have to be resolved at the negotiation table.

● See Page 3
● Comment Page 8

THABO MBEKI

Smooth operator

To most observers assessing leadership succession stakes in the ANC, the first name which springs to mind is that of Thabo Mbeki (47). Mbeki is head of the banned organisation's international department, chief adviser and confidante to its president, Oliver Tambo, and son of former ANC chairman Govan Mbeki.

Thabo recently saw his father for the first time in 30 years when the group of internal ANC figures led by Walter Sisulu flew to Lusaka for talks and an emotional reunion with the external mission.

Observers now await with interest the outcome of elections for a new ANC national executive committee at its five-yearly congress later this year. With Tambo in his 70s, and recovering from a spasm, some believe

Mbeki has been one of the caretaker triumvirate heading the ANC, together with two older-generation-figures.

For all Mbeki's friendly charm and an almost mischievous gleam in his eye, he's an astute toughie inside. Those who've held talks with him warn that he is not to be underestimated in any negotiations.

What on closer observation strikes some most about Mbeki is the fact that he never seems to lose his composure. That easy-going, pipe-smoking, tweed-jacketed appearance certainly seems out of kilter with a revolutionary who underwent military training in the Soviet Union — and more in line with Mbeki the modest, pragmatic graduate.

He is no tub-thumping militant. Though said to be a member of the SA Communist Party, he is not very active; nor could this smooth operator be described as an ideologue in the Marxist-Leninist mould.

While he holds a MA degree in economics from Sussex, Mbeki hardly ever pronounces on economic questions. His forté is international relations and politics.

Afrikaners like him because he understands them very well, even if he does not empathise with their cause. He once apologised for his Afrikaans not being that good because, he quipped, he grew up in the eastern Cape.

Mbeki was born at Idutywa, up the road from Butterworth in the eastern Cape, about the time his father was the district area's representative



Thabo Mbeki ... tipped to lead the ANC

the stage is set for a leadership tussle. Discounting old-guard figures like secretary-general Alfred Nzo (and the special status of Nelson Mandela), it is generally thought that Mbeki's main rival for the top post is his contemporary, Chris Hani, the more hard-line chief of staff of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

With the armed struggle's prospects receding ever further in a changing world, conditions (let alone his own talents and statesmanly demeanour) certainly favour Mbeki's star.

His much-attested diplomatic skills seem bound to come into their own in the run-up to negotiations and around the bargaining table itself.

A Stellenbosch academic who has met Mbeki at several indabas abroad, observes: "He is as valuable to the ANC as Neil van Heerden is to Pretoria."

Both exude that quality of real ability and influence behind-the-scenes — of men in line for bigger things.

It's significant that since Tambo's illness,

in the Transkei Bunga.

A member of the ANC national executive since 1975, Thabo was its representative in Nigeria from 1976-1978, and before that in Swaziland. He also served as assistant secretary on its revolutionary council for a couple of years after a stint of military training in the Soviet Union in 1970.

He left SA in 1962 after a six-week spell in detention for activities related to the African Students' Organisation, of which he was leader the previous year. He had also been ANC youth organiser for Johannesburg.

His schooling took place at Lovedale (Alice), and at St John's in Umtata. After leaving SA he enrolled as an external student at the University of London. Mbeki's wife, Zanele, works for the UN High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka, where the family and ANC headquarters are based.

He's been ANC director of information and publicity since 1984.

Since the death of Johnny Makatini in 1988, Mbeki took charge of its international department. ■

criminally to strangers.

nard was withholding vital information.

Vlok optimistic about end to Natal violence

B/Dam 26/1/90

DURBAN — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said here yesterday that he was "carefully optimistic" about prospects for peace in strife-torn Natal.

Own Correspondent

cases of local leaders of the UDF who had been banned and restricted.

He also said the question of special courts and special investigators was to be considered in order to deal with the violence and promised to investigate the

Vlok spoke at a Press conference after a meeting at a Durban hotel attended by Inkatha, Cosatu and church representatives.

Lawyers representing Cosatu and the UDF said

they had "used the opportunity to put on record some of our reservations about both this meeting and the way the issue of violence in Natal is handled".

They said Vlok had assured them during the meeting that their allegations would be investigated, but "only time will tell whether he is being sincere". (2/1/90) (11A)

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NATAL UNREST DEATHS

| | |
|--|--------------|
| September 1987 to January 1989: | 668 |
| February 1989 — January 24 1990: | 551 |
| Past 24 hours' official toll: | 0 |
| TOTAL: | 1 219 |

Mandela 'an unlikely impartial mediator'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — It was highly unlikely that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would play an impartial mediating role in future political negotiations, a leading Labour Party spokesman on South Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, said yesterday.

He also warned that failure by President F W de Klerk to make fundamental changes next month would mean that instead of his leading a peaceful transition to majority rule, he would lead South Africa into "the abyss".

In an interview Mr Anderson, who

has made several visits to South Africa, said the mediatory role for Mr Mandela suggested this week by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee was "a false concept if it assumes a middle man bringing together two opposed factions. Mr Mandela will be one of the key leaders of one of the factions (the ANC)".

Mr Anderson dismissed the view that Mr Mandela, whose release is expected next month, could become a figure along the lines of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who headed an interim government in Rhodesia.

This was part of an attempt to divide the ANC and would not work, he said.

Message from ANC leader says he has not 'softened'.

Mandela adamant on nationalisation

By Patrick Laurence

The jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has re-affirmed his commitment to the nationalisation of banks, mines and "monopoly industries" in a special message from his prison bungalow.

The message was sent to a trusted "comrade" with the request that he give it the "widest publicity".

It comes amidst conjecture that Mr Mandela may have softened in his commitment to clauses in the Freedom Charter which advocate state control of sectors of the economy.

The full text of Mr Mandela's statement, dated January 15 but released publicly for the first time yesterday, reads:

"The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Ownership of people

Mr Mandela's words closely reflect those used in the Freedom Charter, except that the 1955 Charter speaks of transferring mines, banks and monopoly industry to the "ownership of the people as a whole".

Mr "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front, told The Star that Mr Mandela's declaration was prompted by his desire to counter suggestions that ANC economy policy was uncertain.

But, Mr Lekota added, Mr Mandela's statement was motivated by another consideration: to neutralise "innuendoes in the press" that he had softened in his commitment to socialist clauses in the Freedom Charter and that, as a consequence,

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give the statement the widest publicity:

"The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation state control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Regards. Madiba.

Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of his belief in state control of banks, mines and monopoly industry. It is signed "Madiba", as he is affectionately known by his close friends and family.

he was opposed to his comrades, especially those in the ANC's "external mission".

Mr Lekota did not explain what he meant by "innuendoes in the press" but one of his visitors, Soweto businessman Mr Richard Maponya, was quoted recently as saying that Mr Mandela no longer favoured state control of industry as a means

of black liberation.

Mr Lekota did not see any contradiction between Mr Mandela's support for black economic empowerment and state control of sections of the economy.

Black economic empowerment depended on a redistribution of wealth via state control, Mr Lekota said.

The present moves to de-nationalise and privatise the economy would not benefit black people, as they were too poor to buy shares in the private companies which were taking control of, or obtaining a share in, parastatals like Sasol and Iscor.

For black people to benefit from privatisation there had to be a decrease of state control and a channel-

ing of wealth from rich to poor, Mr Lekota said.

The Freedom Charter's commitment to the right of all people to "equal rights to trade and manufacture" would enable black entrepreneurs to enrich themselves in those sectors of the economy not controlled by the state, Mr Lekota concluded.

Publisher puts SA book world in a stir

Star 24/11/90

The announcement which caused a stir in the book publishing industry and unsettled a number of local writers was made in three different forms early last week.

In separate letters to the book trade and writers, as well as in a press release to this newspaper, Southern Book Publishers managing director Mr Basil van Rooyen announced: "The company will cease importing, marketing and distributing books published outside South Africa as from 29 February 1990. The company's Wynberg warehouse will be closed on that day."

INUNDATED

Once the news was public knowledge, telephones at Southern Book Publishers never stopped ringing, according to Mr van Rooyen. The publishing house was inundated with calls from its authors who thought Southern was closing down its local publishing.

"That is emphatically not the case," said Mr van Rooyen in a fac-

The decision by Southern Book Publishers to cease importing, marketing and distributing books published abroad will have no impact on local writers, according to the company's managing director, Mr Basil van Rooyen. KAIZER NYATSUMBA spoke to him.

simile to The Star a few days later. "The publishing side (of the company) will continue under new ownership, but with the same team of people."

In an effort to establish what the exact situation was at Southern, The Star asked for an interview with Mr van Rooyen. He said he was too busy to grant an interview, but would be able to answer questions if put to him in writing. The Star did so.

What, Mr van Rooyen was asked, were the implications for local writers, the book publishing industry and the book-buying public of the closure of the company, believed to be the second largest publisher of works of

non-fiction in this country.

Mr van Rooyen said the closure of the importing side of the company would have no implications for local writers, since Southern's local publishing side would continue as an entity under new owners. Also unaffected would be the book-buying public, he said.

REDISTRIBUTION

The Southern MD also dismissed as untrue speculations that the closure of Southern Books' importing divisions would push up the prices of books published abroad.

"No, books will not cost more," he said. "The same books will still come into the country, simply via different agents or operating companies. The fact that Southern Books as an importer disappears will mean that there will be a redistribution of overseas agencies among the members of the International Book Distributors Association."

"The company might disappear,

but the functions performed by it will simply be rechannelled. I see no reason whatsoever why this should affect the pricing of books."

He said negotiations were still in progress between overseas shareholders of Southern Publishers and various possible buyers in the local book market.

It was possible, he said, that if Southern were taken over by another company, there could be some changes in the company's direction and emphasis.

"In which direction (the change and emphasis will be), I am unable to comment until such time it is clear who the new owners will be," he said.

Mr van Rooyen said he thought the new owners would probably trade under the same name, since the imprint would be part of what they would purchase.

He did not know when the new owners were likely to be announced, but he thought it might be within the next two to three weeks.

Mandela spells out stand on violence

B [Daw] 26/11/90

CAPE TOWN — The ANC considered the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against "a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest", Nelson Mandela said in a document published in Cape-based newspaper South yesterday.

It has been established the document was a copy of text handed to former President P W Botha when he met Mandela last July.

In it, the ANC leader criticised government for its attitude towards the SA Communist Party (SACP), and reaffirmed the influence Marxism had on his own political views.

The position of the ANC on violence was made clear: "A government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms."

The ANC had no vested interest in violence and abhorred any action which

might cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery.

"It has worked long and patiently for an SA of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state..."

From its earliest days, Mandela said, the ANC had diligently sought peaceful solutions.

~~(S)~~ Oppressed (11A)

Not only did the NP government ignore its demand for a meeting, it unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression SA had ever seen.

"It stripped us of all basic human rights, outlawed our organisations and barred all channels of peaceful resistance. It met our just demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country, it continues to refuse to talk to us."

History showed that oppressed people turned to force when peaceful channels were closed to them.

Both Africans and Afrikaners were at one time or another compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom.

"But from what has happened in SA during the last 40 years, we must conclude that now the roles are reversed, and the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom-fighter, the entire lesson of history must be brushed aside."

Government's exaggerated hostility towards the SACP and its refusal to have any dealings with the party had a hollow ring, Mandela said.

"Such an attitude is ... inconsistent with the policy of government itself when dealing with our neighbour states.

"Government will certainly find it difficult ... to reconcile its readiness to work with foreign Marxists ... with its uncompromising refusal to talk to SA Marxists."

Mandela said his own political views were the same as those he expressed in 1964, when he said he had been influenced by Marxist thought. — Sapa.



Members of the African National Congress at a Frontline States summit meeting during their conference in Lusaka. From left to right: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Quett Masire of Botswana, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo.

Did Nzo bare ANC's soul too far?

The question that lingers after the African National Congress's meeting here last week to unite external and internal elements of the party is this: did acting president Alfred Nzo blow it?

Did he go overboard by confessing in public that the ANC did not have the numbers to intensify the armed struggle within South Africa to any meaningful degree?

Did he tip his organisation's hand too much by telling a press conference before the three-day meeting of his national executive committee that a decision would have to be made, if the ANC was unbanned, about whether it became entirely above board or retained an underground structure?

The strong impression is that Mr Nzo — who is no Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo — had his backside kicked after making those disclosures; not only by his own colleagues for revealing strategy, but also by visiting observers of the Mass Democratic Movement and Cosatu, who hardly need the South

The African National Congress did some serious soul-searching when its two wings met for the first time in Lusaka last week. **JOHN RYAN** of The Star's Africa News Service reviews the event.

Africa Government to be informed that the people's revolution may not be working as well as it should.

Perhaps the remonstrance was gentle, considering the occasion.

Pigeon-holed

But what was significant is that Mr Nzo's sentiments seemed to have been carefully pigeon-holed in ANC statements that followed.

Another thing the acting president said in that opening speech — which other leaders echoed during the week — was that the ANC would have to be careful not to be wrong-footed by President F W de Klerk, should he suddenly decide to meet the demands of last August's Harare Declaration.

Chief among these are the release of Nelson Mandela, the un-

banning of political organisations, the return of ANC members in exile, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

How or why the organisation could be caught off balance by the prospect of negotiating with the Government is hard to understand. The ANC's goal is plain. It wants an open franchise in a multi-party state. It has said often enough it will not settle for anything less than one man, one vote.

Perhaps the guardedness of its leaders stems from the fact that they realise Mr de Klerk is not going to negotiate away power, that at the very most he will seek to share it.

So, if its objectives are not met, what will the ANC do?

A clear option, apart from continuing the armed struggle, would be to step up action on

the political and labour fronts. An unbanned ANC, in an alliance with Cosatu and the MDM, could operate effectively in these areas.

The leadership has already said it will work to reactivate "people's structures" like the street committees of the mid-Eighties, although ANC officials realise they will need to ensure these do not get out of control.

That happened in 1985 and 1986, when "comrades" in the Eastern Cape virtually ran amok and the awful "necklacing" atrocities reached their height. The ANC cannot afford to be tarred again with that brush.

Some people find it strange that the ANC should be talking about trying to step up the armed struggle at a time when it is also intent on negotiations with the Government.

However, the two are sides of the same coin. The threat of action against hard targets is one of the few cards the ANC has to play, while it remains banned, one of the few ways it can put

pressure on Mr de Klerk to negotiate.

And it is adamant that it will not disarm until the security forces stop their own action. As one official put it: "There can be no such thing as a unilateral ceasefire."

Mr Nzo's anxiety about whether the organisation has the capacity inside the country to intensify the struggle is well founded. There is no doubt Umkhonto we Sizwe has been hit by logistical problems since it was forced by events in Angola to move its bases further north.

The reduced number of attacks last year was evidence more of that than of any concern within the leadership that they might have been becoming counter-productive.

A major fear the ANC leaders do have is that the changing attitude on the part of the Government may persuade the world community to release some of its own pressure on South Africa, particularly should Mr de Klerk meet the demands of the Harare Declaration.

BEFORE THE ANC CAN TALK WITH PRETORIA, IT NEEDS TO TALK TO ITS OWN FOLLOWERS ...

"IT'S not easy for us to sit down to negotiate. The problem is many of the youngsters are not really interested in the negotiations. In fact they've become a little bit angry. That is why I say that this chap De Klerk is moving too fast and can create problems for us. We want to educate our people. We want to have time to discuss this matter with them."

The speaker is Rivonia trialist Walter Sisulu, during an interview this month. Like most leaders of the liberation movement, both internal and external, Sisulu publically expresses optimism at the prospect of a negotiated settlement. But, like many others, he is privately worried.

The problem lies largely within the constituency of the African National Congress and its allies. The generation which grew up in the townships during the uprisings of 1984-1986 was one nurtured on militancy and radical solutions.

Slow down, FW. We still have to educate our people

Slogans like: "Freedom or death! Victory is certain" or "Long live the spirit of no compromise", though they had little to do with reality, served to rally the masses and to express the revolutionary spirit sweeping through the townships. It was a spirit which was developed in the hundreds of new freedom songs. With their images of a triumphal march across the Limpopo, of crushing the Boers and marching to Tuynhuis, the songs served to galvanise the *toy-toy*, but fell short of inculcating reasoned political attitudes.

As Murphy Morobe, assistant pub-

The 'Young Lions', the radical township youth, are showing deep suspicion of the process of negotiations. By IVOR POWELL and THANDEKA QUBULE

licity secretary of the United Democratic Front puts it: "A very simple and easy position for our people to follow, given the history of the struggle, is that we've got oppressed people on one hand and the oppressors on the other. And the simple thing that follows is that the oppressed

must defeat the oppressors. Take the youth congresses. For many of the youth the struggle has meant simply to shoot your way to Pretoria."

But now the politics of negotiation and conciliation have come to supplant those of confrontation and the task of the leadership of the ANC and its allies is one of educating rather than mobilising.

"We acknowledge that the degree of political education has not been commensurate with the degree and extent of political mobilisation that we have been able to generate," Morobe says. "And that brings to the fore an impor-

tant and serious contradiction. You draw in to the movement battalions and battalions of young lions, hearts in the right place, determined to become part of the struggle, but often they don't understand the basic political positions of the movement."

Though for some years a concerted attempt has been made to address the problem, progress was hampered by the breakdown of community structures in the four-year State of Emergency. It is only in the last year that grassroots organisations began functioning sufficiently smoothly for long term programmes to be feasible.

For example the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines were widely distributed among grassroots organisations last year.

Similarly the Organisation for African Unity's Harare Declaration, setting preconditions for negotiations, was widely discussed at every level of the movement in the run-up to last December's Conference for a Democratic Future.

Underground propaganda units have mushroomed in townships and distribute large numbers of pamphlets detailing directions in ANC policy.

So efficient has the network become in recent months that speeches delivered by leaders nearly anywhere in the world are freely available inside the country within days.

The networks increasingly need to be efficient. ANC and South African Communist Party rhetoric is changing at a dizzying rate as the leadership circles the negotiating tables and struggles to come to terms with the implications of the fall of Eastern Europe.

This week a discussion paper was distributed under the name of SACP general secretary Joe Slovo.

While rejecting capitalism as a viable system in a post-apartheid South Africa, he nevertheless outlines a brand of socialism which emphasises social services and individual freedoms that have traditionally been seen as "liberal freedoms".

This kind of approach, while it will contribute to the dehorning of the SACP at the negotiating tables, is going to fall short of the expectations of socialism which have been nurtured in many of the trade unions.

A good deal of work is going to have to be done in order to undo the rhetoric which has brought the struggle to the point where it no longer meets the demands of the day. Whether the ANC can buy enough time to bring its support group along with it remains to be seen.

A flurry in Lusaka as the reality of talks looms near

The realisation in Lusaka that the ANC must adapt to new circumstances has brought a flurry of debate about tactics, reports ANTON HARBER

IN Lusaka, African National Congress members have a neat inversion of the slogan "Give FW a chance." It's "Give Nelson a chance."

It is said at least half in jest, but it reflects how seriously the organisation is taking the prospect of negotiations as mooted by jailed leader Nelson Mandela.

"All indications are that Comrade Nelson Mandela and other comrades will be released in the near future. The Pretoria regime will also address in one way or another the issues of ending the State of Emergency, unbanning the ANC and other organisations and allowing exiles to return," general secretary Alfred Nzo said at the opening of the key national executive committee (NEC) meeting last Thursday.

"We must expect that the Pretoria regime will also work to engage us in negotiations once it has tackled these is-



Water Sisulu and the 'Young Lions' ... We want to educate our people. We need time

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

of president Oliver Tambo, who suffered a stroke last year: "He is indeed recovering his health. The doctors are working to strengthen his right limbs which were paralysed as a result of the brain spasm which brought him down. He himself is very determined fully to recover his health."

However, diplomatic observers say that even if Tambo does return to Lusaka, he is not likely to be able to take up his full duties.

The ANC also has to work out how to deal with former general secretary Walter Sisulu and the other releasees who attended the NEC meeting for the first time. Their seniority is unchallenged, and the ANC is an organisation that respects such status.

They will have to plan to incorporate Mandela. He is in an anomalous position, holding no official title and no formal claim to membership of the NEC, but being the ANC's most powerful in-

dividual member.

It is because of these issues that ANC leaders called last week's NEC meeting "one of the most important ever". That they did not give any clarity on the answers when they emerged from the gathering on Sunday was probably an indication that they have no simple answers to offer.

ANC statements have a strikingly different tone from previous years. This

●To PAGE 9

Mandela's plan

What ANC leader told the govt

CMT 11/18/90 114

By MIKE ROBERTSON

THE first details of what Mr Nelson Mandela has told the government on plans for negotiations emerged yesterday.

According to a document published yesterday, Mr Mandela said the government needed to compromise on its opposition to majority rule, but that the ANC would have to take account of white fears of black domination if there was going to be reconciliation in South Africa.

The document was published by the newspaper South, which said it believed the document was the same as the one handed by Mr Mandela to President F W de Klerk last month. However, it has since been established that the document was a copy of the text handed to former president Mr P W Botha when he met Mr Mandela in July.



INSIDE:

- Mandela's stand on industry the same,
- ANC leader 'unlikely impartial mediator'

See PAGE 2

The document apparently predates this week's disclosure of a 10-point plan by Mr Mandela which the frontline states endorsed.

In the document Mr Mandela outlines the ANC's position on violence, its links with the SACP and its call for majority rule.

The Ministry of Justice, which handles press queries on Mr Mandela, said it was unable to vouch for the authenticity of the document.

In the document Mr Mandela said the key to peace in South Africa was negotiated settlement. A meeting between the ANC and government would be the first major step towards achieving lasting peace.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting: Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state,

secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of the whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks," Mr Mandela said. "The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions.

"Such reconciliation will be

achieved only if both parties are willing to compromise."

Mr Mandela went on to suggest that negotiations take place in two phases.

"The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations ... the second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so."

This plan for getting negotiations going is in almost every respect that which the government has embarked upon.

Having identified Mr Mandela's release, the lifting of the state of the emergency and the unbanning of the ANC as essential pre-conditions for negotiations, the government is now committed to removing all three obstacles during the coming session of Parliament.

Senior government sources said this week that it was likely

School closes door on US girls



Gatting meets demos

CMT 11/18/90

From MICHAEL OWEN-SMITH

KIMBERLEY. — Rebel cricket captain Mike Gatting came face to face with anti-tour demonstrators here yesterday, the first time he has done so.

Gatting and the team's manager, Mr David Graveney, met Mr Bill Jardine of the local anti-tour organisers in front of a chanting and singing crowd of about 500 protesters.

The demonstrators were turned away from the airport, but were allowed to group across the road from the hotel, where they waited patiently for more than four hours for the touring party to arrive.

Once Mr Jardine had given his message to Gatting, both verbally and by means of a letter, the protesters left.

The tour opens today at De Beers Country Club where the rebels meet a combined Bowl XI.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that British TV viewers saw scenes of Gatting with the demonstrators last night.

The TV showed the crowd and caught some of the exchanges between Gatting and the demonstrators.

Also interviewed on British TV was local hero Gerhardus Liebenberg, 17, who is the youngest player in the team against the rebels.

Liebenberg said: "I just want to play cricket. I love sport. As you can see on the wall (covered with awards he has received) I'm a sportsman, so that is all I live for."

© Match preview — Back Page

Explosives stolen on train

EXPLOSIVES were stolen from a train between Somerset West and Worcester this week.

Police said the explosives were sent by AECI to a company in Worcester. The theft was discovered at Worcester station.

Five cartons had been broken open and a total of 38 detonators stolen, police said. Forty-five kilograms of gelignite was also missing.

Police are investigating. — Sapa

CA 17-75 26/1/90/11A

From page 1

small groups representing the government and the ANC would meet each other before the end of the session.

Government sources also said yesterday that initial negotiations would aim at an agreed formula on how to achieve representation for all at the highest level.

Government members will participate in negotiations as representatives of the National Party rather than in their official capacity.

While their new constitutional proposals are not yet clearly thought out, and will be unveiled only at the negotiating table, it seems government members are looking at a formula which ensures a coalition government with strong federal elements.

The government's attitude towards the protection of groups is now more fluid than in the past, but its bottom line would seem to be that all significant sections of the country's population be guaranteed representation at cabinet level.

Sources, who said the government was in regular contact with opposition groups including the PAC, MDM and ANC, said it had been proposed that the fate of the Population Registration Act be decided by negotiations.

The sources also said that while the government originally wanted a wide variety of groups, including church leaders, represented at negotiations, it was now likely that only a small group of political organisations, with significant support bases, would be represented at initial talks.

Suggestions by British Social Democratic Party leader Dr David Owen of a 10-year transitional period in which black ministers serve under Mr De Klerk as president, with Mr Mandela as Constitutional President, while in line with present government thinking, would at this stage appear to be premature. Government sources said this kind of detail would have to be resolved by negotiation.

The Mandela polarisation



A document reported to be Mr Nelson Mandela's peace plan was published in yesterday's edition of South. Here is the full text.

"The deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the African National Congress and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

"At the outset I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC.

"I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC, my political loyalty is owed primarily, if not exclusively, to this organisation and particularly to our Lusaka headquarters where the official leadership is stationed and from where our affairs are directed.

"In the normal course of events I would put my view to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the best qualified members to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

"But in my current circumstances I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will, in due course, endorse my action.

"I must stress that no prisoner, irrespective of his status or influence, can conduct negotiations of this nature from prison.

"In our special situation, negotiation on political matters is literally a matter of life and death which requires to be handled by the organisation itself through its appointed representatives.

"The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a very limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

"I must further point out that the question of my release from prison is not an issue, at least at this stage of discussion.

in regard to human rights questions, but also in respect to their prescriptive stance when dealing with black leaders generally.

"The impression is shared not only by the vast majority of blacks but also by a substantial section of the whites. If I had allowed myself to be influenced by this impression, I would not even have thought of making this move.

"Nevertheless, I come here with an open mind and the impression I will carry away from this meeting will be determined almost exclusively by the manner in which you respond to my proposal.

"It is in this spirit that I have undertaken this mission, and I sincerely hope that nothing will be done or said here which will force me to revise my views on this aspect.

'Obstacles'

"I have already indicated that I propose to deal with some of the obstacles to a meeting between the government and the ANC. The government gives several reasons why it will not negotiate with us.

"However, for purposes of this discussion, I will confine myself to only three main demands set by the government as a precondition for negotiation, namely that the ANC must first renounce violence, break with the SACP and abandon its demand for majority rule.

"The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people.

"It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state.

"But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

"It is more than ironical that it should be the government which demands that we should renounce violence. The government knows only too well that there is not a single political

over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only, and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue.

"On the contrary, the government continues to govern with a heavy hand, and to incite whites against negotiation with the ANC. The publication of the booklet 'Talking with the ANC' which completely distorts the history and policy of the ANC, the extremely offensive language used by government spokesmen against freedom fighters, and the intimidation of whites who want to hear the views of the ANC at first hand, are all part of the government's strategy to wreck meaningful dialogue.

'Domination'

"It is perfectly clear on the facts that the refusal of the ANC to renounce violence is not the real problem facing the government. The truth is that the government is not yet ready for negotiation and for the sharing of political power with blacks.

"It is still committed to white domination and, for that reason, it will only tolerate those blacks who are willing to serve on its apartheid structures. Its policy is to remove from the political scene blacks who refuse to conform, who reject white supremacy and its apartheid structures, and who will insist on equal rights with whites.

"This is the reason for the government's refusal to talk to us, and for its demand that we disarm ourselves, while it continues to use violence against our people.

"This is the reason for its massive propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC, and present it to the public as a communist dominated organisation bent on murder and destruction. In this situation the reaction of the oppressed people is clearly predictable.

"White South Africa must accept the plain fact that the ANC will not suspend, to say nothing of abandoning, the armed struggle until the government shows its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power, and to negotiate directly and in good faith with the acknowledged black leaders.

the hope that this will help you to see the matter in its proper perspective, and to evaluate your strategy afresh.

"Co-operation between the ANC and SACP goes back to the early twenties and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society. At no time has the organisation ever adopted or cooperated with communism itself.

"Apart from the question of co-operation between the two organisations, members of the SACP have always been free to join the ANC. But once they do so, they become fully bound by the policy of the organisation set out in the Freedom Charter.

"As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle, their Marxist ideology is not directly relevant. The SACP has throughout the years accepted the leading role of the ANC, a position which is respected by the SACP members who join the ANC.

"There is, of course a firmly established tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt is resisted, from whatever quarter, which is intended to undermine co-operation between the two organisations.

"Even within the ranks of the ANC there have been, at one time or other, people — and some of them were highly respected and influential individuals — who were against this co-operation and who wanted SACP members expelled from the organisation. Those who persisted in these activities were themselves ultimately expelled, or they broke away in despair.

'Divisive'

"In either case their departure ended their political careers, or they formed other political organisations which, in due course, crumbled into splinter groups. No dedicated ANC member will ever heed the call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand as a purely divisive government strategy.

"It is in fact a call on us to commit suicide, which man of honour will ever desert a lifelong friend at the instance of a

said by the media, as well as by government leaders regarding my political beliefs. I propose to use this opportunity to put the record straight.

"My political beliefs have been explained in the course of several political trials in which I was charged, in the policy documents of the ANC, and in my autobiography 'The Struggle is My Life' which I wrote in prison in 1975.

"I stated in these trials and publications that I did not belong to any organisation apart from the ANC. In my address to the court which sentenced me to life imprisonment in June 1964, I said:

"Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading, and in part from my admiration of the structure and organisation of early African societies in this country.

"It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all accepted the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world, and to overcome their legacy of poverty.

"My views are still the same.

"Equally important is the fact that many ANC leaders who are labelled communists by the government, embrace nothing different from these beliefs.

"The term 'communist' when used by the government has a totally different meaning from the conventional one. Practically every freedom fighter who receives his military training or education in the socialist countries is to the government a communist.

"It would appear to be established government policy that, as long as the National Party is in power in this country,

able to whites as long as it is considered within the context of white politics.

"If black political aspirations are to be accommodated, then some other formula must be found, provided that that formula does not raise blacks to a position of equality with whites.

"Yet majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and white South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied.

"It is precisely because of its denial that the government has become the enemy of practically every black man. It is that denial that has sparked off the current civil strife.

"By insisting on compliance with the above-mentioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country but turmoil, no strong and independent ANC, but a weak and servile organisation playing a supportive role to white minority rule, not a non-aligned ANC but one which is a satellite of the West and which is ready to serve the interests of capitalism.

"No worthy leaders of a freedom movement will ever submit to conditions which are essentially terms of surrender dictated by a victorious commander to a beaten enemy, and which are really intended to weaken the organisation and to humiliate its leadership.

"The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement, and a meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country, better relations with our neighbour states, admission to the Organisation of African Unity, readmission to the United Nations and other world bodies, to international markets and improved international relations generally.

"An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a non-racial society is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting — firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state, secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

"The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions.

"Such reconciliation will only be achieved if both parties are willing to compromise.

"The organisation will determine precisely how negotiations should be conducted.

"It may well be that this should be done at least in two stages. The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the pre-conditions for a proper climate for negotiations. Up to now both parties have simply been broadcasting their conditions for negotiations without putting them directly to each other.

"The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so. Any other approach would entail the danger of an irresolvable stalemate.

"Lastly, I must point out that the move I have taken provides you with the opportunity to overcome the current deadlock, and to normalise the country's political situation.

"I hope you will seize it without delay. I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working closely together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten." — Sapa.

the kral gallery

the kral gallery

OUR RUG

asking to be freed.

"But I do hope that the government will, as soon as possible, give me the opportunity from my present quarters to sound the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move.

"Only if this initiative is formally endorsed by the ANC will it have any significance.

"I will touch presently on some of the problems which seem to constitute an obstacle to a meeting between the ANC and the government. But I must emphasise right at this stage that this step is not a response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to declare whether or not they are nationalists and to renounce the South African Communist Party before there can be negotiations. No self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to wage the freedom struggle against that same government and on who his allies in the freedom struggle should be.

"To obey such instructions would be a violation of the long-standing and fruitful solidarity which distinguishes our liberation movement, and a betrayal of those who have worked so closely and suffered so much with us for almost 70 years.

'Civil strife'

"Far from responding to that call, my intervention is influenced by purely domestic issues, by the civil strife and ruin into which the country is now sliding. I am disturbed, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps — blacks on one side (the term "blacks" is used in a broad sense to indicate all those who are not whites) and whites on the other, slaughtering one another, by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives, a situation which, in turn, foreshadows more violent clashes in the days ahead.

"This is the crisis that has forced me to act.

"I must add that the purpose of this discussion is not only to urge the government to talk to the ANC, but it is also to acquaint you with the views of young blacks, especially those of the young Mass Democratic

to express and freely, how the Africans will stand up and defend themselves.

"It is significant to note that throughout the past four decades, and more especially

of organisation in this country, inside and outside parliament, which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peaceful change.

"Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

"Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen.

"It stripped us of all basic human rights, outlawed our organisations and barred all channels of peaceful resistance.

"It met our just demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country, it continues to refuse to talk to us. There can only be one answer to this challenge: Violent forms of struggle.

'Birthright'

"Down the years oppressed people have fought for their birthright by peaceful means, where that was possible and through force where peaceful channels were closed.

"The history of this country also confirms this vital lesson. Africans as well as Afrikaners were, at one time or other, compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom against British imperialism. The fact that both were finally defeated by superior arms, and by the vast resources of that empire, does not negate this lesson.

"But from what has happened in South Africa during the last 40 years, we must conclude that now that the roles are reversed, and the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom fighter, but is in power, the entire lesson of history must be brushed aside.

"Not even a disciplined non-violent protest will now be tolerated. To the government a black man has neither a just cause to espouse nor freedom rights to defend.

"The whites must have the monopoly of political power, and of committing violence against innocent and defenceless people.

"That situation was totally unacceptable to us and the formation of Umkonto we Sizwe was introduced to end that monopoly, and to forcibly bring home to the government that the oppressed people of this country were prepared to stand up and defend themselves.

"It is significant to note that throughout the past four decades, and more especially

"The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a precondition to but the result of negotiation.

"Moreover, by ignoring credible black leaders, and imposing a succession of still-born negotiation structures, the government is not only squandering the country's precious resources, but it is in fact discrediting the negotiation process itself, and prolonging the civil strife.

"The position of the ANC on the question of violence is, therefore, very clear. A government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms, has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms.

'Prescribe'

"I have already pointed out that no self-respecting freedom fighter will allow the government to prescribe who his allies in the freedom struggle should be, and that to obey such instructions would be a betrayal of those who have suffered repression with us for so long.

"We equally reject the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP and we regard the accusation as part of the smearing campaign the government is waging against us.

"The accusation has, in effect, also been rebutted by two totally independent sources. In January 1987 the American State Department published a report on the activities of the SACP in this country which contrasts very sharply with the subjective picture the government has tried to paint against us over the years.

"The essence of that report is that, although the influence of the SACP on the ANC is strong, it is unlikely that the party will ever dominate the ANC.

"The same point is made somewhat differently by Mr Ismail Omar, member of the President's Council, in his book 'Reform in Crisis' published in 1988, in which he gives concrete examples of important issues of the day over which the ANC and the SACP have differed.

"He also points out that the ANC enjoys greater popular support than the SACP. He adds that, despite the many years of combined struggle, the two remain distinct organisations with ideological and policy differences which preclude a merger of identity.

'Focal point'

"These observations go some way towards disproving the accusation. But since the allegation has become the focal point of government propaganda against the ANC, I propose to use this opportunity to give you the correct information, in

tain a measure of credibility among his people?

"Which opponent will ever trust such a treacherous freedom fighter? Yet this is what the government is, in effect, asking us to do: To desert our faithful allies. We will not fall into that trap.

"The government also accuses us of being agents of the Soviet Union. The truth is that the ANC is non-aligned, and we welcome support from the East and the West, from the socialist and capitalist countries.

"The only difference, as we have explained on countless occasions before, is that the socialist countries supply us with weapons, which the West refuses to give us. We have no intention whatsoever of changing our stand on this question.

"The governments' exaggerated hostility to the SACP, and its refusal to have any dealings with that party have a hollow ring.

"Such an attitude is not only out of step with the growing co-operation between the capitalist and socialist countries in different parts of the world, but it is also inconsistent with the policy of the government itself, when dealing with our neighbouring states.

"Not only has South Africa concluded treaties with the Marxist states of Angola and Mozambique — quite rightly in our opinion — but she also wants to strengthen ties with Marxist Zimbabwe.

"The government will certainly find it difficult, if not altogether impossible, to reconcile its readiness to work with foreign Marxists for the peaceful resolution of mutual problems, with its uncompromising refusal to talk to South African Marxists.

"The reason for this inconsistency is obvious. As I have already said, the government is still too deeply committed to the principle of white domination and, despite lip-service to reform, it is deadly opposed to the sharing of political power with blacks, and the SACP is merely being used as a smokescreen to retain the monopoly of political power.

'Exclusion'

"The smearing campaign against the ANC also helps the government to evade the real issue at stake, namely, the exclusion from the political power of the black majority by a white minority, which is the source of all our troubles.

"Concerning my own personal position, I have already informed you that I will not respond to the government's demand that ANC members should state whether they are members of the SACP or not.

"But because much has been

black freedom struggle, and no black freedom fighter. Any black political organisation which, like us, fights for the liberation of its people through armed struggle, must invariably be dominated by the SACP.

"This attitude is not the only result of government propaganda. It is a logical consequence of white supremacy. After more than 300 years of racial indoctrination, the country's whites have developed such deep-seated contempt for blacks as to believe that we cannot think for ourselves, that we are incapable of fighting for political rights without incitement by some white agitation.

"In accusing the ANC of domination by the SACP, and in calling on ANC members to renounce the party, the government is deliberately exploiting that contempt.

"The government is equally vehement in condemning the principle of majority rule. The principle is rejected despite the fact that it is a pillar of democratic rule in many countries of the world. It is a principle which is fully accepted in the white politics of this country.

"Only now that the stark reality has dawned that apartheid has failed, and that blacks will one day have an effective voice in government, are we told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is accepted.

"The stark reality has dawned that apartheid has failed, and that blacks will one day have an effective voice in government, are we told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is accepted.

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the Kraal gallery

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the Kraal gallery

By TOS WENTZEL
Presidential Correspondent
MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela has been given a mandate by the African National Congress to conduct talks with the government to narrow the gap between the two parties as a first step towards formal talks.

This has been confirmed by sources close to Mr Mandela.

The revelation comes as South African political leaders react to the first comprehensive policy statement by Mr Mandela since his speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial.

A close friend of Mr Mandela confirmed that the document, first published in South newspaper, is one which Mr Mandela had given to former president Mr P W Botha. He said a similar one was given to President De Klerk.

"Tell the truth"

"The onus is on the government to tell South Africa the truth and publish the document. It is crazy for them to say that they know nothing about it. This is not an honest response," he said.

"The document was sent to Lusaka and the ANC has supported Mr Mandela and given him a mandate to conduct discussions with the government."

Visitors to Victor Verster Prison had been shown the document, he said.

The focus will sharpen on Victor Verster again when Mrs Winnie Mandela arrives in Cape Town tomorrow to see her husband.

She said: "It is a follow-up meeting to the statement we made earlier this month (when she said she was optimistic about his release)."

Asked about the Mandela document, she said she had known about it all along.

"We'll probably discuss it as well."

President De Klerk today referred all inquiries to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee. A spokesman at Tuynhuys said there would be no comment from the President.

10-point plan

In a statement Mr Coetsee dodged the issue of whether a document presented to Mr Botha and Mr De Klerk by Mr Mandela actually existed.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said it was unable to vouch for the authenticity of the document. He said there was no proof of the existence of a document which showed a similarity to the one which had been published.

According to sources close to Mr Mandela the document did exist and formed the basis for a 10-point plan he recently sent to exiled ANC leaders in Lusaka.



Nelson Mandela . . . a photograph taken more than 25 years ago.

There is also said to have been a response from the government through Mr Coetsee and this response was largely positive.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, also referred inquiries to Mr Coetsee.

Referring to moves for negotiations, Dr Viljoen said many strategies were being worked on.

The government had always stated that it wanted to make negotiations as inclusive as possible and that it wanted as many representative leaders as possible included.

A member of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) delegation which held talks with Mr Mandela last week said he found Mr Coetsee's response "surprising".

Mr Mandela had given copies of the document to Mr Botha when they met last July and to President De Klerk at their talks in December, he said.

"Because of the confidentiality of the situation, I don't
(Turn to page 3, col 7)

ARCUS 26/1/90 114

ANC tells Mandela: Talk to Government

Mandela release: media scramble for pictures

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

With the preparations for Mr Nelson Mandela's release in full swing, local and international publications are scrambling for pictures of the African National Congress leader.

Exorbitant prices have been paid to the Jim Bailie archives for pictures of Mr Mandela taken by photographers of *Drum*, the magazine owned by Jim Bailie until 1983.

A spokesman for the archives confirmed that up to R12 800 was being asked for the one-time use of photographs of Mr Mandela, one of the world's most famous political prisoners.

Mr Barry Renfrew, bureau chief of Associated Press, said the international news agency had bought 10 photographs at "several thousands of dollars each". The pictures would be distributed to subscribers "as part of the normal service, which means no charge", but "casual sales" to non-subscribers could run into "a few hundred dollars each", he said.

One of the scramblers for pictures is the pro-Government newspaper *Beeld*, which, according to the archives spokesman, recently paid R1 200 for four pictures.

In the heyday of apartheid, Afrikaans newspaper groups seldom photographed or gave coverage to blacks. Mr Mandela's po-

litical career thus went virtually unrecorded in the Afrikaans press.

● The Jim Bailie archives will soon publish a compilation of pictures and news articles from the period 1951 to 1963, the year of the Rivonia trial when several ANC leaders received life sentences for plotting a violent overthrow of the Government.

The book, "Nelson Mandela and the rise of the ANC", would include an article by Mr Mandela on the launch of the 1952 defiance campaign against apartheid, as well as pictures taken by *Drum* photographers Peter Magubane, Jurgen Schadelberg, Alf Kumalo and Bob Gosani.

● See Page 8.

The Government has responded favourably to a document from jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, aimed at persuading it to engage the ANC in negotiations for a non-racial South Africa.

This is the claim today of United Democratic Front sources, who confirmed the existence of the document, in spite of Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee claiming he had no record of any document resembling the one released to the media yesterday by undisclosed sources. Mr Coetsee said he was unable to vouch for its authenticity.

The UDF sources said Mr Coetsee's response had been especially favourable. The document was apparently written to the Government in June last year, ahead of Mr Mandela's talks with then State President Mr P W Botha.

Mr Mandela has also caused a stir in business circles through the release of a separate document in which he has made it clear he still supports nationalisation of major industries in South Africa (See Page 8).

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, when asked to comment on reports that the Government would be meeting in small groups with the ANC before the end of the coming session of Parliament, said many possibilities were being explored.

"The goal of the Government is to make negotiations as inclusive as possible ..."

The secretary-general in the State President's office, Dr Janie Roux, refused to comment on the existence of the document, and a spokesman for the State President referred all inquiries to the Justice Ministry.

In the claimed statement, Mr Mandela said:

"Most Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the Government working closely together for a new era in our country in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction, will be forgotten."

The statement is understood to have been sent to the Government last year, and might have provided the framework for the proposals which Mr Mandela sent to the ANC for consideration last week.

In his statement Mr Mandela deals with the reasons advanced by the Government for not meeting the ANC.

Renunciation of violence

He identifies three main obstacles to negotiations: the Government's demand that the ANC renounce violence; that it repudiates the South African Communist Party; and that it settles for less than majority rule.

His statement deals with the obstacles under three headings. The Star repeats the headings and summarises the comments.

"The (ANC) has no vested interest in violence ... it has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values,

By Patrick Laurence
and Peter Fabricius

and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state. But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence ...

"The renunciation of violence by either the Government or the ANC should not be a precondition to, but a result, of negotiation ... a government which used violence against blacks many years before we took up arms has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms."

SA Communist Party

"Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early 1920s and has always been, and still is, limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society ...

"Which man of honour will desert a lifelong friend at the instance of a common opponent, and still retain a measure of credibility among his people? ... Yet the Government is asking us ... to desert our allies."

Majority rule

"(We are) told by whites here, and by their Western friends, that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. Majority rule is acceptable to whites as long as it is considered within the context of white politics ...

"Yet majority rule and internal peace are like two sides of a single coin ... there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied."

● See Page 6 and Page 8.

Govt responds to Mandela peace message

Negotiations 'as inclusive as possible'

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Star 26/11/90

Why staying at home can hurt more than detention

ALMOST all ex-detainees who are released under restriction orders reach a point at which they realise an awful truth: they felt "safer" and less vulnerable while they were in detention.

What a reflection of our society that being incarcerated (without even having been tried) could be regarded as preferable to being "released".

Restrictions cause considerably more severe, potentially longer-term psychological damage to restrictees than that created by the experience of indefinite detention.

Psychotherapists working with this group are increasingly aware of the deep psychic changes in their patients. Although individuals are being returned to their families and communities, they are prevented from returning to anything remotely resembling "normal life".

The inversion of accepted concepts such as freedom, independence and safety are confusing and destabilising. The restrictee is supposedly free, and has now been returned to the "sanctuary" of home.

This concept of home incorporates images of privacy and security; a place where one can relax and let down one's defences in a protective environment.

But for restrictees home is a prison in which they have to monitor their own activities and become their own probation officers. They are unable to protect their privacy or that of their families. Their homes are open to "routine checks" to ensure that they are obeying their restriction orders. These visits often take place in the early hours of the morning.

Their independence and the decisions they can make are severely limited. Their rights of free movement, association, employment, education and use of leisure time are minimal. They have to remain in a certain magisterial district and (depending on specific restrictions) may not be permitted to return to their school or university studies.

They may not be in the presence of more than a prescribed number of people at any one time, and are often prevented from contacting many organisations, even if they might have been employed by one of them prior to restriction.

In the search for another form of work to support themselves and their families, they meet further frustrations. Having to register at the local police station twice daily curtails the time available for travelling to work and for working long enough to satisfy an employer.

A number of ex-detainees also experience traumatic memories triggered by this contact with police. Such symptoms of post-traumatic stress are immensely disturbing.

The hunger strikes of last year lead to the release of hundreds of detainees and seemed at the time a major victory. But the ex-detainees are now realising that the restriction orders which were placed on many of them are in many ways more alienating than being locked up in the cells, argues a Johannesburg clinical psychologist*

Restrictees are often confined to their homes after 6pm, which denies them relaxing time with friends, further depriving them of the means to reduce anxiety and stress.

The major structures through which one gains and maintains a sense of identity and self-esteem are removed from the world of the restrictees. They cannot

of self-destructive thinking. Frequently, the depression is so pervasive that suicide seems an acceptable alternative.

The course of this inner disintegration is promoted by the real danger of physical harm extending even to assassination. Few of us have to face the possibility of our own death, having defence mechanisms to protect us from this exposure.

If we could not believe that we were sufficiently capable of looking after ourselves, or that there was some omnipotent being with whom to merge for protection, or that others were sufficiently benign to ensure our safety from immediate attack, few of us would risk leaving our beds each morning.

But restrictees are fully aware of their inability to protect themselves from overt and hidden dangers. Houses have been petrol-bombed and people have been assassinated in broad daylight.

Not every restrictee experiences disintegration of the personality, however. Nor does each one become irreparably damaged. The extent of the destruction will be apparent only in a post-restriction society.

There are, too, individuals who have been strengthened by their experience of detention and the support gained from fellow detainees. Some ex-detainees

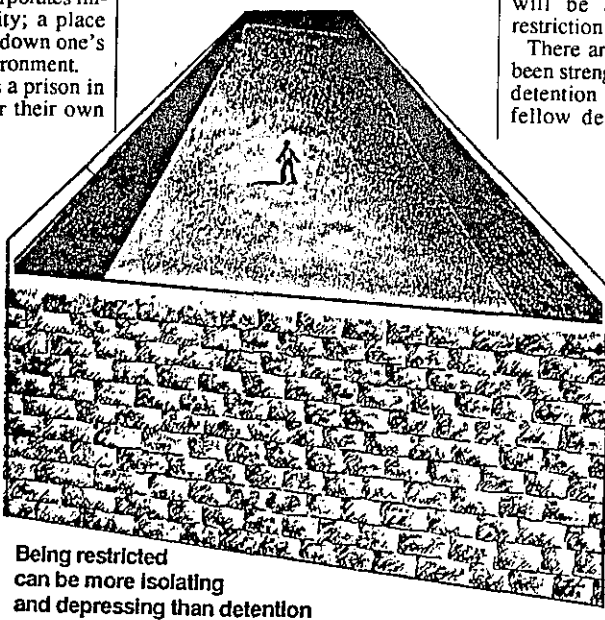
have found inner resources they didn't know they possessed and have been able to use the traumatic experience to enrich their lives in creative ways. It remains to be seen how this will pertain to some of the present restrictees.

Differences in response to restrictions are influenced by the individual and the environment, both past and present. These factors include the nature and severity of the restriction order, the personality and psychological perspective of the individual, as well as the number and quality of support systems available to the restrictee and the possibility of receiving treatment.

Prior experience of detention and any resultant damage will impact on the inner resources with which the individual confronts the new stress of restriction.

It is unethical and unprofessional for psychotherapists to stand by and witness such a disintegration of a fellow human-being and remain silent. Psychotherapists must never allow themselves to be party to any infliction of mental torture, which not only damages the victim but brutalises the perpetrators and filters through to the entire society, where individual citizens become increasingly insensitive to the pain and suffering of others.

● For professional reasons, the author of this article may not be named.



Being restricted can be more isolating and depressing than detention

work, study or play and are denied interactions that would nurture them and reflect their worth. They are stripped of independence and are infantilised, forced to live by rules imposed by authority-figures who do not have their best interests at heart.

Restrictees are left with few ways to maintain confidence in themselves as productive people. In addition, the meaning with which they have endowed their lives — usually some form of community activity or political involvement — is crushed. Feelings of impotence, isolation and depression occur when an individual is deprived of psychological nourishment in this way.

The limitlessness of the time-span of these restrictions intensifies these painful emotions. The result is often a spiral

ANC in ferment over their future

●From Page 5

year's version of the policy statement released on the ANC's birthday on June 8 every year was more conciliatory and much more open in its response to government initiatives. Talk of negotiation is no longer dismissed as a ruse of the racist Pretoria regime trying to hoodwink the international community; Pretoria's promises of reform are treated as challenges that must be faced.

Nzo's opening speech at the NEC meeting last week was an unusual display of frank self-criticism. "We must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country in fact to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way," he said.

The rethinking that is going on is an attempt to maintain the diplomatic and political initiative, and not allow the government to steal it. The ANC believes the Harare Declaration, its blueprint for a negotiating process that has been endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity, the frontline states and the Non-Aligned Movement, put it ahead in the negotiations stakes.

There are differences between the military and the diplomatic wings, but no sign of disagreement on fundamental principles. Speak to military leaders Chris Hani, Joe Modise and Ronnie Kasrils and then speak to the "diplomats", such as Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan, and they all agree that the military is only one aspect of their struggle, and certainly not the most important one; that there have been military setbacks; that the armed struggle must continue until the government shows it is serious about political change; that the ANC must pursue the path of negotiations.

"We are not bloodthirsty. We do not fight because we like to. If the government can convince us it is serious about change and we can negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities, we would be very happy," military commander Joe Modise said.

(11A) (11A)
26/11 - 1/2/90

The second and last extract from a paper read by Cosatu economic adviser Alec Erwin to the Paris conference last month which was attended by ANC leaders and South African businessmen and trade unionists.

OUR present economy can be characterised as a high cost/low wage manufacturing economy. The present economic policies of both capital and the state will perpetuate such a growth path or, more likely and realistically, a non-growth path.

The challenge Cosatu is addressing is to turn this direction around and restructure the existing economy to a low cost/high wage growth path. Such a link hinges on an increase in productivity.

However, in achieving an increase in productivity, the objectives would be to lower relative prices of manufactured goods to expand production of basic social infrastructure and consumer goods to meet mass needs. This must raise incomes through rising wages and increased wage employment.

Need for planning

Such an economic turnaround or restructuring requires a coherent strategic plan and conception in key areas. The key areas are:

- Investment policy which would link foreign investment to technology and markets, which will increase employment and make us more and more competitive on international markets.
- A science and technology programme.

Cosatu calls for low cost/ high wage growth path

CAT Traits 28/1/90

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- A manpower programme which integrates our skill needs and which is related to education.
- Health and welfare.
- Environment.
- Recreation and tourism.

The stress here is the need for such planning to be coherent and integrated and not piecemeal. This planning process will have to learn from planning experiences in both socialist and capitalist mixed economies.

Centrally planned economic policies are not appropriate to either the political situation or the economic resource base of the economy. We are researching and discussing parametric planning that will effect a restructuring of the economy.

This raises the central question of nationalisation. The socialist and capitalist experiences of nationalisation require us to go into a very much more detailed and disaggregated approach to this problem.

In directing production, the judicial control of assets by the state is not the complete answer to this problem. Neither is the unfettered ownership of free-market capitalism nor the bureaucratic control arising from the state's judicial ownership.

New policies

There will have to be social control over production effected through a range of ownership forms and where the market plays critically important roles. We are going to have to forge new policies.

The conclusion I wish to make is of central importance. The processes of planning that will restructure and develop our economic future must be effected by democratic structures which exist not only at a national level but at regional and local levels, but, more important, both within the institutions of the wider civil society and within all processes of production.

Mandela: Stand on industry the same

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — It was inconceivable that the ANC would change its policy on the nationalisation of industry, jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said in a statement issued through the UDF yesterday.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said Mr Mandela asked for the statement to be issued to rebut innuendo in the media that he had revised his position on the policy, formulated nearly 35 years ago and contained in the Freedom Charter.

Businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who was unavailable for comment last night, said after a meeting with Mr Mandela two weeks ago that Mr Mandela had changed his views on nationalisation.

Mr Lekota said the statement was a restatement of policy and did not represent a hardening of the ANC's or Mr Mandela's position.

But, he said, businessmen need not be alarmed by this development. "The question is not simply to say we will nationalise. The crucial question is how this process will be carried out.

"We want to correct social ills without, as far as possible, alienating sections of the population. The movement will try win them over," he said. He did not elaborate on how this would be done.

MDM ^{gmt} to act ^{11/15} after ^{26/1/90} mayor's ^{11A} criticism ^{11A}

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Mass Democratic Movement will apply for civic but not magisterial permission to hold protest marches following an appeal by the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver.

Mr Oliver criticised the organisers of Tuesday's march for "fuelling the fires of conflict" by not applying for magisterial permission.

Yesterday police arrested NECC chairman Mr Moosa Kaprey and charged him under the Internal Security Act for organising and attending an illegal gathering. The docket is to be sent to the attorney-general for a decision. The NECC was the organiser of Tuesday's march.

The MDM said open-air protests were "a constitutional right and not a presidential privilege — Mr (F W) De Klerk is trying to shift the goalposts by insisting on (magisterial) permission". Several events are planned for next week.

The NECC promised to do all it could to prevent a repeat of Tuesday's rampage and said it was considering applying for magisterial permission in future.

Spokesman Mr Graham Bloch rejected a contention by Major-General Herman Stadler, head of the police public relations division, that Tuesday's crowd was given "ample warning and time to disperse".

Mr Bloch said the crowd was prevented from dispersing by "barbed wire barriers". "We also dispute that there was any adequate warning," he said.

● Tuynhuys march could go ahead — Page 7

First details of how the ANC leader slowly broke through to Pretoria

The inside

story of

Mandela's peace plans

By ANTON HARBBER

26/1 - 1/2/90

Wanda

1988.

Botha had said at the time that if Mandela continued to "co-operate", he would not be returned to prison. Mandela was later sent to a special warder's house in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Mandela felt he had to respond to Botha's remarks and he drew up a document setting out the position of the ANC on key issues: armed struggle, the South African Communist Party and a negotiated political settlement.

The key point of Mandela's paper was contained in the last few paragraphs, in which he said it was clear the government and the ANC were the main contenders in the fight over South Africa's future and it was imperative that they meet urgently.

Botha's reply took issue with the bulk of Mandela's argument. It accused him of using the language typical of all revolutionaries and said it was possible to refute some of the claims he made about the ANC and its history. It gave some examples.

However, the document passed over these issues and concentrated on Mandela's reference to how negotiations could be started, saying Botha was particularly interested in this and asking Mandela to expand on it.

Meanwhile, Mandela used "his own means" to get a copy of his document to Lusaka, to be considered by the leadership of the ANC. The ANC apparently felt Mandela's document was well written and a good representation of their

●To PAGE 2

DETAILED of the letters and meetings between Nelson Mandela and the government have emerged for the first time, revealing how Mandela worked with the African National Congress in exile and slowly broke the ice with the government

Mandela wrote the first letter early last year on his own initiative. The then President PW Botha latched on to the last few paragraphs in Mandela's document, in which he referred to the need for "urgent negotiations" and asked Mandela to expand on how this could come about.

The Harare Declaration — the ANC's outline of how negotiations should begin — was based on the first letter Mandela sent to Botha.

Mandela wrote the long hand-written letter shortly after he fell ill in late

A year of letters and talks, with secret notes smuggled to the ANC in Lusaka

Government VS ANC: Big thaw

W/E
ARGUS
26/1/90
11A
26/1/90

THE first clear signs are emerging that the shackles — which for decades have prevented the government and the ANC from seeking a negotiated political settlement — are being loosened.

If the process continues, the stage could be set sooner than expected for constitutional negotiations involving all the major political groupings across the country's political spectrum.

Although various obstacles in the way of negotiations are still to be removed, some analysts predict rapid movement once ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is released from prison — an event expected soon.

As the symbolic father of the ANC's struggle, he is seen as a potential key figure who could bring the major players together in South Africa's unfolding political drama.

Once he is a free man, he should be in a position to speak in public for the first time in more than a quarter of a century. According to those who know him, he has the ability and stature to exert a profound influence and could be a powerful force for peace and reconciliation.

Indications of moves to loosen the shackles binding the major players became noticeable in recent weeks.

By
FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political
Correspondent

ON the government's side, a significant step has been an apparent concession on the issue of group rights which has bedevilled President De Klerk's chances of persuading the ANC and other opponents that he is sincere about genuine democratic constitutional reform.

The government's hitherto rigid stand on this issue, as laid down in the National Party's election manifesto last year, drew widespread criticism on the grounds that it sought to continue entrenching the apartheid structure.

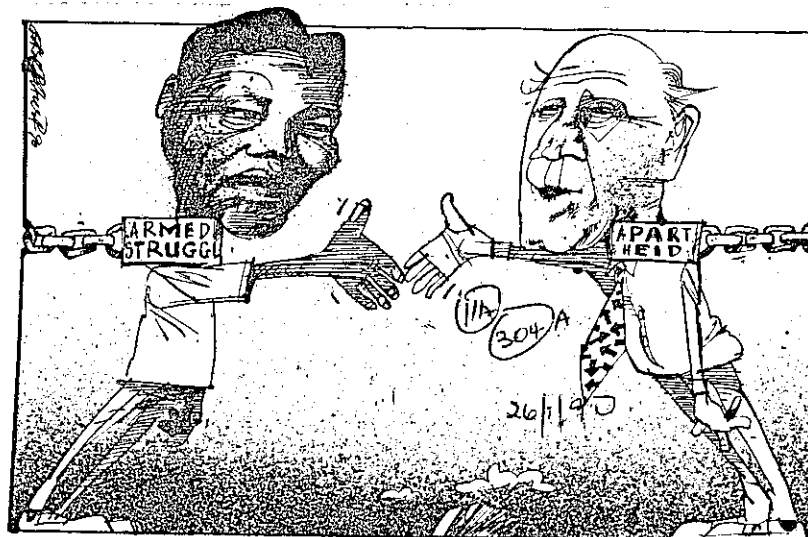
The NP had put it to the white electorate in these terms:

"Decisions based on numbers cannot ensure stability in a heterogeneous society. The different groups must participate as groups in the processes of government ... in practice, each group will have its own voters' role to determine its leaders. The leaders must then decide jointly about general affairs by means of consensus."

And then: "The NP believes that the group rights of whites, like those of every other group in South Africa, must be protected on the community level. This includes the group's right to its own community life, its own residential areas, its own schools and its own old-age homes. Provision will continue to be made for the rights of individuals who want to associate freely with people of other groups through the provision of free residential areas ..."

NOW the government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated the government is no longer as rigid as it used to be on its group rights concept — in fact, it is prepared to put it on the table for negotiation.

In a recent television interview Dr Viljoen said the government did not put the protection of group rights as a pre-condition for negotia-



THE STAGE COULD BE SET FOR NEGOTIATION

tion. He added that there was only one pre-condition: all participants must commit themselves to a peaceful negotiation process.

The government was prepared to negotiate about the definition of groups on the basis of freedom of association and of disassociation.

The NP has also declared itself prepared to negotiate about "acceptable alternatives" for the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

As this breeze of change blows through Pretoria's corridors of power, signals are also coming from the ANC that it is prepared to ditch some of its own rigid ideas of the past.

In a dramatic departure from previous inflexible preconditions, the ANC's most senior figures said in recent interviews with British television they recognised President De Klerk's "gestures of material significance" and were prepared to make significant compromises with Pretoria.

A SENIOR ANC spokesman was quoted as saying negotiations could begin even while discriminatory legislation stayed on the statute book.

He put it like this: "We couldn't possibly say negotiations have succeeded to end the apartheid system while you still have the Group Areas Act ... but that would come through the process of dismantling the system through negotiations and, of course, the application of any constitutional agreements arrived at at the negotiations."

And at this week's Lusaka meeting of ANC leaders, it was explained that the ANC deliberately did not call for the dismantling of apartheid as a pre-condition demand, because NP policy is based on group rights.

They believe their five-point "checklist" of pre-conditions could almost without exception be implemented by presidential decree.

This may well indicate that there is a sense of urgency in ANC circles to get started with serious negotiations.

However, the biggest nettle still to be grasped is the issue of continuing violence. Will the ANC be prepared to stop all violence on its side when negotiations begin?

This is one point on which Pretoria has been adamant, and consistently so. Dr Viljoen makes this clear once more when he says there is only one pre-condition for the government: all participants must commit themselves to a peaceful negotiation process.

ALTHOUGH the latest conciliatory sounds from the ANC put less emphasis on the "armed struggle" and more on negotiation, its stand on the issue of violence still seems to fall far short of Pretoria's requirements.

There was an ominous note, for example, in the ANC's January 8 policy declaration, issued by its national executive committee in Lusaka. While putting emphasis on negotiation prospects, the statement also made it clear the ANC would not lay down arms "until an agreement to end apartheid has been arrived at".

In effect this means the ANC's "armed struggle" will continue even while negotiations are in progress, for, as the ANC has indicated, it is prepared to negotiate even while apartheid measures are still on the statute book.

It is this problem which a free Nelson Mandela could help to remove, but it may not be easy. It is known that inside the ANC there are "hawks" who want to fight on and "doves" who want peace and at the same time there is uncertainty over the organisation's future leadership.

The big question is: who is going to call the tune?

Soviets are 'not about to dump ANC'

PRETORIA — Moscow regards its alliance with the ANC as its strongest card on SA and will not "dump" the organisation, SA Institute of International Affairs (Saiia) director-general John Barratt said yesterday.

Briefing a meeting of the institute in Pretoria on a recent visit to Russia and Hungary, Barratt said Moscow firmly believed the ANC had majority support in SA and was gaining widening international support. (11A)

He said Eastern European countries would not want to be caught "off sides" by establishing ties with SA.

Their governments were temporary, and faced elections during the next few months. (11A)

The degree and pace of change in SA's relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe would continue to be determined primarily by the degree and pace of change towards democracy within SA, Barratt said.

"Normalisation of relations — diplomatic and political — will not be possible while apartheid — the hard remnant of the racially-based political and economic system — remains unchanged," he said.

Barratt said the ANC was not a puppet of the Soviet Union's Communist Party Central Committee.

"If anything, it has often been the ANC which calls the tune in the relationship, for example on sanctions and even on the armed struggle."

The Soviets now openly advocated a peaceful transition in SA rather than violent revolution.

"So, while Soviet spokesmen have insisted that the ANC is not being asked to give up the armed struggle while conditions for negotiations are not met by the SA government, they have also clearly said that the ANC should do everything feasible from its side to make negotiations possible."

The Soviet Union believed SA's whites had an important role to play and should be involved in the political transition, and kept involved in the future, Barratt said.

"In this context more contact and exchange at the non-official level with whites is being encouraged. However, this is still being done very cautiously, so as not to offend the ANC and other African states."

There was concern, for instance, that the academic boycott should not be overtly broken, he said. — Sapa.

Mandela plan given to Govt in 1989 Coetzee

Step
27/1/90

11A

THE Mandela peace plan published on Thursday by the community newspaper *South* is an accurate version of a document the jailed ANC leader handed to a team of Government officials during the first half of 1989, Mr Mandela said in a statement released by the SA Prisons Service yesterday.

"However, this document was definitely not handed by me either to the retired State President Mr P W Botha or State President F W de Klerk or Minister of Justice Mr H J Coetzee," said Mr Mandela.

"As it is customary I kept the leadership of the ANC informed of the document."

● See Page 6

Mr Coetzee said he had now confirmed that a document corresponding to that published in *South* had been handed to a team of officials during the first half of 1989, as a "non-paper".

The team had confirmed to Mr Coetzee that Mr Mandela had been informed the document would be treated as such, and the matter had been left at that.

Mr Coetzee said that as far as matters relating to Mr Mandela and the Government were concerned, there was only one document presently in the Government system, titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding", which had been made available to the Minister on December 12 1989.

"The document is confidential and enjoys the status of a useful background document," Mr Coetzee said.

The African National Congress has backed the statement by Mr Mandela that was published this

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"The document is confidential and enjoys the status of a useful background document," Mr Coetzee said.

The African National Congress has backed the statement by Mr Mandela that was published this week, and asked him to continue talks with the Government.

An activist source, a close friend of Mandela's who asked not to be named, said yesterday that the policy statement was authentic.

Cautious

The document, written six months ago, was the first detailed statement of Mr Mandela's views to appear since he was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting to overthrow the SA Government.

Political analysts and other activists in contact with Mr Mandela said publication of the document would not affect the contacts he has made with the Government.

In London yesterday, *The Guardian* newspaper said that the ANC had decisively won the first round of its contest with Pretoria for the establishment of majority rule in South Africa.

In a lengthy editorial on Mr Mandela's proposals, the newspaper warned that it would not be easy to find a solution

● TO PAGE 2.

Mandela

FROM PAGE 1

to the central question of majority rule.

"The full text of (Mr Mandela's) statement, allows us to see just how decisively the ANC has won the first round.

"Mr Mandela's argument in July 1989 was on the face of it defensive — almost a plea to the SA Government to relax its preconditions and allow negotiations to begin. But it was a shrewdly judged move which appealed to Mr Botha's desire for a last moment of glory as he sank from power.

"Little more than half a year later, Mr Botha's successor is trapped in the cycle of rising expectations which he set in motion. Mr Mandela must be released, and negotiations must begin, or else President de Klerk's administration will quickly lose the shine of its glossy new look."

The Guardian said although many, including Mr Mandela's friends, were initially confused by his approach, it had now become clear that he had turned the tables and taken the initiative.

Mr Kennedy Maxwell, president of the Chamber of Mines, said in a statement yesterday that Mr Mandela's reported statement that any change to the ANC's nationalisation policy was "inconceivable" was a contradiction of the process required for black economic empowerment.

It was, he said, a restatement of the ANC's

long-standing approach to nationalisation as contained in the Freedom Charter, which appeared to contradict some of the "reassuring noises" made by ANC leaders in recently.

"These have led to expectations that the ANC has begun to adopt a more realistic approach. This would be in keeping with developments elsewhere in the world where nationalisation is being abandoned at every turn because of its destructive effect on the economies of so many countries."

Conservative Party leader Mr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that Mr Mandela had no claim to the government of South Africa.

He said the Government had to stop acting as Mr Mandela's "liaison officer". Negotiation with the long-term prisoner also had to stop.

It was unbelievable that the Government had made a myth of a man who had been found guilty of a crime similar to high treason.

Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz, who saw Mr Mandela last month, said yesterday that he was sure that Mr Mandela still stood by the ANC policy of nationalising certain industries. But he added that he believed that this would change once negotiations began.

It was natural, he said, for any party representing the deprived to advocate socialism — as the National Party had in 1948. — Political Correspondent, Foreign News Service, Sapa, Reuter.

The fall and the rise of icon Winnie

11A
 Skw
 2/7/1990

WINNIE Mandela, spurned by the anti-apartheid movement after a dramatic fall from grace, appears to have achieved a painstaking reconciliation with the people who once heralded her as "Mother of the Nation".

Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed nationalist Nelson Mandela and herself a symbol of black resistance, was shunned after a series of political gaffes and allegations that members of her staff were involved in the murder of a young black.

RICH MKHONDO

Her return to the fold was supported by the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

"Since she has been actively involved in activities marking the release of her husband's colleagues, it became clear that reconciliation was much closer," the activist added.

The ANC urged the dissident groups inside South Africa, which had vowed not to have anything more to do with her, to accept Mrs Mandela back for counselling while at the same time asking her to watch her words and actions.

Roadblock talks

But recently thousands heard her speak at a welcoming rally for leading black dissidents, released after more than two decades in jail for plotting to topple white rule.

When a bus-load of demonstrators protesting at the arrival of English rebel cricketers was stopped by a police roadblock at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Mrs Mandela led a delegation to negotiate their release.

"Winnie Mandela had become a liability that the Mass Democratic Movement could not afford. But now she is slowly being rehabilitated and co-opted into the masses," said an activist who asked not to be named.

The price for reconciliation appears to be an understanding that she makes no statements without the collective backing of the UDF, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organisation — an undertaking which she has so far observed.

Mrs Mandela's political life came under a cloud in 1986 when she appeared to condone "necklacing", a method of murder used by radical blacks in which a petrol-soaked tyre is placed around the victim's neck and set alight.

She built a 15-room double storey mansion in Soweto, provoking fierce criticism for building a palace in the midst of great poverty. She never moved in.

Citing the need for protection, she founded the Mandela United Football Club, a group of 30 tough youths who acted as her bodyguards. They were accused of commandeering cars, making threats and roughing up anyone who crossed them.

The saga became a full-blown scandal when the bungalow she once shared with Nelson Mandela was damaged in an arson attack in 1988 after a dispute between the bodyguards and a group of black pupils from a nearby school.

But it was the alleged abduction

of four youths and the subsequent murder of one that led to her downfall.

Sources close to her bodyguards said the episode began with a fight over a church shelter, which members of the football team apparently wanted to use as a hide-out for outlawed ANC guerrillas.

Four youths who objected to the move were abducted by team members and assaulted. One escaped and two were eventually released after appeals by church leaders. The other, Stompie Seipei (14), was later found murdered.

Nelson Mandela reportedly ordered the dissolution of the club. Police arrested nine of the bodyguards and their trial starts on February 12.

Although Mrs Mandela is not a defendant, political analysts say she may be called to testify since the assaults were alleged to have occurred at her home.

Reign of terror

Outraged by the bodyguards' reign of terror, anti-apartheid organisations asked the black community to shun her.

Mrs Mandela consistently denied any wrongdoing.

For months she was isolated, until the ANC intervened and now the old cries of "Viva Mother of the Nation Viva" are ringing out again at political rallies.

"When we say we are prepared to talk, we mean negotiating the handing over of power from the hands of the minority regime to the people of South Africa — both black and white," she said at a recent news conference. — Reuter.



GOOD TO KNOW YOU: Mrs Winnie Mandela is back in the anti-apartheid fold after a painstaking reconciliation.

Maki awaiting a dad she shares with world

WASHINGTON — As the world's most famous prisoner nears release, his daughter on the other side of the globe waits for the event with mixed feelings.

Ms Maki Mandela, 35-year-old daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mrs Evelyn Ntoko Mandela (his first wife), this week spoke at length of her life and relationship with a father who divorced her mother and who was then jailed for 27 years.

Her tale is one of deep love, swirling emotions and a longing to be just an ordinary daughter of an ordinary — not extraordinary — father.

Coming to terms

In an interview with a special writer for the *Washington Post*, Ms Mandela, a student at the University of Massachusetts, told how she was still coming to terms with a father she had hardly known yet had to share with another family, with a liberation movement, with the world.

"As a daughter, I'm excited that my father is going to get out and I'm finally going to have a father there, hopefully. But I realise he'll be a father to so many other people, too. At the same time, I realise that it's going to be a difficult period for my father," she told the newspaper.

Skw
 2/7/1990
DAVID BRAUN

Ms Mandela, the mother of three children, has been married twice. She lives with her second husband next to the campus of the university where for the past four years she has been studying for a doctorate in anthropology.

Her mother Evelyn (69), a retired nurse, lives in relative obscurity with her brother, Makgatho (39), in Cofimvaba in the Transkei.

Ms Mandela told the *Washington Post* that the two great events that shaped her life were her parents' divorce in 1958 and her father's arrest in 1962.

Nelson and Evelyn were divorced when she was about four and she would spend weekends with her father in Orlando West, while living during the week with her mother in Orlando East.

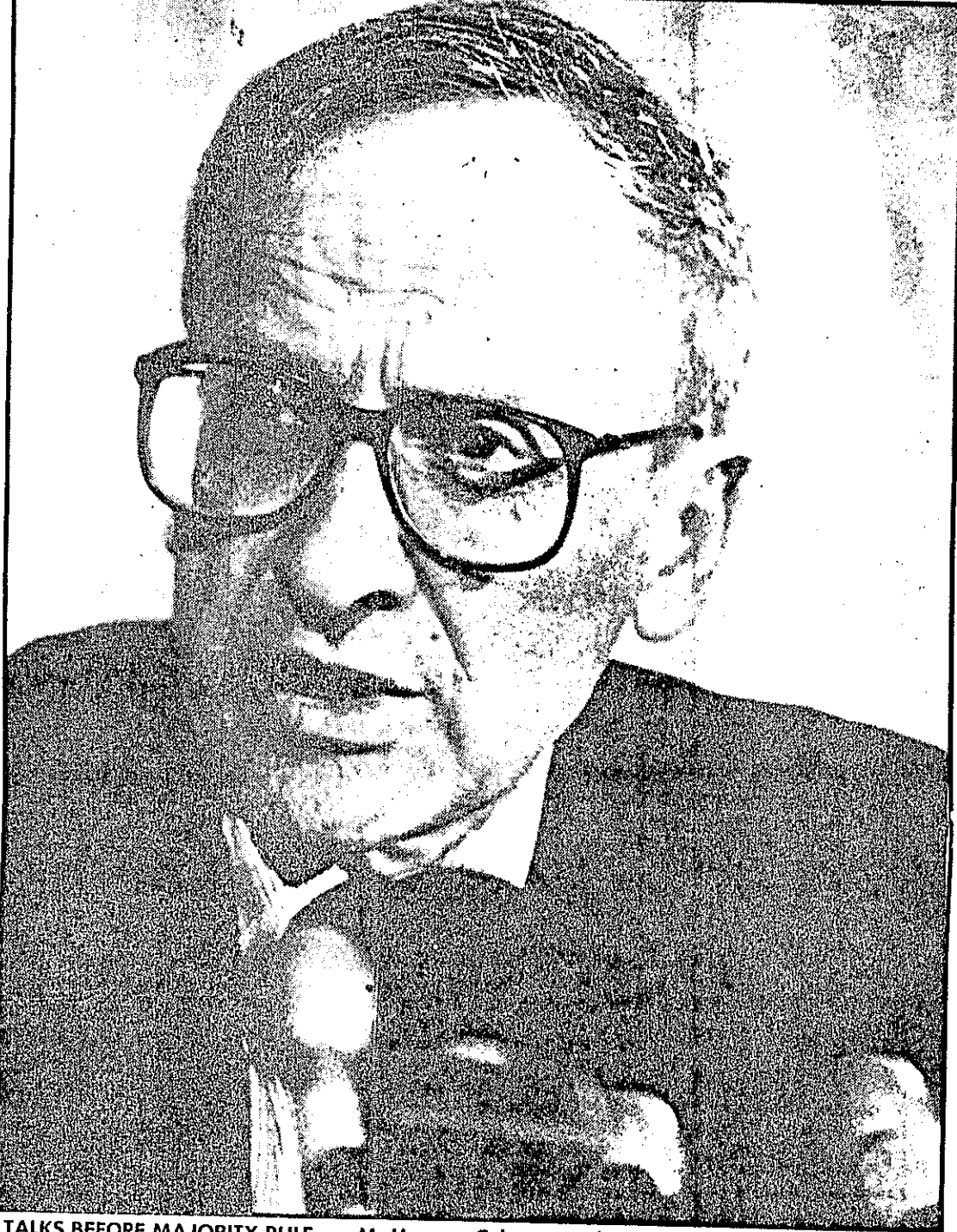
Once Mr Mandela was on the run from the police, Maki's stepmother, Winne, would sometimes take her to see her father in hiding.

Ms Mandela said she never really got to a stage where she developed a father-daughter relationship.

"I really know my father very little as a father, and it has been through letter-writing and the 45-minute visits in prison. It should be only now that we



CHRIS WHITFIELD 11A



LONDON — United States policy on South Africa has been significantly broadened to bring pressure on the black leadership to negotiate and to encourage economic co-operation in southern Africa "before the end of apartheid".

America's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman "Hank" Cohen, revealed the shift here yesterday saying: "Our policy used to be putting pressure on the white power structure to accept the principle of negotiations."

"Now we feel the priority in our policy should be to put pressure on both the white power structure and the non-white majority to engage in fruitful negotiations."

Speaking at a Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association luncheon, Mr Cohen added: "We will be the first to criticise the first to reject negotiations, because we think that is the only way a political solution can be found."

Mr Cohen, fresh from a visit to South Africa added that it was "imperative that economic co-operation must start moving now (in southern Africa), even before the end of apartheid, so it can continue going in a post-apartheid society."

"We are not discouraging countries from co-operating with South Africa at this time."

Steve Hill 90
Commitment

He said that a combination of factors — "mainly economic" — had caused the South African Government to conclude that "only a political settlement with the non-white majority can guarantee the future standard of living and cultural integrity of the white minority".

"Whether they can do it or not is another story, but I think there is a commitment there."

Mr Cohen added that the United States was now "telling those in the Mass Democratic Movement who say that there should be majority rule before negotiations are wrong — the negotiations must come first".

He said developments in Angola and Namibia had destroyed two myths in the region: That a superpower conflict was a major problem in the area, and that nothing "good can happen" until apartheid is over.

"We feel that we can build on these agreements to help stimulate better regional co-operation because we believe that the southern Africa region is going

TALKS BEFORE MAJORITY RULE . . . Mr Herman Cohen says the US wants negotiations in South Africa to get off the ground before apartheid ends. ● Picture by ALF KUMALO

to be the motor of development for the rest of Africa, at least as far as Zaire."

Asked about the easing of US sanctions, Mr Cohen pointed out that under Section 311 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act certain steps had to be taken by the South African Government before this was done.

These included the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the beginning of "good faith negotiations".

MR Nelson Mandela last night spoke out on the authenticity of the controversial document outlining the ANC leaders' plans for a negotiated solution to South Africa's political deadlock.

Mr Mandela said in a statement last night — released by the Department of Justice — that his negotiation document published this week was handed by him to a team of government officials during the first half of 1989.

"However, this document was definitely not handed by me either to the retired State President or State President F W de Klerk or Minister (of Justice) H J (Kobie) Coetsee," Mr Mandela said in only his second official press statement from prison in the past 25 years.

Mr Mandela said he had "as is customary" kept the leadership of the ANC informed of the document, which calls on the government to compromise on its opposition to majority rule, but also appeals to the ANC to take account of white fears of black domination if there were to be reconciliation in South Africa.

But the ANC leader then added pointedly: "However, as I have stated, at this early stage state-

Document is authentic, says Mandela

CAPT TIGTS

27/1/90

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ments to the press as a means of conducting possible future discussions are not the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development."

Mr Coetsee last night confirmed in a companion statement that the document in question had not been handed to Mr P W Botha, Mr F W de Klerk or himself.

Mr Coetsee noted that the document showed coincidences with the lead article published in "South" newspaper which was handed by Mr Mandela to a group of officials during the first half of 1989 and held the status of a "non-paper".

Mr Coetsee said these officials had confirmed to Mr Mandela

that the document would be treated as a "non-paper" and that the situation would be left there.

Mr Coetsee said that as far as Mr Mandela and the government was concerned there was just one document in "the government system", which was compiled by Mr Mandela and entitled "a document to create a climate of understanding".

● Mr Mandela's statement received prominent coverage in the British media yesterday. Several newspapers carried front-page reports on the statement, with many of them following up with edited versions of it inside. — Own Correspondents, Political Correspondent and Sapa

OAU talks

DAR ES SALAAM. — The secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, arrived in Tanzania yesterday for talks with recently freed members of the ANC.

The OAU said they would discuss the prospects for negotiations between the ANC and Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

NP team 'to agree on race laws'

Opp 7/11/70
GABORONE. — The chairman of Jeugkrug, the youth wing of the NP, says his organisation predicts that at today's meeting with the ANC the delegates from both parties would agree that all racial regulations should be abolished to be replaced with "one person, one vote system".

Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) reported Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said his country should adopt a multi-party democratic system similar to that existing in Botswana.

(114)
Mr van Schalkwyk will lead a delegation of 12 people for a meeting with members from the ANC which starts at the Gaborone Sun this morning.

Mr Van Schalkwyk stated, however, that the youth wing of the ruling NP also believed in a free market system.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said members of Jeugkrug have already held telephone discussions on strategies for alliance.

The 13-man ANC delegation will be led by its director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki. — Sapa

Faint heart will never win a peaceful solution

S/Times 28/1/90

THE cause célèbre status of Nelson Mandela has penetrated the further reaches of the world's consciousness via satellite television, a panoply of pop stars and assorted celebrities.

It beggars the imagination, perhaps, to imagine the consequences of Mr Mandela's release in 1980 rather than in 1990.

It would have pre-empted the formation of the United Democratic Front, the tricameral parliament and the imposition of sanctions.

Such a transcending gesture would have required Mr P W Botha to anticipate the trends and currents of events, while his background and instinct was always to go against the grain of history.

It would also have necessitated of the Government a highly unusual world view, since most administrations embroiled in conflict start with a simple assumption: "When I am weak, how can I compromise? When I am strong, why should I compromise?"

Therefore the Botha years and the 80s must be remembered as the decade when the locusts ate.

Thrust

These were the years in which Pretoria squandered practically every opportunity and took virtually no initiatives to reach out and force a negotiated settlement with the disenfranchised majority — on far more favourable terms than the one which will ultimately be constructed.

But what happens when the doors of the Victor Verster jail close behind Mr Mandela for the last time?

As the symbolic embodiment of years of struggle, Mr Mandela's every gesture, meeting and utterance will be scrutinised with microscopic intensity. Paradoxically, his physical freedom of movement will be restrained by the enormity of expectations thrust on him.

Of course he can retreat into the temporary refuge offered by the dead language from Lusaka — the political Latin which uses such code words as, "Harare Declaration", "intensification of armed struggle" and "pre-negotiation talks".

I do not use these terms disparagingly. Indeed there are cogent reasons, no doubt, for each of them.

And the Government, too, has obfuscated the real issues with verbal smokescreens of an extra-



Tony Leon

MP for Houghton, says De Klerk and Mandela have an opportunity to initiate a bold scenario

ordinary kind which fly in the face of all perceived reality and common sense: "Apartheid is dead", "we are committed to equal rights for all" etc.

But for ordinary South Africans — both the possessors of power and the dispossessed — what is required is not the dreary refrain of catch-phrases which pass each other like misplaced shells on a battlefield, but far-reaching, clear-cut acts which will have an impact on every South African.

Mr De Klerk of course can repeal legislation. The portents, thus far, are not encouraging. The only announced item headed for the parliamentary shredder is the Separate Amenities Act — and even then in a qualified form.

But he and Mr Mandela can go beyond the threshold in an effort to reach each other's constituencies. It will depend on whether they understand that their first constituency is the facts and the second constituency their people.

If the issues facing South Africa's leadership appear to be too awesome, too frightening and too intractable, then we will merely witness the motions of leaders, always reacting to events, seldom taking the initiative and leaving the rest of us in a political deep-freeze.

Bold

However, the results of such a paralysis will be awesome indeed — far beyond the damage of the 80s locust years.

But since both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela offer the promise of something different, they can initiate a bolder scenario. Mr De Klerk has proved his flexibility while Mr Mandela has signalled his apparent willingness to act as a Government-ANC go-between.

For all this, the first group which needs to be addressed is white South Africa — simply because it holds the formal levers of power and privilege — and because Mr De Klerk cannot move without preparing it for the transcending change required.

Only when a significant majority is prepared, or convinced, that

fundamental change is an urgent necessity will there be conflict resolution. How can Mr Mandela help in this task?

I have recently read a masterful and original account of the enduring problem of Arab and Jew in the Middle East by Thomas Friedman entitled *From Beirut to Jerusalem*.

He reminds the reader that in 1977 Israelis saw Anwar Sadat address their own Parliament (whose legitimacy he did not recognise), kiss former Prime Minister Golda Meir (against whom he had declared war four years before) and visit the Israeli Holocaust Memorial at Yad Vashem (despite his Nazi affiliations in the Second World War).

As Friedman observes: "Sadat, by going to Jerusalem, did something so courageous Israelis could not help but take notice. He put himself in a position where he could not afford to fail."

Logjam

Permanent peace does exist between Israel and Egypt, at least, because after that visit the hard-nosed business of negotiations occurred — albeit via America's mediation.

The analogy cannot be over-worked.

But South Africa does require someone to break the logjam and to reach out meaningfully to the other side. Perhaps an early stop on Mr Mandela's post-jail itinerary should be to address the House of Assembly in Parliament.

It would be an extraordinary gesture of goodwill, it would have an enormous impact on all 166 constituencies of white South Africa, and would alter them forever.

Mr De Klerk could reciprocate — a visit to the ANC national executive in Lusaka, perhaps to discuss their repatriation.

Of course there are other actors of importance who must be involved. But these two men possess within them, and the groups they represent, the possibility of lasting peace and the prospect of our renewal.

Vlok to review banning orders



(Times 28/1/90)

(11)

MAJOR stumbling blocks in Natal peace talks could soon be removed after Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok undertook to review banning and restriction orders on prominent leaders.

UDF president Archie Gumede, ANC leader Harry Gwala and prominent UDF members in Natal are on a list of names given for review to Mr Vlok, it was revealed yesterday.

Mr Vlok gave the undertaking this week at his peace initiative in Durban, which was threatened with collapse when church leaders, Cosatu and the UDF refused his invitation to take part.

 **Peace** 

However, the Natal Church Group and lawyers representing the two bodies agreed to attend.

Mr Vlok sent a message of reconciliation to the UDF, whose members have been imprisoned and restricted over the last few years. He also pleaded with the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to help find a way to stop the Natal violence.

Durban attorney Miss Linda Zama told the Sunday Times she had, as requested by Mr Vlok, drawn up a list of banned and restricted people she considered could play key roles in bringing about peace.

By **TERRY VAN DER WALT**

Meanwhile, more violence erupted in the centre of Maritzburg on Friday night, claiming an estimated five lives.

But the police unrest report could only confirm two deaths and said two more people were injured in the running battle near a beer hall when a group of men attacked and killed a man with knives and pangas.

When the police arrived, a shot was fired at them. They returned the fire and a man was killed. Two other people were slightly injured.

A policeman was admitted to Grey's Hospital with concussion after being hit with a brick.

Violence blamed on lack of leadership

CP Correspondent
C/P 10/2 28/11/90

THE Pan Africanist Movement has blamed a lack of MDM leadership for the renewed outbreak of violence in Uitenhage's troubled KwaNobuhle township.

Barely two weeks after MDM and PAM leaders issued a joint statement saying that the basis for a permanent peace in Uitenhage had been established, violence has left at least three people dead and two houses destroyed.

Former Robben Island prisoner Timoty Jantjies, PAM leader in Uitenhage, said the violence was caused by "undisciplined youths".

"The MDM in Uitenhage lacks leadership and the youth is power-hungry."

He said MDM leaders in Port Elizabeth were "slightly politicised" leaders whom he knew from his Robben Island days and with whom he could therefore work toward a lasting peace.

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"This, however, is not the case of the MDM in Uitenhage. There are no people of the calibre of Fazzie and Ngoyi in Uitenhage and therefore there is no control over young MDM members."

Jantjies said he now feared his organisation's youth would retaliate for the violence.

Uitenhage MDM leaders dismissed Jantjies' allegations and said that at no stage had a peace agreement existed.

Former Uitenhage Youth Congress president Wonga Nkala, who is now spokesman for the MDM peace initiative, said they had been approached by Port Elizabeth MDM leader Mike Xhego, who offered to intervene in the conflict.

"Mike said he would try to use the personal relationship he and other leaders had established while serving on Robben Island with Jantjies.

"We gave him the go-ahead to talk to them, but said they should not approach the Press and announce anything without us.

"To our surprise and shock we read that they had come to an historic peace agreement."

He said the peace agreement never existed and would not exist in the near future.

Nkala said the matter between the Uitenhage MDM and the Port Elizabeth MDM had been solved.

Police divisional commissioner Maj Rus said police were not supporting any of the sides in the feud and had never done so.

The police confirmed the attack on two houses last week, but could not say whether or not the attacks had been politically motivated. — ANA

PAC vows to step up struggle 'at all levels'

By SOPHIE TEMA

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C/P 10/2 28/11/90
THE PAC has declared the 1990s the decade of liberation and vowed to step up its struggle at all levels to end apartheid.

In a briefing to Frontline leaders at a meeting in Lusaka a PAC spokesman said in the past decade many organisations were established in South Africa to strengthen the political and organisational capacity of Africanists.

These include Azanyu, Nactu, Awo, Paso and the PAM.

On the issue of negotiations the organisation said: "While Africa long advocated a negotiated solution, successive apartheid rulers remained obstinate and intransigent.

"At present, however, FW de Klerk is being presented as a messiah of reform."

"The PAC believes 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.

"The strategy must be firmly opposed," said the spokesman.

The organisation said the Frontline States must demand De Klerk remove the five political pillars of apartheid — the Population Registration Act; the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 on which the Group Areas Act is based; the Bantu Education Act; the Tricameral Parliament system and the bantustans.

"All that can be negotiated is the setting up of a mechanism to hold one-person-one-vote elections and to elect a single-chamber, non-racial national constituent assembly that will have the mandate to draw up a genuine non-racial democratic constitution for a new Azania."

Natal peace plan to be unveiled

By S'BU MNGADI

RECENTLY-released ANC leaders, backed by the ANC and the MDM, will unveil a bold plan at Durban's King's Park Stadium next month to end the Natal violence.

After a three-day meeting between ANC veteran Walter Sisulu, six other former detainees and other MDM leaders, and the national executive committee and members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, a statement was issued saying the ANC viewed "this continuing massacre of the people" as totally unacceptable.

The statement said the situation in Natal was a national problem which required the direct intervention of "our national leaders to interact with the people affected by this violence and all other forces interested in ending it".

An attempt to end the violence would be made without delay.

Dr Diliza Mji, national president of the National Medical and Dental Association and member of the National Reception Committee, yesterday confirmed an open-air rally would be held on February 18 and the MDM

expected over 100 000 people to attend.

Mji also represents the UDF in a five-man Cosatu/UDF delegation to the peace initiative with Inkatha.

Meanwhile, the joint Inkatha/UDF/Cosatu working committee has adopted a dual approach - to continue to remove obstacles in the way of implementing the peace proposals and to concentrate on local peace initiatives, without appearing to be interfering unduly.

Mji said two members from each delegation of the joint working committee had been meeting in-

formally since December to try to revive the peace process "scuttled by Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi when it had reached an advanced stage last August".

Buthelezi declared a moratorium on further peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu-UDF alliance "until there is the prospect of success".

Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo echoed the Namda President's comment that the local-level approach to the problem seemed to be working.

C/P/1017 28/1/90

(10) (11) (12)

Hit man joins ANC



cl/Pres 28/1/90

He is now protected by international human rights organisations and foreign governments

CAPTAIN Dirk Coetsee, former leader of a police hit squad which killed activist Griffiths Mxenge, has joined the ANC.

He believes it will be the only way he could return to South Africa and prove his allegations about hit squads.

Only three months after Coetsee voted for the Conservative Party in the election, he met top ANC officials in London and confessed: "I killed your soldiers and supporters. I now want to put things right."

"All I ask is to live a

decent life and feel that I am worth something."

Coetsee became the first security police officer to join the ANC, *Vrye Weekblad* reports.

David "Spyker" Tshikalange, another hit squad member, has since also joined the ANC.

Coetsee recently returned to Africa from Europe and is living in a southern African state, where he is helping compile a dossier on police hit squads.

His wife Karin confirmed at the weekend that she would join her husband soon. She said

her two sons, Dirkie, 13, and Carl, 11, would visit her husband soon for a few days, she said.

Top ANC intelligence officials spent days debriefing Coetsee. ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils had personal contact with him before he was accepted as a member of ANC.

Coetsee said it was a difficult decision to make. "I had been indoctrinated my whole life that the ANC was nothing but a bunch of hardened and violent Marxists. That is why I fought them."

Coetsee said the ANC was his only hope to return to South Africa.

He now not only had the protection of the ANC but of numerous international human rights organisations and foreign governments.

The ANC assured him he would not be used in a military capacity, Coetsee said.

He hoped his membership of the ANC would inspire other whites to join, he said.

■ The ANC plans a Press conference in Har-

are soon to present Coetsee and 12 former Askaris (death squad members) to the media.

The conference will also be attended by Martin Dolincheck, a former member of the National Intelligence Service, who has also joined the ANC.

Dolincheck was sentenced to death after the abortive Seychelles coup.

Heine Human, a Swedish citizen who confessed to being an accomplice in the murder of Dulcie September in Paris, may also attend the conference.



Turncoat Capt Dirk Coetsee o Pic: VRYE WEEKBLAD

Nkosi Sikelel' gets mayor in a knot

By BONGANI
HLATSHWAYO

(11A)
Cipren 28/11/90
TSAKANE mayor Raymond Hadebe apologised after the national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, was sung before white Members of Parliament at his council chambers in the East Rand this week.

Hadebe said he would

have preferred *Die Stem* to be sung instead.

He told MPs and other mayors at the occasion the reason they couldn't sing *Die Stem* was because "we are still learning its lyrics".

These remarks were made in Tsakane on Thursday where discussions were held at the

council chambers to find a solution to the housing shortage in the township.

Outside, the homeless staged a demonstration calling for their "voices to be heard". They waved placards saying "MPs help us" and "We want houses".

But yesterday Hadebe made an about-turn on his

Nkosi Sikelel' remarks when approached by *City Press* for comment.

He said he was proud of *Nkosi Sikelel'*.

He said after the anthem was sung, even the deputy mayor of Benoni expressed appreciation that "blacks had their own anthem and could sing it in their own areas".

CP 28/1/90

People want to see more changes

By SANDILE MEMELA

President de Klerk has already made some changes but have they impressed the man in the street? City Press asked a random selection of people for their views and found most want more changes before they back him.

more," said Mdululi. "We expect De Klerk to provide jobs and housing for people in areas of their choice. Nelson Mandela must also be freed," said Mabuza.

Unisa commerce student Seaparo Mogoba has doubts about De Klerk.

"He has not introduced any meaningful changes in South Africa. "The credit he has been showered with belongs to the international community and the resistance movement."

Mogoba's view was echoed by Oupa Molestwa of Alexandra township who has been unem-



Floyd Makhanya ... unwilling changes.

played for three years. The 36-year old father of two said: "For me there is no change. Ordinary people are still suffering and struggle to find jobs."

Unemployed Isaac Mmokeka of Vosloorus did not agree.

"I think people should encourage De Klerk. He is changing the face of



Khetlwe Mabuza (left) and Zodwa Mdululi ... changes mark him as reliable.

apartheid and making it easier for blacks and whites to live in harmony."

Sipho Hlatswayo of Dube said the president displayed potential.

"The positive thing is that he has come to do what previous leaders have rejected - establishing a spirit of open dia-

logue.

"But opening beaches is irrelevant. The best thing to do in the light of the education crisis among blacks would be for him to open schools."

While some people admit De Klerk has leadership skills, they said he was not moving fast enough to abolish apart-

heid. "All he does is aimed at buying time. Sooner or later he will be caught as his tactics delay the realisation of black hopes," said Phetha, a secretary at Kagiso Trust.

Computer consultant Floyd Makhanya agreed. "The changes brought about by De Klerk have not been done willingly.

The rate of change is still too slow." Several unemployed people said De Klerk's reforms did not make any real difference to their lives.

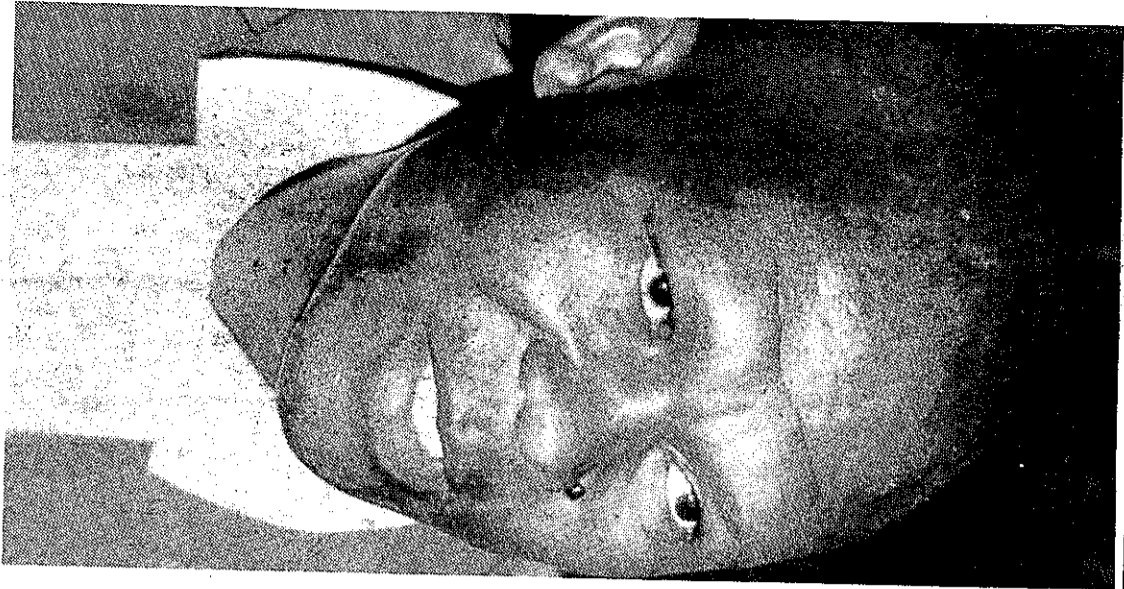
"He must fix the economy. People are without work and must still pay high bonds or lose their homes," said Themba Malinga.



Nozipho Mavi ... positive changes made.

Many still fear detention and jail for expressing political views.

Two women who were shopping in the city refused to comment. "Do not ask us about De Klerk because whatever we say will only land us in jail. His government still considers the expression of black aspirations to be politics," one said.



Oupa Molestwa... 'for me there is no change. People still suffer and struggle to find jobs.'

Riddle of Mandela do

25/1/90

document

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES van HEERDEN
THE MYSTERY surrounding a secret document on negotiations drawn up by Mr Nelson Mandela and handed to President F W de Klerk deepened this weekend.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, confirmed the existence of a Mandela paper late on Friday and said it was titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding". But he said the document, the second

in a series of three, was confidential.

He said he had received the document on December 12 — and Mr Mandela and President De Klerk met the following day.

But two crucial sequences of events are known to have flowed from the document and the meeting.

● The Government held secret talks with Mr Walter Sisulu, former ANC secretary-general and a long-time confidant of Mr Mandela, before Mr Sisulu left for Lusaka earlier this month to brief the exiled ANC leadership;

● Mr Mandela drew up a 10-point plan on steps to facilitate negotiations between the Government and the ANC. The plan — the third document in the series — was intended for the ANC leadership's consideration.

It is understood that this 10-point plan is known only to an inner circle of Government advisers. Not all Cabinet Ministers have seen it.

Outcome

In Lusaka, ANC sources said the plan was "very moderate" and had "caused some dissension in the ranks" among hardliners who believed "the handing over of power" should be the only subject to be negotiated.

Lusaka sources say Mr Mandela proposes an interim arrangement on power sharing which would have to be negotiated with the SA government.

His document does not demand the scrapping of apartheid laws as a precondition for negotiation but sees this as an outcome of the process.

However, sources say the Government is dismayed at the ANC's response to the document, and feels the organisation's reaction falls short of the spirit of conciliation adopted by the Government.

Confusion arose over the documents this week when the Cape-based newspaper South published extracts from a Mandela document it claimed had been taken from the confidential 10-point plan.

Informal

But yesterday Mr Mandela said in a statement that the document published in South was one he gave to government officials "in the first half of 1989".

It later transpired the South quotes were from an informal, first document — Mr Coetsee has called it a "non-paper" — given by Mr Mandela to Government officials early last year.

UDF revives offices and plans actions

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE UDF has revived its regional offices and a number of high-profile political actions are planned, national publicity secretary Terror Lekota said this week.

At least five protest marches have been planned for next week by UDF affiliates throughout the country.

Lekota told *City Press* he had resumed his position as the organisation's national publicity secretary and was setting up the national headquarters

in Johannesburg.

In the next few weeks Lekota is likely to join a delegation of UDF leaders expected to consult Nelson Mandela at his Victor Verster prison house before his release.

"The national office is the only formation still out of operation but we are looking into the matter," said Lekota.

The UDF national office was disrupted by the bombing of the South African Council of Churches' offices in Khotso House and its operations were undermined

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when it was restricted by the government in 1988.

Lekota's return to the national office is part of the UDF consolidation programme which follows its decision to work openly after four and a half years of operating under the emergency.

"We are back in action to assume our role in leading the masses," said Lekota.

There are plans to hold welcome-back rallies in all regions and to revive activities nationwide.

Lekota said there are

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plans to hold the organisation's National General Council - the highest level consultation of all UDF affiliates.

It will be the first such meeting in five years and is scheduled to take place over the weekend of April 6.

"The raging violence in Natal is of major concern to us and will definitely feature as top priority on the agenda.

"We are back and our society will feel our presence soon as some of our

regional offices have already launched campaigns," said Lekota.

He was referring to the UDF's Atteridgeville branch, which decided this week that a South African Cricket Union coaching programme should be stopped.

The Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation decided the coaching clinic should stop "in view of its continued support of the rebel English cricket tour".

In another development, the Alexandra Civ-



UDF national publicity secretary Terror Lekota.

ic Organisation is preparing for a march and mass rally next Saturday to demonstrate to the government its "serious grievances" about housing and the township's upgrading scheme.

The civic organisation

has pledged to "defy authorities" should permission for the march be refused. Last year permission for two marches was refused by the Randburg magistrate and the Alexandra City Council.

Another UDF affiliate in Graaff-Reinet, the Asherville/Masizakhe Residents' Organisation, has also applied for permission to hold a protest march on Saturday.

Invited

Former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak and regional president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape Edgar Ngoyi have been invited to lead the march.

The Western Cape region is to stage a protest march in Cape Town at lunchtime on Wednesday "to focus on police violence and abuses".

Grievances

This follows violence during a march by thousands of students who wanted to hand a list of grievances to the DET offices on Tuesday.

On Friday a march to Parliament will be held under the banner "Parliament must dissolve - let the people govern".

Death threat claim made by PAC veteran

CP Reporter

FORMER Robben Island prisoner Vusi Nkumane claimed this week he had received death threats since reports two weeks ago of a secret mission by five top PAC members.

According to Nkumane, in an open letter to *City Press*, he received death threats from "both members of my organisation and members of organisations that claim to subscribe to the ideology of Pan-Africanism".

Nkumane says: "The threat to my life and those of my colleagues within

the PAC goes as far back as 1973 to 1975 on Robben Island.

"During this time an ideological rift occurred within the PAC. In any event, those who were on the island know the people behind all this, as I too know them. Whatever happens to me, they shall be held responsible, as their names are now in the hands of the people standing for justice within the PAC."

According to Nkumane, who was arrested in 1963 and imprisoned on Robben Island, a book by Nkwame Nkrumah started an ideological argument.

The majority of PAC members rejected Nkrumah's book and prisoners were asked to stick to the basic PAC doctrine.

However, a clique had formed which followed the book and planned to take over the PAC and change its ideology to Marxist-Leninism.

Accused

Simultaneously, writes Nkumane, certain events took place within the PAC in Tanzania and Swaziland. These led to the formation of the Azanian Peoples Revolutionary Party (APRP) which was strongly Marxist-Leninist and accused the PAC and ANC of being petty-bourgeois.



Vusi Nkumane ... tells of an ideological rift.

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Mandela lays the ANC position on the line

THE deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the ANC and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

At the outset I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC.

In the normal course of events I would put my view to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who was best qualified to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

But in my current circumstances I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will endorse my action.

I must stress that no one can conduct negotiations of this nature from prison.

The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a very limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

The question of my release is not an issue, but I do hope the government will give me the opportunity to sound out the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move.

Only if this initiative is formally endorsed by the ANC will it have any significance.

I must emphasise that this step is not a response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to renounce the South African Communist Party before there can be negotiations.

No self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to fight for freedom nor who his allies in the freedom struggle should be.

Far from responding to that call, my intervention is influenced by the civil strife into which the country is sliding.

The purpose of this discussion is not only to urge the government to talk to the ANC, but also to acquaint you with the views of



President FW de Klerk ... talks.

But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

From the early days of its history, the ANC has diligently sought peaceful solutions and has talked patiently to successive South African governments. The government ignored our demands for a meeting. Instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen.

It met our just demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country, it continues to refuse to talk to us. There can only be one answer to this: violent forms of struggle.

Down the years oppressed people have fought for their birthright by peaceful means, and through force

Majority rule is essential

THE following is an edited version of a document written by Nelson Mandela on negotiation. Mandela this week confirmed its authenticity but denied giving it to State Presidents PW Botha or FW de Klerk or to Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee. Coetsee this week denied knowledge of the document, but later said he had confirmed the document had been handed to a team of officials during the first half of 1989 as a "non-paper".

not yet ready for negotiation and for the sharing of political power with blacks.

It is still committed to white domination and will only tolerate those blacks who serve apartheid.

This is the reason for its massive propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC and present it to the public as a communist-dominated organisation bent on murder and destruction. In this situation our reaction is clearly predictable.

White South Africa must accept that the ANC will not suspend or abandon the armed struggle until the government is willing to surrender the monopoly of political power, and to negotiate directly and in good faith with acknowledged black leaders. The renunciation of violence by the government or the ANC should not be a precondition to but the result of negotiation. What generally reflect the charge that the

Apart from the question of co-operation between the two organisations, members of the SACP have always been free to join the ANC. But once they do so, they become fully bound by the policy of the organisation set out in the Freedom Charter.

As members of the ANC engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle their Marxist ideology is not directly relevant. The SACP has always accepted the leading role of the ANC.

There is, of course a firmly established tradition in the ANC in terms of which any attempt to undermine co-operation between the two organisations is resisted. Even within the ANC there have been people who were against this co-operation and who wanted SACP members expelled from the organisation. Those who persisted were ultimately expelled or broke away in despair.

The government wants us to desert our faithful allies. We will not fall into that trap. The government's hostility to the SACP and its refusal to have any dealings with that party ring hollow. Such an attitude is out of step with the growing co-operation between the capitalist and socialist countries, and is also inconsistent with the policy of the government itself, when dealing with our neighbouring states.

South Africa has concluded treaties with Marxist Angola and Mozambique. Now she also wants to strengthen ties with Marxist Zimbabwe. The government will find it difficult if not altogether impossible, to reconcile its readiness to work with foreign Marxists with its uncompromising refusal to talk to South African Marxists.

The reason for this inconsistency is that the government is still deeply committed to the principle of white domination despite lip-service to reform. It is deadly opposed to the sharing of political power with blacks, and the SACP is being used as a smokescreen to retain the monopoly of political power. I have already informed you that I will not respond to the government's demand that ANC members should state whether they are members of the SACP.



Nelson Mandela ... addressed two presidents and laid out the ANC's political position.

ern friends that majority rule is a disaster to be avoided at all costs. If black political aspirations are to be accommodated, then some other formula must be found, provided that formula does not raise blacks to a position of equality with whites. Yet majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and, white South Africa simply has to

'Only one'

where peaceful channels were closed.

Afrikaners were compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom against British imperialism, but we must conclude that the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom fighter, but is in power.

Not even a disciplined non-violent protest is tolerated. To the government a black man has neither a just cause to espouse nor freedom rights to defend.

The whites must have the monopoly of political power, and of committing violence against innocent and defenceless people.

That situation is totally unacceptable to us and the formation of Umkonto we Sizwe was introduced to end that monopoly, and to forcibly bring home to the government that the oppressed people of this country were prepared to stand up and defend themselves.

The government continues to govern with a heavy hand and to incite whites against negotiation with the ANC.

The truth is that the government is

ANC is dominated by the SACP.

The accusation has been refuted by two independent sources. In 1987 the US State Department published a report on the activities of the SACP in this country which contrasts very sharply with the picture the government has tried to paint over the years.

The report's essence is that, although the influence of the SACP on the ANC is strong, it is unlikely to ever dominate the ANC.

The same point is made somewhat differently by Ismail Omar - member of the President's Council - in his book *Reform in Crisis* published in 1988, in which he gives examples of important issues of the day over which the ANC and the SACP have differed.

Co-operation between the ANC and SACP goes back to the 1920s and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society. At no time has the ANC ever adopted or co-operated with communism itself.

or not.

But because much has been said by the media, as well as by government leaders regarding my political beliefs, I will put the record straight.

My political beliefs have been explained in the course of several political trials, in the policy documents of the ANC, and in my autobiography *The Struggle is My Life* which I wrote in prison in 1975. I stated in these trials and publications that I did not belong to any organisation apart from the ANC.

It would appear to be government policy that, as long as the National Party is in power, there can be no political organisation which fights for the liberation of its people through armed struggle must invariably be "dominated by the SACP".

The government is equally vehement in condemning majority rule. Now it has dawned that apartheid has failed, and blacks will one day have an effective voice in government, we are told by whites here and by their West-

accept that we will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully applied.

By insisting on compliance with the above mentioned conditions before there can be talks, the government clearly confirms that it wants no peace in this country but turmoil; no strong and independent ANC, but a weak, servile organisation playing a supportive role to white minority rule; not a non-aligned ANC but a satellite of the West which will serve the interests of capitalism.

No worthy leaders of a freedom movement will ever submit to such conditions.

The key to the whole situation is a negotiated settlement.

A meeting between the government and the ANC will be the first major step towards lasting peace in the country, better relations with our neighbouring states, admission to the Organisation of African Unity, readmission to the United Nations and other world bodies, to international markets and improved international relations.

An accord with the ANC, and the introduction of a non-racial society is the only way in which our rich and beautiful country will be saved from the stigma which repels the world.

Two political issues will have to be addressed - firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state, and secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination by blacks.

The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will be to reconcile these two positions. Such reconciliation will only be achieved if both parties are willing to compromise.

The ANC will determine precisely how negotiations should be conducted. It may well be that this should be done in at least two stages.

The first, where the organisation and the government will work out together the preconditions for a proper climate for negotiations.

The second stage would be the actual negotiations themselves when the climate is ripe for doing so. Any other approach would entail the danger of an irrevocable stalemate.

Lastly, I must point out that the move I have taken provides you with the opportunity to overcome the current deadlock, and to normalise the country's political situation.

I hope you will seize it without delay. I believe that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, black and white, hope to see the ANC and the government working together to lay the foundations for a new era in our country, in which racial discrimination and prejudice, coercion and confrontation, death and destruction will be forgotten.

Sapa.

UNUNITED by leader, claims ANC

NELSON Mandela has only drafted one document - the so-called "peace plan" published this week by Cape newspaper *South*.

The existence of a so-called "10-point plan" drawn up by the ANC leader was mere media speculation, the ANC said this week.

South said it believed the Mandela "peace plan" it had published to be the same as the one submitted to State President FW de Klerk at the Tuynhuys meeting last month.

However, the ANC said Mandela had "never indicated" that he had given the document to De Klerk.

This confirms South African Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee's statement that the government had no record of the ANC leader's "peace plan".

But a member of the South African Youth congress (Sayco) delegation which held talks with Mandela last week, said copies of the document were given to former State President PW Botha in July and to De Klerk in September when they met Mandela.

"Because of the confidentiality of the situation, I don't think that Mandela wanted the document published until the proper moment."

Mandela showed the document to the Sayco delegation. "We were sworn to confidentiality," said the Sayco member.

He would also not divulge the ANC or the South African government's response to the document.

A source close to Mandela said she believed the document was the one handed to Botha at his meeting with Mandela last year - although it was certainly not the "10-point plan" discussed by Mandela and De Klerk.

An ANC spokesman said: "The so-called '10-point plan' is

'going to remain the myth it has been all this time.'

"There is only one document by Mandela. Some prefer to call it the 'peace plan', while others label it either 'proposals' or, as in this case, Mandela's '10-point plan'.

"The document published by *South* was an important contribution to discussions from January 18 to 21 by the ANC National Executive Committee. Also present at the discussions were recently-released ANC leader Walter Sisulu and seven other ANC veterans."

He said the ANC headquarters received the document before last week's visit by the eight released ANC leaders. "However, he declined to say how it was received."

He confirmed the ANC's stance remained "unchanged" by Mandela's document, but denied the document was in any way "radical".

Before *South* published the document the ANC described it as "absolutely confidential".

Asked to comment on Mandela's disclosure that he supported nationalisation in a new South Africa, the ANC spokesman said a good slice of the South African economy had already been nationalised in favour of the "minority Afrikaner community".

"South Africa has never had a free economy. It follows that what has to take place is nationalisation in favour of a wider group of people.

"Those who have been privileged up to now will no doubt continue benefiting from the same economy as envisaged by the ANC and should not become apprehensive," said the spokesman.

"Mandela is merely reiterating the old ANC position."

Nationalisation is still the policy

By SANDILE MEMELA

NELSON Mandela is still committed to nationalisation of key industries as an instrument to encourage black economic empowerment.

This was revealed in a letter addressed to the MDM leadership, UDF national publicity secretary Terror Lekota said this week.

Lekota said Mandela was perturbed by reports that he was no longer in favour of a State-controlled economy as a means of black liberation.

In the letter (dated January 15, 1990), which was also sent to National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Mandela said: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable."

"Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation State control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Lekota said Mandela had asked that the state-might be given the widest publicity possible.

"Mandela feels that the alleged uncertainty in the ANC's economic policy may lead to undermining confidence in the organisation's leadership," Lekota said.

"There have been suggestions that Mandela has abandoned the concept of nationalisation as part of the ANC's strategy, thus putting him on a different plane from the exiled leadership."

The view that Mandela no longer favoured State-controlled economic programmes flourished after his consultation with business tycoon and his long-time friend Richard Mampunya who dined with him in his prison house last November.

His apparent change of views aroused suspicion of a split in ANC's economic thinking and Mandela's distancing himself from policy laid down in the Freedom Charter.

"But this is not true and Comrade Mandela still endorses views espoused in the Freedom Charter which call for nationalisation of mines, banks and

give the status of the widest publicity:

"The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable. Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support and encourage, but in our situation State control of certain sectors of the economy is unavoidable." Maabika.

Part of the letter from Mandela - signed Maabika, his nickname.

monopoly industries," said Lekota.

Lekota said the message Mandela wanted put across was that freedom would be meaningless for blacks if it did not improve the material lot of the ordinary folk.

"Without nationalisation there will be no concrete evidence of change for the man in the street," said Lekota.

He said there was no perceived conflict of interest between nationalisation and free enterprise as espoused by Mandela and the Freedom Charter.

"Mandela understands the balance to be that nationalisation would empower blacks to strengthen black enterprise. Black economic empowerment is

dependent on State control.

"Some industries under the new government must direct their resources to empower black people who have been less privileged," said Lekota.

Lekota said the biggest capitalist enterprises would be State controlled to correct the disparity created by apartheid.

"People must not be misled to believe that nationalisation would be to their disadvantage. The economic programme will be aimed at upgrading the quality of life for the man in the street.

"There is no way that the new government could improve the lot of the masses without control of certain industries," said Lekota.

Case of the missing link

Bid to get back R10 000 official chain

By SOPHIE TEMA

A MISSING gold chain of office worth R10 000 is causing a rumpus in Daveyton Town Council and could result in former mayor Shadrack Sinaba facing a criminal charge.

Mayor Tom Boya this week told councillors he had information the chain was given to Sinaba for safe keeping.

Councillors unanimously agreed that Sinaba should be given two days to produce the missing mayress's chain, failing which the matter should be reported to the police. Sinaba had earlier told the council it could buy a new one.

Boya told Sinaba the chain was the property of the council and did not belong to any individual. Sinaba was also given two days to return the books in which the Mayor's Fund is recorded.

Management committee chairman Charles Makgati also proposed a motion, which was adopted by the council, that the logsheets of the mayoral car for the period November 1988 to November 1989 - the period when Sinaba was mayor - be submitted to the town clerk for thorough scrutiny.

Makgati said there was evidence that the mayoral car was often used as a taxi by other councillors and said council vehicles had also been used for personal errands.

A report on his findings is expected to be submitted at the next council meeting.

Sinaba came under heavy attack from several councillors for having proposed a motion in which he questioned the council about the relaxation of a proposed rent increase which was to have been effective from the beginning of this year.

Youth taking interest in civic affairs

By SOPHIE TEMA

JVIC matters in Soweto are no longer the sole concern of adults.

A group of young men and women known as the Soweto Junior City Councillors have now dedicated themselves to becoming involved in these affairs.

The 28-member junior council was inaugurated three weeks ago and held its first Press conference this week.

Mayor Jerry Joloi said his council - comprised of young people from various organisations - has dedicated it-



Women toyi-toyi through the streets during the protest. Pic: TLADI KHUELE.

Vosloorus stands still for protest

By STAN MHLONGO

By STAN MHLONGO

Reacting to the petition, Vosloorus

Trade may be open to all

By CONNIE MOLUSI

BLACK business will be watching the Johannesburg City Council meeting on Tuesday with great interest.

At the meeting a decision will be taken on whether to open trading areas to all races.

The National Party caucus chief whip Hein Kruger said if the council agreed to the management committee recommendation, this would make Johannesburg the first South African city to allow blacks to own business property.

Kruger said the decision arose from an approach by the Department of Planning and Provincial Administration.

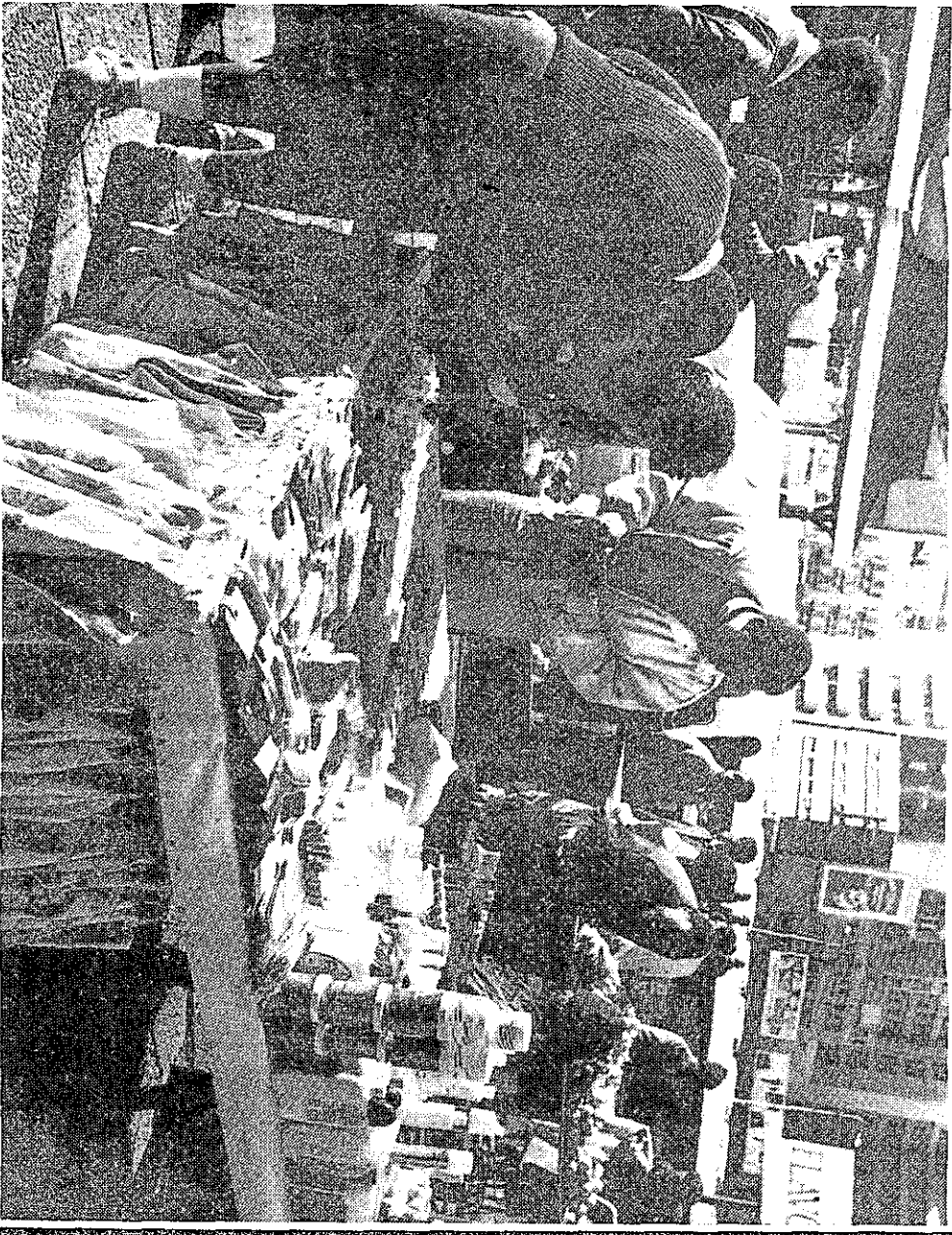
Most black business organisations have welcomed the recommendation.

Fabcos public affairs director Mike Ntshang said his organisation would encourage participation by the informal sector in order to bolster black economic muscle.

"We hope this move will set an example to other town councils, who are afraid of accepting black businesses."

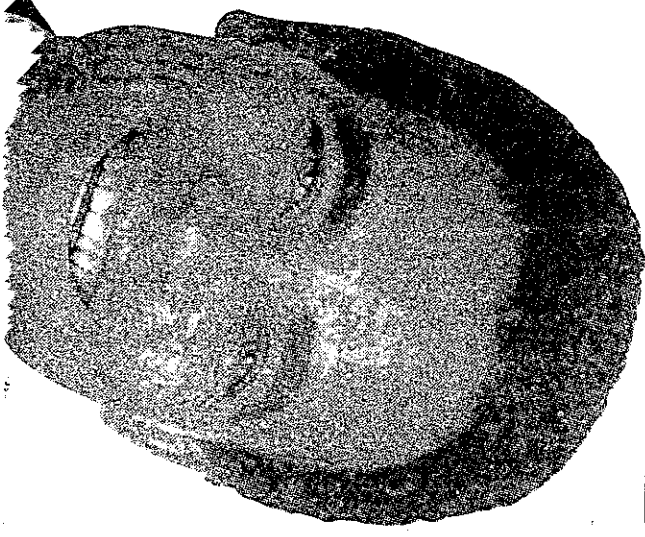
Greater Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry president LB Mehloekhulu, said the recommendation was a victory for his organisation which had fought for the opening of trade areas to all race groups since it began.

However, Mehloekhulu had reservations that the move would only be significant if it also allowed blacks to own business property in the area.



Soon black businessmen may own their own business properties in Johannesburg.

"I like a tie to be pure silk. My brandy, just as smooth."



is a trademark of Connoisseur V.O. Superior Brandy

nunity.
He said junior council-
lors served on a voluntary
basis, and were not spon-
sored by Soweto City
Council.

"We are responding to
a need in the community
prompted by parental
concern over the prob-
lems experienced by
youth in the townships,"
said Moloi.

"We will be addressing
ourselves to the social as-
pects of youth.

"We believe youth has
a responsibility towards
the community and also
wants to see Soweto de-
velop into a real city with
proper facilities for every-
one"

VOSLOORUS came to a standstill this
week when 50 000 residents shut their
homes, schools and businesses and
staged a protest march to the council
offices with a petition listing their griev-
ances.

Topping the list is the complaint that
rent should be lowered to R50. Resi-
dents claim they are paying between
R200 and R300 a month.

The green and gold colours of the
ANC and placards with "Long live the
ANC" featured prominently. Perm-
ission for the march had been granted by
a Boksburg magistrate.

Grievances were about the poor ad-
ministration of the township, the evis-
cations of hostel dwellers, high rent, insuf-
ficient schools and creches, poor infra-
structure, and poor medical and trans-
port services

...marchers said the coun-
cil had called a meeting with the DET
on January 19, where it was decided to
discuss the education crisis on February
14.

"Both the DET and the Transvaal
Provincial Administration have attrib-
uted their inability to provide enough
schools and medical services to finan-
cial constraints," he said.


"In fact, the council has allocated 16
sites to the DET to build schools in the
area."

Fears that the march, organised by
the Vosloorus Crisis Committee, could
turn violent - like the one in Khutsong
where two residents were shot this week
- fizzled out as police kept a low profile
throughout the march.

The issue of high rents would be
discussed at a council meeting on
Wednesday, said Sinukela.



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MRS S.J. TSHABALALA

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For those who know*



One killed, four hurt in wrong-way crash

A man was killed and four people were injured when a car apparently drove in the wrong direction and collided with an on-coming vehicle on a dual carriage highway in Westonaria last night.

A Westonaria Fire and Ambulance Department spokesman said two cars collided on the Randfontein-Westonaria highway at about 10.30 pm when the one car drove on the wrong side of the road. A man was killed instantly and three women and a young boy were injured in the collision. Their names have not yet been released.

Seeking support



Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi waves to supporters after paying respects at the tomb of Portuguese poet Luis de Camões at Jeronimos monastery. Dr Savimbi is visiting Portugal in an attempt to mobilise support for his Unita movement.

● See Page 2

Anarchy in Yugoslavia

Kosovo province in Yugoslavia, for years wracked by ethnic conflict between Serbs and Albanians, was last night sliding into anarchy as Serbian riot police shot dead four more Albanian militants in savage clashes. At least 10 were killed on Saturday.

● See Page 4

Mystery light

WASHINGTON — Thousands of people in the Eastern United States reported seeing a strange blueish-green light in the night sky, and some experts said they could have been viewing an unusually large meteorite. "We are quite confident it was not a man-made object re-entering," said Major Dick Adam, spokesman at the North American Aerospace Defence Command. "We have no idea what it was."

USSR in focus

Three books on the Soviet Union are reviewed, two of them considering the impact of *glasnost* and *perestroika* while the third uncovers the full scale of the man-made Ukrainian famines — and notes that the police state which made such horrors possible is still in existence.

● Books, Page 12

Accord on change

GABORONE — Young ANC members and their National Party Jeugkrag counterparts have agreed to "fast and fundamental change" in South Africa but failed to reach agreement on certain ideological issues at a two-day conference. Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of Jeugkrag (which includes members of the ruling National Party and the opposition Democratic Party), said yesterday that, among other issues, the two sides agreed that apartheid was wrong, detention without trial should go and that all political groups outlawed in South Africa should be unbanned.

Grounds for anger

Angry investors who poured millions into the Coffee Corporation of SA Ltd

ANC commitment wanted

FW ponders

Mandela's

'conditions'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk appears locked in a dilemma over the timing of the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela as he prepares his all-important speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

Government sources said today no decision on a date for Mr Mandela's release had yet been made and that the Cabinet had decided to leave the timing up to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela himself.

Though a strong lobby within the Government has apparently been pushing for Mr Mandela to be released as soon as possible — and believes this could happen any day — it now seems problems have arisen, possibly surrounding the conditions which Mr Mandela is setting for his release.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the lifting of restrictions placed on over 30 organisations like the UDF and, most importantly, the unbanning of the ANC.

It appears that although Mr de Klerk might be prepared to lift the emergency partially this week when he opens Parliament — by lifting the restrictions on the UDF and others and perhaps by easing restrictions on written media — he is not yet prepared to unban the ANC.

Today Mr Mandela's lawyer friend, Mr Dullah Omar, said Mr Mandela had made it quite clear that if his conditions were not met around the time of his release, he would return to the armed struggle and find himself back in jail within a month.

Mr Omar said that the Government's dilemma was whether or not it was prepared to meet his conditions.

Government sources have indicated that, all else being equal, the best time to release him would be before Mr de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament.

They reason is that if Mr de Klerk makes the announcement on Friday — as many expect him to do — it will simply obliterate anything else he has to say. On the other hand if he does not announce Mr Mandela's release on February 2, there is a real danger of another Rubicon-like debacle.

Certainly even very senior people in the security establishment believe that the unbanning of the ANC must go hand in hand with the release of Mr Mandela. But it may be that Mr de Klerk fears this might be too much for his white constituency to swallow at the one time.

Sources have suggested the Government may also have decided to delay the unbanning of the ANC because the ANC has failed to make a clear commitment to seek peaceful solutions.



Rice angry at how he was axed

By Barry Glasspool

An angry Clive Rice, deposed as Springbok captain for the Tests against Mike Gatting's Englishmen, lashed out at the national selectors for their handling of his sacking.

"The selectors didn't have the guts to contact me directly to tell me that I would not be the captain. I had to hear about it on television," said Rice.

The convener of the SA selectors, Peter van der Merwe, refused to comment this morning.

"I see no point in carrying on any discussion on this issue with Rice through the media," was all he would say in answer to suggestions that matters other than cricketing ability were taken into account in reaching their choice of Rice's Transvaal deputy Jimmy Cook as captain.

Change of foils dem

By Michael Shafto

BLOEMFONTEIN — Mike Gatting and his rebel English cricket team made a last-minute switch of plan yesterday, coming here by bus arriving at 9.30 pm. They were originally to have arrived by air only this morning.

No demonstrators were on hand to greet them, but a team of white youths quickly cleared their baggage from the bus.

Player manager David Graver, fresh from his fine performance of 10 wickets for the match in the Gatting XI's 258-run defeat of the Combined Bowl team, denied the change of plan was to foil demonstrators.

In Johannesburg, general secretary of the National Sports Congress (NSC), Mr Krish Naidoo, promised the pace of the anti-tour campaign would be stepped up this week. The NSC has set aside about R100 000 for anti-tour campaigns.

UDF supports nationalisation

DURBAN — The ANC would have to nationalise mines and banks to pay for better schools and housing for blacks, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said yesterday.

Mr Lekota told thousands of people at a rally in Clermont that the UDF would support ANC nationalisation after the collapse of white rule.

He endorsed a message from ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela last week saying he would support nationalisation.

"We do not see how a government could ... provide urgently needed facilities like housing and proper education if it is not able to gain access to at least some of the wealth of the country," he said. — Reuter.

Detective tells of minutes before Van Rooyen's death

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Maritzburg detective who has been working on the abduction of Fiona Harvey for almost a year spoke this weekend of the 190 km/h car chase through the darkened suburbs of Pretoria before the suicide of child molesters Gert van Rooyen and his mistress Joey Haarhoff.

Detective Warrant Officer Don Chandler (26) was sitting in wait with Lieutenant Rudie van Olst in a police vehicle in a neighbour's driveway near van Rooyen's house in Pretoria's Capital Park on Sunday night last week when they saw lights coming down the street and recognised Van Rooyen and Haarhoff.

"As soon as Van Rooyen saw us he

took off, through stop streets and red lights. At times we were travelling at 190 km/h.

"Near the Apies River interchange I shot at the tyres of Van Rooyen's car, hitting a front and back tyre," said Warrant Officer Chandler.

"The car ... started slowing down and we could see Haarhoff's head go down on to Van Rooyen's lap. As I got out of the car I heard a shot ring out. That was the shot that killed Haarhoff but I thought Van Rooyen was firing at us so I ducked behind our car.

"When I looked up Van Rooyen was waving the gun around in a strange way ... he had a strange look on his face. In a contorted way he moved the gun to the back of his head and fired."

Four die in fire at Khayelitsha

CAPE TOWN — A fire broke out in Khayelitsha near Cape Town early yesterday, killing four people and razing about 100 shacks. A 41-year-old man was arrested afterwards.

Police said the man was expected to appear in court today to face charges on four counts of murder and one of arson.

Neighbours said those who died were 18-year-old Miss Beauty Goba, her two young sisters aged three and five, and an elderly family member, Mrs Nomakula Goba. — Sapa.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.



Mr Raymond Suttner poses in front of a banner welcoming him home.

Suttner back to a singing welcome

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Mr Raymond Suttner, who was under severe restrictions before slipping out of the country illegally last year to be part of a Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) delegation to Harare, returned to South Africa yesterday.

Mr Suttner, a senior law lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, returned to a rousing

welcome from relatives, friends and MDM members at Jan Smuts Airport and was then whisked away to his home in Johannesburg by his lawyer. Star 29/11/90

When he arrived at the airport about 50 people who had gone to meet him rushed forward to hug him as others broke into a song, "We will follow our leader wherever he goes," in Zulu.

Asked by local and foreign journalists if he thought he would be arrested for breaking his restriction orders, Mr Suttner replied:

"I don't know. I hope I won't be arrested because all I have done was to exercise my freedoms of speech and movement, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

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Mandela waits

As F W faces a crucial week

CAPT TYPES 29/1/90 11A (5000)

New dawn for 'drain baby'



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A POSSIBLE souping of relations between Mr Nelson Mandela and the SA government is facing President FW de Klerk as expectations surrounding his opening of Parliament speech later this week continue to grow.

A source of conflict between Mr Mandela and the government appears to be a cabinet plan to stagger the announcement of reform moves during the coming parliamentary session to extract maximum positive publicity for the De Klerk administration.

Such an approach would preclude the announcement of a comprehensive reform package when Mr De Klerk opens Parliament on Friday.

Unbanning ANC, PAC

Notable omissions from Mr De Klerk's speech would have been Mr Mandela's release and some of the ANC's other pre-conditions for negotiations, like the immediate unbanning of the organisation, the total scrapping of the state of emergency and the return of political exiles.

According to senior government sources, a preliminary version of Mr De Klerk's speech, which has received inputs from a number of ministers, would have allowed for a partial scrapping of the emergency and the easing of curbs on more than 30 restricted organisations, including the UDF, Azapo and Cosatu.

Mr De Klerk was also expected to give further details about the government's announced commitment to scrap the Separate Amenities Act "as soon as possible" and its economic reform programme, government sources said.

Mr Mandela's release was expected after mid-February, with the ban on the ANC and the PAC coming in the second half to the parliamentary session.

Government sources said they believed that Western governments like Britain and the United States would be satisfied with the rate of change under such a scenario.

INSIDE



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- MDM will march with out permit — PAGE 2
- Cops must still enforce apartheid — PAGE 3

However, Mr Mandela does not appear to find such a game plan acceptable.

Mrs Winnie Mandela told journalists at the weekend that "some problems had cropped up about his immediate release".

She said after visiting her husband on Saturday that Mr Mandela had told her: "I want to come home and if I could I would be going home with you now."

Later in Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela told AP that her husband did not want to be released till the ANC had been unbanned, exiles had been allowed to return to South Africa and the state of emergency had been ended.

"There is no question of him walking out of Victor Verster without these demands having been met."

National Association of Democratic Lawyers vice-president and family friend Mr Dullah Omar said yesterday that Mr Mandela would return to armed struggle if, when he was released, certain pre-conditions set down by the ANC had not been met.

Mr Omar and his wife accompanied Mrs Mandela to Victor Verster Prison at Paarl where she spent four hours with her husband.

Mr Omar said Mr Mandela had repeatedly said he expected there would have been

major changes to have taken place by the time he is released.

These changes include the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other restricted organisations, allowing exiled ANC leaders to return and releasing political prisoners, he said.

The ANC has also said pre-conditions stipulated in the Harare Declarations would have to be met before it would consider entering into negotiations with government.

"If he is released and there are no changes, he would report back to the ANC that three years of talks have been a waste of time and he would return to SA to resume the struggle which would result in him being back in prison.

"Therefore there is no point in releasing him without these changes being made," Mr Omar said.

"The problem is that it appears government is not ready to make these changes but at the same time pressure is mounting to have Mr Mandela released," he said.

Mr Omar said speculation over Mr Mandela's apparently imminent release was just that — speculation.

"He himself has not been told. He does not know and has not been given any indication when he will be released."

Protest marches

If Mr Mandela is indeed insisting that his release coincide with a comprehensive reform package paving the way for negotiation, this will almost certainly be discussed at this Wednesday's cabinet meeting which should see the finishing touches being put to Mr De Klerk's opening address.

Government ministers have been heartened by the role Mr Mandela has been playing in trying to break the political logjam to date and government would not want to alienate him at this politically sensitive stage.

Another daunting challenge facing Mr De Klerk this week is how his government is to respond to the planned protest marches in Cape Town, one of them an MDM demonstration on Friday calling on government to disband Parliament.

With the city swarming with dozens of international television crews, Mr De Klerk can hardly afford a repeat of last week's confrontation between police and protesters.

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MDM will march without permit

THE MDM and UDF will not apply for magisterial permission for a planned mass march on Parliament on Friday which is expected to draw the support of thousands of people.

This was confirmed by Ms Cheryl Carolus, publicity secretary for the UDF Western Cape, who said the march was part of the Defiance Campaign.

"The purpose of this march is clearly to defy the ban on open-air gatherings and to state that we have the right to peaceful assembly," she said.

The march will coincide with the official

Cape Times 29/1/90 (22) 11A
opening of Parliament by State President Mr F W de Klerk.

However, the organisers will approach Cape Town City Council for permission for the march, and for a second being organised for Wednesday to protest at recent police action in breaking up protests.

"This is what one has to do in any democratic society, so they can make arrangements about traffic and that kind of thing," said Ms Carolus.

Cape Town's chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, and a spokesman for Cape Town City Council said yesterday that they had

received no applications for permission in respect of either of the two planned marches.

According to Ms Carolus, extensive preparations were being made to ensure the marches remained peaceful, "however provocative the police are".

Marchers would assemble in Greenmarket Square and at the top of Adderley Street at 8am, and were due to begin marching at 9am.

Wednesday's march would be preceded by a service in the Greenmarket Square Methodist Church at 12.30pm, and would then head for Caledon Square. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

ANC split 'will widen'

WASHINGTON. — The US ambassador to Zambia, Mr Jeffrey Davidow, has told the State Department that there has been a "deepening and broadening" of relations between his embassy in Lusaka and the ANC.

Mr Davidow says the ANC is becoming sharply split with the military wing wanting to increase attacks within South Africa and the political wing wanting to concentrate wholly on negotiations. The US is backing the political wing.

He believes the split will become more pronounced once Mr Nelson Mandela is released and seeks to find his role inside the ANC. The ambassador has specifically been sounding out the ANC on how they feel about a gradual lifting of trade sanctions in return for concessions. — Iris Special News Service

Mandela pumps iron from 4am

MR Nelson Mandela, the 71-year-old ANC leader, wakes up about 4am each day and does exercises for "quite a while" before breakfast, civil-rights activist Mr Dullah Omar said yesterday.

He had been asked to comment on a Sunday Times article by Mr Mervyn Rees, who spoke to several of the MDM leaders who have visited Mr Mandela recently.

Mr Rees said in his article that Mr Mandela usually got up even earlier, about 3.30am, and he then exercised for two hours.

During this session he would ride an exercise bicycle, push weights, do push-ups, run on the spot and skip.

After that he would have a shower and breakfast, and then he would read the Cape Times.

He also enjoyed watching Good Morning South Africa, and often left the television on till it ended at 9am.

FW speech: UK expectations 'high'

CAPT TINTS 29/1190

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Expectations are high here that President F W de Klerk will set the scene for major changes when he opens Parliament later this week.

A leading Sunday newspaper expressed confidence that the announcement would pave the way for a relaxation of some British sanctions and lead to tentative official contacts between the two countries — as a precursor to a visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Doubts expressed on Saturday by Mrs Winnie Mandela about the early release of her husband made the lead story in Britain's latest Sunday newspaper, the Independent on Sunday, launched yesterday.

The report was based on an interview with Mrs Mandela before and after her visit to Mr Nelson Mandela on Saturday.

The violence associated with the rebel English cricket tour, meanwhile, continues to get widespread press and television coverage here. Footage was shown on the BBC news yesterday of police firing rubber bullets and teargas at thousands of black demonstrators in Kimberley.

This accompanied a call yesterday by Labour's shadow foreign secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, for the tour to be called off.

South Africa features heavily in the first publication of the Independent on Sunday. Apart from the front-page lead, there is also a lengthy leader-page interview with Mrs Mandela and a cartoon of rebel captain Mike Gating with the tears of black faces in clouds above him and the legend "Rain should stop play".

In the newspaper's glossy Sunday Review supplement, Grahamstown author Andre Brink writes the opening article. Brink sees Mr Mandela's release as a last bid by Mr De Klerk to buy time to cement power — and as a start to change.

Saturday's Independent carried a leader-page profile of Mr De Klerk who, it said, had been preparing Friday's speech since before Christmas.

"The speech is seen as a test of his sincerity.

"Will he release Nelson Mandela, will he unban the ANC, will he lift the state of emergency? Will he



DISAPPOINTED ... Mrs Winnie Mandela after visiting her husband at the weekend.

provide the conditions for all the political players on the South African stage to function free of fear of persecution?

"Expectations have not been so high since before Mr P W Botha delivered a speech in Durban in August 1985 which failed to contain an announcement of major changes, as anticipated, and precipitated an overnight collapse of the rand, a run on the stockmarket, intensified violence in the townships and international outrage."

The Sunday Correspondent reported yesterday that "British ministers are quietly preparing for the relaxation of some sanctions against South Africa later this year if Mr Mandela is released and President De Klerk takes expected steps to ease restrictions on political activity".

Political editor Donald Macintyre wrote that Mrs Margaret Thatcher was now "virtually certain to visit South Africa ... if Mr Mandela is released as is widely expected".

It quoted September as a probable date for the visit, "though it could be as early as Easter if there are dramatic changes before then".

Youth of NP, ANC agree on change

GABORONE. — Young ANC members and their National Party Jeugkrags counterparts have agreed on the need for "fast and fundamental change" in South Africa but failed to reach agreement on certain ideological issues, according to Botswana's news agency, Bopa.

Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, chairman of the Jeugkrags, appeared at a press conference yesterday afternoon at the end of the two-day conference alongside the Lusaka-based leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Jackie Selebi.

Mr van Schalkwyk said they had agreed that the Gaborone meeting should be followed up with more negotiations.

Historical wrongs

The Jeugkrags favoured a free-market economy and a federal arrangement. On the other hand, the ANC delegation opted for what Mr Selebi called a mixed economy and a unitary system.

Mr Selebi said the ANC believed a certain measure of state intervention was necessary to redress "historical wrongs".

Asked for his organisation's view of the ANC, Mr Van Schalkwyk said it was an important Sapa

Zimbabwe rendezvous for Coetzees

CML-7005 29/1/90

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The wife of fugitive ex-SAP hit squad commander Dirk Coetzee is to meet her husband in Zimbabwe later this week when he addresses an international press conference on the existence and functions of police hit squads.

This was disclosed by Mrs Karen Coetzee from her Pretoria home yesterday.

Mrs Coetzee said she and her two children would be leaving soon to meet her husband — who is now an ANC member — when he and self-confessed hit squad member David "Spyker" Tshikalange and several former Askaris address the ANC-organised press conference in Harare later this week.

The visit will be the first physical contact Mrs Coetzee has had with her husband since he fled South Africa three months ago after disclosing the existence of police hit squads.

Asked when she and her children would leave to be reunited, Mrs Coetzee said she was "not sure".

"I am still not certain. He will telephone me and give me a time and place. But I suspect I will meet him in Harare on Wednesday or Thursday," she said.

Mrs Coetzee also said she had "mixed feelings" and had been in "shock" for a day when her husband told her he was an ANC member last Thursday evening.

"But I will support him in whatever he does."

His decision to join the ANC had not been an easy one for him as he did not support "violence".

"I will talk to him about it. He is still very fond of SA and his heart and his soul are still with the Afrikaner. He will not support their violence," she said.

Asked if she was going to follow suit and join the organisation, Mrs Coetzee said she had no plans as the thought had not crossed her mind.



Coetzee ... 'won't support violence.'



Mrs Coetzee ... 'shocked' at decision.

Man held for Khayelitsha killer fire

Staff Reporter

A 41-YEAR-OLD man has been arrested in connection with the fire in Green Point, Khayelitsha, early yesterday morning, which killed four people and razed about 100 shacks.

Two adults and two children died in the blaze.

Captain Gys Boonzaaier, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said yesterday that the man was expected to appear in court today. He faces charges on four counts of murder and one of arson.

Neighbours said those who died were 18-year-old Miss Beauty Goba, her two young sisters aged three and five whose names they did not know, and another elderly family member, Mrs Nomakula Goba.

They said Miss Beauty Goba's mother, whose first name they also did not know, survived the fire, which apparently began about 1am yesterday. Everyone in the shack was asleep at the time.

The fire soon spread to adjoining shacks, and dozens of people had lost

all their possessions by the time the Mitchells Plain Fire Brigade was able to extinguish the blaze.

A fire brigade spokesman said the first call had come through about 3am. Police and residents said the fire had apparently been started at 1am.

Mr Augustus James and his wife Zoleka said their two children, Siphso, 14, and Nosipho, seven, had been injured in the fire and taken away for treatment.

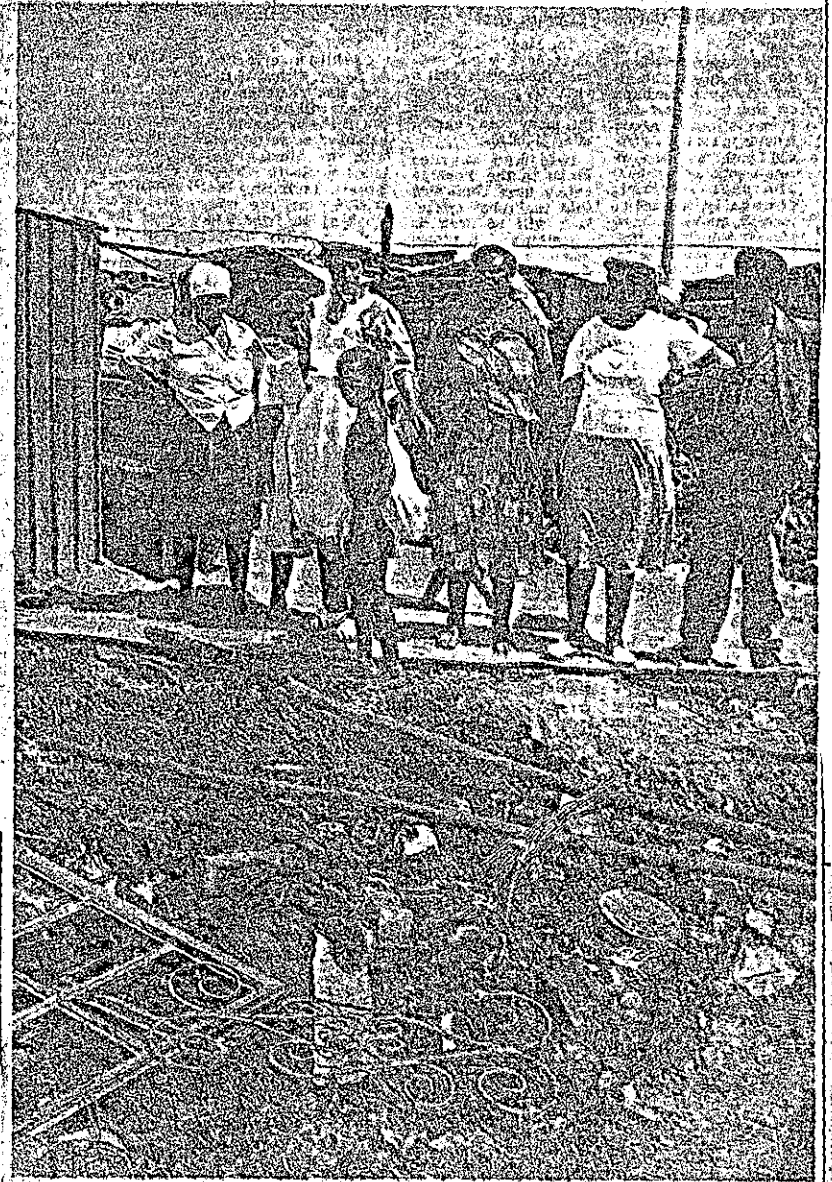
"Everyone was crying," Mr James said. "There were bank books and ID cards as well as money inside the houses. My TV and hi-fi set burned also. I lost everything. I have no clothes and no blankets, and no materials I need to make another house."

Mrs Patience Baatjie, whose possessions were also burned, said this was the third time it had happened to her.

"In 1986 we were burned out in KTC," she said. "In November we also burned. And now this is the third time. Yet still they don't move us."

Asked where she wanted to go, she replied: "Anywhere where it is safe".

The houses were too close together, the residents complained.



PLACE OF DEATH . . . Four people were burned to death when the shack in which they were sleeping was reduced to ashes. The fire swept through about 100 shacks in Khayelitsha early yesterday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

11A (L) (S) (A)

Businessmen confused over ANC stance

(L) (S) (A) ALAN FINE (L) (S) (A)

BUSINESS has responded to Nelson Mandela's reaffirmation of his and the ANC's commitment to the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industry with discomfort and confusion.

SA Chamber of Business president Leslie Boyd said the statement would have an extremely negative impact on the perceptions of skilled and professional people in SA.

"If such policies are implemented in a future SA it would lead to a massive brain drain the likes of which have never before been seen," he said.

He said many in SA were prepared to accept the total removal of racial discrimination and "heavy" black involvement in government, provided the economy was run on a free enterprise basis.

"If the statement is authentic I am very disappointed. It would appear Nelson Mandela and the ANC are out of touch with reality and totally ignore the very significant events that have taken place in Eastern Europe in recent months," said Boyd.

Another prominent businessman, who had met ANC representatives more than once, said it was impossible to have a sensible debate until the political process had been freed up.

Declining to be named, he said nationalisation was a vague term and a rhetorical device.

"It is possible to speculate that the ANC wishes to firm up its apparently softening policy so it has an appropriate opening position at the bargaining table. It also has to reassure its restless troops on the ground who believe it is going soft," he said.

He noted that the ANC, like most political organisations, had many agendas directed at a wide range of constituencies. Without open debate it was difficult to assess what various statements meant.

Chamber of Mines president Ken Maxwell said at the weekend Mandela's reported statement was a contradiction of the process required for black economic empowerment.

It also appeared to contradict some of the reassuring noises made by ANC leaders recently, Maxwell said.

Maxwell said these discussions had led to expectations that the ANC had begun to adopt a more realistic approach, more in keeping with developments elsewhere in the world where nationalisation was being abandoned "at every turn".

B/D am 29/1190.

Govt must make changes first ^(1/A) Mandela

B/DM 29/11/90

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, 71, would return to armed struggle if, when he was released, certain pre-conditions set down by the ANC had not been met, National Association of Democratic Lawyers vice-president and Mandela family friend Dullah Omar said yesterday.

This was the "complication" to Mandela's release mentioned by his wife Winnie after she spent four hours with him on Saturday. Omar and his wife accompanied her to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Omar said Mandela had repeatedly said he expected major changes to have taken place by the time he was released. These

included the lifting of the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other restricted organisations, allowing exiled ANC leaders to return and releasing political prisoners.

The ANC has also said pre-conditions stipulated in the Harare Declarations would have to be met before it would consider negotiating with government.

"If he is released and there are no changes, he would report back to the ANC that three years of talks have been a waste of time and he would return to SA to

resume the struggle which would result in him being back in prison. Therefore, there is no point in releasing him without these changes being made," Omar said.

"The problem is that it appears government is not ready to make these changes but at the same time pressure is mounting to have Nelson Mandela released," he said.

Sapa reports Winnie Mandela as saying after the visit: "It is quite clear there are a lot of hurdles along the way. It is quite clear problems have cropped up."

Omar said speculation over Mandela's apparently imminent release was just that — speculation.

ANC soul searching

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From JOHN RYAN of The Argus Africa News Service in Lusaka

THE question that lingers after the African National Congress's meeting here last week to unite external and internal elements of the party is this: did acting president Alfred Nzo blow it?

POLITICS

Did he go overboard by confessing in public that the ANC did not have the numbers to intensify the armed struggle within South Africa to any meaningful degree?

Did he tip his organisation's

hand too much by telling a press conference before the three-day meeting of his national executive committee that a decision would have to be made, if the ANC was unbanned, about whether it became entirely above board or retained an underground structure?

The strong impression is that Mr Nzo — who is no Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo — had his butt kicked after making those disclosures. Not only by his own colleagues for revealing strategy, but also by visiting observers of the Mass Democratic Movement and Cosatu, who hardly need the South African government to be informed that the people's revolution may not be working as well as it should.

Perhaps the remonstrance was gentle, considering the occasion. But what was significant was that Mr Nzo's sentiments seemed to have been carefully pigeon-holed in ANC statements that followed afterwards.

Even Mr Nzo himself clammed up. And the final communique out of the executive committee meeting, which he presented, was bland to a point where it contained very little about anything at all.

Another thing the acting president said in that opening speech — which other leaders echoed during the week — was that the ANC would have to be careful not to be wrong-footed by President De Klerk, should he suddenly decide to meet

the demands of last August's Harare Declaration.

Chief among these are the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organisations, the return of ANC members in exile, the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

How or why the organisation could be caught off balance by the prospect of negotiating with the government is hard to understand. The ANC's goal is plain. It wants an open franchise in a multi-party state.

Guardedness

It has said often enough it will not settle for anything less than one man, one vote.

Perhaps the guardedness of its leaders stems from the fact that they realise Mr De Klerk is not going to negotiate away power, that at the very most he will seek to share it.

So, if its objectives are not met, what will the ANC do?

A clear option, apart from continuing the armed struggle, would be to step up action on the political and labour fronts. An unbanned ANC, in an alliance with Cosatu and the MDM, could operate very effectively in these areas.

The leadership has already said it will work to reactivate "people's structures" like the street committees of the mid-1980s, although ANC officials realise they will need to ensure these do not get out of control.

That happened in 1985 and 1986, when "comrades" in the Eastern Cape virtually ran amok and the awful "necklacing" atrocities reached their height. The ANC cannot afford to be tarred again with that brush.

Some people find it strange that the ANC should be talking about trying to step up the armed struggle at a time when it is also intent on negotiations with the government.

However, the two are sides of the same coin. The threat of action against hard targets is one of the few cards the ANC has to play, while it remains banned, one of the few ways it can put pressure on Mr De Klerk to negotiate.

And it is adamant that it will not disarm until the security forces stop their own action. As one official put it, "There can be no such thing as a unilateral ceasefire."

Mr Nzo's anxiety about whether the organisation has the capacity inside the country to intensify the struggle is well-founded. There is no doubt Umkhonto we Sizwe has been hit by logistical problems since it was forced by events in Angola to move its bases further north.

A major fear the ANC leaders do have is that the changing attitude on the part of the government may persuade the world community to release some of its own pressure on South Africa, particularly should Mr De Klerk meet the demands of the Harare Declaration.

Most of the leaders agree there will be no quick fix to the situation. They believe they are in for the long siege.

But the answer of one long-exiled official was interesting, when I asked him where he expected to be in three years time.

"I imagine I will be at home," he said, "carrying on the struggle from there. I'm sure we won't have got much closer to what we want. But if De Klerk unbans us, there won't be much point in staying here."

TIC issues challenge to Indian schools

By Janet Heard,
Education Reporter

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has challenged headmasters of Indian government schools to accept children of other race groups without seeking ministerial consent.

The TIC said these schools should admit black pupils unconditionally and not subject to a list of "racist and discriminatory" conditions.

"The TIC believes that such a policy deliberately places unrealistic obstacles to open, non-racial schooling. Furthermore, such permission takes months before being granted.

"We believe that at a time when our country is on the brink of a non-racial future, it is vital that we begin the process of open schools today", the TIC said in a statement said.

Mr R S Maharaj, chief public relations officer for the Ministry of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, said the Ministry had to serve the interests of its community first, as education in SA was an "own affair" and there had to be a limit to admissions. *Stv 29/1/90*

CRITERIA

He said the following criteria were drawn up jointly by the three Ministers responsible for education in each House:

- The pupil must live within walking distance of the school.
- The pupil must be proficient in the medium of the school, which was English in Indian schools.
- The pupil's admission must not alter the cultural composition of the class.
- The age of the child should approximate the class average.
- There must be accommodation available.

Last year, there were about 6 000 children of all race groups other than Indian who were admitted to schools. "Of this total, 1 500 had been admitted in 1989 alone, which means the trend is increasing", Mr Maharaj said.

In addition, he said the Ministry had offered the DET and the Department of Education and Culture in kwaZulu the use of its schools, resources and teachers for extra tuition for black matriculants after school hours.

"The Minister and his chief executive director are the professional heads of the Department of Education and Culture. They determine the policy and ensure it is implemented in the best interests of its population group, bearing in mind that in SA, education is an own affairs and as such, they are accountable to their community".

He said principals were largely responsible for the admission process of children of another race group and the Ministry based its approval of an application on the views of the principal.

News in Brief

CAT Tmp 30/1/90
5 held for attacks on cops

JOHANNESBURG. — Security police have arrested five members of a "murder group" who have been responsible for several grenade and AK47 attacks on policemen and are investigating whether they have any links with the ANC, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said.

CAT Tmp 30/1/90
Youth leader 'arrested'

JOHANNESBURG. — SA Youth Congress leader Mr Peter Mokaba was allegedly detained on Saturday by Pietersburg police, Sayco publicity secretary Mr Simon Ntombela told journalists at a conference yesterday.

11A

Bid to scrap censorship laws and halt Govt control of TV, radio

Campaign to end press curbs launched

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A concerted effort to counter press censorship and to ensure a free press in a post-apartheid society was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

For the first time, organisations across the political divide joined forces to campaign against all restrictions on the press, including the media regulations.

Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the meeting, at which the interim Save the Press Campaign — launched last year — resolved to rename the initiative the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Speakers stressed the need for a united and organised campaign against Government repression of the media.

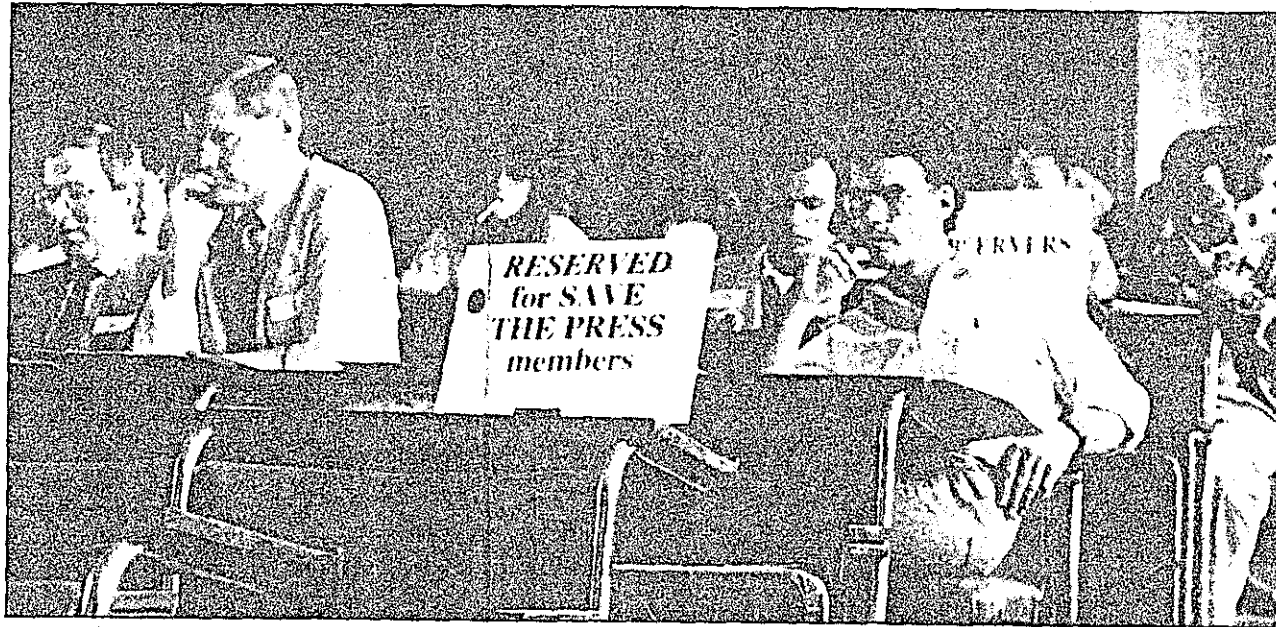
Mr John Matisonn, a radio correspondent for various overseas news media who chaired the meeting, said the campaign would be aimed at "making the public aware of what they are deprived of".

COM would campaign for the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all censorship laws, the opening of all sources of information and the removal of Government control of television and radio.

It would also campaign for a moratorium on all prosecutions and the setting aside of all convictions of journalists and media workers for actions taken in the course of their duties.

Among the delegates were Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of *The Star*, *New Nation* acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana, UDF executive members Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Azhar Cachalia and representatives of the Black Sash, Women for Peace and Cosatu.

Four people were elected to the COM — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail* co-editor Mr Anton Harber, *The Indicator* editor Mr Ameen Akhailwaya, and Mr Matisonn.



We want a free press... Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (formerly the Save the Press Campaign) in Johannesburg yesterday. ● Picture by Karen Sandison.

Make media democratic — UDF

Political Reporter

A free press should be a crucial pillar of a democratic society, Mr Azhar Cachalia, an executive member of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday at the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Over more than four decades, "a myriad of draconian legislation" had been used to close newspapers, harass journalists and control the public's access to information.

"The effect of this was that the public, more particularly our white compatriots, were left totally uninformed and ill-equipped to deal with the challenges that face this society."

Mr Cachalia said basic rights and freedoms should be guaranteed by law in a democratic so-

ciety — regardless of the government in power.

"If we want to ensure that our future government will protect all basic freedoms, it is up to us now, in the way we wage our struggles, to create the conditions which will make it impossible for any future government to retreat from this commitment."

Mr Cachalia added that access to the media was currently limited because the Government controlled the broadcasting media and a handful of privately-owned corporations largely controlled the print media.

"One of our urgent tasks therefore is to look at how we begin to democratise both the control of and access to information."

'Public denied vital information'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

South Africans could not take responsible decisions on a new political dispensation while being deprived of vital information on all the political actors, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a concerted campaign against censorship, Mr Louw said trust, negotiations and reconciliation were impossible while people were being denied the right to express their views or to be informed about other people's views.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

"The real challenge facing South Africa is to let the people know what is going on and let them speak so that all can hear them. You cannot have reconciliation, good faith and trust while there is such an all-pervading silence and such terrible ignorance."

He said the Government was itself breaking its laws daily by allowing the media to quote restricted individuals and members of still-banned

organisations such as the African National Congress.

"We do not hold with such pussy-footing. We say scrap the banning laws now and let the people be heard. Stop detaining people so that they can be heard. Scrap the media emergency regulations so that we can all see and hear what is going on around us."

Mr Louw said the media regulations, which had been in force for more than three years, had effectively prevented access to "a frightening amount of information". Uninformed people could not make responsible decisions on a future dispensation.

"The people of this country are faced with the momentous task which in essence involves the reassessment and overturning of policies of decades, and rebuilding a new South Africa with value systems that will lift this country back into the community of civilised nations. Yet the people are being denied vital information to enable them to even think about these issues, let alone make decisions on them," he said.

ANC and Youth for SA team disagree

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The African National Congress was in favour of banning political organisations such as the National Party, Inkatha and the Pan-Africanist Movement on the grounds that they promoted racism or ethnicity, a Youth for SA delegation was told at the weekend.

Twelve-man delegations of Youth for SA, a moderate predominantly Afrikaner organisation, and the ANC's Youth League met in Botswana at the weekend.

On his return from Gaborone yesterday, Youth for SA president Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the ANC felt any party which furthered the aims of racism, fascism or Nazism, or which promoted ethnicity, should not be allowed to operate.

The two organisations agreed that the present political system should be abolished as soon as possible, that all political organisations should be unbanned and all political prisoners free, and that detention without trial should be abolished.

DIFFERED

However, they differed fundamentally on issues such as the armed struggle, the redistribution of wealth and land, and constitutional issues.

The ANC put its view that banks, mines and monopolistic capitalist companies should be nationalised; we opted for a free-market system with the qualification that there should be some state intervention to ensure an equitable redistribution of wealth between white and black.

The ANC favors a unitary state; we support a geographic federation based on the principles of

one person, one vote, a common voters roll and proportional representation for political parties (not racial groups).

Mr van Schalkwyk said despite strong differences of opinion, there was potential for agreement on various issues "although we remain ideological opponents".

He added that the ANC was seriously debating its position on negotiations. However, many ANC youth members were still in favour of an intensified armed struggle despite secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo's recent statement that the organisation did not have the resources to do so.

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30/1/90

Cop emptied pistol into shack, court told

APR 7 1990 30/11/90

DURBAN. — An ex-PAC terrorist said he emptied a 9mm service pistol into a shack in Chesterville "in self-defence" without ever seeing the six youths in the shack, in an incident in which four young men are alleged to have died at the hands of an SAP hit squad.

Giving evidence in the screened-off witness stand before Mr B J Olivier at the inquest here yesterday was Constable Mampotoko Makgopa of security branch headquarters in Pretoria.

Const Makgopa was a member of counter-insurgency squad Section C-1 which entered Chesterville in June 1986, allegedly with orders to "trace and arrest" suspected young comrade Mr Charles Ngcobo.

In his statement to police soon after the shootings, which was read to the court by prosecutor Mr R V Holland, Const Makgopa claimed that after two undercover policemen walked out of the shack where six suspected young comrades waited, a shot was heard behind them "in our direction", at which he and six other members of Section C-1 — one a policewoman — fired on the shed.

"I fired through the wooden wall

until my gun was empty," Const Makgopa said, admitting later that he was unable to see inside the shack.

He said he disagreed with the use of the term "operation" in his statement, as he felt "investigation" was more appropriate. When he was challenged as to how an incident which left four dead could be described as an "investigation", he replied that the killings were not planned.

Const Makgopa said he joined the PAC in 1978 and was given military training. He gradually became dissatisfied with the policies of the PAC and he joined the SAP in 1985, his decision motivated, he said, by a desire to "protect people from dangerous people".

Earlier, witness Const Thabu Paulos Makgaga, the ex-ANC guerilla who wielded a captured AK-47 during the operation, was cross-examined by Mr G H Penzhorn, for the families of the dead youths.

Mr Penzhorn suggested that "with all the policemen out of the shack, the intention was to do something other than arrest the suspects". Const Makgaga denied this.

The hearing continues today.

Zim press to see Coetsee!

APR 7 1990 30/11/90
Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The African National Congress hopes on Thursday to present alleged South African hit-squad members Dirk Coetsee and Heine Human to the Harare press corps, sources here confirmed yesterday.

The organisation is keeping the whereabouts of the two men a close secret, possibly while it obtains the approval of the Zimbabwean government for the planned media event.

Never before has President Robert Mugabe acknowledged the presence of men involved in the "armed struggle", in any capacity, on Zambian soil.

Sources suggested the ANC might present other alleged South African hit-squad members.

Dylan honoured

PARIS — Bob Dylan

Star 30/11/90

MDM plans to march on Parliament on Friday (11A)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Mass Democratic Movement is to march on Parliament on Friday to call for the resignation of the Government and the immediate release of Nelson Mandela.

Permission to march will not be sought from the chief magistrate. However, the MDM is meeting the Cape Town city council this week to discuss traffic arrangements.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and her children will join the march.

The United Democratic Front press secretary, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said the MDM had decided to "relaunch the defiance campaign" because the Government could not be relied on to bring about change.

"We are on the threshold of a new era. The pace will not be set by Mr de Klerk but by the people of South Africa."

When the State President opened Parliament on Friday he would have a "chance to prove himself" by dissociating himself from racism.

DISSOLVE

Ms Carolus said it was hoped Mr de Klerk would announce plans to dissolve the tricameral Parliament.

The decision not to apply to the magistrate was made because the MDM was convinced the National Party was using the question of permits to "manipulate and thwart protests".

Marches in other Cape areas had been stopped and delayed by magistrates.

The right to peaceful assembly was a "constitutional right and not a presidential privilege", she said.

The MDM had a "strong commitment" to peaceful, disciplined protest. This had been demonstrated at the UDF launch, where 15 000 people met in a hall designed for 900.

It was not a publicity stunt to say there was a direct correlation between violence and the presence of police, she said.

The MDM was prepared to give an "unqualified commitment" to maintain discipline, as long as police were controlled.

Attempts to defuse damaging showdown

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
JOHN YELD and ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporters

AS battle lines are drawn between the government and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) over two key protest marches in Cape Town this week, the Democratic Party is working behind the scenes to defuse what many fear could be a damaging showdown.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said today he and his senior colleagues were trying to work out "a formula which will allow peaceful marches and, at the same time, enable the police to act more flexibly".

The DP, he suggested, would offer the formula as a means of achieving a compromise.

In a major challenge to President De Klerk, the MDM repeated today its intention to defy the government and go ahead with the marches tomorrow and on Friday, in spite of a letter from the police saying the marches would be illegal. The MDM refuses to seek permission, claiming the Internal Security Act is an "immoral law".

OVER-KILL SITUATION

Dr Worrall said South Africa was entering a "sensitive and delicate situation pregnant with possibility and it is crucial we handle it responsibly".

"What is critically important is that we avoid what happened last week, because regardless of how one attributes responsibility, that is something we have to avoid.

"We have to be careful we are not getting into an over-kill situation with the marches.

"The MDM is adopting a very absolutist position and I think the police are in a very difficult position. It is significant that Mr Nelson Mandela has adopted a conciliatory attitude. We have to act responsibly."

Police announced yesterday that a letter addressed to the MDM and stating that the marches would be illegal — had been delivered to the Rev Sid Lockett, director of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility.

Mr Lockett confirmed today that the letter had been handed to him by two policemen about 6pm yesterday.

The letter, signed by the regional commissioner, Major-General Flip Fourie, had quoted the Internal Security Act and said marches planned for tomorrow and Friday would be illegal as they had not been expressly authorised by the Minister of Justice or a local magistrate.

POLICE ADAMANT

The letter "specifically" pointed out that police had no discretion to allow the marches to proceed, said Mr Lockett.

He had told the policemen that, in his experience, police had allowed "illegal" marches to proceed on certain occasions.

"However, they were adamant. I consulted some of the people involved in the organisation and we have decided we are not altering our plans — we are continuing.

"The Internal Security Act itself is, in our opinion, an immoral law and we don't feel obliged to obey immoral laws.

"As far as we are concerned, if police stayed out of the way there would be no problems."

Mr Lockett said he would be consulting a lawyer today to discuss the issue, and the contents of the letter still had to be "officially" conveyed to the organisers.

UDF press secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus said the MDM stood by its decision to march as planned in an "orderly and disciplined manner".

"We call on our people to conduct themselves in a dignified manner which has characterised the defiance campaign so far," she said.

'Release can't be delayed'

By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's release will probably take place only sometime after mid-February, according to human rights advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Speaking at a press conference of the Mass Democratic Movement in his capacity as United Democratic Front vice president, Mr Omar said Mr Mandela was being used as a "political football" and was not in control of the situation.

"He does not know when he will be released. All we know is that his release is imminent."

"When you have been in prison for 27 years, it seems as if a few weeks won't make that much difference but in the present situation it does make a difference."

Struggle

"We feel his release cannot be delayed anymore. Mr Mandela has said that if when he is released conditions have not changed, he will continue to struggle where he left off. He will have to report to his organisation that talking to the government is a waste of time."



Mr Nelson Mandela

ment on Friday to call for the resignation of the government and the immediate release of Mr Mandela.

The National City Council this week to discuss traffic arrangements.

United Democratic Front press secretary Cheryl Carolus told that the MDM had decided to "re-launch the defiance campaign" because the National Party government could not be relied on to bring about change.

'New era'

"We are on the threshold of a new era. The pace will not be set by Mr de Klerk but by the people of South Africa," she said.

When the State President opened Parliament on Friday he would have a "chance to prove himself" by dissociating himself from racism.

Ms Carolus said it was hoped that Mr De Klerk would announce plans to dissolve the tricameral parliament.

The march is planned for the "vast majority" to add the

voice of the voteless to the proceedings.

The MDM was convinced the NP was using the question of permits to "manipulate and thwart protests".

Marches in Paarl, Robertson, Ashton, Knysna and De Aar had been denied and delayed by magistrates.

The right to peaceful assembly was a "constitutional right and not a presidential privilege", she said.

The MDM had a "strong commitment" to peaceful, disciplined protest. This had been demonstrated at the UDF launch, where 15 000 people met in a hall designed for 900.

It was not a publicity stunt to say that there was a direct correlation between violence and the presence of police, she added.

The MDM was prepared to give an "unqualified commitment" to maintaining discipline as long as the police were controlled.

'World Press used to harm the ANC'

DAVID BRAUN of the Argus Foreign Service Washington

THE international Press has been part of the machinery the National Party government has used to try to destroy the African National Congress, Mrs Winnie Mandela has told an American television interviewer.

Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said on a recent programme screened by South Africa Now that one should never imagine for one moment that the international Press was part of the ANC's cause or that it was impressed with the notion of a black government in South Africa.

Mrs Mandela said it was



United Democratic Front press secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus and regional vice-president Mr Dullah Omar outline at a press briefing in Cape Town last night the Mass Democratic Movement's plan of action for the week before parliament opens.

quite clear the international press was part of the machinery the government was using to try to destroy the ANC. Earlier in the interview, Mrs Mandela said there had been no change whatsoever in South Africa under President De Klerk.

She said South Africans still lived under the state of emergency, the ANC was still banned and exiles still lived outside the country.

"The fact that we share thoughts with those who oppress us does not mean we are sharing power with



Mrs Winnie Mandela

Mandela 'not automatic president'

The Argus Foreign Service in Amsterdam

MR Nelson Mandela will not automatically become the president of the ANC when he is freed, former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu told journalists here yesterday.

Mr Sisulu was speaking at Schiphol Airport during a stopover on his way to Stockholm, where he will visit ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said the leadership of the ANC was a collective one. "It does not mean to say that another man will come and take over the presidency of our organisation," Mr Sisulu said.

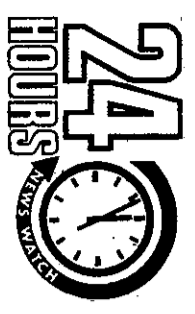
Mr Tambo is recovering in a Stockholm clinic from the stroke he suffered last year.

Mr Sisulu said in Oslo that the ANC could become a legal organisation by the end of this year.

"I expect the ANC to be unbanned as speedily as possible," Mr Sisulu told a press conference.

Mr Sisulu said there was no reason to fear that Mandela's release would spark off violence. "Our release was welcomed by the people in an orderly way and the rallies they carried out were orderly," he said.

The ANC representatives confirmed Mr Mandela's stance on the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries, but they did not rule out the possibility of a mixed economy in a future democratic South Africa.



During meetings with delegations from organisations all over the country, Mr Mandela had made a call to ensure that the struggle intensified.

"He is quite categorical," Mr Omar said.

Meanwhile Mrs Winnie Mandela and her children will join the Mass Democratic Movement march on Parlia-

Star 30/11/90
Mandela 'may
not head ANC'

The Star's Foreign
News Service (11A)

AMSTERDAM — Nelson Mandela will not automatically become the president of the ANC when he is freed, Mr Walter Sisulu told journalists here yesterday.

Mr Sisulu was speaking at Schiphol Airport during a stop-over on his way to Stockholm.

He said the leadership of the ANC was a collective one. "It does not mean to say that another man will come and take over the presidency."

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Where the people's will should rule

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The revival of "people's structures" such as street and area committees in the townships could play a vital role in establishing a true democracy in South Africa, according to community leaders and political analysts.

The African National Congress announced at its recent Lusaka meeting that it intended to reconstruct the grassroots local government structures in co-operation with the Mass Democratic Movement.

Reacting to criticism of the system — in the mid-eighties "comrades" who ran some of the committees were able to run riot and commit atrocities — an ANC official admitted: "We cannot let that happen again. Some terrible things were done and many people blamed the ANC."

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Jan van Eck said the system had been misused and that it generally functioned well.

"The committees were formed because of police involvement in unrest control. Alternative community structures were formed

because people no longer felt free to report crimes to the police.

"However, 'wild elements' took control of some of the committees after the clampdown on leading activists in the mid-eighties. The system went wrong because the leadership was removed."

The short term aim of reviving the community structures would be to combat crime, while the ultimate goal would be to enhance effective political consultation with the rank-and-file once political organisations were unbanned, he said.

LEARNT FROM MISTAKES

The president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, Mr Mkhulisi Jack, conceded that in the past some street committees "did not operate perfectly". People had "learnt from the mistakes of the past", and the present efforts to establish anti-crime committees had proceeded well.

"The central aim of these structures are important. Not only does it give the ordinary man the opportunity to participate in democratic decision-making, but it provides for checks and

balances through which the rank-and-file can monitor its leaders."

Human rights spokesman Dr Max Coleman said the formation of such structures was prohibited in terms of the emergency regulations because the Government perceived community structures to be in opposition to "puppet structures" such as town councils.

"Community structures are allowed in any democratic society as an expression of the will of the people," Dr Coleman said.

Mr Phillip Nhlapo, president of the moderate, pro-negotiations National Forum and president of the municipal umbrella body Ucasa, said he was not opposed to the ANC system.

"We who participate in existing local government structures aim at lifting the standard of living of our people. We are concerned about issues such as water and electricity provision, housing and health issues.

"We are not looking at the political situation. We are not opposed to the ANC's local structures. All we want is peaceful change, and people have different methods to achieve that," he said.

Star 30/11/90

11A

ANC 'may be unbanned soon'

OSLO. — The ANC could become a legal organisation in South Africa by the end of this year, former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

"I expect the ANC to be unbanned as speedily as possible — possibly even this year," Mr Sisulu, who heads a delegation of activists visiting Norway, told a news conference.

Other senior ANC members, on their first visit outside Africa after 25 years in jail, would fix no date for Mr Nelson Mandela's expected release.

Earlier yesterday Mr Sisulu told

reporters problems had cropped up in plans to release Mr Mandela.

"There appear to be obstacles, but we don't know what they are."

Mr Sisulu said there was no reason to fear that Mr Mandela's release would spark off violence. "(Our) release was welcomed by the people in an orderly way," he said.

The ANC delegation has held talks with Foreign Minister Mr Kjell Magne Bondevik and today meet Norwegian parliamentarians and non-governmental organisations before leaving for Stockholm.

'One person, one vote' //A Expectations 'unjustified'

JOHANNESBURG. — "Real change in our country can come about only through the establishment of a system of democratic government, based on the principle of one person, one vote in a unitary state."

This is said in a joint statement by the National Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and the African National Congress after wide-ranging talks in Lusaka.

A 21-member Nafcoc delegation, led by Dr Sam Motsuenyane, issued the statement on their return this week.

Both delegations agreed that black business had to be actively involved in the struggle against racism. — Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — SABC radio warned in a commentary yesterday that "unjustified expectations" had been raised over the pace of reform and there was a need for caution. "Radical forces" were still bent on sabotaging prospects for power-sharing negotiations.

UPI

'ANC ^{CAC} ^{7/15} must ^{30/1/90} help end Natal ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ violence'

Political Staff

THE ANC would ultimately have to become involved in resolving the conflict in Natal, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, said yesterday.

He and eight other Natal church leaders met the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Cape Town yesterday but "agreed to disagree" with him about the government's refusal to appoint a commission of inquiry into the province's bloody turmoil.

"Ultimately, the big guns — the government, the ANC and the government of KwaZulu — are the principal people who must be involved," he said.

"What is happening now is just the beginning of the process to ensure that peace comes to Natal."

While the delegation believed a commission would have given the people of the province the correct signal, it agreed to the appointment of a working group under the chairmanship of an ex-judge to attempt to resolve the violence.

But the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, explained at a media conference later that the group had accepted the working-group concept but believed it should be in "conjunction with" and not as an "alternative to" the proposed commission of inquiry.

The leader of the delegation, which previously refused to see Mr Vlok in Natal, the Rev Khoza Mgojo, said Mr Vlok had promised to present the case of a commission to the President, Mr F W de Klerk.

City honours Bloomberg



HONORED . . . Alderman David Bloomberg, a former mayor of Cape Town who served the city for many years as a councillor and as chairman of Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, was given honorary life membership of the Captour Board in recognition of his contribution to the tourism industry in the Western Cape. Here the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, hands over an illuminated script to Mr Bloomberg and his wife Toby at a reception yesterday.

Picture: GSED ZLWA

Police will stop march

CMV TMH 30/1/90 11A

By MARIUS BOSCH
and BARRY STREEK

POLICE have told the organisers of Friday's planned protest march on Parliament that the march will be illegal — and warned that they will act if it proceeds.

Last night the MDM said it was determined to continue with the march without magisterial permission.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and her children are expected to take part in the planned march.

UDF publicity secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus said that yesterday security policemen handed a letter (addressed to the MDM) to the chairman of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, the Rev Sid Luckett, stating that the MDM march would be illegal.

Police spokesman Captain Gys Boonzaaier confirmed that the letter had been handed to Mr Luckett.

Yesterday police were working at finding a solution to defuse the potentially damaging showdown over the march planned by the MDM in the streets of Cape Town this week.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, liaison officer for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said no more statements on the matter would be issued at this stage.

Negotiations

The police view that the marches have to be legal, and the MDM's refusal to apply for legal permission, could result in the police taking action to prevent the marches taking place, as happened on Tuesday last week.

But although no one is saying much about it at this stage, it seems that behind-the-scenes negotiations are taking place to reach a solution to prevent conflict on the city's streets.

At an MDM press conference yesterday Ms Carolus said the MDM would not ask magisterial permission for the march but had "no problem" in cooperating "fully" with Cape Town City Council.

The organisation had met with traffic officials yesterday afternoon to discuss traffic arrangements for the march.

She said the MDM hoped that nobody in the city council would ask permission for the march on behalf of the movement.

Mr Dullah Omar, vice-president of the UDF in the Western Cape, said there were no fears that the protests planned for this week would jeopardise Mr Mandela's release.

Asked about pre-conditions reportedly set by Mr Mandela for being released, Mr Omar said Mr Mandela had said that if there had been no meaningful changes by the time he was released, he would continue the "armed struggle".



MOTSUENYANE

Nafcoc, ANC meet in Lusaka

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE inordinate concentration of wealth and economic power in the hands of a few is unhealthy and has resulted in South Africa in the constriction of the small business sector.

This was said in a joint statement released by the African National Congress national executive and a 21-man delegation of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), who met in Lusaka at the weekend.

The Nafcoc delegation was led by president Mr Sam Motsuenyane, and the ANC by secretary-general Alfred Nzo. *Sowetan 30/1/90*

In the statement the organisations said the consultations covered the current political situation in South Africa, the crisis of apartheid, the South African economic crisis and its impact on our people, and the role of the black business community in the struggle to dismantle apartheid and minority rule in South Africa.

The two delegations stressed that President F W de Klerk's Government had neither the will nor the capacity to effect meaningful change in South Africa.

They agreed to act in concert with other democratic organisations to expand and broaden the front of anti-apartheid forces, and to remain in regular contact.

Mandela wont bargain over his release

Sowetan 31/1/90

11A

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LONDON - Nelson Mandela is not prepared to sit and bargain over his release - because there is nothing to negotiate - according to the ANC's London spokeswoman, Dr Frene Ginwalla.

In an interview with *The Times* yesterday she said she believed there had been misunderstandings about Mandela's stand on his release.

Asked whether his imprisonment had become such a central image of ANC propaganda that he would be reluctant to surrender it without certain other undertakings by Pretoria, she said: "That is the wrong way of looking at it.

"The demand is, and has been all along, that the regime should release him. He is not prepared to sit and negotiate over his release. Prisoners do not negotiate.

"The demand is exactly the same as it has always been - and that is his immediate unconditional release, not linked to anything else. The conditions have always been put not by the ANC, nor by Mandela, but by Pretoria.

"What stops de Klerk from releasing

him? Our belief is that de Klerk is not yet ready - and I underline the "yet" - to contemplate seriously the destruction of apartheid. That requires still more pressure, both military and political."

Asked whether Mandela's release would not allow the de Klerk government to vaunt its own liberalism, and even possibly hijack the Mandela symbol, Ginwalla said there were a number of inaccuracies in that kind of assessment. "Mandela has *never* been a bargaining chip for the ANC. Inevitably, with the way campaigns go, they focus on an individual, and Nelson Mandela has that charisma, that integrity, that has maintained him."

De Klerk, she stressed, was trying to refurbish, and maybe even restructure, apartheid. "We say that we want a democratic society, the political institutions of which will draw our people together so that a move towards a common South African identity and nation is possible.

"Pretoria looks at it in exactly the opposite way. They say that *this* is the way things should be, and therefore that the institutions should perpetuate the divisions." - Sowetan Foreign News Service.

Mandela's conditions for release are fully justified



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WILSON KELLER & ASSOC. 5393/E

AT the time when the whole world is dying to see him out of prison, it would seem - at face value - that Mr Nelson Mandela is perhaps trying to become difficult by laying conditions for his release.

He is reported to be insisting that he will accept his freedom only if the state of emergency and restrictions placed on 30 organisations are lifted and the ANC is unbanned. Could that be unreasonable?

If you took into account the kind of challenges he already faces and the political climate prevailing in the country at the moment, you'd find his conditions to be not only justified, but very mild.

The state of emergency, for instance, has been around since 1985. But even prior to that, we did not have freedom of association, freedom of expression and many other freedoms enjoyed in normal societies.

Awareness

For the type of change we are looking for to be meaningful, we have to empower the nation politically, among other things. And political empowerment is about heightening the level of the masses' political consciousness. This can only be achieved through open debates and consultations

in which left- and right-wingers as well as moderates are free to express their views, or are free to challenge views they disagree with.

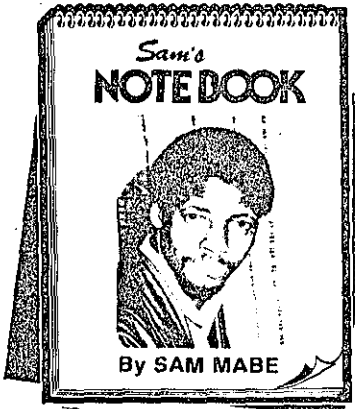
These freedoms are overdue necessities to start a meaningful process of change. Hence the conditions that Mandela is placing on De Klerk's table. Leaders of the ANC, PAC and the BCMA who are in exile are part of us and they are leaders of organisations that influence our everyday lives.

Needed

Their involvement in whatever will be happening in this country is no matter for debate. We need them.

On occasion I have been disturbed by the feeling that some people were elevating Mandela even above the liberation struggle itself. But whatever my arguments may be about this one, they are probably irrelevant to what I am saying here.

Nelson Mandela is a big man. He is one of a handful of leaders, if not the only one, who commands support and respect that transcends ideological, ethnic and other barriers. Whatever his views, he is definitely the kind of leader who can call the nation to attention and create a



climate for dialogue not only between blacks and whites, but particularly between black and black.

One of the most touching moments I experienced in many years was when I attended the launch of an album called *The Writing's On The Wall* by Lesotho's music group, Sankomota, at Molimo Nthuse on Sunday.

Unique

At one time I missed the woman who matters most in my life because she is emotionally much stronger than I am. I missed the three boys she mothered for me. I wanted them to experience some of the things I usually say to them when I preach Nation Building.

It was interesting that all the big names in the music field were there to lend support to this unique launch. Ray Phiri, Spho Mabuse, Rebecca Malope, Steve Kekana, Brenda Fassie and others. Tsepo Tsola, Sankomota's lead singer was just oozing with charisma as he walked up and down the stage. He had everyone eating out of his hand.

On two or three occasions he called all these singers to the stage to join

him - Steve Kekana, Rebecca Malope, Brenda. All of them took the challenge and they just painted the whole place red.

I thought about this in a political context. If it is possible, in the name of entertainment and strengthening the nation's culture, for singers to attend other singers' festivals and even agree to share the stage with them, why can't we do it in other fields?

I know we sometimes expect far too much from him, but could Nelson Mandela - maybe in the same way that Tsepo commanded the other singers to come on stage - get all of us to put the interests of the nation before our own?

Lyrics

I remember the lyrics of Tsepo's first song that day went something like "Why don't you reach out and touch, there must be some way to effect change".

Why, in the name of national unity, of power and freedom, can't we once in a while do what is expected of every leader in any community - take the challenges that face us by reaching out and touching somebody out there. Surely that is how we lead the people to their freedom?

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THE civil strife in Mapulaneng - the subject of peace mediation by the South African Council of Churches last week - erupted because of a lack of water in various villages, a *Sowetan* investigation has revealed.

And, pivotal to the deaths of activists in the area was the role played by Lebowa police in the fighting.

Mapulaneng is the traditional name of the numerous villages around the Bushbuckridge and Acornhoek areas. It is home to thousands of people and is no newcomer to violence.

In 1985, trouble erupted when Shangaan-speaking residents and their Sotho counterparts argued about borders of the Gazankulu and Lebowa bantustans. The fighting claimed several lives before it was settled.

The United Democratic Front has organised youths in the villages under the umbrella of the Bushbuckridge/Acornhoek Youth Congress (Bayco).

Memorandum

The youth congress is a powerful force in the area. It was under the auspices of Bayco that a march was staged to the Acornhoek police station in October last year to present a memorandum destined for State President FW De Klerk.

The memorandum listed several grievances including the lack of water, health facilities and the tribalisation of schools. It also called for the immediate removal of troops from the area. Thousands of people joined the march, which ended peacefully.

Residents had been paying levies to chiefs - including one for water - since 1955, but these services did not exist. So, after the march, Bayco decided that people should stop paying until the services were provided.

The chiefs were angered by this ruling because, according to Bayco activist Kelly Modipane, it denied them one source of income.

Cartridges

Days after the decision was taken, the home of Bayco president Jacks Modipane was attacked at night by men who hurled petrol bombs and shot into the house.

Cartridges found on the scene the following morning - 15 in all and an unused bullet - were taken to the Hoedspruit police station. There they were identified as

Shortage of water sparked the violence

Sowetan 31/11/90 11A

The story behind the Bushbuckridge crisis



The wounds that tell the tale. Ripho Machate, a young Bayco activist, who claims he was assaulted by Lebowa police.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

those used by members of the police and army, according to a memorandum sent to Lebowa

Chief Minister M N Ramodike.

In this memo the rest of the tragic story unfolds.

Residents claimed police complicity in the attack and five days

later they marched to the police station to protest that no arrests had been made.

The march was disrupted by the notorious Mankweng riot unit - cited in many cases, including the death of UDF president Peter Nchabeleng.

Young girls were arrested and beaten up savagely, according to the memo. They were instructed to stretch their legs and were assaulted on their private parts with sjamboks and sticks.

Sjamboks

"Girls were instructed by members of your force to demonstrate how they made love with their boyfriends," the memo alleged.

Ripho Machate, a young Bayco activist, was arrested at the same time. When the girls came to court, he was absent. Repeated efforts to have him charged were frustrated by the police.

Consciousness

Ripho was eventually brought to court six days after his arrest. After his bail was fixed and paid for, the police refused to let him go. The following day he was back in court on a charge of escaping from custody. Bail was again fixed and he was later released.

Ripho has made an affidavit in which he claims to have been brutally assaulted at the police station. He said he was assumed dead when he lost consciousness and dumped in a hole.

* Continued on page 10

ANC protest at UK policy on SA

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — As a protest against British policy on South Africa, the African National Congress delegation under Mr Walter Sisulu currently in Europe will not take up an open invitation to meet a senior minister in the Foreign Office.

This was confirmed yesterday by a senior ANC official in London.

He said the decision not to go to Britain was "a political statement" on Britain's role at the moment, "and particularly the Thatcher government".

Meanwhile, Mr Sisulu's group has travelled from Tanzania via Amsterdam, arriving in Oslo on Monday. Tomorrow they will be in Stockholm, where they will meet ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who

31/1/90 (11A) is recuperating in a clinic there.

The delegation will be in a position to consult with Mr Tambo in the Swedish capital on an expected major policy announcement on negotiations by President F W de Klerk on Friday.

The ANC spokesman said the delegation could have chosen to travel to Oslo via London, but for political reasons, not logistical ones, did not do so. They are expected to fly back to Johannesburg on February 4.

Earlier this month, when it was believed Mr Sisulu would visit Britain, the Foreign Office indicated that he would be welcome to meet either Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd, if he was here, or a senior minister.

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Sisulu snubs London 'to protest against UK stand'

LONDON — As a protest against British policy on SA, Walter Sisulu's ANC delegation in Europe will not take up an open invitation to meet a senior minister in the British Foreign Office, a spokesman said yesterday.

A senior ANC official in London said the decision not to visit the UK was "a political statement" on Britain's role at the moment, "and particularly on the Thatcher government".

Sisulu's group travelled from Tanzania via Amsterdam, and arrived in Oslo, Norway, on Monday. They are due in Stockholm, Sweden, tomorrow to meet ANC president Oliver Tambo who is recuperating in a clinic there.

The delegation is expected to discuss with Tambo an expected major policy announcement on negotiations by President F W de Klerk on Friday.

They are expected to fly back to Johannesburg on February 4.

Earlier this month, when it was be-

KIN BENTLEY

lieved Sisulu would visit Britain, the Foreign Office indicated he would be welcome to meet either Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, if he was available, or a senior minister.

Later, the ANC made it clear there remained a strong dislike for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's policies.

A Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday the British Government maintained its policy of calling on the ANC to renounce the "armed struggle", which it had not yet done.

The ANC is also hostile towards Britain's refusal to support full-blown economic sanctions against SA.

The Foreign Office sees Sisulu as a member of a "more moderate faction" of the ANC that favours negotiation with the SA government.

However, another reason given by a government source why Sisulu might

have refused a meeting was that it could have hurt his credibility at a sensitive time during the build-up to negotiations.

Meanwhile, a report in The Times yesterday said another meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and De Klerk was in the offing.

The Times correspondent wrote that no decision had been reached yet on a release date for Mandela.

He quoted SA government sources as saying "the Cabinet has agreed to leave the timing to De Klerk and Mandela.

"The President, who met Mandela last month, is expected to arrange another meeting soon."

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports a spokesman for the President's office said yesterday if another meeting between De Klerk and Mandela was planned "the media would all know about it.

"I don't know about any such meeting," he said, adding he would not "indulge in speculation".

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Boy, 5, savaged after losing hand

MINNEAPOLIS. — A five-year-old boy lost his left hand when a firecracker exploded while he was holding it — and was then attacked by his pet pit bull, which was trained to attack at the sound of gunfire.

Tony Bricker was saved from bleeding to death by postman Mr Ken Soine, who raced to the rescue when he heard a woman screaming for help.

Tony was listed in stable condition following surgery yesterday.

Bomb squad member Sergeant Da-

vid Estenson said Mr Soine "undoubtedly saved the young boy's life by stopping the flow of blood with direct pressure on the wound".

He said the boy was apparently playing with matches in an upstairs bedroom with his younger siblings and ignited an illegal firecracker in his hand.

Sergeant Estenson said the firecracker was believed to be about 8cm long and 2,5cm in diameter. — UPI

Mandela, FW 'will meet again shortly'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Another meeting between jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk is in the offing, said a report in The Times here yesterday.

The Times correspondent wrote that no decision had been reached yet on a release date for Mr Mandela.

He quoted government sources as saying "the cabinet had agreed to leave the timing to Mr De Klerk and Mandela. The President, who met Mandela last month, is expected to arrange another meeting soon".

The Times said the apparent refusal by the government to unban the ANC was holding up the release. This was because Mr Mandela was committed to resuming the armed struggle if the ANC remained banned.

Syfrets Cape Times

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DAILY LISTING — Page 12
STOCK PRICES — Page 14

Sun International to close Comoros hotel

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political uncertainty in the Comoros has forced Sun International temporarily to wind down its new Le Galawa Sun hotel, the company's regional operations director in charge of the Comoros, Mr George Lazley, said yesterday.

Poor bookings — an average of about 24 people a week between mid-January and March — and uncertainty over the pending elections were the reasons for the shutdown, he said.

Mr Lazley said Sun International stood to incur losses of about R500 000 a month. The company had investments totalling R15 million in the Comoros.

Speculation that the hotel would be closed till at least April 6 was premature, he said.

● A decision on whether to extend Colonel Bob Denard's temporary residence permit for another two weeks is expected later this week, a Home Affairs spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday, according to Sapa.

Denard's previous permit expired on Monday.

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting con

SACP: Is it still bent on seizing power by force?

Star 3/11/9

The South African Communist Party, rivalled only by the Afrikaner Broederbond as South Africa's most secretive organisation, has been in the spotlight recently.

Three separate developments focus attention on it; each cast it in a different light, inviting contrasting interpretations of its role in the last decade of the century.

The trio of perspectives emerge from an analytical article on the SACP in the authoritative British publication *Africa Confidential*; a re-appraisal of the party by the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela; and a 27-page assessment of socialism, and hence of the SACP, by the party itself.

Africa Confidential offers a sharply critical evaluation of the SACP, asserting that the party is one of the last "loyal defenders" of pre-Gorbachev communism and that its professed support of Mr Gorbachev's policies of perestroika is insincere.

It identifies the venue of the SACP's seventh congress — hitherto a closely guarded secret — as Havana in Cuba; it sees the choice of venue as evidence of a split between the SACP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Cuba's communist leader, Fidel Castro, it can be noted in passing, recently re-affirmed his dedication to old-style Marxism-Leninism.

'Last defenders'

Africa Confidential says: "The SACP, in spite of its rhetorical support for perestroika, has joined Fidel Castro, Deng Zhao Ping, Ignor Ligachev and the late Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania as the last loyal defenders of orthodoxy."

A central reason for the rift between the SACP and CPSU is, *Africa Confidential* reasons, the shift in Soviet foreign policy on South Africa since Mr Gorbachev took over.

Pressure for political settlement

Havana manifesto gives clue

Recent developments have focussed attention on the highly secretive South African Communist Party. **PATRICK LAURENCE** looks at three separate perspectives of the party — a critical evaluation by the British publication 'Africa Confidential', a re-appraisal by Mr Nelson Mandela and an SACP assessment of itself.

replaced support for armed struggle as the primary policy thrust.

The SACP is, of course, in alliance with the ANC; its strength within the alliance reposes in the ANC's "dependence on the communist world for arms". Negotiations leading to political settlement would end the dependence and thereby weaken the SACP's position, the newsletter reckons.

Noting that Mr Mandela has emerged strongly as a strong protagonist of negotiations — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, describes him as a mediator — *Africa Confidential* deduces: "The party is ambivalent about the possible release of Mandela, whom it fears (as a non-communist)."

It adds: "There is thus a suspicion that the party is behind the ugly rumours circulating within the Mass Democratic Movement that Mandela may strike a deal with FW de Klerk. The object of such rumours would be to discredit Mandela from the MDM ... (and) with his power base eroded, the party could then take on Mandela."

In his statement to the Government, however, Mr Mandela



Mr Joe Slovo ... Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party and the mastermind behind its reformist approach.

emerges as a man who is loyal to the SACP; his fidelity is not prompted by his commitment to communism but acknowledgement of the SACP's long fight alongside the ANC for a non-racial society.

In his statement, drafted in June last year and first published last week in *South*, Mr Mandela says: "Co-operation between the ANC and the SACP goes back to the early Twenties and has always been, and still is, strictly limited to the struggle against racial oppression and for a just society."

The publication of Mr Mandela's statement to the Government coincided with the release of a statement from Mr Mandela's prison bungalow in which he re-affirms his commitment to the nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry".

The re-affirmation of his belief in State control of sectors of the economy strengthens the ties between Mr Mandela as a key ANC leader and the SACP as an ANC ally; it means that they are closer ideologically than would have been the case if Mr Mandela had, as alleged in some quarters, moved away from

even limited nationalisation. Mr Mandela, an admirer of multi-party parliamentary democracy, reiterated his attraction to the notion of a classless society. The SACP view of itself as reflected in its 27-page self-appraisal is that it is in the process of excising Stalinist influences from its ranks and ideological outlook.

It admits frankly: "We cannot disclaim our share of responsibility for the spread of the Stalinist cult ... but we can legitimately claim that in certain fundamental respects our indigenous revolutionary practice long ago ceased to be guided by Stalinist concepts." It speaks of the need to root out "sectarian attitudes towards some non-party colleagues" and exorcise "sloganised dismissals of views which do not completely accord with ours."

Old habits

Far from seeing the ANC as a vehicle for achieving its own ends, as *Africa Confidential* charges, it says: "We do not regard the trade union or the national movement (that is, the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and the ANC) as mere conduits for our policies." It continues: "Old habits die hard, and among the most pernicious of these is the purist concept that all those who do not agree with the party are necessarily the enemies of socialism."

Noting that one of the main reasons for the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe was its marriage to authoritarianism instead of democracy, it says: "We remain protagonists of multi-party post-apartheid democracy ..."

It declares that the best way of progressing towards its socialist goal after the overthrow of apartheid is through democracy. It recalls that it is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that the working class must "win the majority to its side". The SACP sees itself, in short, not as the custodian of Stalinism but the guardian of "socialist democracy", as such it is committed to winning the majority to its side in a "democratic contest for power".

But, judging from the party programme, "Path to Power", adopted last June in Havana, it believes that the best way of overcoming apartheid — of reaching the post-apartheid society — is through the "seizure of power". It is not, however, totally averse to negotiations.

"Every struggle in our African continent had its climax at the negotiating table, occasionally involving compromises."

"When the enemy is prepared to talk, the liberation forces will, at that point, have to exercise their judgment, guided by the demands of revolutionary advance."

The differences between Mr Mandela's views and the expressed anti-Stalinism of the new SACP appear to be divergences in detail and emphasis, not a parting of the ways based on principle.

THE deepening political crisis in our country has been a matter of grave concern to me for quite some time and I now consider it necessary in the national interest for the African National Congress and the government to meet urgently to negotiate an effective political settlement.

At the outset I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC. I am a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC, my political loyalty is owed primarily, if not exclusively to this organisation and particularly to our Lusaka headquarters where the official leadership is stationed and from where our affairs are directed.

In the normal course of events, I would put my views to the organisation first, and if these views were accepted, the organisation would then decide on who were the best qualified members to handle the matter on its behalf and on exactly when to make the move.

But in my current circumstances I cannot follow this course, and this is the only reason why I am acting on my own initiative, in the hope that the organisation will, in due course, endorse my action.

I must stress that no prisoner, irrespective of his status or influence, can conduct negotiations of this nature from prison.

In our special situation, negotiation on political matters is literally a matter of life and death which requires to be handled by the organisation itself through its appointed representatives.

The step I am taking should, therefore, not be seen as the beginning of actual negotiations between the government and the ANC. My task is a very limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table.

I must further point out that the question of my release from prison is not an issue, at least at this stage of discussions, and I am certainly not asking to be freed.

But I do hope that the government

Vision of a

AN historic document by ANC leader Nelson Mandela reveals he still stands firmly behind his great vision for a new South Africa expressed in his famous address from the dock in the Rivonia trial in 1964.

The peace plan pleads with the government to make use of the opportunity he is offering through his intervention to overcome the current deadlock and to normalise the country's political situation.

The document, made available to SOUTH's sources in London, is believed to be the same as the one submitted to state president FW de Klerk at the meeting at Tuynhuys last month.

In an exclusive, SOUTH brings the words of the man silenced by the state for more than 25 years:

will, as soon as possible, give me the opportunity from my present quarters to sound the views of my colleagues inside and outside the country on this move.

Only if this initiative is formally endorsed by the ANC will it have any significance.

I will touch presently on some of the problems which seem to constitute an obstacle to a meeting between the ANC and the government. But I must emphasise right at this stage that this step is not a response to the call by the government on ANC leaders to declare whether or not they are nationalists and to renounce the South African Communist Party before there can be negotiations: no self-respecting freedom fighter will take orders from the government on how to wage the

freedom struggle against that same government and on who his allies in the freedom struggle should be.

To obey such instructions would be a violation of the long-standing and fruitful solidarity which distinguishes our liberation movement, and a betrayal of those who have worked so closely and suffered so much with us for almost 70 years.

Far from responding to that call, my intervention is influenced by purely domestic issues, by the civil strife and ruin into which the country is now sliding. I am disturbed, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps; blacks on one side (the term "blacks" is used in a broad sense to indicate all those who are not whites) and whites on the other,

slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives, a situation which, in turn, foreshadows more violent clashes in the days ahead.

This is the crisis that has forced me to act.

I must add that the purpose of this discussion is not only to urge the government to talk to the ANC, but it is also to acquaint you with the views current among blacks, especially those in the Mass Democratic Movement.

If I am unable to express these views frankly and freely, you will never know how the majority of South Africans think on the policy and actions of the government; you will never know how to deal with their grievances and demands.

It is perhaps proper to remind you that the media here and abroad has given certain public figures in this country a rather negative image not only in regard to human rights questions, but also in respect to their prescriptive stance when dealing with black leaders generally.

The impression is shared not only by the vast majority of blacks but also by a substantial section of the whites. If I had allowed myself to be influenced by this impression, I would not even have thought of making this move.

Nevertheless, I come here with an open mind and the impression I will carry away from this meeting will be determined almost exclusively by the manner in which you respond to my proposal.

It is in this spirit that I have undertaken this mission, and I sincerely hope that nothing will be done or said here which will force me to revise my views on this aspect.

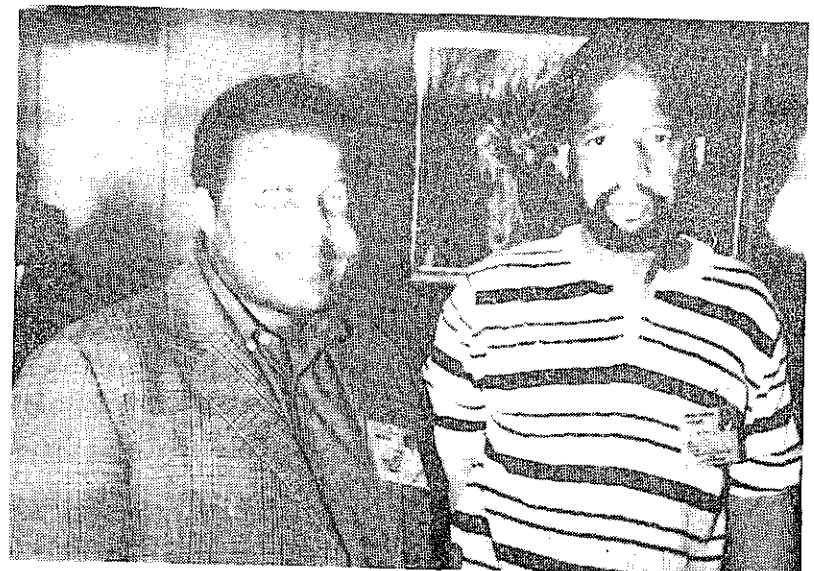
Obstacles to negotiation

I have already indicated that I propose to deal with some of the obstacles to a meeting between the government and the ANC. The government gives several reasons why it will not negotiate with us.

However, for purposes of this dis-



DIPLOMATIC MEETING: ANC stalwarts Govan Mbeki (left) and Walter Sisulu with the Soviet ambassador to Zambia, Oleg Miroshkhin



THE GENERALS: Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe forces, Joe Modise, and his head, Chris Hani

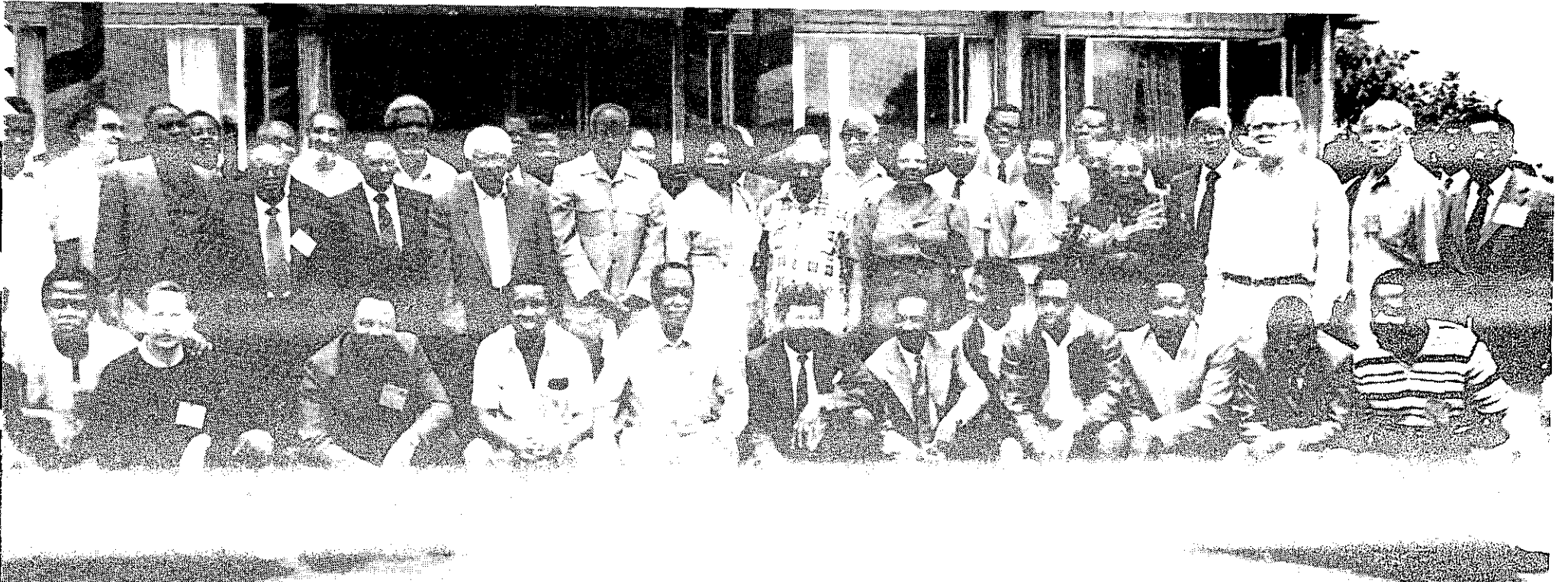
HISTORIC (NEC) met meeting in

They are: (ANC NEC Thabo Mbeke, international Ncguka (M Hani.

Middle fr. Motsoaledi

new era

PICTURES by
RASHID LOMBARD



PICTURE: Members of the ANC's National Executive Committee, the visiting Rivonia trialists and MDM representatives in an historic Lusaka last week.

(front row from left) Sindiso Mfenyana (ANC NEC), Simon Makana (ANC NEC), James Stuart (ANC NEC), Joe Modise (Umkhonto we Sizwe), Mkhonto (ANC NEC), Joe Nhlahlala (ANC NEC), Stanley Mabizela (ANC NEC), Chris Dhlamini (MDM), Mrs Jackie Modise, Bulelani Mlambe (MDM), Cyril Ramaphosa (MDM), Sydney Mafumadi (MDM) and Chris

from left: Sizakele Sigxashe (ANC security), Josias Gele, Elias Dan Thloome (SACP), Walter Sisulu, Zambian president Kenneth

Kaunda, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Alfred Nzo (ANC NEC), Mrs Jane Mhlangeni, Mrs Sylvia Motsoaledi, John Nkadimeng (partly obscured - Sactu), Mrs Dideke Mhlaba, Joe Slovo (ANC NEC), Reggie September (ANC NEC) and a Zambian official.

Back row from left: Ronnie Kasrils (ANC NEC), Pallo Jordan (ANC NEC) John Mhlana, Aziz Pahad (ANC NEC), Steven Dhlamini (Sactu), Wilton Mkwayi, Jackie Selebe (ANC youth), Jacob Zuma (ANC NEC, partly obscured by Kaunda), Achmat Kathrada (observed by Mrs Sisulu), Govan Mbeki, Thomas Nkobe (ANC NEC), Steve Tswethe (ANC NEC), Andrew Mhlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba (behind Slovo)

discussion, I will confine myself to only three main demands set by the government as a precondition for negotiation, namely that the ANC must first renounce violence, break with the SACP and abandon its demand for majority rule.

Renunciation of violence

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people.

It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state.

But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest.

It is more than ironical that it should

be the government which demands that we should renounce violence. The government knows only too well that there is not a single political organisation in this country, inside and outside parliament, which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peaceful change.

Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen.

It stripped us of all basic human rights, outlawed our organisations and barred all channels of peaceful resistance. It met our just demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country, it continues to refuse to talk to us. There can only be one answer to this challenge: violent forms of struggle.

Down the years oppressed people have fought for their birthright by peaceful means, where that was possible and through force where peaceful channels were closed.

The history of this country also confirms this vital lesson.

Africans as well as Afrikaners were, at one time or other, compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom against British imperialism. The fact that both were finally defeated by superior arms, and by the vast resources of that empire, does not negate this lesson.

But from what has happened in South Africa during the last 40 years, we must conclude that now that the roles are reversed, and the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom fighter, but is in power, the entire lesson of history must be brushed aside.

Not even a disciplined non-violent protest will now be tolerated. To the government a black man has neither a just cause to espouse nor freedom rights to defend.

The whites must have the monopoly of political power, and of committing violence against innocent and defenceless people.

That situation was totally unacceptable to us and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was introduced to end that monopoly, and to forcibly bring home to the government that the oppressed people of this country were prepared to stand up and defend themselves.

It is significant to note that throughout the past four decades, and more especially over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only, and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue.

On the contrary, the government continues to govern with a heavy hand, and to incite whites against negotiation with the ANC. The publication of the booklet "Talking with the ANC..." which completely

distorts the history and policy of the ANC, the extremely offensive language used by government spokesmen against freedom fighters, and the in-

timidation of whites who want to hear the views of the ANC at first hand, are all part of the government's strategy to wreck meaningful dialogue.

It is perfectly clear on the facts that the refusal of the ANC to renounce violence is not the real problem facing the government. The truth is that the government is not yet ready for negotiation and for the sharing of political power with blacks.

It is still committed to white domination and, for that reason, it will only tolerate those blacks who are willing to serve on its apartheid structures. Its policy is to remove from the political scene blacks who refuse to conform, who reject white supremacy and its apartheid structures, and who will insist on equal rights with whites.

This is the reason for the government's refusal to talk to us, and for its demand that we disarm ourselves, while it continues to use violence against our people.

This is the reason for its massive propaganda campaign to discredit the ANC, and present it to the public as a communist dominated organisation bent on murder and destruction. In this situation the reaction of the oppressed people is clearly predictable.

White South Africa must accept the plain fact that the ANC will not suspend, to say nothing of abandoning, the armed struggle until the government shows its willingness to surrender the monopoly of political power, and to negotiate directly and in good faith with the acknowledged black leaders.

The renunciation of violence by either the government or the ANC should not be a pre-condition to but the result of negotiation.

Moreover, by ignoring credible black leaders, and imposing a succession of still-born negotiation structures, the government is not only squandering the country's precious resources, but it is in fact discrediting the negotiation process itself, and prolonging the civil strife.

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is, therefore, very clear. A government which used

violence against blacks many years before we took up arms, has no right whatsoever to call on us to lay down arms.

South African Communist Party

I have already pointed out that no self-respecting freedom fighter will allow the government to prescribe who his allies in the freedom struggle should be, and that to obey such instructions would be a betrayal of those who have suffered repression with us for so long.

We equally reject the charge that the ANC is dominated by the SACP and we regard the accusation as part of the smearing campaign the government is waging against us.

The accusation has, in effect, also been refuted by two totally independent sources. In January 1987 the American State Department published a report on the activities of the SACP in this country which contrasts very sharply with the subjective picture the government has tried to paint against us over the years.

The essence of that report is that, although the influence of the SACP on the ANC is strong, it is unlikely that the Party will ever dominate the ANC.

The same point is made somewhat differently by Mr Ismail Omar — member of the President's Council, in his book "Reform in Crisis" published in 1988, in which he gives concrete examples of important issues of the day over which the ANC and the SACP have differed.

He also points out that the ANC enjoys greater popular support than the SACP. He adds that, despite the many years of combined struggle, the two remain distinct organisations with ideological and policy differences which preclude a merger of identity.

These observations go some way towards disproving the accusation. But since the allegation has become the focal point of government propaganda



ANC YOUTH: Members of the ANC youth section sing songs of praise to the ANC leadership

Turned ANC guerilla tells inquest of AK-47

Copy Times 31/1/90

DURBAN. — A former ANC guerilla who is now a security policewoman told an inquest here yesterday that six Chesterville youths examined an AK 47 assault rifle that minutes later was allegedly used by a police hit squad to kill four of them and wound a fifth.

Appearing in the screened witness stand at the inquest was Constable Xolelwa Virginia Nompumelelo Shosha, a member of the police C-1 counter-insurgency squad, who described herself to the court as a "special-duty policeman".

Constable Shosha is alleged to have been among seven C-1 members, three of them former ANC guerillas, who intentionally shot up a Chesterville

shack in which Mr Charles Ngcobo and five other suspected "young comrades" waited in the small hours of June 20, 1986.

In a statement made to police about eight days after the killings, Constable Shosha said the police, posing as an ANC cadre from Piet Retief, infiltrated a "young comrades" hide-out.

She said the "young comrades" were worried about a Chesterville vigilante group known as the "A-Team" who had "necklaced a lot of people".

Constable Shosha and two others met Mr Ngcobo and five other suspects at a shack in bushy terrain and showed them a captured AK 47 to "prove" they were an ANC cadre.

Mandela's document: the mystery deepens

AK643 31/1/90
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By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

SENIOR officials in the government have been performing a vital role in South Africa's fledgling negotiation process — without the knowledge of Ministers. So we are led to presume from the flurry of statements over the Mandela document published last week.

ANALYSIS

The document and subsequent statements by both the jailed ANC leader and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, actually raise more questions than they provide answers.

Genuine

Only two things are absolutely clear: the document is genuinely Mr Mandela's, and it was never handed to either former President P W Botha or President F W De Klerk.

And yet, a close reading suggests, Mr Mandela intended it as an introductory statement for a specific meeting with a specific individual.

A portion of the document reads: "It is perhaps proper to remind you that the media here and abroad has given certain public figures in this country a rather negative image

"Nevertheless, I come here with an open mind



Mr Coetsee

and the impression I will carry away from this meeting will be determined almost exclusively by the manner in which you respond to my proposal."

But, we are led to believe, there was no "meeting" with a public figure or figures who had a "rather negative image" abroad.

The document, both Mr Coetsee and Mr Mandela say, was handed only to officials in the first half of 1989.

In fact, the circulation of the document was so limited that Minister Coetsee, in his first reaction, said there was no record of it.

Only later, he established that it was genuine and had been given to a "team of government officials" as a "non-paper". The officials told Mr Coetsee that they had indicated to Mr Mandela that the document would be regarded as a "non-paper" and would "not be taken further".

Not even to Ministerial level, it would seem.

Meeting

This is one of the most intriguing aspects of the document saga.

What, for instance, is a "non-paper"? A Department of Justice spokesman said the document was "something Mr Mandela was working on" but was "perhaps not intended as an official document".

It seems it may have been a statement that he was preparing for a meeting with the President or a key Minister and that when certain officials became aware of it, they asked to see it.

Questions

Possibly on that basis, he and the officials agreed to regard it as a "non-paper" ... something like a dry-run, perhaps.

There are no answers yet for a number of other questions surrounding this issue: who are the officials and what are their tasks?

On what basis did they decide — as it appears — not to pass on to their Minister a document on recon-

ciliation and negotiation from so significant a figure as Mr Mandela?

Is it conceivable that such a document could land in the government's hands and not reach the Minister?

It is clear that neither Mr Coetsee nor Mr Mandela wish to conduct this phase of delicate dealings in public.

One of the difficulties for Mr Mandela is clearly that he is not in a position to liaise as frequently or as freely with his ANC peers as he must wish.

Consultation

There are some questions on this score too. In his document, Mr Mandela says unequivocally: "At the outset, I must point out that I make this move without consultation with the ANC".

But in his statement, he says: "As it is customary, I kept the leadership of the ANC informed of the document."

This might indicate that he was able to inform the ANC of the document only after handing it over.

This might, too, explain why it was regarded as a "non-paper".

What does emerge is that even as the National Party was grappling with its leadership problem early last year, moves were already under way to start the process of negotiation which the then new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk was promising South Africa and the world.