

BLACK POLITICS

1990

MARCH

Mandela defends ANC's link with Arafat's PLO

AK64 1/3/90 (119)

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service
LUSAKA. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said here it was "too bad" if the truth about the African National Congress's relationship with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation alienated the powerful Jewish community in South Africa.

He was answering a question at a Press conference about what effect he thought the effusive greeting he was given by PLO leader Yasser Arafat on his arrival in Zambia on Tuesday would have among the South African Jewish community.

Arafat moved out of the line of dignitaries comprising the reception committee at Lusaka's international airport, kissing him on both cheeks.

And the ANC leader in his speech mentioned Palestine as one of the countries he would like to visit, since he said it

was pursuing a struggle similar to the ANC's own.

Mr Mandela told the questioner: "We expect everybody who is exploring the possibility of lasting solutions in South Africa to face the truth squarely."

"I sincerely believe that there are many similarities between our struggle and that of the PLO. We live under a unique form of colonialism in South Africa as well as in Israel and a lot flows from that statement."

Mr Mandela was speaking after consecutive meetings at State House with leaders of the frontline states and the Commonwealth group gathered here to meet him.

In answer to another question from the large contingent of foreign journalists, he said the ANC was not in a position to make any concessions to President De Klerk to ease the way to final negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future.

"The simple position is this: Until the government complies with the preconditions we have set (in terms of last August's Harare Declaration) the ANC is not in the same position as the Nationalist Party in regard to negotiations.

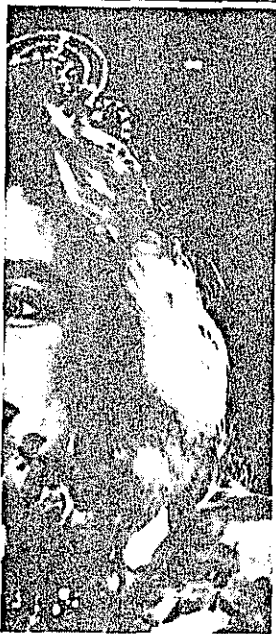
"We cannot be expected to make any concessions to the government no matter what difficulties it has, as long as it maintains the state of emergency, if political prisoners whom we must consult at the moment are still in jail."

ANC official Mr Joe Slovo says Mr Mandela has the full backing of the congress's executive in his refusal, at this stage, to abandon the organisation's commitment to armed struggle.

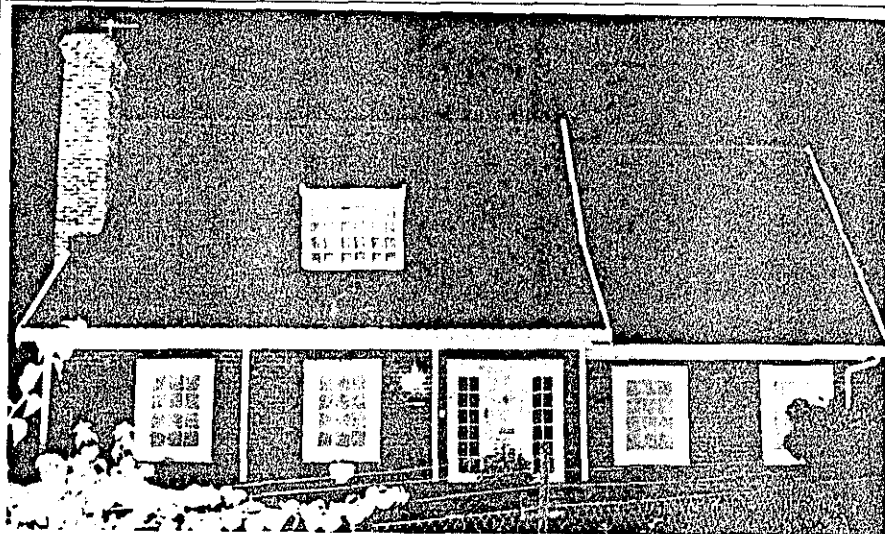
But, speaking to BBC television yesterday, he repeated the ANC's insistence that as soon as conditions are right, talks will begin to end violence on both sides.

Man, 20, shot, dies

A WOODSTOCK man, Mr Shane Robertson, 20, has died of a gunshot wound in the head after apparently handling an unlicensed firearm while visiting a friend's home. — Staff Reporter.



1990, 18-year-old Vevonna won this week. She was in America, she returned to dies and join the army.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

DEATH HOUSE: The Helderberg Village home of Mr Geoffrey Winston Tedder and his wife, Mrs Ann Patricia Tedder.

Elderly couple discovered shot in bed

By DON HOLLIDAY
Staff Reporter

THE bodies of an elderly Somerset West couple with gunshot wounds in their heads were discovered last night in the bedroom of their home.

They were Mr Geoffrey Winston Tedder, 62, chairman of Dytone Paints, and Mrs Ann Patricia Tedder, 59, of Bakkerskloof Road, Helderberg Village.

A police spokesman said it was believed Mr Tedder had shot his wife as she lay sleeping and then turned the gun on himself.

Their son-in-law, Mr Simon Beauclair, of Kirstenhof, told police he and his wife had arrived at the home about 7 pm to have dinner with the Tedders.



FOUND: Investigating officer Detective Warrant Officer Hannes Lourens holds the revolver found at the scene.

Mr Beauclair knocked on the front door and then went around to the back where he found the door open.

He discovered the two bodies in the master bedroom. Mrs Tedder was lying on the bed under a bedspread with a gunshot wound in the left side of her head.

Mr Tedder was lying next to her with a gunshot wound in the right side of his head. His

thumb was in the trigger guard of a .38 special revolver.

Two bullets were retrieved from pillows on the bed.

Police said the couple were last seen alive on Tuesday afternoon. Their pet Alsatian dog was in the garden and it appeared the door had been opened as was the early morning custom.

Neighbours last night said they knew little of the couple.

Azapo says it intends to forge unity

By SONTI MASEKO

THE Azanian People's Organisation believes the PAC and ANC should forge unity in view of possible impending negotiations in South Africa.

This was said by Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza on the eve of the organisation's ninth congress to be held at Shareworld in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The congress will be the first since Azapo was restricted in terms of the emergency regulations in February 1988.

Myeza said he saw the primary role of the movement as being to facilitate unity between the ANC and PAC. Azapo had refused to align itself with either of the two organisations because "we believe joining hands with



MUNTU MYEZA

one organisation to the exclusion of the other serves to perpetuate, division".

On negotiations, Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala said the oppressed needed to negotiate among themselves before negotiating with the Government.

The organisation felt that blacks were in a position of weakness with a backlog created by

centuries of deprivation and repression, while whites held the keys to the economic and political power and the security apparatus.

"We also believe that differing parties negotiate in order to stop fighting and do not stop fighting in order to negotiate."

Between 4 000 and 10 000 delegates and observers representing 12 regions and more than 100 branches were expected at the congress, Myeza said.

Myeza said Azapo representatives had approached various people within both the PAC and ANC, with a view to setting up a consultative network on common issues. The response had been positive thus far.

"Now that all organisations are free to operate publicly the question of unity can be accelerated," said Myeza.

Nactu and ANC set to meet

11A

A MEETING between the National Congress of Trade Unions and the ANC to discuss "maximum unity" in the labour movement is to be arranged, the federation's president, Mr James Mndaweni has said.

Such talks would focus on forging ties between Nactu, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions. Sowetan 11/3/90

Speaking after a Nactu delegation met Mr Nelson Mandela at his Orlando West Soweto home this week, Mndaweni said the federation and the

11B

By THEMBA MOLEFE

ANC leader agreed the meeting would be set up after he returned from his international tour which began yesterday.

He said both Nactu and Mandela agreed on the principle of independent trade unionism in the country and the "sensitive" issue of negotiations.

"This demands that discussions should take place on all fronts."

His delegation included Nactu's general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, Mrs Mary Ntseke and Mrs Agnes Molefe.



HERO'S WELCOME ... Mr Nelson Mandela waves to a welcoming crowd in Lusaka yesterday. Alongside him is President Kenneth Kaunda. Mr Mandela received a hero's welcome in the Zambian capital. Picture: REUTERS

Armed struggle

CAT Times 1/3/90 (114) (114)

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — The heads of Umkhonto we Sizwe will soon travel to their military camps in Tanzania and Angola to brief their cadres that the armed struggle will be suppressed while the ANC uses the new political space recently afforded it by President F W de Klerk, said MK second-in-command Chris Hani.

In an exclusive interview, Mr Hani said he doubted that military commanders would have any problems in conveying this to their troops, "because the first part of their training is political training".

Mr Hani said it would be impressed on the soldiers of the ANC, that "the struggle is not over. There will be a need for the maintenance of our functions and to continue improving training and recruiting".

'suppressed'

Two die in BC, UDF feud

Sowetan 11/3/70

11A

SOWETAN Reporter

AT LEAST two members of the Azanian Students Movement died yesterday after clashes with people believed to be members of the Bekkersdal Youth Congress in Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

Douglas Chuma (22) died in yesterday's attack and another unnamed youth attacked on Tuesday died at Leratong Hos-

pital.

At least six other people were seriously injured in the fighting which started on Friday night a day before the launching of Beyco.

Only two Beyco members were reported to be injured.

Azasm is a black con-

sciousness organisation and Beyco is affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Black consciousness sources yesterday said that four Azasm members had been killed, but the Sowetan could not confirm the other deaths.

Chuma was attacked

in "Spook Town", a shantytown, by a gang of youths carrying hammers, pangas and guns.

"A group attacked us and threw petrol bombs at the house we were in," a survivor who hiked bare-foot to Johannesburg said.

"We ran in all direc-

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New UDF, BC feud

11A

● From page 1

tions, but they found others."

Chuma died in a house where he had sought refuge after he was attacked with a panga.

"I was in the house when he burst in and ordered me to keep quiet.

"He slipped into the bedroom and collapsed. I ran out to report at the police station. When I got back he was dead."

"The township has been tense since Saturday," a spokesman for the Bekkerdal Advice Centre said.

"Groups of heavily

armed youths are roaming the streets and scores of activists have fled their homes."

An emergency meeting between community leaders and the Mayor, Mr Johnny Mokome, was held yesterday in an attempt to defuse the situation.

A later community meeting was cancelled after fresh attacks.

* In the earlier edition of Sowetan today a Jerry Radebe was reported to be one of the dead youths.

This was later proved to be incorrect. We apologise for any inconvenience caused.

11/3/70

Star 1/3/90 (11A)

The shining leader whom we locked away

Twelve years ago this week, Robert Mangaliso "Wonder" Sobukwe died of lung cancer at his lonely, enforced home in Kimberley.

Mr Sobukwe — the Professor as he was known — had nothing against Kimberley, or the people of the town.

What he objected to was the fact that the Government banished him there, and would not at first even give him permission to come to Johannesburg for medical treatment which, for all intents and purposes, might have at least slowed the cancer which ate away his life.

But he never complained. He was not bitter or, if he was, he did not show it, even to the Security Police officer who was charged with keeping him under surveillance.

Former United States Ambassador to the UN, Mr Andrew Young, described Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Sobukwe as "the most impressive man I have ever known".

As general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop (now Archbishop) Desmond Tutu said at a memorial service after Sobukwe's death: "When the annals of this country are written, Robert Sobukwe's name will be etched in gold".

And former Transvaal chairman of the Liberal Party Mr Ernie Wentzel wrote: "It is a measure of the vulgarity of apartheid that it (the Government) feared Sobukwe so greatly that he was kept imprisoned alone on Robben Island when his sentence had run its full course. And then sent him to Kimberley instead of being honoured."

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was, indeed, a leader of great strength, of integrity and of balance. After news of his death, services were held all over the world. At the United Nations. In Gaborone. In St Paul's Cathedral, London. In other African countries. Hugh Masekela arranged a concert in his honour.

Vorster's tribute

Many suggested, in fact, that with the death of Mr Sobukwe, the end of Africanism was in sight.

Mr John Vorster once described him as a man with "a strong magnetic personality and a sense of divine mission". But the Government feared him.

At the launch of the PAC, Mr Sobukwe said: "We are not against the whites. We are just against their system. We aim at a government of Africans, by Africans, for Africans,

JOE LATAKGOMO assesses the role of Pan Africanist Congress leader Robert Sobukwe 12 years after his death.



Robert Sobukwe . . . 'history will etch his name in gold'.

with everybody who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of the African majority being regarded as African."

In spite of denials, the military wing of the PAC, Poqo, was accused of having plotted to kidnap and kill

white women and children.

One Afrikaans newspaper said that even slogans like "Africa for the Africans" and "Sons of the Soil" were threatening to whites. It was perhaps this fear that drove the Government to act so severely against the PAC and its leaders.

The fact that Sobukwe was the leader of the anti-pass campaign which led to the Sharpeville shootings was perhaps just the peg on which the Government could hang charges.

He was jailed for three years in 1960, but when his sentence expired in 1963, the Government rushed through enabling legislation to extend his imprisonment without having to go through the courts. This legislation became known as the "Sobukwe Clause".

So scared, too, was the Government of Sobukwe that even on Robben Island he was kept in isolation, away from the other prisoners.

His bungalow was fenced off, and he was guarded by what the then Justice Minister Mr Peet Pelser described as "five warders and two warders with dogs".

It cost the taxpayer R75 000 — at rand values of the time — to keep him in jail for those six years he

was held without trial.

When they did release him, he was banished to Kimberley and offered a job — he had obtained a BSc (Economics) to add to his two other degrees while in jail — as a clerk in the then Administration Board at R100 a month.

Naturally, he turned it down. The extent of the Government's fear of him was shown when he applied for an exit permit in 1971.

Talent wasted

The then Interior Minister granted his request, but the Justice Minister was required to lift the order restricting him to Kimberley, and he refused.

Said Andrew Young: "There are people who shape history and I put Sobukwe in that class." However, Sobukwe's life was one of unfulfilled promise, of talent gone to waste.

"His dedication to his cause, and his dignity — even in the worst of circumstances in his life — were a shining example of leadership."

To repeat what Bishop Tutu said at the time of his death, when the history of this country is written, his name will be etched in gold.

The Professor would certainly deserve it.

Crucial stage reached in negotiations process

Star 1/31/90
(11A)

Thorny choice for the ANC

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — Leaders of the ANC will decide today on the thorny issue of how to maintain underground structures while faced with the Government's offer of being allowed to become a legitimate political force in the internal arena.

It is a crucial stage in the ANC's process towards possible negotiations with President de Klerk on a mutually acceptable constitutional model for the country.

Armed struggle

The ANC has insisted that it cannot end the armed struggle until all its demands contained in last August's Harare Declaration have been met.

Yesterday, the ANC again appealed to the world community for "massive" financial aid to help its political campaign in the run-down

to the negotiations.

Mr Nelson Mandela addressed the appeal through nine American congressmen who were allowed at the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting for an informal debate on the organisation's present position.

US Democrats who came to Lusaka specifically to see Mr Mandela includes such pro-sanctions stalwarts as Mr Howard Wolpe, Mr Ronald Dellums and Mr William Gray.

Mr Wolpe is chairman of the House of Representatives' subcommittee on Africa, Mr Dellums the chairman of the black caucus and Mr Gray the House majority party whip.

Mr Mandela said past support from the US Congress "has inspired us to stand on our feet and fight back for the most vital principle in life — the right to determine our own future".

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, told the American

group it was important that sanctions against South Africa be maintained at the moment. Mr Dellums said afterwards he was confident the Democratic Party would be able to get continued support for sanctions within the US.

The congressman said there was no disagreement between his party and the Republican Party on the need to maintain sanctions.

Ceasefire

One of the leaders of the ANC's military wing yesterday suggested that there should be simultaneous talks between a delegation from Umkhonto we Sizwe and the South African Defence Force.

Mr Chris Hani said such talks would be necessary to achieve a bilateral ceasefire to allow final negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future to take place and settle the Natal strife.

Swedish sources said here last night that Mr Mandela's planned visit to Sweden on March 11 had

been postponed, raising speculation that the ANC's proposed meeting with the South African Government may take place sooner than expected. The sources said the Swedish authorities had been told Mr Mandela and his party would not visit Stockholm before the end of March.

This change of plan would leave a gap of more than two weeks for a possible session with President de Klerk and his Cabinet.

A report from Stockholm, where the Mandela party was due to meet ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo during a five-day stay from March 11 to 16, said Mr Mandela's trip to Tanzania might also be deferred.

Apart from the obvious benefits of having the talks about talks between the two parties sooner than later, Mr Mandela has also been invited by anti-apartheid campaigner Bishop Trevor Huddleston to a benefit pop concert for him in London early in April.

So those dates would dovetail.

Inkatha reacts favourably to Mandela peace initiative

Staff Reporter

Inkatha has reacted favourably to the speech made by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban on Sunday.

A statement issued by the movement's general secretary, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, commended Mr Mandela on his "constructive comments" about the violence that has plagued Natal and assured him that his comments were in line with Inkatha's own views.

PERSONAL INTEREST

Mr Mandela urged the people of the province to take their guns, knives and pangas and "throw them into the sea".

"We see hope in the fact that for the first time since the violence started, ANC leaders are taking a personal interest in attempts to end it," said Dr Dhlomo.

Inkatha urged all the warring factions in the area to heed Mr Mandela's call for peace and reconciliation.

On relations between Inkatha and the ANC, Dr Dhlomo said: "We are humbled by Mr Mandela's acknowledgement of the role that Inkatha has played in refusing to negotiate with the Government unless political prisoners were released and banned political organisations unbanned."

"Once again, ANC leaders appear to be acknowledging, through Mr Mandela, that the struggle for liberation belongs to all oppressed and is not 'owned' by certain organisations to the

exclusion of others.

"This is a welcome development which augurs well for future political co-existence and multi-party political activity in our country."

Dr Dhlomo said they looked forward to a time when Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would one day share the same political platform. He added that only the enemies of peace and black unity would wish otherwise.

However, warned Dr Dhlomo, this could not be achieved because of "protracted attempts to demonise, vilify and marginalise Dr Buthelezi (Inkatha leader and kwaZulu's Chief Minister).

"To do this is tantamount to planting the seeds of a future civil war in our country," he said.

INDABA COMMENTS

Regarding Mr Mandela's unfavourable comments on the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha accepted that Mr Mandela's advisors were themselves unfamiliar with the aims of the Indaba because they had declined to participate in the Indaba negotiations when they were invited to do so in 1986.

"As chairperson of the Indaba, I am sure the Indaba Steering Committee would have preferred to personally brief Mr Mandela on these issues before his public comments on them.

"It is regretted that this was not possible," said Dr Dhlomo.

No laying down of arms yet, Mandela insists

ANC resists pressure to make concessions

Star 22/11/3/90 (11A)

The Star's Africa News Service and Political Staff

Mr Nelson Mandela and the executive of the African National Congress are standing firm against growing pressure from inside and outside the country to abandon or suspend the ANC commitment to the armed struggle in the present improved political climate.

In spite of a special plea from Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda during Mr Mandela's visit to Lusaka, the ANC leader made no concession.

He said at a press conference that the ANC was not in a position to make any concessions to President de Klerk to ease the way to final negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future.

"The simple position is this: until the Government complies with the preconditions we have set (in terms of the Harare Declaration), the ANC is not in the same position as the National Party in regard to negotiations.

"We cannot be expected to make any concessions to the Government, no matter what difficulties it has, as long as it maintains the state of emergency, and if political prisoners whom we must consult at the moment are still in jail."

Another barrier to possible concessions, he added, was that the Government was reluctant to grant a general amnesty to ANC members in exile.

"It is quite clear that the Government, despite the fact that we believe Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity, is not prepared to meet us."

Top ANC official Mr Joe Slovo said in a BBC interview last night that Mr Mandela had the full backing of the congress's executive in his refusal, at this stage, to abandon the organisation's commitment to armed struggle.

Military camps

But he repeated the ANC's insistence that, as soon as all conditions were right, talks would begin to end violence on both sides.

Umkonto we Sizwe second-in-command Mr Chris Hani has been quoted as saying that the MK commanders would be sent to military camps in Tanzania and Angola to brief cadres that the armed struggle "would be suppressed" while the ANC used the political space offered by Mr de Klerk.

Mr Mandela raised further controversy yesterday when he said it was "too bad" if the truth about the similarity between the struggle of the ANC

Now listen lads, I'm reading



Best seat in the house . . . seemingly oblivious to several thousand Daveyton township residents protest takes a break to enjoy his favourite newspaper. The protest was against high rents in the East Rand to the local council.

General Malan says he has proof that Lubowski was SA secret agent

Star 17/3/90 (11A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has bowed to political pressure and broken his self-imposed silence on the row over the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and his harassment of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski.

that Mr Lubowski was a Military Intelligence agent, the Minister and the SA Defence Force have been stonewalling demands for proof made by Mr Lubowski's family and associates and by opposition political parties.

General Malan had said the SADF would not answer direct or indirect questions on the issue, as this would harm the ongoing offi-

approve the purpose for which funds under the Secret Services Account Act were spent — "and in particular the establishment of units for the conduct of covert operations", Dr de Beer said.

He also asked Mr de Klerk to appoint a select committee of Parliament to which he would report at intervals about

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similarities between our struggle and
that of the PLO. We live under a
unique form of colonialism in South
Africa, as well as in Israel, and a lot
flows from that statement."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach
de Beer said today this would upset
many Jewish people and others
sympathetic to the State of Israel.

"One can only hope that with more
experience as a free man, and with
more contact between Mr Mandela and
the many Jewish people who have
great sympathy for him, there will be a
peaceful settlement of these differ-
ences."

ANC 'criminals'

can join talks

1/3/90
CAPE TOWN — The Government will allow anyone to be a member of the ANC delegation which is to meet President de Klerk.

Senior Government sources made this clear last night, after some doubts were expressed about whether ANC members with criminal records would be allowed to join in.

Sources said no obstacles would be put in the way of anyone joining the delegation. — Political Correspondent.

Star 1/3/90

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11A

'Blacks must ignore differences'

All must join talks - Chikane

By Chris Whitfield,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Rev Frank Chikane has said in a remarkably conciliatory interview here that political differences should not prevent black groups such as the ANC and Inkatha from joining negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches said on BBC television yesterday: "I think we need to accept that black groups will have different political perspectives. So there is nothing strange about them having different views about sanctions and about violence.

"But the key issue is that they can all sit around the table and on the basis of the support of the majority, produce a constitution that will serve the interests of South Africa."

Mr Chikane, whose organisation has in the past clashed with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was being

interviewed after Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal to end the fighting in Natal.

He had been asked how significant, in the light of the differences between the ANC and Inkatha, the township war was to the future of South Africa.

Mr Chikane did, however, make a pointed reference to Chief Buthelezi when he said he was expecting the Inkatha leader would "also act as a statesman and call on his people to stop the violence which is not advancing anybody's cause".

He said President de Klerk was using the Natal violence as a reason to retain the state of emergency, "which I do not believe is the basis on which the state of emergency was called".

Mr Chikane added that Mr Mandela had a lot of influence in South Africa and he was convinced the "people of Zululand" would heed the ANC leader's call to cut out the violence.

Mr Chikane was due to take part yesterday in the Southern Africa Coalition's national lobby of the British parliament to support sustained sanctions.

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Nafcoc to investigate nationalisation

The African National Congress has asked the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce to conduct an in-depth investigation into the nationalisation of business in South Africa.

In a statement yesterday, Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane said the ANC made the request at a meeting in Lusaka between Nafcoc and members of the ANC's executive committee.

The meeting had discussed the ANC's stated aim of nationalising mines, financial institutions and large corporations.

He said Nafcoc would call on major South African businesses to attend a conference in May to discuss the issue.

At the meeting in Lusaka it had been agreed that any policy of nationalisation would be carefully applied and all facts surrounding the issues would have to be considered.

"Nafcoc has been asked by the ANC to play a major role in compiling these facts," Dr Mot-

suenyane said.

"While nationalisation will not necessarily solve all our socio-economic and political issues, it can undoubtedly serve as a vehicle to provide an answer to some of them," he said.

Alternative methods of redistributing wealth had to be examined, including the persuasion of companies to "hive off portions of their productive assets and pass these over to the disadvantaged black majority in order to hasten black economic participation and empowerment".

One viable alternative, he said, was concerted action programmes by government and the private sector to facilitate black economic participation.

He added: "Nafcoc and the ANC share the concept of a mixed economy in South Africa, and one that represents a realistic acceptance of the situation that must prevail in the future." — Sapa.

Mandela dossier with A-G

Sowetan

11/3/90

11A

CHARGES of high treason laid against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General for a decision, parliament has been told.

This emerged in an interpellation debate yesterday on a question put by CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensi-

Sowetan Correspondent

tive approach.

De Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted.

It was a 'serious issue', he said.

Vlok, who confirmed the charge was laid on February 12, said the dossier was forwarded by police to the Attorney-General on February 22.

It was up to him whether the matter went to court or not.

While De Jager argued that the police had intentionally taken a softer line on the ANC than they



Nelson Mandela

would have if the threats had come from the Right wing, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall appealed for a more sensitive approach, citing the beliefs and activities of Afrikaner heroes to illustrate his argument.

South Africa's history was rich with 'treasonable' actions.

'One thinks of Slagtersnek, of Koos de la Rey, of Christiaan de Wet, of Jopie Fourie ... all persons, who on the grounds of idealism or because they wished to rectify injustice, rebelled against the State.'

'If this is true of a de la Rey and a de Wet, it is also true of a Mandela, Sisulu and Biko, a Turner and a Lubowski, he said.'

Mothopeng warns of bondage

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiations with the government under existing circumstances would only ensure the oppressed people exchanged one form of bondage for another, PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng told a group of more than 400 at a commemorative lecture on Tuesday night.

"It was better to be free and starve than to have plenty in bondage," Mr Mothopeng told the cheering group of PAC supporters who had come to listen to his lecture on Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe in Soweto.

He was echoing the words of the first PAC president, Mr Sobukwe, who died in 1978.

Mr Mothopeng exhorted the audi-

ence to stand firm and not to compromise the efforts of those who had suffered and died for freedom and a non-racial SA.

Pressure of sanctions and the need to come out of the political isolation was the motivating factor behind President F W de Klerk's new reform tactics, he said.

The people's welfare, their needs and rights, would dictate the final economic policy in Azania, he added.

On the internecine fighting that has affected several areas around the country, the PAC president said PAC cadres were out in the field educating people and persuading them the way forward should be to convince opponents with facts and not fists. — Sapa

ANC-PAC unity: Azapo's role

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) believes it is well-placed to bring about unity between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the ANC with the view to pending South African negotiations.

To this effect, Azapo representatives have approached various people within both the PAC and ANC, including Mr Nelson

Mandela, to set up a consultative network on common issues, Azapo told a press conference yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said the proposal was made to Mr Mandela during exploratory talks after his release and that his response had been positive.

And deputy president of Azapo, Mr Ly-

bon Mabasa, said: "He (Mr Mandela) said he was moved by the attitude of Azapo and that pending the decision of the ANC national executive he would like to reciprocate."

The press conference was held to outline issues to be discussed at Azapo's ninth congress, due to be held at the weekend. Its last congress was held in 1987. — Sapa

11/3/90
11A

Mandela: We can't end armed struggle now

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected a suggestion by Dr Kenneth Kaunda that the ANC help President F W de Klerk by suspending armed operations inside South Africa.

Dr Kaunda said Mr De Klerk had to contend with a "lunatic right-wing fringe" opposed to reform, and needed the gesture.

But Mr Mandela gave a courteous and firm refusal, arguing that Mr De Klerk's government had not yet met the ANC's preconditions for talks.

"The ANC is not in the same position as the National Party in regard to negotiation. We can't be expected to make any concessions to the government, no matter what difficulties it has," he said.

Mr Mandela was asked whether he risked alienating SA's Jewish community by meeting Palestinian leader Mr Yasser Arafat here and comparing his struggle to that of blacks in SA.

"If the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that's too bad," he replied.

"I sincerely believe that there are many similarities between our struggle."

Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark said yesterday he differed sharply with Mr Mandela on the issue.

"There is no apartheid system in the Middle East. The system in SA is unique in the world. Racial prejudice is written into the law." — Sapa-
Reuter

● Kaunda hint on sanctions — Page 3

● Armed struggle 'suppressed' — Page 3



POSTER SIGNED . . . Mr Nelson Mandela, in Lusaka on his first visit out of South Africa since his release, signs a poster of himself. Mr Mandela received a hero's welcome in the Zambian capital this week.

Picture: REUTERS

Talks meaningless, says PAC's De Lille

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE, Staff Reporter

NEGOTIATIONS about the future of South Africa would be meaningless because they were designed to perpetuate white domination, says Mrs Patricia de Lille, an executive member of the Pan Africanist Movement.

Mrs De Lille was speaking at a commemoration service in Guguletu to mark the 21st anniversary of the death of Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Mangaliso Sobukwe on February 28 1969.

She said: "We hear only lots of noise about concessions and the old National Party song about minorities and groups, but nothing about the return of the land.

"The PAC still stands by its decision three decades ago that freedom can be won only through the armed struggle because there is nowhere in history where oppressors have negotiated themselves from power."

She said negotiations "had no chance" of success because the National Party government did not have the "slightest desire" to abdicate and hand over to the majority.

Azapo offer to ANC, PAC

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) believes it could bring about unity between the PAC and the ANC in view of possible negotiations in SA. (11A)

Azapo representatives had approached various people in the PAC and ANC, including Nelson Mandela, with a view to setting up a consultative network on common issues, Azapo officials said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza said Azapo was aiming to set up a convention involving the ANC and PAC, with Azapo as facilitators.

Azapo will hold its ninth congress this weekend.

□ Meanwhile, PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said on Tuesday the people's welfare, their needs and rights, would dictate the final economic policy in Azania (SA).

"To talk of nationalisation is merely polemical — there will be a whole new system and, in this particular system, one would need to get down to the basics and this would involve re-education with the view to the economy becoming people-oriented." 6/22/90 113/90

At a commemorative meeting for first PAC president Robert Sobukwe in Soweto earlier on Tuesday, he said negotiations with government under existing circumstances would ensure only the oppressed people exchanged one form of bondage for another.

"It was better to be free and starve than to have plenty in bondage," Mothopeng said. — Sapa.

Mandela rules out concessions to Pretoria

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela said yesterday it was too early to expect the ANC to make concessions to help President F W de Klerk fight off a right-wing backlash in SA. *Biday 113190*

Speaking at a news conference, he implicitly rejected a suggestion by his host, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, that the ANC should help De Klerk by suspending armed operations inside SA.

Kaunda, who welcomed Mandela to Lusaka on Tuesday for a week of talks with exiled members of the ANC and foreign leaders, said De Klerk had to contend with

a "lunatic right-wing fringe" opposed to reform. *11A*

The ANC could continue training guerrilla forces abroad ready to be deployed in SA, but could "give De Klerk some little thing" by suspending operations inside the country, he suggested.

Mandela gave a courteous but firm refusal, arguing that government, which unbanned the ANC on February 2, had not yet met the ANC's preconditions for talks.

"The ANC is not in the same position as the National Party in regard to negotiation. We cannot be expected to make any

concessions to the government, no matter what difficulties it has," he said.

Mandela called on De Klerk to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners and end uncertainty over the legal status of exiles who risked prosecution if they returned to SA.

"It is quite clear the government is not yet prepared to meet us, and you cannot expect us therefore to make any concessions."

Kaunda softened his call for concessions by saying the ANC leadership consisted of mature people who did not need outside advice. — Reuter.

Umkhonto wants to meet SADF chiefs

LUSAKA — Leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, would like to meet SA Defence Force chiefs soon, said MK second-in-command Chris Hani yesterday.

Hani said in an interview that at present the two "armies" were serving different interests.

"We believe steps should be taken at this stage for contact." He said no formal approaches had yet been made.

"Violence can only come to an end if the armies sit down together and say violence must end," he added.

Hani said the ANC envisaged the next

CHARLENE SMITH

11A stages in the negotiation process as the cessation of hostilities, then a ceasefire.

Hani said he thought an integrated army would not be easy, "But it is the ideal that we should struggle for."

There would not be an army dominated by blacks. B1204 11/3/90

□ A spokesman for the President's office said last night the President could not comment as he had not read a verbatim account of what Hani said. The SADF had not commented at the time of going to Press.

Revolution needs pupils at school

South 1/3 - 7/3/90



THE African National Congress (ANC) Youth League has thrown its weight behind the "back to school" campaign because it believes a successful revolution cannot be achieved without literate people.

In an interview, ANC Youth League secretary Jackie Selebi said: "We want revolutionaries who are literate. No revolution can succeed if the overwhelming majority of people are illiterate.

"We will never be able to govern and consolidate people's power without education."

Selebi said students should return to school and form structures to raise their grievances and continue the struggle.

"We accept we have not done away with Bantu Education. But alternative education can only be adequately addressed in a post-apartheid South Africa."

In the meantime, Selebi said, students should return to school because it was their "arena of struggle". Not only the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) but also youth, civic, teacher and other organisations should support the "back to school" campaign.

Asked whether the "back to school" campaign indicated the failure of the boycott tactic, Selebi replied the boycott tactic had lost its effect.

"I'm not suggesting it was overused. What I am saying is that we must weigh our strength before we call a boycott. We can't sustain a boycott forever."

The youth should create, train and establish a pioneer movement of children and adolescents who should

Pupils should attend school because the liberation struggle needs people who are literate, says Jackie Selebi of the ANC Youth League, who supports the "back to school" campaign.
FAROUK CHOTHIA reports.

be organised into youth structures from an early age.

"Most of us became involved (in the struggle) when we were old and this led to problems of one type or another for us to become members of organised formations," said Selebi.

However, he acknowledged the youth learnt from the 1976 revolt that they could not play a vanguard role in the struggle. Instead, this role could be played by the working class because it constituted the majority.

Nevertheless, the youth were still in the "forefront among the trenches in the struggle" because of the enormous sacrifices they were prepared to make and because of their impatience for liberation.

Speaking on the view that the youth — being more militant — were opposed to negotiations, Selebi said he did not believe the youth wanted to fight for the sake of fighting.

He said while the youth were "part and parcel" of the struggle through mass action and the taking up of

arms, it was true they were also prepared to use negotiations as another method of struggle.

In a message to the youth who are mainly involved in the Natal violence, Selebi said it was essential they used their power and energy to start a movement of peace.

"This violence is not assisting anybody. It is not bringing liberation any nearer. It is directing attention from the real enemy, the apartheid system," he said.

"We must work for peace, but this does not mean that we must be at peace with oppression and dictatorships," said Selebi.

He also welcomed the fact that whites were joining the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

In the same vein, Selebi said the South African National Student Congress (Sansco) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) should unite to form a single, non-racial students' body.

"Fundamentally, the position of the two seems to be the same. We must work towards establishing a single, democratic, non-racial organisation," Selebi said.

On the view that the Nusas constituency was not ready to join Sansco, Selebi said: "It's important that whites begin to accept a non-racial South Africa. The imaginary fears of a reality that is coming must begin to be addressed. If whites can join Sayco, why can't Nusas members join Sansco?"

He said recognition between black and white had to be addressed now in the theatre of struggle and not after the flag was hoisted. — *The New African*

White flag!

From CHRISTINA SCOTT DURBAN. - Inkatha vigilantes and battle-hardened comrades did the toyi-toyi together in a KwaMashu border zone hours after ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call for peace and unity in Durban last weekend.

The amaSinyora - described by Mandela as "notorious" gangsters who exploited the Inkatha/UDF war - raised a white flag from their base in Siyanda squatter camp and negotiated with marshalls in red headbands.

Then gangsters, Inkatha youth and UDF comrades marched together, despite grumblings on all sides from people demanding retribution for losses suffered in war.

The comrades marched into Richmond Farm, where they recently burnt more than 60 shacks in violence triggered by Mandela's release where Inkatha and UDF supporters greeted each other warmly.

The community later decided that each household would donate R5 for an ox braai.

Not every reunion went so well. Busloads returning from the peace rally convened by Mandela were ambushed by gun-wielding Inkatha vigilantes as they passed through Malagazi and Mshayazafwe shacklands south and north of Durban.

A high school next to Malagazi was attacked by armed Inkatha vigilantes who demanded a list of pupils who had attended the rally and 32 imijondolo (shacks) were

South 113-713/40 : NA



Hours after this huge crowd listened to Mr Nelson Mandela call for peace, Inkatha vigilantes and battle-hardened comrades did the toyi-toyi together.

torched in response. A man was necklaced, a UDF fighter was shot dead, a teacher and two pupils hospitalised and several people treated for injuries in the three days of fighting that broke out on the dividing line between Inkatha/Malagazi and UDF Umlazi.

Senior UDF leaders quoting Mandela's words of peace from the rally were rebuffed by angry young comrades who declared, "the only peace is when we flatten those people".

But a police negotiator shuttled between youths and UDF leaders in U-section, Umlazi, and Inkatha vigilantes and homeless shack-dwellers standing on the dividing line road.

And by Tuesday, 3 500 people from both sides were marching together in celebration.

Mandela's announcement that the ANC would meet with Inkatha leader and homeland Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was booed by the estimated 150 000 crowd at Sunday's peace rally.

Hundreds of youths left during

his speech because of heat exhaustion (100 people needed treatment for this alone), protest at Mandela's words of peace and frustration because he spoke in English.

Mandela told the women to bring peace to Natal by showing "your sons, your brothers, and your husbands ... the real enemy".

However, a middle-aged woman who therefore confiscated a crude wooden AK47 brandished by a jubilant youth was later surrounded by a crowd who ordered her to return it. - DURBANNEWS

Hailed ^(11A) as peace blueprint

From JUSTICE SIGONYELA
PORT ELIZABETH. - The
Uitenhage peace process is being
hailed as a blueprint for the reso-
lution of political conflicts in
other parts of the country.

This week the peace pact signed
10 days ago between the United
Democratic Front and Pan African
Movement was still holding. Last
weekend both sides buried their
dead without incident.

About 30 000 UDF supporters
gathered at Jabavu Stadium to
bury nine of the people killed in
the previous weekend's violence,
while about 1000 buried PAM
supporters without any reports of
provocations or attacks.

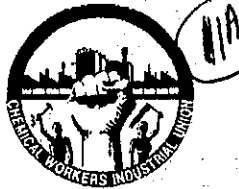
Last week, PAM leader Jeff
Masemola and the ANC leader
Raymond Mhlaba were part of a
peace accord signed by both par-
ties to end the two-year year con-
flict in the area which has claimed
many lives.

A joint peace commission is be-
ing set up, with representatives
from both sides planning to meet
twice a month.

Brian Rayner, President of the
Midland Chamber of Industries
has said it will set up a secretariat
for the peace commission. He
hailed the accord as the crucial
first step to ensure harmony. -

PEN

**Chemical
Workers
Industrial
Union**



We warmly welcome
Comrade Mandela's
release.

This is a great victory.

We look forward to his
important contribution to our
struggle for the termination of
the economic and political
injustices wreaked upon the
struggling and toiling masses
by apartheid-capitalism.

As he says the economy is in
ruins and we look forward to
its reconstruction along
socialist lines through
nationalisation and other
means in post-apartheid
South Africa.

South 1/3-7/3/90

Jews want meeting with Mandela on Israel

Political Staff

MR Harry Schwarz, DP MP for Yeoville, yesterday said he did not believe Mr Nelson Mandela was anti-semitic but wanted to discuss with him remarks he made after his meeting with PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat in Lusaka on Wednesday.

The ANC leader was asked if he did not fear alienating the South African Jewish community by meeting Mr Arafat and comparing his struggle in the Middle East to that of blacks in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said that if the truth alienated the powerful Jewish community "that's too bad", as he sincerely believed there were "many similarities between our struggles".

CAPT Truif 2/3/90 III
The SA Jewish Board of Deputies also said it would welcome a meeting with Mr Mandela following his statement. What was happening in other countries was irrelevant to the situation in South Africa, it said.

Mr Schwarz, who has known Mr Mandela since the Rivonia trial and visited him shortly before his release from prison, said he based his remarks about the Lusaka meeting on the assumption that Mr Mandela had been correctly reported.

"I gained the impression from my past knowledge of Mr Mandela and my meeting with him that he is

not anti-semitic.

"I think it is important that he should know the truth and not rely on propaganda which may be fed to him by Mr Arafat and the PLO.

"Jews have been subjected to attacks by ultra-right wing movements in South Africa, particularly because of their opposition to apartheid," he said.

"It would be ironic if now they are attacked by those they have sought to support."

Whatever the attacks and from whatever source, they did not affect his opposition to apartheid which had characterised his entire political life.

11A

Memories of a great man

THIS week, bang in the middle of Mandelamania, South Africans remembered Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, who died on February 27 1978.

And as I read and listened to people, memories flooded back...

March or April 1978: I am in a police cell in Howick in Natal, about 500 km from home, with a precarious connection to the rest of the world.

A sergeant in the security police comes to "visit".

"Joe, stop being difficult," he says. "You are going to find a

completely changed world when you get out there. Your Sobukwes are dead, your Steve Bikos, and all your organisations like your Union of Black Journalists don't exist anymore.

Dead

"If you co-operate you will be back with your family."

All I heard immediately was that Sobukwe and Steve Biko were dead. The rest would sink in later.

"When did Sobukwe die? How did he die? Steve Biko?" The questions rushed out.

He was not prepared to say anything more. Another carrot dangled in



Sobuke (centre), leading us into the Orlando Police Station on March 21 1960.

front of my eyes.

I could not cry. That is not the place where you cry because you are sad. Of course you do cry, no, scream, but for other reasons....

Sobukwe dead.

I could see him, tall and wearing his wide, wide smile. I could see him chopping one hand with the knife-edge of the other and saying *Siyevana ke madoda* after summarising a discussion and

giving the consensus.

I could see him addressing the inaugural congress of the Pan Africanist Congress at the Orlando Communal Hall. We sat at his feet, cheering after almost every

PERSPECTIVE



sentence for the three hours he spoke.

I remembered meeting him and his group on the morning of March 21 1960 under the trees that were then near the Orlando Police Station. The two groups became one and he led us to the entrance of the Orlando Police Station as we sang *Senzeni Na?*

Massacre

I remembered him and other members of his executive being whisked away in security police cars as we stood there all day, demanding to be arrested too for not carrying our passes.

The journalists came back later that day to tell us about the massacre at Sharpeville. I remember the frustrated anger that is still bottled up in the black community.

I remember the days and nights we spent talking, arguing, learning at the Stoneyard Prison in Boksburg and Stoffberg Prison in the Free State.

African historians will be able to adequately place Sobukwe in context and to give him his place in the struggle for liberation, but today and next week I want to offer some

tentative suggestions.

After the lull that followed the 1952 Defiance Campaign, he thrust the struggle onto a higher level.

The Defiance Campaign had petered out after the Criminal Law Act was amended in 1953 to increase the penalties for defiance of South Africa's laws to a whipping of ten strokes, a 300 pounds fine, three years' jail or a combination of any two of the three penalties.

After that campaign the tendency within the liberation movement was to go for softer ones, like candle-lighting in protest against apartheid, the potato boycott, the bond break of Nationalist goods and one-day strikes.

It was Sobukwe who recharged the African masses with a new courage at the time of the PAC's anti-pass campaign, which carried the slogan *No bail, no defence, no fine*.

The struggle has never been the same since March 21 1960.

* Next week: Sobukwe's prophetic vision.

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Guerillas to meet the SADF?

11A
Sowetan
2/3/90

LUSAKA - As Mr Nelson Mandela joined exiled African National Congress leaders for their first formal discussions on Wednesday a top military official said the organisation was willing to meet commanders of South Africa's defence forces.

Mr Chris Hani, second in command of the ANC's military wing, said talks with President F W de Klerk might include contact with the SADF.

Guerilla leaders believed the coming talks could not be limited to political leaders alone and Hani said he envisaged a time when military officers from both sides would meet to work out "the moralities of a ceasefire".

Discussions

Hani and Mr Joe Modise, the top commander of the ANC military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), were among 32 exiled leaders belonging to the 35-member national executive committee who began formal discussions with Mandela in Lusaka.

"The presence of Mandela is a tonic. It

Sapa-AP

strengthens us. We feel we are really moving forward. He is a great leader," Hani said. "We are sure the ANC will move from strength to strength with Mandela as one of the comrades at the helm of things."

Amid calls from church leaders in South Africa and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for the ANC to suspend its guerilla actions, Hani said the organisation's leaders will discuss "what is happening in the armed struggle and a clear strategy on that".

"We will be looking at how to take forward the process of negotiation." -

THE S
SUPER
OPE
ON THURS



Control – not ownership – is aim of ANC economic policy



Mr Joe Slovo . . . everything will be done to minimise social dislocation, retain white skills and reassure foreign investors.

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, MR JOE SLOVO, talks to PATTI WALDMEIR of the Financial Times.

6 Pretoria will concede black majority rule if it can guarantee that white economic privilege will survive the end of apartheid.

For when common ground has been found on all the political issues which divide the two South Africas, the hardest bargaining is likely to focus on the economic structure of a post-apartheid South Africa.

The twin objectives of the ANC's economic policy are: to bring about a redistribution of wealth while ensuring that the economy serves the purpose of every economy, that it provides for the needs of the people.

When the transformation comes, we can't just bake slogans, we've got to bake bread.

The fundamental aim of economic policy must be the redistribution of wealth.

Specifics on the mechanism of redistribution? — The movement is still working out its policy.

But nationalisation is not the fundamental policy of the ANC. The ANC has made clear its acceptance of the co-existence of different forms of property: state, private, mixed, perhaps collective. It envisages a mixed economy.

That does not mean that no industry will be nationalised. Indeed, some probably will. But the 1955 Freedom Charter does not use the word nationalisation.

The narrow issue of nationalisation is a bit of a red herring. The image conjured up is one of sudden 100 percent takeover by the state, without the involvement of other sectors of capital.

But is what Mr Slovo envisages more radical than the nationalisation of a handful of

industries? — To me the more important question is one of control, not ownership. The question is whether a particular sector is run purely in the interests of profit, or in the interests of people.

The mines, banks, monopoly industries, other sectors of the economy too have got to be taken under public control, which I distinguish from state control, which in the socialist world has been a bureaucratic concept which has not led to effective public control.

Public control means effective participation through democratic mechanisms of democratic representatives of the people, the producers themselves, and other participants.

Phased transition

The basic economic lesson of Eastern Europe is that if you are going to build socialism, you must go beyond mere state planning and control, you must have democratic participation by producers at all levels.

Building socialism is not, however, the immediate goal of the ANC. The economy of South Africa the day after the ANC flag flies over the Union Buildings will be exactly the same as the day before. You can't transform it by edict without risking economic collapse.

The transition will be phased, and though social dislocation is inevitable, everything will be done to ensure it is minimised and white skills retained. Foreign capital will remain crucial to development and guarantees of stability and security will be offered to ensure investors do not avoid South Africa.

Schwarz, SA Jews seek Mandela indaba

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, will seek a meeting with Nelson Mandela when he returns from overseas to discuss remarks which the ANC leader made in Lusaka about Jews in South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said yesterday in a statement that reports of Mr Mandela's remarks after meeting Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yasser Arafat in Lusaka had aroused considerable comment in the Jewish community and other SA communities.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said that if South African Jews did not like the truth, then it was too bad.

The SA Jewish Board of Deputies and SA Zionist Federation yesterday said they too would "welcome an opportunity for dialogue with Mr Mandela".

The two Jewish organisations said in a statement that, like Mr Mandela, they were concerned with the establishment of a just,

fair and equal dispensation for everyone living in South Africa.

What was happening in other countries was not relevant to the South African situation, they added.

Mr Schwarz continued: "... I gained the impression from my past knowledge of Mr Mandela and my meeting with him that he was not anti-Semitic. I believe he is not. I would be extremely disappointed if he was.

PROPAGANDA

"When Mr Mandela refers to the truth, I think it is important that he should know the truth and not rely on propaganda which may be fed to him by Mr Arafat and the PLO."

Mr Schwarz said Jews in South Africa had been subjected to attacks by local ultra-right-wing movements, particularly because of their opposition to apartheid.

"It would be ironic if now they are attacked by those they have sought to support."

He said he understood that Mr Arafat was trying to gain pub-

licity for his cause by reflection from Mr Mandela following his release from prison.

"Therefore I would ask that judgment on the issue be withheld until Mr Mandela returns, when I will seek an opportunity of discussion with him."

The statement by the Jewish Board of Deputies and Zionist Federation added: "As far as Israel is concerned, the society in that country is totally non-racial, with Arab members sitting in her parliament.

"Unfortunately, she has as neighbours a number of nations such as Syria, Iraq and Iran which are still in a state of war with her and openly committed to her destruction."

Although the PLO has recently referred to peace negotiations, it has still not renounced its covenant, which is committed to the elimination of the Jewish state.

"As far as these matters are concerned we would welcome an opportunity for dialogue with

Mr Mandela," the statement added.

SA Zionist Federation chairman Mr Solly Sacks said there was no comparison between the struggle of the ANC and that of the PLO.

Israel had repeatedly offered to negotiate with the Arab states but had had no takers, mainly because Arab leaders feared assassination if they talked to the Jewish state.

SURPRISED

Israel was aware, for instance, that King Hussein of Jordan wanted peace but he did not dare enter into any agreements. Arabs knew what had happened to President Sadat when he made peace with Israel.

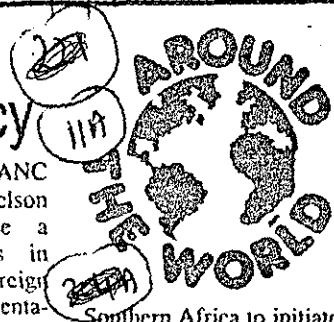
"We are surprised at Mr Mandela's statements because he has been very conciliatory," Mr Sacks added.

"Just last weekend he urged people in Natal to throw their weapons into the sea."

Parallel diplomacy

WINDHOEK - ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela will have a series of meetings in Windhoek with foreign government representatives, including United States Secretary of State James Baker.

Southern Africa to initiate discussions with South Africa.



Mandela's meetings will run parallel to a similar though more extensive series of meetings being held by President F W de Klerk. After flying into Windhoek yesterday afternoon, Mandela is due to meet today with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, among others.

According to the schedule his day will begin with a working breakfast with African heads of state whose identities were not immediately made known. Among other government representatives he will meet will be West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The major subject of discussion will undoubtedly be De Klerk's reform programme and the ANC's reaction to it. It is likely that the discussions will also touch on the decision taken in Lusaka this week by the Organisation of African Unity's committee on

Big business to meet ANC

Cape Times 2/3/90 (11A)

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — The ANC will meet the bosses of 11 major South African companies and 13 other businessmen and academics in Harare this weekend in the largest meeting between the ANC and big business since 1986.

The business team will include Premier Group chief executive Mr Peter Wrighton, JCI chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr, PG Bison chief executive Mr Leon Cohen, Development Bank of Southern Africa senior manager Mr Johan van Zyl, Gencor general manager Roodt Senior, Anglo American's Mr Michael Spicer (who is the personal assistant to chairman Mr Gavin Relly) and JCI group economist Mr Ronnie Bethlehem.

The ANC will send a 16-man team, including six senior national executive committee members: Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Pallo Jordan.

The agenda will include dis-

Mandela on Israel

BURBANK, California. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night declined to directly criticise Israel in response to questions by an American TV interviewer.

Appearing on the Phil Donahue show, he said, however, that he did support the Palestinian quest for self-determination.

"The enemies of Israel are not our enemies," Mr Mandela said. "And the struggle of the Palestinians for independence and their own home is a struggle we fully support."

● Jews want meeting with Mandela — Page 3

ussions on the issues of privatisation, nationalisation, the restructuring of the economy, the role of business in a changing

political and economic climate and the role of the ANC.

The meeting was arranged by the Consultative Business Forum.

Mr Zuma told the Cape Times that business had a role to play in the process of developing a new constitution.

However, he questioned why the ANC had to negotiate the issue of nationalisation. This was never demanded of the Nationalist Party before it came to power.

He said the ANC was in favour of a mixed economy but there would have to be some nationalisation.

"The Nationalist Party used nationalisation to solve the problem of the poor white, why should we not be expected to solve the problem of the poor?"

"We are not talking about poor blacks, we are talking about all poor people."

"The government path to nationalisation did not take into account some key sectors that we will attend to."



ANC TOP BRASS . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo confer at the ANC's national executive committee meeting in Lusaka yesterday.

Picture: REUTER

Quayle visit to SA ill-timed, says ANC

CAPT TINTS 2/3/90 11A

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — The ANC has criticised a proposed visit to South Africa by US Vice-President Dan Quayle, calling it ill-timed and a problem.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, said this during discussions with 12 US congressmen, led by House of Representatives Speaker Mr Thomas Foley and the ANC national executive committee yesterday.

Mr Nelson Mandela asked that the press be allowed to remain in what had been expected to be a closed meeting.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC had heard reports that Mr Quayle would visit

South Africa after the vice-president had attended independence celebrations in Namibia.

He said it would not be correct for such a visit to be made at this time.

Mr Mbeki also said there were "some indications that Pretoria has made an approach to the International Monetary Fund for a loan of \$250 million (about R625m)".

He said that although the loan was not big, it was important for the South African economy.

However, "if the IMF grants that loan it will open the way for commercial banks to grant loans to SA".

Congressman Mr Stephen Solarz, the fourth-ranking member of the House foreign affairs committee, said the subject had been up for discussion

at a joint hearing of the House banking committee and they shared Mr Mbeki's views.

He pointed out that current laws in the US prevented the granting of loans to SA until apartheid had been removed.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo said the liberation movement's only strength lay in friends such as the congressmen.

"The best way of encouraging (President) FW de Klerk is by maintaining and increasing pressure.

"One of the primary reasons for the encouraging steps he has taken is the pressure inside and outside the country.

"If he does reach the stage of sitting around the negotiating table, there

will be a relatively powerful government with enormous resources, with a great deal of clout and a great deal of power.

"Our only strength will be people on the ground and friends like you.

"We don't go along with the Thatcher doctrine that the best way to peace is to relieve De Klerk of his pressures.

"The best way of getting peace is by maintaining and escalating pressure."

Thirty leading members of the ANC dined with the 12 congressmen at a dinner hosted by the US ambassador in Lusaka.

After leaving Lusaka the US delegation will go to South Africa on a fact-finding mission and then to Namibia to take part in that country's independence celebrations.

Slovo: White wealth must be redistributed

LUSAKA. — South Africa's top communist said the country's ruling white minority would have to give up economic privilege in the post-apartheid society and that this was the goal of Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

"There is no way in which you can expect the average black to accept that liberation has happened if virtually all the wealth remains in the hands of whites," Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, said in an interview here on Wednesday.

President F W de Klerk's reforms, including lifting of a 30-year-old ban on the ANC and freedom for Mandela, had caught the ANC off guard, Mr Slovo said, and detailed economic plans were not yet finalised.

"We have concentrated for so long on how to get there that we have rather forgotten to make

plans for when the day arrived," he said of possible negotiations with Pretoria.

Mr Slovo, 63, a lawyer in Johannesburg until he fled into exile in 1962, is part of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee and a founder and former chief-of-staff of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Mandela's public re-affirmation of the ANC's commitment to nationalise South Africa's gold, platinum and diamond mines sent Johannesburg share prices plummeting two weeks ago. Leading white businessmen denounced his statement.

Mr Slovo said the ANC had no plans for the wholesale dispossession of whites, but he insisted that the ruling minority, outnumbered five-to-one by blacks, would have to give up its monopoly of South Africa's wealth, land and resources.

"It doesn't have to be only nationalisation — that is just one of the mechanisms. The fundamental issue is to begin the redistribution of wealth."

Mr Slovo referred to basic inequalities that characterised South African society, including differences in earnings, health care and education.

Private residential property and small businesses would not be affected by redistribution, but the ANC could not guarantee compensation to the bigger property owners, he said.

Mr Slovo said the ANC was committed to a mixed economy combining state and private ownership and designed to encourage foreign investment.

Asked about communism's collapse in Eastern Europe, Mr Slovo said: "What happened was not the failure of socialism, but the failure of the application of socialism." — Sapa-Reuter

Mandela will attend giant UK concert

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela will definitely visit Britain at Easter and address the mass rock concert at Wembley Stadium to celebrate his freedom.

This was confirmed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner.

It was still unclear yesterday, however, whether Mr Mandela would be taking up Mrs Magiie Thatcher's invitation to meet.

A Downing Street spokesman said: "The prime minister has invited him and has indicated she would like to see him but we have had no reply to the invitation."

The concert has been organised by the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee and will feature many of the pop groups which played at the Freedom at 70 concert at the same venue in 1988. Negotiations are under way to broadcast the event live to up to 60 countries around the world.

● Cuban President Fidel Castro yesterday invited Mr Mandela to visit Cuba.



Mr Nelson Mandela
APR 64 7/3/90
Mandela (11A)
tells US he's
optimistic
about peace

From RAMSAY MILNE

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela, in his first appearance on a United States television talk show via a live satellite transmission from Lusaka, told Americans today that he was optimistic about a peaceful end to apartheid.

Appearing on the top-rated *Donahue Show*, the freed ANC leader was closely questioned by the show's host, Phil Donahue, on the ANC's support for violence in its struggle against apartheid.

As a live studio audience listened raptly, Mr Mandela responded that the South African government had to first meet ANC pre-conditions before the organisation could renounce violence.

TIME TO SETTLE

He added: "There is no doubt that if the government normalises the political climate, there are a number of actions we could take to respond, but until then, we are not prepared to call off the armed struggle."

But he said several times he was optimistic that apartheid could be ended without violence.

"The time is rapidly approaching for us to settle matters peacefully," he said.

Whites, he added, had nothing to fear from the implementation of one-man, one-vote.

"We are prepared to address the fears of the white people. There is nothing as disruptive as intolerance in political activity.

"We will get the support of many people if we are tolerant."

Mr Mandela declined directly to criticise Israel in response to one question on whether the ANC "should push for reparations from Israel for supporting the apartheid government", as Mr Donahue put it. Mr Mandela said that he supported the Palestinian quest for self-determination.

"The enemies of Israel are not our enemies," he said. "And the struggle for the Palestinians for independence and their own home is a struggle we fully support."

Mr Mandela, whose picture from Lusaka was projected on a large screen in the studio, was given a standing ovation by the audience, one-third of which was black and some of whom gave a clenched fist salute.

● See page 5.

Day of decision for the ANC

ARGUS
2/3/90

11A

From JOHN RYAN, Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Leaders of the African National Congress will decide today on the thorny issue of how to maintain underground structures while faced with the South African government's offer of being allowed to become a legitimate political force in the internal arena.

It is a crucial stage in the organisation's process towards possible negotiations with President F W de Klerk on a mutually acceptable constitutional model for the country.

Meanwhile, a big business delegation — the biggest since 1986 — is reported to be preparing to meet a team of senior ANC office-bearers in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare this weekend.

The South African delegation will include the heads of major companies, other businessmen and academics, it is said.

Want all demands met

Issues up for discussion will be nationalisation, privatisation, a restructured economy and the role of the ANC, according to reports.

The ANC insists it cannot end the armed struggle against the South African government until all its demands contained in last August's Harare Declaration are met.

Those it considers vital pre-requisites to final talks with the government are the ending of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and a general amnesty for all ANC members in exile.

Last month, ANC leaders admitted after a national executive council meeting here that, while they saw a need at this stage to intensify the armed struggle in order to be able to bargain with Mr De Klerk from the greatest position of strength, they did not have the physical capability inside South Africa to do so.

Today, the national executive members, with internal leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu, will address the problem of how to move cadres into place to put such pressure on the government.

At the same time, it seems unlikely that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will embark on a campaign of violence against the South African security forces and State targets at such a delicate point.

Hierarchy

On the first of its two days of discussions yesterday, the national executive debated how to accommodate Mr Mandela and the other recently released leaders within its hierarchy.

Two weeks ago, the executive decided the issue could be left until the ANC's national consultative conference on December 16.

However, in a paper tabled at yesterday's meeting, the influential national working committee — in essence, a caucus group — pointed out that the matter was becoming more and more pressing, considering the speed of developments in South Africa and that the time scale decided on should be dropped.

This probably means Mr Mandela will head the delegation to meet Mr De Klerk, even though he may not do so as president of the ANC.

Arafat embrace: Schwarz seeks Mandela talks

Political Correspondent

YEOVILLE MP Mr Harry Schwarz is to seek a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela to seek an explanation for his attitude to Jews.

Mr Schwarz asked that judgment on the controversy should be withheld until he had spoken to Mr Mandela.

He was reacting to the row which blew up when Mr Mandela embraced PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat in Lusaka this week.

Mr Mandela was reported to have likened the Palestinian struggle to that of the ANC.

"JUST TOO BAD"

Afterwards he said that if South African Jews did not like what he had done and did not like the truth, it was "just too bad".

Mr Schwarz said that from his past knowledge of Mr Mandela and his meeting with him, he did not think he was anti-semitic.

"I would be extremely disappointed if he was. When Mr Mandela refers to the truth, I think it is important that he should know the truth and not rely on propaganda which may be fed to him by Mr Arafat and the PLO."

ATTACKS BY RIGHT

He said Jews in South Africa had been subjected to attacks by ultra-right wing movements in South Africa, particularly because of their opposition to apartheid.

"It would be ironic if now they are attacked by those they have sought to support."

● The Argus Correspondent in Tel Aviv reports that an Israeli foreign ministry spokesman said that while Israel had supported Mr Mandela's struggle for freedom, it believed that meetings with Mr Arafat — whom Israel regards as an arch terrorist — did not further the cause of justice and equality.

It said it regretted Mr Mandela's reported remarks.

CAPE TOWN — A curious period of political limbo has begun for SA, a measuring of strength and taking of stock before negotiations begin. After the surge of activity last month, the two principals now nurse their vastly different constituencies, separated by 1 600km and a cultural chasm.

President De Klerk sits in his official residence, among Cape Town's Parliament buildings. Mandela holds court at his home in Soweto, to which no foreign ambassador declines a peremptory summons.

Speculation fluctuates wildly about the time-scale of what is to come.

A prominent foreign diplomat suggests that we shall see leading blacks sitting at the Cabinet table within a matter of months. Other observers are more cautious, predicting immense difficulties and setbacks in the negotiations between government and the ANC, with consequent growing difficulties for De Klerk with his own NP supporters.

Even among those who know SA and its politicians, the enigma persists about what caused a president drawn from the right wing of his party, and from a Cabinet which includes so many former conservatives, to act with such boldness. De Klerk declares that "there was no conversion on the road to Damascus, just a certain ripening, and an understanding that if we continued as we were, we were in a cul de sac".

He is an impressive man, whom office has made more so. There is a vigour, a sparkle in his conversation, especially in private. He is fully conscious that the eyes of the world are upon him, and it seems he is unafraid of the sensation.

His principal theme now is of urgency: "We must maintain the tempo. We must keep things moving."

The government knows it is contending with three timetables, which

Ignore De Klerk at his peril

By Day 2/3/90

11A

MAX HASTINGS
Daily Telegraph Editor

it must strive to render compatible. First is that of political negotiation with the ANC. Ministers believe that Mandela's colleagues are finding it difficult to adjust to their new conditions, to organise themselves for the next phase. If talks cannot begin within the next month or two, both sides may become anxious.

The second timetable is driven by the need to progress fast enough to maintain the support of the whites. The third is that required to gain some visible gestures of support and confidence for De Klerk's reform policy from the outside world.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels acknowledges the need to build trust after 40 years of apart-

heid. "But our credibility with our own constituency rests upon the basis that there has to be a result."

The government's definition of a "result" must mean visible progress in relations, not only with the black majority but also with the outside world. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emphasises SA's budgetary plans assume a continuation of sanctions, and of the status quo.

"There has to be a substantial shift in our economic policies towards social spending. We must seek to maximise support for those most in need, and that will mean raising money by more toll roads, rises in school fees, higher hospital charges for those who can afford them.

"We have enormous sums of money — billions of rand — tied up in emergency supplies of oil and raw materials. We ask nothing of the world except to be allowed to compete on equal terms. But if we are to increase social spending it would be of immense benefit to be able to free all those sterilised billions.

"While political negotiations are going on, why can't the West guarantee us free access to international markets and supplies? If only we can be left to our own devices now, for a time, the commitment to reform is there. There will be no going back."

It is easy to find grounds for pessimism. If there is real enthusiasm for what De Klerk is doing among prosperous and well-educated whites in the Cape, there is likely to be less and

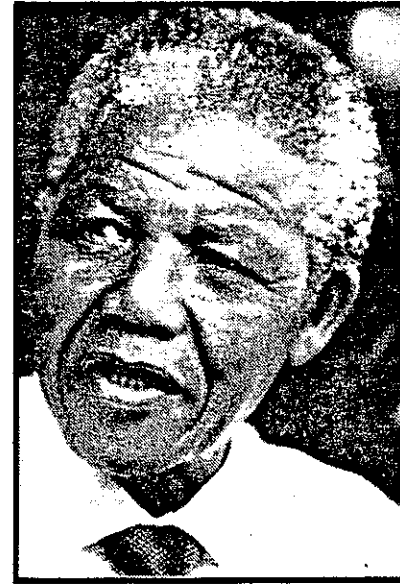
less among the poorer Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Natal. The fear of black power can only grow, and with it De Klerk's political difficulties.

It will be hard to maintain the disengagement of the police from the black townships. Much hinges upon the success of the new government policy of placing the onus for maintaining peace among the blacks on their own leadership.

The scale of factional and tribal dissension within the black leadership has scarcely yet been glimpsed. However eagerly the outside world embraces Mandela as the principal voice of black SA, it is unlikely that all of his own people, and especially the young, will do so.



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□ MANDELA

Perhaps most significant of all, the difficulties remain enormous of contriving a transfer of wealth from the white minority to the black majority, on anything like a scale likely to satisfy the latter while remaining tolerable to the former.

Most blacks will judge the progress of reform by what material benefits it brings them, and how speedily. "Socialism cannot possibly deliver the goods this country needs," says Du Plessis. But even if Mandela and Walter Sisulu can be persuaded to accept this, many of their followers are likely to take a simpler view.

If the fears and difficulties in SA today are great, so too is the opportunity. Few remotely objective observers here doubt the sincerity and commitment of President De Klerk and his colleagues. It seems vital for the rest of the world to show recognition of what is being attempted.

Few South Africans realistically expect the immediate lifting of international sanctions. Indeed, many whites of the kind whose support De Klerk most needs would scarcely notice such a remote economic shift. What they want is a visible gesture, of the kind they can readily understand. An official cricket, or better still, rugby tour, would be the most obvious symbol of a relaxation of their own pariahdom.

The De Klerk government has embarked upon a policy as imaginative and bold as anything by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. It will surely be a tragedy if the world does not do everything in its power to assist the Pretoria government to succeed.

To insist upon waiting until the last barricades of apartheid have been dismantled, until Mandela and his colleagues sit in the parliament building, as they surely will, may be to wait until De Klerk has failed. A great historic moment will have been missed.

Business leaders for ANC talks in Harare

LUSAKA — The ANC will meet the chief executives of 11 major SA corporations and 13 other businessmen and academics in Harare this weekend in the largest meeting between the ANC and big business since 1986. *Bidun 2/3/90*

The business team includes Premier CE Peter Wrighton, JCI head Murray Hofmeyr, P G Bison CE Leon Cohen, Development Bank of Southern Africa senior manager Johan van Zyl, Gencor GM Roodt Senior, Anglo American head Gavin Rely's personal assistant Michael Spicer, and JCI group economist Ronnie Bethlehem.

Also included will be a senior member of

CHARLENE SMITH

a government parastatal.

The ANC will send a 16-man team, including international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, negotiating team head Jacob Zuma, Aziz Pahad from London, SACP secretary general Joe Slovo, mass mobilisation departmental head Steve Tshwete and information chief Pallo Jordan.

The meeting, originally cancelled due to this week's ANC Lusaka gathering, is to go ahead after appeals from the business community. The business team will provide a private jet to fly the ANC team to

Harare.

The agenda will include discussions about privatisation, nationalisation, economic restructuring. (11A)

The meeting was arranged by the Consultative Business Forum.

Zuma said in an interview that business had a role to play in the process of developing a new constitution.

He said it was unlikely that some nationalisation in the future would cause capital flight. SA offered the greatest potential and possibilities for the region, he said.

"Any capitalist with foresight would not flee SA."

Mandela and ANC exiles hammer out strategy

LUSAKA — ANC leaders hoping to wring concessions from Pretoria and return to SA after 30 years in exile held strategy talks with Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The meeting of the ANC's 35-member national executive committee has to determine a negotiating mandate for a delegation that is to hold exploratory talks with President F W de Klerk.

Some top ANC members said the organisation might be flexible over the timing of a possible suspension of violence on both sides as part of a package to clear the way for negotiations.

CHARLENE SMITH reports from Lusaka that the ANC has criticised a proposed visit to SA by US Vice-Presi-

dent Dan Quayle — calling it ill-timed and a problem.

ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki said this during discussions between 12 US congressmen, led by congress Speaker Thomas S Foley, and the NEC yesterday.

Mbeki also said there were "some indications that Pretoria has made an approach to the IMF for a loan of \$250m". *810am 243190*

However, "if the IMF grants that loan it will open the way for commercial banks to grant loans to SA".

SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo told the group one of the reasons for De Klerk's reforms was because of internal and world pressure.

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□ Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said yesterday he did not believe Mandela was anti-semitic but wanted to discuss with him remarks he had made after his meeting with PLO leader Yasser Arafat in Lusaka on Wednesday.

"I gained the impression from my past knowledge of Mr Mandela and my meeting with him that he is not anti-semitic," Schwarz said.

● Comment: Page 8

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less among the poorer Afrikaners of the Transvaal and Natal. The fear of black power can only grow, and with it De Klerk's political difficulties.

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Light sentence for MK boss

W.M. 2/3-18/3/90
THE Natal chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, received a surprisingly lenient sentence this week in the Durban regional court.

Medical student Lulamile Xate was convicted for undergoing military training outside the country, possession of arms and ammunition, and attempted murder after a bomb explosion at Grosvenor Girls' High School in Durban.

He was sentenced to an effective five years imprisonment, to run concurrently with a jail term he is already serving.

Magistrate H S van der Walt said Xate was clearly an intellectual and a leader. He said all Xate's offences were politi-

cally motivated and he expected they would not have been committed "these days", given the new climate of reconciliation.

(11A) ~~11A~~
He could find no excuse in law for Xate's actions, but bearing in mind the "frustrations and valid grievances of black people" he believed Xate could argue he was "very angry".

Giving evidence in mitigation, Xate said he was a man of peace. "I really have no wish to fight my fellow South Africans. But if I am denied all peaceful avenues to achieve my freedom, then, and only then, do I feel that I am entitled to fight by all means available to me."

Some little
w/mant 243-8/3/90.
miracles since
Mandela's
rally speech

While Natal's 'truce' is patchy, the change in mood since Mandela's weekend speech has been little short of miraculous, reports CARMEL RICKARD.

NEW songs on the buses back from the African National Congress peace rally in Durban last weekend said it all: "Mandela says let's stop killing each other. Our real enemies are in Pretoria."

Since the urgent plea by Nelson Mandela for the feuding with Inkatha to stop, there have been scenes that unrest monitors describe as little less than miracles.

"Comrades from kwaMashu's J and K sections had a joint toyi toyi with their neighbours from Siyanda and Richmond Farm, long regarded as the strong hold of Inkatha.

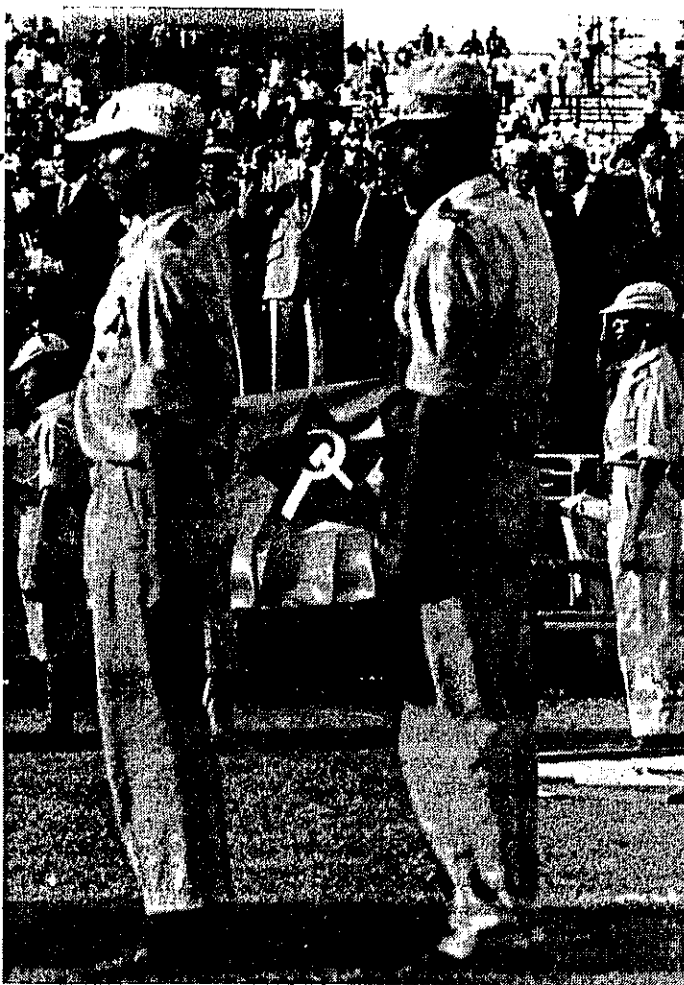
White flags flying, the two groups danced and sang. Most astonishing of all, some members of the Sinyoras — the vigilante gang booed by 150,000 people at the rally — came out to join the peace dance.

"Comrades" who have grown up on the myth of the terrifying and invincible Sinyoras commented afterwards they were surprised they were all "so thin".

However, the peace is very patchy, and monitors are concerned that unless it spreads from K and J section to other parts of kwaMashu it could come seriously unstuck.

Despite improvements in a number of townships, with several local peace initiatives being negotiated, there have still been incidents since the rally. Monitors do say, however, that things are much quieter than usual and point out that a number of "comrades" are putting their lives on the line, taking great risks in urging peace on their communities.

Worst hit places are Inanda, where a taxi was ambushed on Monday morning leaving two dead and a number injured, and, a new arrival on the current conflict scene, the Umlazi/Malakazi area.



A guard of honour parades for Nelson Mandela at the huge ANC rally in Bloemfontein last week. Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

As in several other townships, buses going to Umlazi U section were stoned on the way back from the rally by vigilantes, allegedly from Malakazi, and on Monday the same vigilantes went to local schools demanding the names of those who attended the meeting.

This led to a series of incidents, and at least five people died during the week, with some 600 families added to the list of refugees whose homes have been torched.

However, even in this area peace prospects appear promising with a second round of discussions due to take place today.

Commenting on Mandela's olive

branch to Inkatha, that organisation's secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said it was most welcome, and that he hoped now that the ANC was becoming involved in the peace plan it would make good progress.

Asked to comment on the mixed response by the crowd to Mandela's conciliatory tone on Inkatha, Dhlomo said the key question was whether ANC supporters in the townships would heed their leader's words of peace — ANC supporters, on the other hand have expressed similar reservations about the attitude of Inkatha supporters.

Dhlomo said the growing number of local peace initiatives were also welcome. "Mandela's call has helped at the leadership level and it does have a psychological effect on the people on the ground if first-level leaders speak in this way."

Dhlomo said the first thing that would have to happen was that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mandela, with their colleagues, would have to meet and work out a *modus operandi*.

Senior Inkatha adviser Rowley Arenstein, the only visible Inkatha supporter at the rally, was even more optimistic, saying the speech would begin a new phase and would "change the face of politics in Natal".

He predicted a joint rally to be addressed by Mandela and Buthelezi "within months".

HOW LONG CAN SOUTH AFRICA'S HOMELANDS SURVIVE?

Caught out between Verwoerd and the ANC

THE homelands are falling apart, unable to contain the accelerating rate of political change since the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

Political analysts believe that President F W de Klerk tried to divide the ANC by splitting the movement into two opposing camps of hardliners opposed to negotiations and moderates willing to talk.

But the De Klerk government apparently did not foresee the divisions such a move would create in the homelands, where rising expectations for reincorporation in South Africa and long-running resentment against poverty has led to strikes, demonstrations and political violence.

Homeland governments now find themselves trapped between the Verwoerdian ideology which sustained them and the rapid proliferation of

support for the ANC and allied organisations, even in some of their remotest areas.

The refusal — or, at least, inability — of homeland leaders to recognise the arrival of a new political era was illustrated by Venda's education minister, when he said he was perplexed by his country's jubilation over the release of Nelson Mandela, as Mandela was not a Venda.

Question marks now abound over the homelands. How long can they last? Will President De Klerk send in the SADF to prop up the system, and if so, for how long can it afford to do so? How long will homeland leaders remain loyal to Pretoria?

Already the leaders of Transkei, KwaNgane, and Lebowa — Bantu Holomisa, Enos Mabuza and Nelson Ramadikwe — have shown their sympathy for the ANC and have

HOMELANDS IN TURMOIL

Special report by
THANDEKA GOUBULE,
THUMIDA MAISTRY, VUSI
GUNENE and PHILIPPA
GARSON

made it known they will not oppose demands for reincorporation.

Significantly, these three "anti-apartheid" homelands have been spared the unrest now raging in those homelands where leaders have refused even to acknowledge demands for reincorporation.

But the position of KwaZulu remains an exception, with Chief Buthelezi's government still on friendly terms with the South African government despite never having officially accepted homeland status.

KwaZulu's government can rely on

significant support from its ethnic organisations — ie Inkatha — and is thus spared the degree of rebellion now facing Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda.

Civil administration in these "apartheid homelands" is deteriorating so fast that the prospect of a collapse in political leadership is becoming more real with each day's newspaper headlines.

But the ANC itself is also unprepared for the changes now sweeping through the maze of homeland politics and has yet to formulate a coherent strategy for dealing with them.

The movement has yet to go beyond its blanket rejection of the homeland system and draw up a practical approach to their status in a post-apartheid South Africa.

By legitimising the ANC, the South African government has created a po-

litical vacuum in which the leadership role it created for the homeland governments has all but disappeared.

The ANC's ability to step into this vacuum will be determined by the alternatives it can offer to the intricate homeland political structures, usually based on ethnicity and tribalism.

The fiscal crisis in these areas has made it impossible to meet some of their people's most basic demands, such as the need for clean water, electricity and education facilities.

The homeland governments have also failed to achieve economic self-sufficiency, and have retained their traditional political structures despite the marginalisation of the chiefs' role through the rise of organisations such as the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which is sympathetic to the ANC.

Azapo focus on negotiations 11A

U/Mat 2/3-8/3/90

THE Azanian People's Organisation will discuss at its ninth congress starting tomorrow its policy on negotiations with the government.

The meeting, to be held at the Shareworld complex in Johannesburg, will also elect a new central committee, said Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza at a press conference this week.

The congress will be Azapo's first since December 1987 and the restrictions imposed on the organisation in February 1988 which banned national meetings.

These restrictions were withdrawn last month by President F W de Klerk in a move which Azapo believes has brought the ANC closer to negotiations with the government.

Myeza said that recommendations made by the National Forum and the Conference for a Democratic Future will be used to guide discussions on the concept of a constituent assembly for negotiations.

The National Forum was a united

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

front of working class organisations formed in 1983 and last December's CDF brought together ideologically diverse resistance organisations for a conference at Wits University.

Azapo has opposed talks with the government at this stage, saying "negotiations can only take place between equals and that the state is in a more powerful position politically, economically and militarily".

Azapo would only negotiate once the government had given up power in preparation for the formation of a constituent assembly, said Myeza.

He said the movement would also confirm at the congress its commitment to socialism and clarify what it means by "socialisation as opposed to nationalisation".

Unity with other anti-apartheid groups, such as the ANC and the PAC, would be high on the congress agenda, he said.

W/Mail 2/3, - 8/3/70

ALBIE SACHS' paper *Preparing Ourselves For Freedom*, an excerpt of which was printed in the *Weekly Mail* on February 2, comes as South Africa enters a phase of rapid transition, of unstoppable movement to democratic government. New power relations, an end to racially- and undemocratically-designed political structures, more equitable systems for allocation of resources and an end to the culture of conflict and violence are all in sight.

Culture organisations, as well as other community groups, education and resource groups and service organisations will all have to re-examine their roles critically in the light of the swiftly-changing context.

For a long while we have spoken of a culture of resistance (in the same way we used terms such as "alternative", "oppositional" or "anti"). The priority was to rouse and embolden the oppressed. Now we need a new language, one imbued with the promotion of life, a celebration of democracy building on creative grassroots energy.

Cultural workers need to extend the debate brought sharply into focus by Sachs' paper.

In his paper, Sachs debunks the idea that progressive culture is by definition direct, propagandistic and confined to reflex responses to oppression — but warns political organisations will be practising regimentation, Stalinism and the suppression of cultural democracy if they issue rigid instructions to artists.

This does not mean that Sachs believes that art can absolve itself from facing the ugly social realities of South Africa today. We must remember that Sachs' paper was presented at an African National Congress seminar, comprised of people who shared a common political ethos; no doubt it would have been superfluous for Sachs to spell out the inevitable political role of art.

It is anyone's guess what Sachs would say to a completely converse group, one which denied that cultural activity, in transmitting ideas and values, plays a political role. What would he emphasise to artists who see art as a pursuit of private reflection with little place for the community-linked oral poet or protest theatre? Or to the literary critic whose university education has denied him/her an appreciation of the umbilical cord that links the artist to the community in Africa and Latin America? Would the message have been different?

Any critical assessment of an artist, white or black, liberal or radical, does not end with the aesthetic; it necessarily takes account of the specific milieu and how the artist engages with, relates to, is influenced by social circumstances and the issues of the times.

Sachs seems to agree with this: calling for broader parameters, he says "the criterion must be pro- or anti-apartheid". As co-architect of the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, he acknowledges that free speech is always circumscribed by other democratic interests of the community. Thus the Guidelines place a sanction on the propagation of racism, anti-Semitism, and fascism.

It is impossible simply to throw overboard the age-old debate between those who accept the artist's social responsibility and those who opt for a narrower, more Eurocentric conception of art. Many black artists become writers or artists because they seek to express political ideas.

The classrooms, the workplace, parliament, the broadcast media, daily newspapers and the courts, with their direct or structural censorship, have no place for their aspirations. They are drawn to the cultural arena where they hope to create their own space for political articulation. The Emergency clampdown and vicious media gags have spurred artists to commandeer artistic space for voicing political ideals.

The direct approach in art, addressing topical political issues, cannot be summarily denounced as invalid. Bertold Brecht, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Soviet poster-makers and numerous Third World poets have proved beyond question that such work has an important place in the spectrum of cultural expression.

However, Sachs is charging that South Africa has had too much of a good thing — which is doing more harm than good if it is undercutting other forms of art that could be more liberating and revitalising.

There is too little focus on how the ordinary person in an everyday situation is fighting back with laughter and wit and relationships and a refusal to succumb to despair. In addition, clenched fists and militant rhetoric alone do not denote important cultural work.

OPINION

Albie Sachs and the art of protest

When ANC lawyer Albie Sachs suggested art was more than a weapon of the struggle, he set off a raging debate among cultural workers. FRANK MEINTJIES, executive member of the Congress of South African Writers, takes up the issue



Nadine Gordimer ... crusading for an art that goes beyond apartheid's pain

The best exponents of political art are those who strive for mastery of their craft, who exercise utmost artistic discipline and diligence, and who study different forms and techniques. It is these ingredients which demarcate the difference between effective art and works which count as important historical and cultural records or tools for mobilisation.

Far too many young progressive artists are anxious to follow role models but shirk discipline and hard work.

Art is born through experience, through grappling with issues, through working over perceptions and thoughts and feelings.

Sloganeering soon becomes a barrier to depth and genuine expression. It stifles creativity and reflection, replacing it with a mechanical incantatory approach which severs the organic link between the work and the artist and community he is trying to serve. And when the drum-beating drowns out the needs and interests and doubts of ordinary people, it becomes an obstacle to the

building of a democratic ethos.

It would be wrong to condemn politically orientated work altogether. It would be a stultifying action, indulging in the same dictatorial prescriptiveness that Sachs labels "our own internal States of Emergency".

But it is an inadequate response merely to highlight the problem of poor quality and the dominance of overt political messages in art. Cultural organisations need to expose young artists to different forms of writing and painting and theatre, and to encourage greater attention to craft. Perhaps it is time to give space and recognition to the quieter, more reflective voices on our festival platforms, instead of only the more strident voices that usually come forward.

Sachs' paper has been hailed as a breakthrough. Perhaps what he says is unique because it is from the pen of a political leader, or because he addresses himself so frankly to political organisations. However, much of what he says echoes what several leading cultural workers have been advocating for some time.

Novelist Nadine Gordimer, Congress of South African Writers president Njabulo Ndebele and poet Chris van Wyk have all been crusading for an art that goes beyond the knee-jerk responses to the hurt caused by apartheid.

Ndebele has deplored the "overt political nature and journalistic reportage of some black South African fiction" as far back as 1984.

Van Wyk, reflecting on the "inadequacy" of post-1976 poetry, has lamented that political writing has been weakened where "writing was not sustained by a rich human and cultural dimension".

Even the performer/poet Mzwakhe Mbuli, the king of agit-prop, has denounced the tendency among younger poets — many of whom unsuccessfully try to emulate his artistry — of thinking it's as easy as knocking out a few "instant" lines for every political occasion.

Mi Hlatwayo, cultural co-ordinator of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, has appealed for an "upgrading" of the cultural output of workers: "It needs to be of such a quality that it can challenge commercial cultural productions on merit, not on the basis that it's coming from progressive cultural organisations and thus has to be popular."

On the theatre front, many voices have called for a break with clichés and the hackneyed approach found in so much protest drama. Last year actor/director John Kani complained that imposters "jumping on the bandwagon" had lowered the quality of protest theatre: "No one wants to sit back and be told that we are black and we are suffering. We know that."

Ari Sitas, director of worker-culture programmes, has slammed theatre practitioners who produce work according to a set "formula", work that is lacking in depth and abounding in stereotypes, aimed more at overseas audiences than at the community at home.

The *New Nation's* former arts editor, Tyrone August, has been one of the most consistent and outspoken voices in calling for new ideas in theatre. As far back as 1987 he told his politicised readership: "Stop the Revolution. I want to get off! That's what I feel like after seeing what passes for protest theatre at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown."

Although his newspaper was explicitly the voice of the oppressed, August ensured that the arts pages covered cultural events more broadly. Coverage included reviews from the Alhambra, Alexander, Andre Huegenot and Windybrow, even though few black people patronised these palaces of mainstream theatre.

This approach endorses the position that the construction of a new culture cannot take root without absorbing certain elements of the old.

Why did all these voices urging a new direction not coalesce into a beacon to mark the way forward for progressive artists?

Perhaps the time was not right — the state's mailed fist hung over the townships and thousands were experiencing detention. Perhaps it required members of the political leadership to give the cue.

Whichever way we look at it, now is the time to break with a culture in which, as Sachs puts it, "our rulers stalk every page and haunt every picture"; in which "everything is obsessed with the oppressors and the trauma they have imposed".

Now is the time to take up Njabulo Ndebele's challenge (uttered by a character in

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P.T.O.

**Top men fly to London
for preliminary meeting**

ANC in secret UK talks with SA

W/Mail
2/3-8/3/90

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In one of the first photographs of ANC president Oliver Tambo since his stroke last year, he greets former general secretary Walter Sisulu, left, after a separation of more than 27 years. The picture, taken in Sweden, was released by the ANC to commemorate the occasion

AFRICAN National Congress and South African government representatives held a round of preliminary talks in London last weekend.

**By GAYE DAVIS
in Lusaka**

The meeting was aimed at clearing the path to a formal meeting between an ANC delegation and President FW de Klerk.

ANC foreign relations chief Thabo Mbeki left Lusaka for London last week with fellow national executive committee member Aziz Pahad, and returned this week. It is believed the two took part in the talks.

NEC members dismissed reports of the meeting as "pure speculation", but it is understood that a report on the discussions was to be tabled at the NEC's two-day meeting which began in Lusaka yesterday.

Any such discussions would have been likely to focus on the remaining impediments facing ANC exiles waiting to return to South Africa. De Klerk recently said the "legal uncertainties" were receiving urgent attention. The ANC, most of whose leaders would face prosecution under laws still on the statute books if they went back, will want guarantees for their safe return.

Since arriving in Lusaka on Tuesday in time for the NEC's two-day

meeting, Nelson Mandela has had a hectic schedule.

He had no sooner been greeted by a 30 000-strong, cheering, ululating crowd at the airport than he was in a meeting with all six Frontline heads of state as well as representatives of the Commonwealth, Nigeria, Uganda, Canada, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and other high-level delegations, including one from the Soviet Union and 11 US congressmen.

He also has to attend a string of civic events, such as receiving the freedom of Lusaka and laying a wreath at Lusaka's freedom statue, dedicated to fallen freedom fighters.

He leaves Lusaka on Sunday for a three-day visit to Harare after which he travels to Dar es Salaam and then to Stockholm to be reunited with Oliver Tambo.

The ANC is expected to re-emerge as a legal, political force in South Africa within the next fortnight, with its headquarters in Johannesburg.

ANC spokesman Steve Tshwete said: "We would like to see offices spread all over South Africa in two weeks' time."

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Mandela's number 2 - for now

**By GAYE DAVIS
in Lusaka**

NELSON Mandela is expected to be named deputy president of the ANC when the movement's national executive committee emerges later today from its two-day meeting in Lusaka.

This position as Oliver Tambo's deputy would formalise his role within the ANC as a member of the policy-making NEC.

Constitutionally, Mandela cannot be elected president even though Tambo is ill and unlikely to be able to resume his duties for some months. Even when Tambo does resume his office, his task would have

to be substantially reduced to safeguard his health.

Elections for leadership positions within the ANC only take place at national conferences, held every five years.

The NEC can elect someone to a vacant position, and the vice-presidency has been open since Tambo took over the presidency from Chief Albert Lutuli in 1967.

Mandela's appointment as deputy

president may only last until December 16, the date when this year's national conference is due to take place inside South Africa.

During his present term Mandela has been given a special brief to act as a national unifier. NEC member Steve Tshwete told the *Weekly Mail* this brief would be "to marshal all the forces outside the congress tradition — including the Black Consciousness Movement and the Democratic Party".

"Nelson has the capability to do this," he added.

ANC men meet SA in early talks

W/Mail 2/3-8/3/90

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It is understood the ANC would like to establish itself as a formal, visible presence by the time its delegation arrives to meet De Klerk.

This would point to a meeting between Mandela and the state president shortly after ANC leader's return to South Africa on March 17.

Tshwete said ANC members within the country would be responsible for opening offices under the direction of Walter Sisulu as chairman of an interim leadership corps. Members of the ANC's executive will return to the country to help with the task, but no decision has yet been taken on who these will be.

Tshwete said membership of the organisation would be open to individuals who subscribed to the Freedom

Charter. Membership of other organisations would be allowed — meaning that democratic structures such as the United Democratic Front will not have to disband.

However, the situation will be continuously reviewed and a stage might be reached where the need for a UDF fell away, he said.

●The ANC Youth Section has accepted an invitation from the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to attend its national congress in Johannesburg over the Easter weekend.

It is also considering a request from Jeugkrug SA to attend a conference at the Rand Afrikaans University in April.

As Mandela moves in, Relly moves out

WIM 213-813190
GAVIN "GR" RELLY bowed out as head of South Africa's most powerful corporation yesterday without finishing a job he started five years ago: working for rapprochement between the African National Congress and captains of industry over the nature of a post-apartheid economy.

When Nelson Mandela rolled out the red carpet for Relly on Monday, there were many in the business community who believed that the meeting would be a repeat of the pioneering conference in Lusaka between the ANC leaders and big businessmen that the Anglo chief put together in 1985.

Before handing Anglo's reins to director Julian Ogilvie Thompson yes-

By EDDIE KOCH
terday, Relly had clearly hoped to round off his career with another boost to the process of reconciliation between business and the ANC.

Instead both men emerged from the half-hour discussion at Mandela's home in Soweto frustrated that the meeting did not allow in-depth talks on key economic issues facing the country.

But on Monday, Mandela used the occasion instead to lobby Relly about a new approach to labour relations — and the agenda was shaped by the fact that labour leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and James Motlatsi were present throughout.

Both men are senior officials of the National Union of Mineworkers and clearly wanted the meeting to signal that the fight for more progressive labour legislation in this country was as important as the issue of economic reconstruction for South Africa.

The end result was that the talks were deflected away from nationalisation.

However, the talks about labour relations did not deal with substantive issues — such as the deep conflict between labour and organised industry over the Labour Relations Act — mainly because Mandela has not had time to familiarise himself with complex trade union developments that have taken place in the last decade.

Relly said that although the pair had not been able to discuss the post-apartheid economy, "the community and international community should not get into a flurry over nationalisation. These are issues that sensible men can discuss."

Relly's adviser Michael Spicer told the *Weekly Mail* both men had clearly felt the meeting "misfired". They were irritated because the shortage of time and the ANC leader's crowded programme on the eve of his departure for Lusaka did not allow in-depth talks on key economic issues.

"They emerged from the talks without having discussed anything substantial about the future of the economy," said Spicer. "Then when the press asked the big questions of the day both men had to trot out fairly standard positions."

Police stop thousands strong teachers' march

By PHIL MOLEFE
THOUSANDS of black teachers from different Pretoria township schools were yesterday ordered to disperse by the South African Police when they attempted to march to the Department of Education and Training offices. WIM 213-813190

The teachers travelled from Mamelodi and Atteridgeville in buses and taxis and assembled at the Bloed Street taxi rank from where they would have proceeded with the march to the DET head office in Schoeman Street. The march was planned for 10am.

Police barricaded Kruger and Boom streets alongside the taxi rank where the teachers had assembled.

According to Mamelodi Teachers Union member Squire Khumalo, the

police gave the teachers three minutes to disperse.

In Soshanguve, over 1 000 teachers, who had gathered yesterday morning at the local community hall, were told by senior policemen that they could not proceed to Pretoria to join their colleagues for the march because it was illegal.

Teachers defied the police order and attempted to proceed to Pretoria in over 50 taxis and private cars.

The procession ran into a police road block near the Soshanguve police station and was prevented from going ahead.

Several taxis and cars took another route via Hebron and Erasmus but again found that police had blocked the road.

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ANC/SADF armies to join forces?

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-level Umkhonto we Sizwe team will meet with a military-linked white South African delegation in Lusaka next month to discuss forming an integrated defence force.

Among those who will be attending the conference will be former South African Defence Force generals and other senior officers, SADF-linked academics, a team of conscript officers and non-commissioned officers and members of the End Conscription Campaign.

Conference organiser Nic Borain said the event would be entitled "Towards a United Defence Force in South Africa", and would be attended by about 30 Umkhonto we Sizwe members and 30 South Africans.

"We are seeing the event as being of

vital importance because it is clear that the military forces on both sides have considerable influence on the negotiating process and on the nature of any settlement reached," said Borain.

He said the conference would focus on the questions of the cessation of hostilities, the role of the two armies in negotiations and on the question of integrating the two forces to form a single and united South African defence force.

"Because of the history of mistrust, it will also be necessary to talk about the past, so that we can get this be-

hind us and start discussing building the future."

Borain said the SADF "was aware of the event" and would be formally invited.

The African National Congress delegation will be led by the "MK top brass", but Borain said he was not able to release names of either delegation at this stage.

It will take place within the first two weeks of April.

● Meanwhile, the ECC has wel-

comed reports that the ANC does not envisage compulsory military service in a future South Africa, and plans to meet with both the SADF and the ANC to discuss ending the system.

ECC representative Chris de Villiers said yesterday his organisation was "extremely pleased the ANC shares our view that conscription will not be necessary in a post-apartheid society".

"We believe that a government in a democratic South Africa will have the support of the majority of citizens and therefore would soon be free of the kind of conflicts which exist to-

day. It will therefore not require conscription."

Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Chris Hani said on Wednesday that he did not foresee that military conscription would be necessary in post-apartheid South Africa.

Hani also said the ANC wanted to meet with the SADF top brass to discuss forming a united South African army and the ending of violence in the country.

The likely next stage in the negotiation process was the cessation of hostilities, followed by a ceasefire.

De Villiers said ECC was drafting a 10-point programme aimed at ending military conscription. He said it would be presented to the SADF and the ANC for comment.

LUSAKA. — The ANC indicated yesterday that it asked Mr Nelson Mandela to slow down, and said it will be selective about accepting foreign trips and future engagements for him.

Amid concerns for the 71-year-old Mr Mandela's health, ANC officials said he had met a full working schedule and been followed everywhere by hundreds of journalists since his release from prison on February 11.

"For someone who has been isolated in prison for so long, it's incredible. He hasn't stopped. We all want to be sure he isn't overworking," said a senior official.

On his first trip to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mandela has met seven African presidents and at least 20 top-ranking officials from governments or world bodies.

But ANC officials in Lusaka said a

Mandela to take it easier

meeting with Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark was delayed for more than two hours on Wednesday when doctors ordered Mr Mandela to go to bed and rest in the mid-afternoon.

Mr Mandela left a state banquet well before the end on Tuesday night. No reasons were given.

The ANC official said Mr Mandela, who was treated in prison for tuberculosis two years ago, receives a daily check-up from a physician.

"We have just got him back (from prison). The last thing he should see now is hospital walls." — Sapa-AP

Zimbabwe backs PAC hard line

HARARE. — In a surprise move, the Zimbabwean government yesterday threw its full weight behind the PAC's position on negotiations, saying talks should take place only once the legislative pillars of apartheid had been torn down.

Opening a conference between the PAC and its internal support base, the Pan-Africanist Movement, Zimbabwe's Minister for Political Affairs, Mr Eddison Zvobgo, said black people in South Africa had reached a dangerous period in their struggle.

"De Klerk's so-called concessions are not a benevolent conferment on the black people ... that arises from some kind of Christian ethic," he said. They were a direct result of the "victories of the struggling masses in your country".

Throughout his speech, Mr Zvobgo referred to South Africa as "Azania", further identifying with the PAC, as the name is rejected by the ANC.

He said the PAC and PAM were faced with painful choices. "You will be negotiating with people who own the most hideous army in Africa and one of the most brutal, fascist police systems in the world. At the conference table — as a result of De Klerk's so-called concessions, you would have been disarmed as they (arms) would have been left behind when you took up the offer to return to your country."

He likened this to complete castration.

"At the conference, they (Pretoria) would say there is one purpose of the talks and that is no domination of one group by another. But one-man-one-vote is the highest form of democracy, yet they would seek to destroy that."

In his address, PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng agreed with these views.

Mr Zvobgo's statements have surprised many here considering that ANC patriarch Mr Nelson Mandela is to address a rally of the ruling Zanu (PF) Party in Harare tomorrow. — Sapa

'No talks in London'

LONDON. — Spokesmen for both the South African embassy and the African National Congress yesterday denied knowledge of a preliminary meeting here between government officials and ANC leaders.

They were reacting to queries following speculation in the British press that the two parties had already met in London to pave the way for the first official talks in Pretoria.

The embassy spokesman said he had "no knowledge of any such talks", while an ANC spokesman said: "We know nothing about it."

SA Muslims for Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The Muslim Focus Group of South Africa yesterday expressed support for Mr Nelson Mandela's view that there were similarities between the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa and that of the Palestinians.

"For almost as long as the apartheid regime has executed havoc upon its oppressed majority, so too has the illegitimate state of Israel caused untold hardships and suffering to its oppressed majority in Palestine," a statement said. — Sapa

Mandela is elected to No 2 position in ANC

3/3/90

JOHN RYAN in Lusaka, and MICHAEL MORRIS in Cape Town

11A

MR Nelson Mandela has been elected to the second position in the African National Congress, which effectively means that he will lead the delegation to meet government leaders in talks about talks.

And in a statement by the national executive committee yesterday, announcing Mr Mandela's appointment as deputy president, the ANC said it would be contacting the Government as soon as possible to seek agreement on the dates of the meeting, the venue and other details.

The NEC statement also said an ANC headquarters would be opened in Johannesburg "without delay".

The statement said it was also vital that the Government moved without delay to remove obstacles

Town says no to R300-m to stay white

STAFF REPORTER

THE Conservative Party-controlled Springs Town Council has rejected an application by 300 Hong Kong Chinese families to settle in the town — despite the fact that each family would bring a guaranteed minimum of R1 million and their application has received the blessing of the Government.

An article in this week's *Springs and Brakpan Advertiser* claims the decision was made behind closed doors after Tuesday night's monthly council meeting.

The article alleges a debate on the issue was held in the confidential section of the council agenda, to which the press and public do not normally have access.

The proposal allegedly had the blessing of the Department of Home Affairs and is believed to have been approved by heads of municipal departments, who saw it as a boost for the town.

A spokesman for the department could not confirm the story when contacted yesterday afternoon.

Industrialists

The *Springs Advertiser* said the 300 families all came from the middle or upper classes of Hong Kong's Chinese community and the family heads were either industrialists or businessmen.

The newspaper claimed that the families had proposed going into

still standing in the way of final negotiations on a constitutional model for South Africa.

Government sources have welcomed Mr Mandela's appointment, saying the "acknowledgement of his force of personality is a positive indicator" against concerns that "the wild men in the ANC would push the old guard aside".

Like the National Party, the Democratic Party did not find the appointment "altogether surprising".

The DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, went on: "The ANC's national executive committee has preferred to stay with the older generation of leaders rather than to switch to younger blood."

He hoped the appointment of Mr Mandela to the NEC would now see the organisation enter into debate to help find solutions to the country's problems.

Tension

Conservative Party information spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe believed the fact the Mr Mandela had not been given the top spot was an indication of tension within the organisation.

He said: "One would have expected that Mr Mandela would have become the leader and that others would have stood down for him and this might indicated that things inside the ANC are not as harmonious as it may seem from the outside."

The two-day NEC meeting also decided that two other released ANC leaders, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki, would resume their places on the executive.

Answering a question at a press conference later about the composition of the delegation to meet Mr de Klerk and

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11A

Mandela

● FROM PAGE 1.

other Cabinet members, Mr Mandela said: "The national executive will in due course announce the names of members of the delegation and the date on which this delegation will go to Cape Town."

According to the NEC statement, the new deputy leader will be em-

banking at some stage on a programme of international trips, considering the many invitations he had received to visit various countries.

Meanwhile, he will stick to his original plan to visit Harare, Dar es Salaam and Stockholm, although that itinerary will probably be curtailed in the light of the pressing need for talks with the Government.

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Winnie plays opposite tune to Mandela

CHOLA CHIMBANO

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela's new authority as deputy president of the African National Congress ran into its first challenge yesterday — from his fiery wife Winnie.

She sounded a dissident note after he lectured several thousand Zambian university students on a need for discipline.

Forced to speak by enthusiastic students shouting "Winnie, Winnie", she told them with a grin: "I don't know if I agree totally with the remarks by deputy president Nelson Mandela. We shall subject ourselves to discipline as much as possible for as long as the authorities listen to us."

Mandela told the students, whose campus has often been closed because of class boycotts and demonstrations, to have self-control if they hoped to be future leaders. —
Reuter.

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Land is our goal, says PAM leader

HARARE — The objective of the Pan Africanist Movement was to repossess the land and it would never rest until that was done, the leader of the movement, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a consultative meeting with the PAC, with which it is aligned, Mr Makwetu said PAM which was formed last December believed a negotiated settlement was possible only under certain conditions.

The preconditions and principles around which negotiations should take place were one person, one vote in a non-racial unitary state, and the redistribution of resources of which land was primary.

Mr F W de Klerk was still talking of a multi-national country with minority groups.

Mr Makwetu said there could never be compromise on the question of land.

4/10
3/3/90

ROBIN DREW

11A (circled) (circled)

"Until the question of a non-racial unitary Azania is addressed honestly, we find it impossible to go for negotiations," he said in a prepared speech.

The noise about minority rights was only a guise to perpetuate white supremacy.

He quoted the words of Mao Tse-tung: "You should not hope to win from a negotiating table what you have not won from the battlefield."

The Harare meeting is to map out a strategy for the way ahead and to consider the future relationship between the PAC and PAM now that the PAC is unbanned.

Mr Makwetu said there was no reason for excitement about the lifting of the bans.

"They do not address the relevant issues. We have been and still are fighting for our land," he said.

Struggle goes on — PAC

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress has declared that the armed struggle must continue and that there was no question of stopping hostilities without a cessation of apartheid.

This was declared yesterday by PAC president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, at the start of the organisation's top-level meeting here.

And in a surprise move, the Zimbabwean government threw its full weight behind the PAC's position on negotiations.

Pillars

It said talks could only take place once the legislative pillars of apartheid had been torn down.

Opening the consultative conference between the formerly proscribed movement and its internal support base, the Pan-Africanist Movement, Zimbabwe's Minister of State for Political Affairs, Mr Eddison Zvobgo, said black people in South Africa had reached a dangerous period in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Zimbabwean govt supports firm stand

Star 3/3/90



ROBIN DREW and SAPA

"De Klerk's so-called concessions are not a benevolent conferment on the black people in your country that arises from some kind of Christian ethic. All of a sudden, the Broederbond, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and other Afrikaner bodies are saying release all people. All organisations can now organise freely and talks should take place.

"But they say there can be no domination.

"I say the concessions are a direct result of the victories of the struggling masses in your country. However, the opportunities created by your victories are a field laden with explosives and minefields," said the senior Zimbabwean minister.

"The danger is you

may be committing another Xhosa national suicide," he said, referring to an historical episode when the Xhosa people drove their cattle into the sea in the belief that the whites would disappear.

"Be prepared to suffer and die in larger numbers than before," he said, promising that Zimbabwe would give what support it could.

Mr Zvobgo warned that negotiations with Pretoria would involve trading freedoms and values but there would be no colonial power in the chair to oversee the bargaining process as there had been at Lancaster House ahead of Zimbabwe's independence.

He warned that negotiations would take place in circumstances of the "total castration" of the liberation movements.

They would not be allowed to take their guns home with them.

It was essential that internationally irreversible guarantees be obtained in advance.

Mr Mothopeng told the delegates from South Africa and from the external wing of the PAC and from the leadership of the Pan Africanist Movement that the real issues were the repossession of land by its rightful owners and the creation of a non-racial democratic government based on majority rule in a unitary state.

Principle

"In short I am advocating the transfer of power and resources to the African people. This must be clearly understood as this alone is true liberation."

He said "the enemy" was looking for a political solution outside these issues.

It was on principle opposed to majority rule and the transfer of land.

"It therefore becomes clear that as far as the real issues are concerned, the solution is not around the corner.

"It therefore goes without saying that the armed struggle must continue."

Mandela's top job

CAT Truitts 3/3/90 11A

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela was yesterday voted the effective leader of the African National Congress.

The 71-year-old veteran politician and former prisoner was elected deputy president of the movement at a meeting here of its national executive committee (NEC).

He joins his former law partner and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo as deputy with immediate effect.

Mr Tambo has been recovering in Sweden since suffering a stroke last year. This

leaves the way open for Mr Mandela to succeed him formally at what is expected to be a historic ANC party congress inside South Africa at Bloemfontein on December 18.

The organisation also announced yesterday that it should move its headquarters without delay from the Zambian capital, back to South Africa.

New offices will be opened in Johannesburg, said Mr Alfred Nzo, acting president.

He did not specify when the move would take place, but the committee said international allies would be approached to provide resources for the internal recon-

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela's new authority as deputy president of the ANC ran into its first challenge yesterday — from his fiery wife Winnie.

She sounded a dissident note after he lectured several thousand Zambian university students on a need for discipline.

Forced to speak by students shouting "Winnie, Winnie", she told them with a

struction of the ANC.

The NEC also restored Mr Mandela's two prison comrades, Mr Walter Sisulu

and Mr Govan Mbeki, to membership of the committee. With Mr Mandela's election the ANC has

grin: "I don't know if I agree totally with the remarks by deputy president Nelson Mandela. We shall subject ourselves to discipline as much as possible for as long as the authorities listen to us."

Mr Mandela smiled broadly as the students cheered her.

He had told the students to have self-control if they hoped to be future leaders.

now formally expressed its confidence in him and given him the leadership role which the world has accorded him since his release from jail three weeks ago.

Mr Mandela in turn since his release went out of his way to defer to the movement and say that he would accept any role the ANC wanted him to play.

Diplomats say the committee did not want to be seen to be replacing their president with Mr Mandela. At the same time, they were under pressure for their own membership and the international community to give Mr Mandela some defined position.

The ANC also called for the release of all political prisoners and referring to the Robben Island protest, said the issue was emphasised by "the fact of the heroic hunger strikes on which our comrades have now embarked".

It was of vital importance that "the Pretoria regime" moved without delay to remove "all other obstacles" in the way of negotiations.

The executive reaffirmed its decision for an early meeting with President F W de Klerk for "talks about talks".

● Mandela to take it easier — Page 3

See front page Times care of the man for half an hour.

The child was treated and discharged from hospital and is in a satisfactory condition.

A man is expected to appear in Bellville Magistrate's Court soon.

Inside **TOP OF THE TIMES** today

- **Up-market steam train for Cape winelands** PAGE 19
- **Cape chefs to compete against world's best** PAGE 19
- **Further rises in textile prices seen** PAGE 21

WILL flavor

The best tasting American blend cigarette

LEX 864/EU RIGGIO TOBACCO CORPORATION OF NEW YORK Made in South Africa

COMING HOME . . .
Mrs Ray Alexander, 76, and her husband Professor Jack Simon, 83, had a triumphant return to Cape Town yesterday after 25 years in exile. They were met by a jubilant crowd of ANC supporters.

Picture: OBED ZILWA



Cape Times 3/3/90 (11A) (3)

Emotional welcome for exiled ANC pair

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

ANC members Ms Ray Alexander, 76, and her husband, Professor Jack Simon, 83, returned to Cape Town yesterday after 25 years in exile to a tumultuous and emotional welcome from thousands of ANC supporters.

They were met by a cadre wearing the ANC colours who formed a guard of honour as they walked out of D F Malan Airport in the early evening.

Ms Alexander was elected to Parliament as native representative for Cape Western while banned in 1954. She served as an MP for four-and-a-half hours before the government ejected her from Parliament.

She was then served with a notice under the Suppression of Communism Act, barring her from being an MP.

She is life general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and a founding member of the Federation of SA Women.

Prof Simon lectured in the Department of African Studies at UCT before he was barred from lecturing in 1965

under the Suppression of Communism Act.

On their arrival last night, the couple were mobbed by the press and the crowd as earlier arrangements made by marshals collapsed.

After getting into their car, a frail Prof Simon emerged and emotionally chanted freedom slogans before saying: "This is a joyous occasion for my wife and myself. We were put out by the Vorster regime and kept out because we had fought for the rights of the people. We have come back and will continue that struggle."

He said an important point in the revolution had been reached.

"As Nelson Mandela said on Tuesday in Lusaka, we have reached a breakthrough and we must see that this breakthrough widens and widens until the people establish a government of the people."

Ms Alexander said their return was "wonderful" and that she had been "overwhelmed" by the reception.

Theology of a freed Mandela

South 8/3-14/3/90

THE detention and release, words and actions of ANC vice-president, Nelson Mandela, and of other victims of the apartheid state have many interesting biblical and theological connotations, according to a new publication.

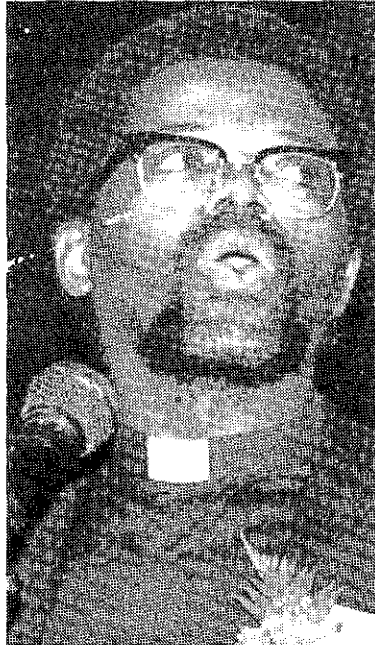
The document, "The release of Nelson Mandela: Reading the signs of the times", is about to be published by the Johannesburg-based Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT).

It says reading the signs of the times — which in South Africa includes the rise of Mr FW de Klerk to power, the releasing of political prisoners, unbannings and talks between the ANC and Pretoria — is part of the Christian tradition.

"As (the Church) experiences its own release from captivity after years of conflict with the state, new possibilities for preaching the gospel are opening up to it," the document says.

For instance, it quotes a letter from Mandela to his daughter, Zinzi, from prison: "As long as you have an iron will, you can turn misfortune into an advantage."

This seems to echo the Psalmist: "As they go through the Bitter Valley, they make it into a place of springs."



ICT general secretary, Fr Smangaliso Mkhathshwa

The "heroic endurance" of people such as Mandela, has won them credibility as leaders and given many people renewed hope and confidence.

Albert Luthuli, former ANC president, once said it was inevitable that, in working for freedom, some individuals and families had to take the lead and suffer. "The road to freedom

THE release of Nelson Mandela and other recent dramatic political events in South Africa are interpreted theologically in a new publication to be released by the Institute of Contextual Theology soon. NOEL BRUYNS reports:

freedom is via the Cross."

The ICT paper says: "Our prophets have been saying for years that victory was certain. And now it is beginning to happen.

"God, who takes sides with the oppressed, has shown his power at work in the victory of the people."

"In our jubilation, however, what must not be forgotten is that our new hope, like that of the exile in Babylon, was born out of years of perseverance in suffering and captivity," the document continues.

South Africa had "its share of prophets and martyrs" in the struggle for justice and freedom. Some have died in detention, while others have been the victims of the recently-exposed hit squads".

The unconditional release of Mandela did not mean freedom had now arrived. At most it signifies that some of the conditions for a climate of negotiations had been fulfilled.

"But it is also a promise of new

possibilities for the liberation of the country as a whole," the document says.

Mandela's release was a victory of the struggle which opened the door to a new phase of struggle.

While his release was "filled with promise", it also spelt out the need for a long and arduous struggle to bring about the structures necessary for a non-racial and democratic society.

"Now is not the time for people to sit back and leave it to our leaders to do the talking. Everyone needs to get involved in building democratic structures and participating in the many debates that are bound to take place."

There would be discussions and negotiations about education, human rights and health services.

"But above all, there will be intense debates about the economy: nationalisation or privatisation, socialism or capitalism; the creation

of wealth and the redistribution of wealth."

The document said economic justice was a new challenge to Christians.

"For years, the Church's emphasis has been to preach against the sin of racism; now it will have to preach against the sin of greed, the idolatrous worship of money," it said.

Christians could remain faithful to the gospel only by becoming clearly and unequivocally the champions of the poor.

"When the debate moves from politics to economics, the churches will have an even greater responsibility than before to protect the interests of the poor and to insist on the need for economic justice in a country in which the disparities between the rich and the poor are greater than in any other country in the world!"

Events such as those in Eastern Europe, the government's moves towards privatisation and the reaction of many whites to Mandela's statement about nationalisation raised the possibility of a future in which the rich — "of whatever race" — would become richer and the poor become poorer.

"In such circumstances, what is God calling us to do?" the document asks.

Cosatu on centre stage

COSATU is taking a leading role in the debate on what form the economy should take in post-apartheid South Africa.

Publisher Duncan Innes examines in the Innes Labour Brief the black trade union view of how the economy works and what changes will have to be made in a new SA.

Referring to a Cosatu publication entitled Political Economy: SA in Crisis — it details the views of many black trade unions. Mr Innes says most have a

S Times 4/3/90

well-developed conception of how the SA economy works.

Their premise is that wealth is divided between social classes with a small number owning most of the wealth. A 1980 Bureau of Market Research study showed that 15.5% of the population earned 61% of the income.

According to the union movement, the migrant labour system is central to the historical development of capitalism in SA because it laid the basis for the racial separation of housing and racial discrimination in employment.

Mr Innes says Cosatu rejects the existing structure of the economy and sees little hope for its development along present lines, which includes privatisation and deregulation.

Cosatu's solution to the economic problems, he says, lies in the route laid out in the Freedom Charter — nationalisation and State control of the economy.

"While the Freedom Charter undoubtedly is a very important document, providing a vision of what kind of society the majority of black people would like to see in SA, it suffers from a

number of shortcomings.

"It is vague on a number of key issues, including the extent of control it advocates over industry and trade, it is idealistic and, in some respects, outdated, particularly in its stance on nationalisation."

Mr Innes believes recent confusion over nationalisation and the contradictory messages from radical black organisations can be explained by the fact that these groups suddenly find their traditional positions outlined in the Freedom Charter challenged from three quarters.

There is pressure from black trade unions which are taking a firmer stand on socialism; pressure on ANC, MDM and Cosatu leadership from the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe; and the need for leaders to respond to the sudden turn towards negotiation by the SA Government.

"However, it is clear that an intense debate is emerging within the MDM and its components — Cosatu and the UDF — about whether a future SA economy should be socialist or capitalist."



WIM DE VILLIERS ... in the salary firing line

ANC talks may hit snag on 450 men still held in prison

By DRIES van HEERDEN
and DOC BIKITSHA

THE FATE of more than 450 ANC supporters still in South African prisons will be the stickiest point on the agenda for the organisation's first face-to-face meeting with the Government.

The advance team for talks-about-talks — led by the ANC's newly elected deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela — is expected in SA from Lusaka within a month.

However, in ANC circles this week, there was concern over Mr Mandela's health and his busy schedule since being released from prison last month. Yesterday he addressed a mass rally in Lusaka after a hectic week in Zambia, where he met his ANC comrades for the first time in 27 years.

ANC sources said the first round of the preliminary negotiations with the Government would be dominated by three points:

- The signing of a mutually binding ceasefire.
- The ending of the state of emergency.
- The future of prisoners jailed for security offences.

The ANC expects that the first two issues may be resolved fairly easily on a quid pro quo basis — "if he (Mr De Klerk) lifts the state of emergency... we abandon the armed struggle."

The prisoner issue may prove the tougher nut. Informed estimates suggest that there are about 350 security prisoners still on Robben Island, with a further 100 scattered through other institutions — the majority of them in Pollsmoor in the Cape and Diepkloof near Johannesburg.

Underground 11A

Of these, at least 80 percent — between 350 and 370 — have been convicted under the Terrorism Act for actions involving violence or sabotage.

It is unlikely the Government will release them all unconditionally as the ANC has demanded.

ANC sources say they do not expect finality on this issue during the first round of talks.

"There may be drawn-out haggling. It is even possible that the matter will eventually be dealt with by way of a general amnesty for long-term prisoners," a senior ANC member said.

The arrival of the ANC's negotiating team will coincide with a vigorous drive by the organisation to re-establish an internal base in SA, after operating underground for nearly three decades.

One of the biggest challenges facing the movement is to raise enough funds to establish itself as a viable political force. Yesterday the ANC's treasurer-general, Thomas Nkobi, said it would need at least 80 million US dollars this year to put a new organisation in place.

In this process, Mr Mandela, as the most senior leader active in the political scene — ANC president Oliver Tambo is still recuperating in a Stockholm clinic after a stroke — will play a key role.

But doctors close to the 71-year-old ANC veteran yesterday urged him to cut down on his workload. A close friend and former personal doctor to the Mandela family, Dr Nthato Mot-

□ To Page 2

FLOY

P.T.O

Prisoner snag feared

From Page 1 (11)

lana, expressed concern about his patient's hectic itinerary. He said Mr Mandela should get out of Soweto to a more relaxed and healthy environment.

Said Dr Motlana: "It's strange how those nearest Mr Mandela seem not to realise the undue stress placed on him. He has made his political statements ... now let him rest!"

On this week's Lusaka visit, he met seven African presidents and at least 20 ministers or top-ranking officials from governments or world bodies.

But ANC officials in Lusaka said a meeting with Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark was delayed for more than two hours on Wednesday when doctors ordered Mr Mandela to go to bed and rest in the mid-afternoon.

"Even then, three presidents knocked on his door," one official said.

He also left a State banquet well before the end on Tuesday night. No reasons were given.

Mr Mandela's appointment as deputy president has given the ANC's international status a great boost.

The ANC will extract the maximum publicity from his

reputation as the world's most celebrated prisoner.

It is expected that the ANC's internal organisation will be modelled on the M-Plan drawn up by Mr Mandela in 1953 when he was the Transvaal president of the movement.

The M-Plan provides for the setting-up of a grassroots organisation consisting of street committees led by cell stewards; zones, consisting of seven or eight streets; wards made up of four zones, with a prime steward in charge; and branches consisting of two or three zones.

Speaking in Lusaka yesterday where he received the freedom of the city, Mr Mandela paid tribute to the role Zambia played in playing host to the ANC in its three decades of exile.

Thousands of well-wishers lined the 10km route from Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda's official residence to the 30 000-seat stadium for the mass rally.

"I salute you for your unstinting support. I salute you for your commitment to our struggle," Mr Mandela told a boisterous crowd of about 10 000 people.

"What greater sacrifice is there than the shedding of blood for other people? We in

South Africa will not forget your sacrifices."

Mr Mandela called for an end to regional conflicts in Angola and Mozambique, where right-wing rebels are fighting to overthrow their governments.

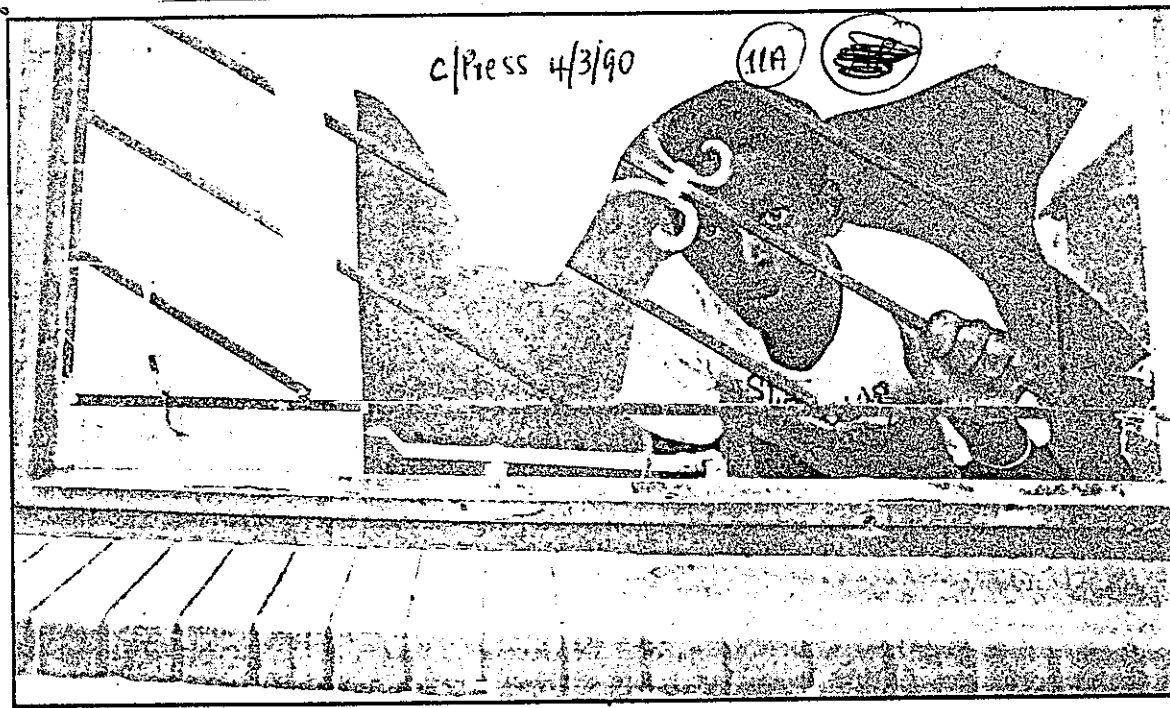
"There are reckless elements bent on destroying the governments instead of pooling resources to develop social, economic and political structures," he said.

Mr Mandela will arrive in Zimbabwe today where he will address an election rally staged by President Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe's 4-million voters go to the polls on March 28 and 29.

While Mr Mandela and Mr Mugabe address the crowd at the Rufaro Stadium, other ANC leaders will be locked in talks with a high-level group of SA businessmen less than two kilometres away.

The business delegation, led by P G Bison's Christo Nel, will include the head of JCI, Murray Hofmeyr, JCI's group economist, Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, and a senior executive of the Development Bank, Dr Johan van Zyl.

On leaving Harare Mr Mandela is to visit ANC facilities in Tanzania for six days before flying to Stockholm to see Mr Tambo.



Narrow escape . . . Mthokozisi Dlamini at the window shattered by Rasta gunfire.

Two killed as anti-ANC thugs go on rampage

By ELIAS MALULEKE

A NEW wave of political killings by a gang known as Rastas rocked Soweto this week.

At least two people were killed and scores others injured when a fanatical anti-ANC group raided homes at night and shot members of progressive organisations in and around Emdeni Extension, Jabulani and Zola.

Now the comrades have vowed revenge and are arming themselves against this new threat to peace among township organisations.

The attacks occurred on Tuesday night and Wednesday morning when the "Rastas", allegedly led by a notorious member of the Rastafarian cult called "Sugar", went on the rampage against members of the Soweto Students Congress (Sosco), Soweto Young Christian Students (Soycs) and the UDF's Street Committees.

The victims were Emmanuel Zwane of Jabulani, a member of Sosco, and Bafana Dhlamini of Emdeni, a member of Soycs.

Protea police spokesman Capt Ngoberu confirmed the deaths. He said police were investigating but no charges had been laid.

Members of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in the affected areas went into hiding after the Rastas vowed to track down and kill them.

According to witnesses, the attacks were allegedly sparked after two members of the Rastas, suspected of house-breaking and theft, were hauled before an anti-crime committee for disciplinary purposes in Zola Two on Tuesday.

But Professor Nhlapo, a member of the local street committee and Sosco, said: "All we did was warn the culprits to stop terrorising residents. We did not attack them."

Nhlapo, who fled into hiding, said about five people were shot by the Rastas after the gang attacked a house in Zola where a meeting was in progress. He said the Rastas cut the telephone wires, started shooting and forced their way into the home.

"There were 18 of
■ To Page 4

Mandela given the freedom of Lusaka

NELSON Mandela, new deputy president of the ANC, heard himself compared to Jesus Christ yesterday when he visited Lusaka's civic centre to be honoured by his Zambian hosts. *(Press 4/3/90)*

"Like it was with Jesus when he was crucified, his persecutors believed they were putting an end to his fame. Alas they did not realise that his name was to become famous worldwide. You have done exactly that, not for yourself but your country and mankind," said district governor Rupiah Banda.

Mandela, thanking his hosts for a silver key and scroll, replied: "You are granting me the freedom

of the city. Yet in my own city of Johannesburg I do not have a vote in the city council elections. It is shameful that in this day and age blacks do not even have a vote in local government elections."

Mandela told the crowd, including Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, that even when the ANC returned home to Johannesburg, "part of us will always remain behind". *(IA) (IB)*

The ANC decided on Friday to make plans for a new headquarters at a meeting where Mandela became deputy president, and in effect the movement's internal leader. — Sapa-Reuters.

Afrikaans Press sees new era in Mandela initiative

PRESS WATCH

2/press
4/31/90

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

TRAVEL and contact broadens insight – as in the case of Nelson Mandela who is now finding out that simple answers do not satisfy everyone anymore, says *Beeld* in an editorial.

Canada and Zambia, earlier advocates for Mandela, want concessions from him to reduce political tension in South Africa.

But Mandela digs in his heels – and the international front of unity against South Africa is partially broken.

Mandela's embrace of PLO leader Yassar Arafat would make Jews worldwide uneasy and in Western cities, the ghost of ANC nationalisation walks strongly.

And Mangosuthu Buthelezi told President George Bush there is now "a political arena where a just political fight can take place".

If the international community agrees with this and gets the impression the ANC favours its own power game at the expense of the conciliation effort in South Africa, the pressure could rapidly move to the ANC.

Why does the ANC suddenly fear isolation of the South African government would be ended? Does it think it would harm its efforts to hold power alone?

The ANC's motives must be probed and demands must be put to the ANC that progress in the Republic be acknowledged concretely.

Perhaps it's time the government made another surprise move to place the ANC completely on the defensive. Through that Mandela's greatest triumph could also become his greatest test, says *Beeld*.



Nelson Mandela meets the PLO's Yasser Arafat.

Service ends Sobukwe commemorative week

c/press
4/3/90 (11A)

By HAPPY ZONDI

SCORES of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters and Africanist philosophy adherents are expected to pack Soweto's Regina Mundi Church today to mark the conclusion of the Sobukwe Commemorative Week.

The service will start at noon with poetry readings by Ingoapele Madingoane and Matsemela Manaka.

The recitals by these prominent poets will be followed by performances by members of the Mafube, Afrika Cultural Centre and Soyikwa groups.

According to organisers there will be other commemoration services at several venues countrywide.

The services will mark a week which commemorated the 12th anniversary of PAC founder Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, who died on February 27, 1978, in Kimberley.

Earlier this week more than 400 people heard PAC president Zeph Mothopeng say negotiations with the South African government under existing circumstances would only ensure the people exchanged one form of bondage for another.

"It is better to be free and starve than to have plenty in bondage," Mothopeng told the cheering

group of PAC supporters at his lecture on Sobukwe at the Funda Centre in Soweto.

He was echoing Sobukwe's words. PAC has requested that this week is set aside to pay tribute to his memory and honour the contribution he made towards the liberation struggle, Pan Africanist Movement executive Benny Alexander told Sapa this week.

Mothopeng exhorted the audience to stand firm and not to compromise the efforts of those who had suffered and died for freedom and a non-racial society.

"Don't let 1990 be a repetition of 1960 when our people lost their lives in Sharpeville during the Defiance Campaign," he said.

He called for a renewed effort in the struggle and warned the audience not to be seduced by the white liberals again.

"Down with paternalism, down with colonialism, down with imperialism and all those who are trying to dilute and delay the liberation of the people," he thundered.

The meeting ended with freedom songs and cries of "Down with negotiation".



PAC president Zeph Mothopeng and his wife Urbania at an earlier rally.



ANC veterans Rachel Alexandra and her husband Prof Jack Simon flanked by Albertina Sisulu (right) and Rivonia tri-
list's wife June Mlangeni.

Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Big welcome as first two ANC exiles return

By LULAMA LUTI

press

4/3/90

11A



PROMINENT ANC members Rachel Ester Alexandra and husband Prof Jack Simon were on Friday given a tumultuous welcome as they arrived at Jan Smuts Airport after 25 years in exile.

They are the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa since the organisation was unbanned by President FW de Klerk on Feb-

ruary 2, and have declared their intention of working at building up the ANC in the country.

As Alexandra emerged from the terminal she was handed a bouquet by Transvaal UDF president Albertina Sisulu.

Simon, 83, was a lecturer in African government and law at the University of Cape Town from 1937 to 1965 before being banned.

In terms of the banning, Simon was prohibited from writing for publication and attending public meetings and the couple left South Africa soon afterwards.

Alexandra was banned from trade union activities in South Africa in 1953.

They will be reunited with their two daughters, Mary and Tania, grandchildren and old friends, many of whom they have not seen for nearly 25 years.

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CPress 4/3/90 (11A)

Azapo wants convention

By SANDILE MEMELA

'Common basis' is needed before talks

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called for a national convention of credible black political organisations before they enter negotiations with the South African Government.

"It is imperative that credible political organisations get together to form a common base before they engage in talks with the government," said Azapo president Nkosi Molala.

Publicity secretary Muntu Myeza said Azapo believed in closer ties between the ANC and the PAC.

"We believe that joining hands with one organisation to the exclusion of another serves to perpetuate division. In this context the role of Azapo is to facilitate the unity of black people," said Myeza.

The BCM recently twice met Nelson Mandela to discuss setting up

a consultative network of ideologically different organisations.

"Mandela is going to consult the external wing of the ANC on the proposals. Further meetings in this regard are on the cards," said Myeza.

Sapa reports that Azapo believes it is well placed to bring about unity between the PAC and the ANC in view of possible impending negotiations in South Africa.

To this end Azapo representatives had approached various people within both the PAC and ANC, including Mandela.

Myeza said the proposal was made to Mandela during exploratory talks after his release and that

his response had been positive.

A convention involving the ANC and PAC, with Azapo as facilitators, was the ideal Azapo officials were striving for.

"Now that all organisations are free to operate publicly the question of unity can be highlighted and accelerated," said Myeza.

The BCM had steadfastly refused to align itself with either the ANC or PAC.

It had welcomed the release of leaders like PAC's Zeph Mothopeng, and the ANC's Walter Sisulu and Mandela with equal enthusiasm and support, said Myeza.

In terms of the issue of negotiations, the BCM

"eschewed bilateral negotiations because the issues involved transcend the interest of only a few parties".

"We believe also that at this stage black people would enter negotiations with white people from a position of weakness where black people have a backlog created by centuries of deprivation and repression."

Whites, on the other hand, had an enormous advantage in that they held all the keys to jails, the economy, political power and the security apparatus.

The BCM had persistently aligned itself with the tenets of socialism and did not view the present events in Europe as a

collapse of socialism.

"We view these occurrences as a reshaping and restructuring of a social order to meet the needs of a 20th Century society. That Eastern Europe can restructure, as it is doing, is more of a feather in its cap than it is dishonour," Myeza said.

The fundamental question of land and its deployment remained a vital position of the BCM, which was not an "anti-colonialist movement".

Turning to developments in other African countries - Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe - Myeza said conflict had continued after independence and settlements had not necessarily been correct because they had been designed by "imperialist forces".

This situation could be avoided in this country if a solution was worked out beforehand. Myeza said black consciousness could have avoided the "dissident issue" in Zimbabwe.



Azapo president Nkosi Molala.

Death of Africanist Robert Sobukwe commemorated

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

AFRICANISTS throughout the world are commemorating the death of Robert Mangaliso "Wonderboy" Sobukwe, who had a vision of a new non-racial South Africa.

Sobukwe was not only a great thinker, but believed in taking the lead in time of action. This was proved when he led the march on Orlando Police Station in 1960.

His revolutionary life began at Fort Hare University when he joined the ANC Youth League in 1947 and became chairman later the same year.

The following year he was elected regional president of the youth league in the Cape Province.

After being elected youth league president he involved the youth and students in action in solidarity with striking nurses at Victoria Hospital.

Sobukwe led a delegation from the Cape to the historic ANC conference in Bloemfontein in 1949, where the programme of action was adopted.

At that conference Sobukwe called upon the African masses to have an independent programme and not react to everything the government did.

He was influential in the adoption of

the programme of action in Bloemfontein which resulted in the 1952 defiance campaign and the arrest of many activists.

In 1950 Sobukwe started teaching in Standerton, where he led the 1952 defiance campaign.

Sobukwe was dismissed from his job but two years later was appointed lecturer in the Department of African Studies at Wits University and was active within the ANC and studied revolutionary methods all over the world.

Sobukwe was jailed for three years at Leeuwkop Prison with his executive and many youths.

As he served his sentence, the PAC was planning a revolution against the South African government. When he was about to be released after serving his sentence, the government rushed a special bill through Parliament known as the "Sobukwe Clause" and he was not released.

He was kept in isolation on Robben Island away from other political prisoners.

Sobukwe was the first political leader to taste detention without trial. When he was released he was taken to Galeshewe near Kimberley and was restricted.

UDF group casts off its shroud of secrecy

C/Press
4/3/90
(11A)

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE United Democratic Front's Cultural Desk celebrated its fourth birthday this month by breaking out of the shroud of secrecy that has covered it since its inception in 1986.

The Cultural Desk, which shot into prominence soon after the international release of Paul Simon's *Graceland* album, has been a mysterious body wielding considerable power over music lovers and artists.

But very few knew the faces and names behind the organisation.

National co-ordinator Mzwakhe Mbuli, who effectively runs the Cultural Desk, said this mystery was compounded by the state of emergency which forced many activists involved in its administration to go underground.

"But we have not been a sinister force wielding power blindly; neither have we acted without the interest of the people at heart. Our actions and policies were intended to advance the cause of the oppressed majority," said Mbuli.

The Cultural Desk was launched at the historic meeting of the National General Council of the UDF held in Azaadville.

"It was felt there was

an urgent need for a body to monitor cultural developments and trends inside South Africa. It was obvious there were many opportunists who wanted to twist facts to suit their own purposes," said Mbuli.

The NGC, the highest policy-making body of the UDF, delegated Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli to oversee the creation of the Cultural Desk structure.

As a result, nine high-profile UDF cultural activists from throughout South Africa were commissioned to set up the Desk. These included journalist Sefako Nyaka, author Achmat Dangor, poet Mzwakhe Mbuli, Nana Kutumela and lawyer Krish Naidoo in the Transvaal.

The Natal region was headed by Cosatu's national cultural co-ordinator Mi Hlatshwayo and the Free State was administered by Andy Sefatlelo.

The Western Cape was managed by Jeremy Cronin, who has since gone into exile, and Jonathan De Vries, co-ordinator of the Cape Town-based Music Action for People's Power (Mapp).

However, by late last year only Hlatshwayo and Mbuli remained as active members of the Desk. The rest are committed to

other activities.

"Our immediate task is to consolidate international links with anti-apartheid cultural bodies abroad and to monitor the cultural boycott of South Africa," said Mbuli.

"The recent changes, including the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations do not necessarily mean the boycott has to be eased.

"The boycott is still in operation until all apartheid laws are scrapped and the people govern themselves," said Mbuli.

According to Mbuli, the Desk's other immediate aims are to:

- Organise "people's festivals";

- Establish cultural structures within UDF affiliates; and

- Become the nucleus of communication between international organisations like the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid and other committees involved in sports, culture and education.

The Cultural Desk has been accused of promoting the ideals of the Freedom Charter and of having strong links with the ANC. But this was denied by Mbuli who said the Desk tries to go beyond sectarian politics.

However, there's little doubt that the Cultural Desk is a strong alliance of the Cosatu Cultural Unit and the UDF.

Mbuli said despite setbacks like detention of members and lack of funds the Desk has a good list of celebrated achievement in its track record.

"One of our greatest achievements was to undermine the efforts of the government through its Peace Song," said Mbuli.

Other achievements include:

- The formation of the SA Music Alliance;

- Co-ordinating cultural policy of foreign governments towards South Africa;

- Facilitating the establishment of cultural structures in the townships; and

- Acting as a consultative body for artists, musicians and other related workers visiting South Africa.



Man behind the movement... the UDF Cultural Desk's national co-ordinator Mzwakhe Mbuli.

RECONSTRU

Long search ahead for common ground over settlement

cl/press
4/3/90
(117)

What are the prospects for a political settlement in South Africa? It would be an oversight to think that a negotiated settlement between the government and the ANC is simply a question of a correct attitude.

This is being said by two academics from the University of Stellenbosch, Prof Willie Esterhuyse and Prof Philip Nel. They are the co-authors of a new book, *Die ANC*, which was recently published in Afrikaans by Tafelberg Uitgewers. Esterhuyse, Professor in Philosophy, and Nel, Director of the Institute of Soviet Studies, discuss questions such as: Who and what is the ANC? Why was the ANC formed? What are the ANC's standpoints, and is the ANC really interested in negotiations?

In the book they also discuss prospects for a negotiated settlement in South Africa. An extract appears below.

A POLITICAL settlement in South Africa would only be possible if common ground could be found in which negotiations could take place, write Esterhuyse and Nel.

"Attitudes do play a role in negotiations, but they take a very subordinate place. The decisive question is if common ground can be found where bargaining can take place."

They add that such common ground cannot simply be taken from the air, but is developed primarily when the competitive socio-political and normative models overlap sufficiently to make meaningful negotiations possible within a mutually accepted framework. Should such a framework not exist, there can be no prospect of a settlement.

"Negotiations might take place, but then the negotiations will revolve around the conditions upon which one of the contesting parties would be prepared to accept the model of the other party."

The authors contend that, from the government's point of view, negotiations will be about the manner in which the ANC could be persuaded to abide by the government's rules of the game.

There are various strategies by which one model can be established as the dominating factor. One of them - which is presently being utilised by both the ANC and the government - is to undermine the public support of the opponent by political and economic manoeuvring.

It is not yet clear if the ANC and the State have finally surrendered their strategies of, as it were, undermining the opponent so as to try and ensure the sole right to their own framework.

There is, however, reason for cautious optimism, because tactical changes can in due course bring about strategic shifts in stances, the authors say.

The dilution of conditions for negotiations from both sides, as well as changes in key concepts within the various models ("people's power" and "group rights" for example) tend to develop a momentum of their own, independent of the tactical intentions with which it was started.

Due to the fact that strategic interaction can take place across the division between the decision takers, they can mutually strengthen the changes in style which they perceive about each other.

The notable softening in man-

agement style by President FW de Klerk's government gives credibility and impetus to the diplomatic and conceptual initiatives of those within the ANC who are prepared to shift the strategy of violence to the background for the sake of a strategy of negotiations.

Equally, the government is also prepared to take a risk with something like the release of prisoners because it has perceived a shift in ANC actions and attitudes.

"Such a positive strategic interaction can naturally go wrong and it may even be destroyed if it does not produce results which the various leaders can market among followers."

According to Esterhuyse and Nel, the happenings in 1989 point to an important pre-phase of negotiations which has started - namely negotiations about negotiations.

"There can be no doubt that the conflict between the government and the ANC is not simply an ethnic struggle, but a conflict between social and political models.

"At the same time it must be taken into account that the models of both the ANC and the government are variable. This is not only the result of internal developments among the supporters of the ANC and the government, but also due to the remarkable international consensus on the need for a negotiated settlement in South Africa."

The authors say that forces have been released which cannot be controlled by even the most stubborn decision makers in both camps. The consequences of this can already be clearly noted in the rhetoric of both the government and the ANC.

Changes in rhetoric and style are in fact not sufficient to ensure common ground. But there can be no doubt that a process of shift and watering down is taking place.

"However there is nothing self-evident in the processes by which the rough edges of the various models are being smoothed down, nor in the process of negotiations which has just started. Both aspects can still be turned around and South Africa can once again be squarely placed on the road of escalating conflict and eventual destruction."

Die ANC, by Prof Willie Esterhuyse and Prof Philip Nel. Published by Tafelberg Uitgewers, Cape Town.

(LIBRARY)?

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to join in countrywide

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

THE week-long Robben Island hunger strike has spread to major mainland prisons holding political prisoners.

And by today an estimated 700 political prisoners are expected to have joined in the hunger strike.

By Friday eight white male ANC members serving terms at the Pretoria Central Prison had joined in the strike. They were expected to be joined by the two white female political prisoners, also at the Central Prison. A prison spokesman confirmed that the two women and eight men had embarked on a hunger strike at the Central Prison.

Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) sources yesterday told *City Press* that:

■ Woman political prisoners at Kroonstad have joined in the strike; and

■ Tomorrow political prisoners at Pollsmoor are also expected to join in, including the 14 ANC awaiting-trialists of the famous Yengeni trial, sitting in Cape Town.

The political prisoners are demanding their immediate release. By late yesterday Lawyers for Human Rights were consulting the 343 Robben Island inmates over the hunger strike.

In a snap move to defuse the crisis, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has appointed the Cape's acting Judge President, Judge R de Kock, to deal with the complaints of prisoners relating to the circumstances of their incarceration and privileges.

Coetsee said he made the appointment despite the existence of the "proven departmental channels" for dealing with complaints.

Judge de Kock has indicated that he would attend to the matter as soon as possible.

However, the UDF has expressed reservation to this appointment, "particularly because he is not going to address the central demand, which is the release of the prisoners, but will only look at their conditions".

Those on the hunger strike in Pretoria include white ANC members Carl Niehaus, Steve Marais, Eric Pelsler, Damien de Lange and Ian Robertson. They said they would continue with the strike until the demand for their release had been met or after a directive from the ANC.

In solidarity with the strike, which started at the island on Monday, 2 000 people marched to Parliament on Friday to present the document containing the prisoners' demands, smuggled out of Robben Island.

The document was presented by Bushy Maape and Norman Yengeni who were released on February 14 from Robben Island following President FW de Klerk's amnesty.

Yesterday, a motorcade was expected to leave Cape Town for the Bloubergstrand, the nearest mainland point to Robben Island, where a "flashlight point" would be mounted by MDM volunteers in a night vigil as a sign of solidarity.

It was hoped the island inmates would have a glimpse of the flashes.

Prison spokesman Col Danie Immelman has however refuted reports that women prisoners at Kroonstad had joined in the strike.

Of 343 prisoners on hunger strike at Robben Island, 305 are ANC members, 26 PAC and 11

■ To Page 2

P.T.O.

PRISONERS JOIN HUNGER STRIKE SPREADS

2/Pras
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Hunger strike has spread

■ From Page 1
Black Consciousness Movement members and one independent.

■ About 302 of them are taking liquids only;

■ 22 who are medically unfit and over the age of 55 are on partial strike, taking one meal a day; and

■ 19 prisoners working in the kitchen also take one meal a day.

In the letter smuggled out of prison announcing the hunger strike, prisoners slammed De Klerk's obscure definition of political prisoners eligible for amnesty and said it was part of an orchestrated

strategy to thwart the oppressed people.

The letter demanded that all those whose actions had been directed against apartheid and its structures, should be immediately granted all rights pertaining to political prisoners.

In the document Robben Island prisoners affirmed their support for the aims and principles of the ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has expressed support for the hunger strikers and commended them for the unity and solidarity they have shown.

The hunger strike has received world support with the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee having declared its unreserved

backing for the prisoners' efforts to fight for their freedom.

In a letter of support by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, he said: "IRC congratulates the daring act of struggle by challenging the illegitimate apartheid government to immediately and unconditionally release you from prison.

"Your demand for freedom is legitimate and enjoys the support of all those in the world who believe in peace and justice.

"I wish to assure you that you are not alone in your struggle for freedom.

"The IRC has called upon the international community to pressure the government of FW De Klerk to release you without delay. We are keenly aware that your continued incarceration remains a major obstacle to peaceful resolution of the South African conflict."

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The DP and the ANC: Getting there together?

s/Thurs 4/13/90

~~ANC~~

11A

WHY would joining the ANC be a viable, even challenging, prospect for whites? Because, since the ANC is open to white membership, it seems to be the first available and logical step to a new South Africa.

But then again, the Democratic Party is open to black membership. So why not entertain the thought of the ANC becoming a properly registered political party under the aegis of the DP?

These musings will soon become aspects of serious discussion, so it is not surprising that "joining the ANC" or "merging the DP with the ANC" is being debated so hectically.

Right now, members of the Democratic Party at constituency level are involved in strategy talks — internal analysis of its own role and scenarios for the future.

It appears that defection to the National Party, the so-called Nat option, is not a prevalent mood. Support for Government initiatives is certainly enthusiastic, but

Martie Meiring

considers the question of whites joining the ANC



to most DP supporters, actually joining the National Party is an exercise in futility because of the simple fact that the NP, notwithstanding its power-sharing programme, is a racially exclusive party — the exact opposite of the Democratic Party.

So while the DP enthusiastically applauds Government moves towards reform, its principles are closer to, even identical with, ANC principles.

If the DP wants to realise its slogan "Getting there together", how will it do it? Through alliance, partnership, merger? Or by moves towards direct memberships (i.e., defections) if a straight

merger of two or more parties cannot result in an entirely new party?

Least attractive is the prospect of a coalition government, inherent in the NP future of power-sharing.

Anathema

The vision of a continued DP as a watchdog for liberal and just values is attractive to those who prefer their politics in a classic mould.

But I believe that, while the liberal ideal remains central, there simply is too much of an energetic urge to get to the nitty

gritty of ordinary power politics to aspire to the lofty style of watchdog and think-tank politics.

But why look to direct involvement with the ANC while it adheres to certain issues that are anathema to the free market spirit of those who have joined the DP? Exactly because the DP has evolved a culture of internal debate and conflict-solving.

Already, too, the DP has, in spite of facile criticism, shown support for a collective leadership which is essentially a check and balance mechanism and to the style of black politics.

Living with the ANC might not be all that easy. Known to be a highly disciplined organisation, it is also notoriously lacking in organisation itself.

It also suffers from aggrandisement, largely due to the white South African perception of a huge, mystical force. The extent of ANC power simply still has to be tested.

Then there is the ANC's obvious priority for economic redress

while an important DP tenet is the basic establishment of a Bill of Rights.

To disabuse ANC perceptions that a Bill of Rights will perpetuate white values is as important as it is for the ANC to make the country understand why it is calling for nationalisation as a strategy to redistribute wealth as a means of redressing black deprivations of the past.

If the ANC argues that nationalisation will redress the historic deprivation, white democrats can counter that a mixed economy does address the deprivation issue: for instance, Government responsibility for education, the involvement of the free market in social responsibility, deregulation — in fact, a dynamic correction to the bogged down incentives for productivity, taxation, etc.

Whites tend to confuse redress with revenge — or, in the case of sanctions, punishment. Attitudes are important. Sanctions worked for the anti-apartheid movement; it also impoverished large numbers of black people, but whites suffered too. There was thus a process of redress in this campaign.

If whites are not prepared to sacrifice some of their wealth (through sanctions or taxation or, indeed, nationalisation), they have yet to come up with a strategy for a *wirtschaftswunder* (Germany's post-war economic miracle).

White South Africa and its governments have been very superficial about many things: has productivity and unemployment really ever seriously been addressed?

Unacceptable

Who is looking in a creative way at the cultural differences in South Africa? (The ANC as well as the DP have constitutions describing cultural freedom and rights). The policy of protection through division is still strong in the NP philosophy and practice, hence the desperate insistence on minority rights for the NP's defined groups.

It envisages a future of a *lap-pieskometers* of black, white and khaki (a colour coding for the so-called open group) with the white sector small and threatened.

This is also the scenario of the CP. So whether it is partition or power-sharing, race more than culture (read language and religion) will define those two political parties. The democratic ideal of individual rights and freedom therefore remains unacceptable to them.

Thus, while there is much talk of a new South Africa, a new South Africanism is still lacking. This can only be embodied in a truly non-racial togetherness.

The answer to that could very well lie between the Democratic Party and the ANC.

Women answer call by Mandela

By SHARON CHETTY

WOMEN in Natal's strife-torn townships have hailed a glowing tribute paid to them by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Addressing a peace rally in Durban last Sunday, Mr Mandela said: "Women of Natal, in the past and at crucial moments, you have shown greater wisdom than your menfolk."

He called on them to continue their efforts to restore peace to the troubled townships.

Mrs Ela Ramgobin, vice-chairman of the multi-racial Natal Organisation of Women, praised Mr Mandela's "recognition of the work done by women".

Natal Black Sash chairman Miss Wendy Annecke welcomed Mr Mandela's comments and said the Black Sash was working with NOW to promote "the principles of peace and non-violence among the men and youth".

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Concern
Mrs Ramgobin said Mr Mandela's call for women to continue their work had to be seen "as a call for everyone to get involved" in the latest Natal peace initiative.

In his speech Mr Mandela said: "I call on the women of Natal. I charge you with a special responsibility here today.

"It is you, in your wisdom now, who must begin the work of bringing peace to Natal. Tell your sons, your brothers and your husbands that you want peace and security."

Miss Annecke added that the recent increase in attacks on women, often coupled with sexual violence, were of great concern.

Growing support for prisoners on hunger strike

Islanders in unity pact
See Page 2

'WE WANT OUR FREEDOM'

S/Tues 4/13/90

11A

By AYESHA ISMAIL

A HUNGER strike started on Monday by more than 300 political prisoners on Robben Island has spread to prisons throughout South Africa.

White male political prisoners at Pretoria Central Prison and five female political prisoners at Kroonstad began a hunger strike on Friday morning.

And political prisoners and awaiting-trial prisoners at Pollsmoor Prison are expected to start their hunger strike tomorrow.

According to Mr Norman Yengeni, who was released from Robben Island last month after serving a nine-year sentence, the prisoners planned the hunger strike a year ago because of deteriorating conditions on the island.

They cited food, medical care, study, visits, letters, warders' conduct, magazines, newspapers, recreation and welfare as areas of contention.

Kitchen staff

However, Mr Yengeni said, the prisoners were now demanding their release from prison in terms of the statements made by State President F W de Klerk last month.

According to lawyers, there are 302 prisoners on hunger strike on Robben Island. 22 have been exempted from the strike for medical reasons and 15 members of the kitchen staff are on a 'go slow', accepting only one meal a day.

The strikers drink two litres of water a day, one of which is "sugar" water.

In a memorandum released this week from Robben Island, the prisoners said: "We know that this (hunger strike) eapon is more harmful to us than it is to those who are responsible for our plight. We are not blind to its fatal consequences.

"Nonetheless, what other avenue do we have besides this..."



'Trojan' families give up the fight

By HAMISH McINDOE
THE marathon Trojan Horse trial came to a dispiriting end for the families of three youths killed in the notorious shooting when the mother of one of them withdrew murder charges against 13 security force members.

The decision to withdraw charges followed the acquittal in the Cape Town Supreme Court of the accused charged with murdering 16-year-old Shaun Magmoed in riot-torn Thornton Road, Athlone, in October 1985.

No hope

In the light of the Magmoed judgment, the prosecution in the second leg of the action — murder charges brought by the mother of 11-year-old victim Michael Miranda — saw little chance of a conviction.

This week, his mother, Mrs Georgina Williams, told the court she would not pro-

cused were acquitted first time round.

The youths were killed when police, hidden in crates on the back of a truck, opened fire with shotguns on stone-throwers.

In December last year, Mr Justice D Williamson acquitted the accused of murdering Magmoed on grounds that, while the shooting had been unjustified, they were not criminally responsible. The prosecution also failed to prove the 13 shared a common purpose to use excessive force.

An application for a retrial to allow the highly critical findings of a magisterial inquest into the incident to be used as evidence for the prosecution was refused by Judge Williamson.

Oldies more likely to crash

MOTORISTS who grumble about the way "doddering old fools" drive may well have some justification for

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"Nonetheless, what other avenue do we have besides this peaceful action?"

The prisoners have vowed to continue their hunger strike until all political prisoners are released.

Meanwhile, about 80 people were arrested in Cape Town this week for taking part in placard demonstrations "without permission" in support of the hunger strikers.

About 500 people, including families of political prisoners, staged a march to hand over a petition to a representative of the State President's office.

The crowd then gathered outside the City Hall where they were addressed by Mr Bushy Maape, who served three years on Robben Island and was released soon after the ANC was unbanned.

Defuse

The appointment of Mr Justice M R de Kock by Minister of Justice Kobia Coetsee to investigate the hunger strike has come under attack from members of the UDF.

The chairman of the UDF in the Western Cape, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, said it was a ploy to defuse the situation.

He said Justice de Kock's brief did not cover the release of the prisoners as this was beyond his jurisdiction.

"Political prisoners are demanding their immediate unconditional release, and nothing less," Mr Ngcuka said.

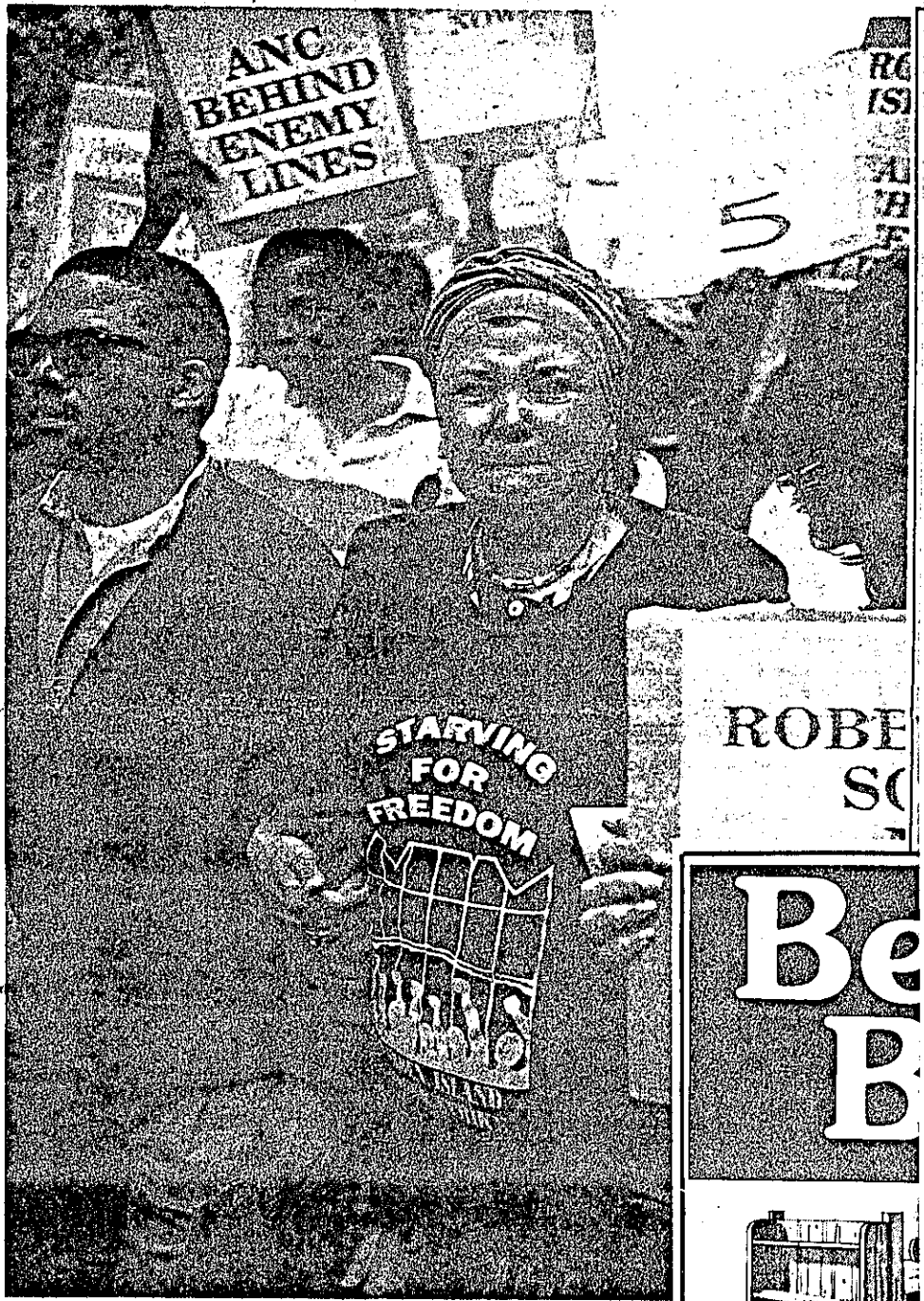
Ms Cheryl Carolus, spokesperson for the Western Cape UDF, said that the UDF would step up support for the strikers to ensure their release.

She added that Mr De Klerk had announced the release of political prisoners with great fanfare but to date only seven had been released.

An international campaign in support of the hunger strikers was launched in London on Thursday. It is to be jointly organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and South Africa the Imprisoned Society (SATIS).

Freedom for Mandela

HARARE is to confer the Freedom of the City on newly elected ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela today, the Ziana news agency reports.



MARCHING for freedom. Former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Norman Yengeni, and Mrs Fowzia Lowe, mother of jailed ANC member Nazem Lowe, lead a march in Cape Town on Friday.

Picture: Ambrose Peters

East-Net, SABC in tough battle for Sunday viewers

By SHARON CHETTY

SUNDAYS will never be the same again! The battle is on between M-Net and the SABC for the attention of Indian television viewers.

M-Net's East-Net has brought in top guns in the form of Shan Moodley, San Reddy, Manu Padayachee, Anand Naidoo and producer Ron Moodley to challenge its rival station, which is adding spice to television viewing tonight with the opera, Lakmé, beginning at 8pm on TV1.

The SABC has decided that its popular monthly magazine programme, Impressions, screened on TV4 at 10am, will go weekly from next month.

At the same time, East-Net will screen the new talk show, Essence, hosted by San Reddy.

While East-Net boasts a longer service, from 7am to 10.30am, the SABC's

TV4 broadcast which includes Impressions runs from 10am to 12 noon — catching the late Sunday-morning risers.

Spearheading the drive to revamp M-Net's Indian channel are two former SABC men — Shan Moodley, who will produce the new talk-show, Essence, and San Reddy, who will host it.

Mr Reddy was TV1's first Indian anchor news reader until he resigned late last year.

Competition

And Mr Moodley produced the SABC's magazine programme Prime Time, as well as creating and producing No Jacket Required and Take a Break. He has also worked on commercial movies with local producer Anant Singh.

He will be with East-Net until the end of April, when

he leaves for New Zealand.

Also on the team are former Capital Radio news editor Manu Padayachee, who will work as material producer and continuity announcer, and Anand Naidoo, an announcer on Radio 702.

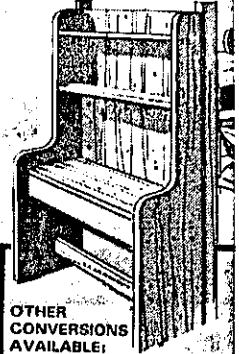
Heading the East-Net crew is producer Ron Moodley — who is not worried about competition from the SABC.

"We are an entertainment channel — and that's what we do best."

"Our feedback and research clearly indicates that our viewers are satisfied with the service," he said.

But Impressions producer Ramu Gopidayal said East-Net's 35 000 subscribers meant the station "was hardly any competition".

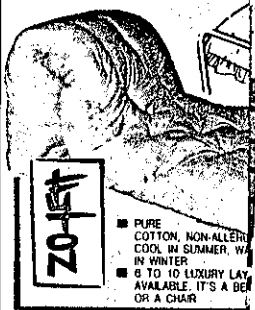
"We can reach up to 500 000 people — SATV is free and that means there's no stopping us."



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DANCING

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JOYOUS welcome. ANC leader Nelson Mandela with Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka this week.

Farmer waits for Mandela's call to return home

By BRENDAN BOYLE:

Chongela, Zambia

ANC veteran Lenford Ganyile is waiting for Nelson Mandela to tell him it's time to go home after 31 years in exile from South Africa.

Until then he helps to tend a giant breeding boar called De Klerk on a farm run by the African National Congress, about 30 km outside Lusaka.

Ganyile, 55, was among hundreds of ANC exiles in Zambia who this week welcomed Mandela on his first trip abroad since his release on February 11 after 27 years in prison.

"My place is in South Africa. When Mandela tells me it is time, I will go. I want

to carry on my work to politicise the people to oppose apartheid," he said in an interview.

"Mandela sent me from Soweto to Pondoland in 1957 to organise protests against apartheid and that is where I was arrested. I want to go back and carry on the work Mandela sent me to do."

Ganyile and his co-manager of the ANC's Chongela farm, 59-year-old James Chirwa, were friends and colleagues of Mandela before the ANC leader was jailed in 1962 and later sentenced to life imprisonment.

Chirwa, "Uncle Jimmy" to the dozen young ANC exiles studying agricultural methods at Chongela, spent 10 years with Mandela on Robben Island.

"A man cannot be happy away from his home. That is my place, they are my people. I want to go back," said Ganyile.

Chirwa wants to see his family and get a job, probably as a farmer: "I want to feed the people of South Africa. That is politics, too."

The fate of the ANC's 3,500 hectare (8,650 acre)

farm is undecided following the unbanning of the organisation.

It might eventually be sold to raise funds for a similar training facility inside South Africa, but ANC officials said no changes were likely until it was clear that De Klerk's reforms were genuine and lasting.

"The farm was started in 1978 to produce food for our cadres here in Zambia and at the camps in Angola," said Moses Masiboko, a Soviet-trained agricultural scientist who heads the co-operative farm's management.

"As the farm was developing we thought it should also serve as a teaching aid to the people who want to make agriculture their career. A free South Africa is going to need farmers," he said.

Slaughter

Set in lush semi-tropical greenery at the end of a rutted dirt road north of Lusaka, the farm produces about 3,500 litres of milk a month as well as 25 pigs and 10 cows for slaughter.

"We send the milk and the meat to the ANC people in Lusaka. The surplus we sell," said Masiboko.

"We grow maize and sunflowers and soya beans and we ship tonnes of vegetables to our people in Angola and sometimes in Tanzania," he said.

Like his older colleagues, Masiboko is unashamedly eager to return to South Africa and pick up where he left off when police knocked on his door in 1976 and warned him he was about to be arrested.

Masiboko fled through Swaziland after police detained him and showed him

the blood-stained walls of an interrogation cell.

"The Zambian people open their hearts and their arms to everyone. Being here is not like being in Europe, there is a sense of African solidarity that binds us.

"But still you feel like a foreigner and you long for your own home and your own culture and people. You are always a South African," he said.

Languages

Masiboko studied agriculture in Moscow for almost six years. During his time in exile, he has visited every continent to lecture and study and speaks eight languages.

"The South Africans are beginning to see that we are all the same, we are all equal. I think that is why they are changing from their years of oppression to begin to accept us.

"We must all learn to share and we must all learn to trust," he said.

Ganyile agreed as he thumped the rump of a pig for emphasis: "If we had been together all these years instead of fighting, with us in exile and them (the whites) there in South Africa, we could have been the strongest nation in the world, because we are the best."

11A

SITues 4/31/90

POLITICAL prisoners on hunger strike on Robben Island have taken the lead in trying to bring about unity between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC).

More than 300 prisoners embarked on a hunger strike on Monday demanding their immediate unconditional release.

According to sources everything possible was being done to ensure unity among members of the different political organisations on the Island.

The prisoners have formed a committee consisting of representatives of the Pac, ANC and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) to discuss their grievances.

Unity among the three organisations is viewed by leading political figures as being "most important" at this stage.

Platform

A vigil held at the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre this week, was attended by both ANC and PAC supporters and speakers from both organisations shared the same platform.

It is believed that the prisoners on the Island requested that the vigil should be representative of both organisations to try and create a climate for unity.

There are 343 political prisoners on Robben Island, of which 302 are on hunger strike.

ANC, PAC men join in prison protest for their freedom

According to lawyers 22 prisoners were exempted from the hunger strike for being medically unfit and over the age of 55.

The 19 kitchen staff are also exempted and are on a go slow accepting only one meal a day.

The prisoners are drinking one litre of water and one litre of sugar water.

It is believed that of the 343 political prisoners, 305 are members of the ANC, 26 are members of the PAC and 11 are members of BCM.

Critical

Mr Barney Desai, a member of the PAC and the first exile to return to South Africa, said "the time has come for unity".

"We are facing critical problems and our country is in a critical situation."

Mr Desai said he supported the unity shown by the prisoners on Robben Island.

He said a vigil called in Bonteheuwel in support of the hunger strikers this week, where the PAC and ANC shared a platform, was the first of its kind.

However, he added that the PAC was invited to the vigil and told that it was to be an interfaith service in solidarity with the hunger strikers, but it turned out to be an ANC meeting.

On accepting the invitation the day before the event, Mr Desai said he was

told he would be a speaker, however, minutes before he was due to speak he was told he could not speak as there would only be one PAC speaker.

He added the PAC supporters were not allowed to raise their flags in the hall.

"I am most upset about what has happened because they were not quite honest when they invited us."

Mr Desai said he was sad that the plight of "our prisoners were exploited in this fashion".

Islanders in unity

STWes 4/3/90 (11A)
BY AYESHA ISMAIL

paact



ANC farmers wait to end 31 years of exile

ARBUS 5/3/90

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CHONGELA (Zambia). — African National Congress veteran Mr Lenford Ganyile is waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela to tell him it's time to go home after 31 years in exile.

Until then he helps tend a giant breeding boar called De Klerk on a farm run by the ANC, 30 km outside Lusaka.

Mr Ganyile, 55, was among hundreds of ANC exiles in Zambia who welcomed Mr Mandela on his first trip abroad since his release on February 11 after 27 years in prison.

Organise protest

"Mandela sent me from Soweto to Pondoland in 1957 to organise protest against apartheid and that is where I was arrested. I want to go back and carry on the work Mandela sent me to do."

Mr Ganyile and his co-manager of the ANC's Chongela farm, 59-year-old Mr James Chirwa, were friends and colleagues of Mr Mandela before the black nationalist leader was jailed in 1962.

Mr Chirwa, "Uncle Jimmy" to the dozen young ANC exiles studying agricultural methods at Chongela, spent 10 years with Mr Mandela on Robben Island.

"A man cannot be happy away from his home. That is my place, they are my people. I want to go back," said Mr Ganyile, who wants to recruit blacks and whites to the anti-apartheid cause.

Mr Chirwa wants to see his family and get a job, probably as a farmer: "I want to feed the people of South Africa. That is politics, too."

The fate of the ANC's 3 500 hectare (8 650 acre) farm is undecided following Mr De Klerk's about-face on 40 years of fierce white resistance to black aspirations. It might eventually be sold to raise funds for a similar training facility inside South Africa.

"The farm was started in 1978 to produce food for our cadres here in Zambia and at the camps in Angola," said Mr



BIG BAAS: South African Mr Lenford Ganyile, centre, watches stud boar "Baas De Klerk" feed at an ANC farm outside Lusaka. The farm has pigs named after other South African and international leaders.

Moses Masiboko, a Soviet-trained agricultural scientist who heads the cooperative farm's management.

"As the farm was developing we thought it should also serve as a teaching aid to the people who want to make agriculture their career. A free South Africa is going to need farmers," he said.

The farm produces about 3 500 litres of milk a month as well as 25 pigs and 10 cows for slaughter.

"We send the milk and the meat to the ANC people in Lusaka. The surplus we sell," said Mr Masiboko.

Mr Masiboko studied agriculture in Moscow for almost six years. During his exile, he visited every continent to lecture and study, and now speaks eight languages.

"The South Africans are beginning to see we are all the same, we are all equal. I think that is why they are changing from their years of oppression

to begin to accept us," he said.

Mr Chirwa was also confident blacks and whites would reach agreement under the joint guidance of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"The white people have killed us and our children, but that is over. I don't want revenge, I want their children to see that we will not hurt them so they can grow up and know that their parents were wrong to fight us for so long," he said.

— Sapa-Reuter.

PAC reject negotiations with govt

CAC Trip 5/3/90 (11A)

HARARE. — The PAC yesterday blew hot and cold politically, deciding to relocate to South Africa but rejecting out of hand any negotiations with the government.

The PAC's decision was made known in a communique issued at the end of a three-day conference with the executive committee of the Pan-Africanist Movement — a sister organisation launched in SA last year.

“The PAC will politically emerge inside occupied Azania to mobilise the Azanian masses and spearhead

the struggle for national liberation and self-determination. The PAC head office will be in Johannesburg,” said a communique.

The organisation went on to say that there was no basis for negotiations.

It was prepared to discuss the creation of a mechanism to establish a constituent assembly elected through one person, one vote.

This assembly would have a mandate to draw up a new constitution for the country. — Sapa-Reuter

PAC, ANC dine together

*CAP-Trip
5/3/90
11A*

HARARE. — Solid moves towards unity between the ANC and PAC could finally be on the cards following a Zimbabwean government invitation to PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng to attend a dinner hosted for Mr Nelson Mandela here last night.

The secretary for foreign affairs of the PAC, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said yesterday the invitation had been issued in the afternoon.

"We do not know what will be discussed, if anything, but we are pleased by the invitation," Mr Ebrahim said.

The delegation accompanying Mr Mothopeng has not been named, but it is known that the chairman of the PAC external mission, Mr Johnson Mlambo, will attend the dinner. Mr Mlambo has been described as a close personal friend of Mr Mandela. — Sapa



REVERENCE . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe are greeted by kneeling women on Mr Mandela's arrival in Harare yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS



Debate between ANC, businessmen to go on

CAPL TRIPS 5/3/90 (11A)

HARARE. — A group of South African businessmen issued a joint statement with an ANC delegation committing themselves to encouraging ongoing dialogue on the country's economy.

After a meeting between the two groups in Harare at the weekend Mr Michael Spicer, the personal assistant to Anglo head Mr Gavin Relly, said the talks had been "valuable".

Mr Spicer, who was one of the business team which also included JCI group economist Mr Ronnie Bethlehem and Premier chief executive Mr Peter Wrighton, described the meeting as the beginning of what would be a very long debate.

The meeting had covered a very broad canvas, he said.

"On the one hand we had the ANC saying to businessmen, you have to realize that South Africans have a

great backlog in the areas of housing, employment, education and so forth.

"On the other hand you had businessmen saying we do not necessarily doubt that, it is not so much a question of different goals, but one has to locate those in the real world and here are some of the realities that face us."

Mr Spicer said the return of ANC members to South Africa would assist the debate between them and the business community.

According to the joint statement issued through Sapa, the delegations said discussions at the meeting covered the nature of the South African economy including the declining industrial base, the question of confidence in the South African economy, issues of poverty and inequality and the role of business in political economic transformation.

VETERANS MEET . . . SA Congress of Trade Unions founders Ms Ray Alexander, 76, and Mr Oscar Mpetha, 80, meet at his home before attending their organisation's 35th anniversary celebration at the University of the Western Cape yesterday. Ms Alexander recently returned from exile in Zimbabwe.

Mandela release 'no favour'

CAPL TRIPS 5/3/90 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The recent release of long-term ANC prisoners was to be applauded but no congratulations were due to the government that had incarcerated them, University of Cape Town theologian Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala told the ninth national congress of the Azanian People's Organisation near here on Saturday.

Dr Mosala was delivering the keynote address at the opening of the congress.

He told the audience that the "white settler colonial regime had no right" to put Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others behind bars in the first place.

"Therefore it is no favour for

(State President F W) de Klerk and his regime to take them out of prison. They did not belong there in the first place."

Dr Mosala said all true socialists should welcome the recent fall of the "pseudo-socialist totalitarian regimes" in Eastern Europe as they were paying the price for prescribing socialism for the masses and feudal-capitalism for themselves.

Dr Mosala, who was a representative of the Black Consciousness Movement to January's Conference for a Democratic Future, said the event had betrayed the agenda for unity in the anti-apartheid struggle.

He proposed an alternative conference of left and socialist

groups to evolve a programme to intensify the struggle in what he said was the only way to prevent "a liberal sell-out of the struggle for national liberation".

He said: "There is at present a great deal of political theatrics . . . parading as resistance politics. It has become difficult to distinguish between the words of the De Klerk regime and those of the resistance forces.

The BCM, Dr Mosala said to deafening applause, did not call on the State President to do anything.

"We call on the oppressed and exploited black majority to rise up for their freedom."

Talks should include all, says Sash

CMT Truif
5/3/90
11A

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Negotiations on a future South Africa should involve all political groupings and not merely the government and the African National Congress, Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton said at the weekend.

Speaking at the organisation's national conference in Grahamstown, Mrs Burton said the government's apparent leaning towards a process in which it and the ANC would be the negotiating parties was "a dangerous simplification" of the issues at stake.

"In forging new systems of government which aspire to justice and democracy, it is essential that all points of view should be given due consideration.

"Negotiations are also unlikely to bring about lasting solutions if they do not recognise the diversity of views which prevail."

She said it was essential that consensus among the leadership of the various groupings be transmitted to their supporters throughout the country.

"Negotiations at the top by representatives of the different groupings will be an empty exercise if they can-

not depend on the agreement of their supporters.

"The militant cadres of Umkonto we Sizwe and the well-armed factions of the white extremists could equally pose a danger to the precarious process of negotiating the transformation of South African society into one united nation."

Welcoming recent political developments, Mrs Burton said that efforts by both the government and ANC representatives were minimizing the potentially turbulent effects of these developments.

She said there was a temptation for the Black Sash to throw its weight behind the ANC. However, the organisation should retain its independent role of monitoring and fostering human rights, rather than seeking political power or influence.

"We believe that the most valuable contribution we have to offer to the struggle for change is precisely our integrity and our non-affiliation to any political party.

"The end of apartheid is indeed still far off," she said.

"There is an enormous amount of legislation to be repealed, abolished or enacted, and a massive restructuring of the country's systems — educational, welfare and economic — to be accomplished."

11A

PAC 'to set up HQ in SA'

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is to set up its headquarters inside South Africa, the exiled organisation said at the end of a tight three-day summit in Harare yesterday.

In a communique released jointly with the internal Pan Africanist Movement, the organisation said:

"The PAC will politically emerge inside occupied Azania to mobilise the masses and spearhead the struggle for national liberation and self-determination. The PAC office will be in Johannesburg."

At the deliberations were the PAC's central committee led by president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, the chairman of the organisation's

By THEMBA MOLEFE

external mission, Mr Johnson Mlambo, and PAM's president Mr Clarence Makwethu. Forty-four leaders of the PAM and the Pan Africanist Students Organisation attended.

Throughout the discussions negotiations with the Government were ruled out. However, the organisations said they were prepared for the creation of a mechanism to establish a constituent assembly based on one-person-one-vote. The assembly would be charged with drawing up a new constitution for South Africa.

The PAC and PAM are to

maintain their independence.

It is expected that the PAC will this week issue a document detailing its economic policy after extensive discussions on the issue at the Harare consultation.

Opening the conference on Friday and clearly spelling out the role of the Africanist movement in the 1990s, Mothopeng said: "The tactics and methods used by liberation movements might be numerous but there is only one basis of strength, namely grassroots involvement.

"... the PAC must continue to address the real issues and must gather its loins in readiness to face the onerous task which lies ahead by firstly organising the masses under African nationalism..."

Mandela plea for peace

Argus 5/3/90

(11A)

From ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — Mr Nelson Mandela has made an impassioned appeal for peace in South Africa.

"We are trying to persuade the government that it is madness that we should be killing one another when we can sit down, talk and settle our problems," said the deputy president of the ANC on his arrival yesterday at Harare Airport on a three-day visit to Zimbabwe.

Mr Mandela told cheering crowds of South African exiles and Zimbabwean admirers that in the task of trying to persuade white South Africa to settle with the ANC, Zimbabwe should lend its support. Tremendous progress had already been made, he said.

Mr Mandela regretted that white South Africans had not yet found it possible to aban-

don racialism and oppression. White South Africa, he said, could be of tremendous importance but the white minority should not think that their expertise alone would enable them to lead.

"They never will lead as long as they are associated with the evil policy of apartheid, but if they decided to settle with the acknowledged leaders of the country, to commit themselves to a democratic non-racial South Africa, they would be accepted in the region, in Africa and other parts of the world with wide open arms," he said.

This was what the ANC was working on, he declared.

At a rally in Harare later Mr Mandela praised Zimbabwe's policy of reconciliation and said whites would have nothing to fear in South Africa under democratic rule.

"We are aware of their fears that the blacks will wreak ven-

genance and that there will be domination of whites by blacks.

"We deny this," said Mr Mandela.

For example, he said, government schools would be non-racial. But those who preferred to run their own schools and maintain their own cultural background would be entitled to do so.

Sincere

The ANC was totally against any form of racialism or domination.

"We are sincere, in saying whites will not have to complain because the system of government would be designed to accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted to see a South Africa which guaranteed the rights of every citizen. It would never allow systems designed to perpetuate minority rule.

Harsh ANC prison camps reported

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Allegations of executions and harsh treatment of prisoners at African National Congress prison camps in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda have been made here.

The London Sunday Times's Johannesburg correspondent Mr Andrew Hogg reported "an increasing number of reports are circulating about the harsh treatment meted out by the ANC-in-exile to critics within its ranks, and the victims of power struggles".

He added the ANC has at least two prison camps in Tanzania. "But its notorious camp in Angola — Quattra — where executions were common and prisoners languished in shipping containers in the fierce heat, is believed to have been replaced by a new camp in Uganda."

Last year 17 ANC defectors sought asylum in Sweden, and there were at least 12 defections in Tanzania, reported Mr Hogg.

The report focussed on Mr

Muzi Ngwenya, the ANC cell commander who masterminded the spate of bombings in Natal until 1988, when he was accused of being an informer. He recently died an emaciated wreck in Lusaka after months of solitary confinement.

"There are two schools of thought about Ngwenya's imprisonment. One is that he was the victim of a power struggle between the political and military wings. The other was that he simply angered an ANC leader," reported Mr Hogg.

THE debate raging over the alleged nationalisation policy of the ANC has been characterised by confusion on both sides over the importance the other side attach to the topic. Ken Vernon of the Argus Africa News Service, who has just returned from Lusaka, reviews ANC views on the subject.



THABO MBEKI

Nationalisation: Clearing the air on ANC's stand

IIA
Sowetan 5/3/90

THOSE who have been concerned because they could not understand the ANC policy on nationalisation can cheer up - because the truth is the ANC does not have a nationalisation policy.

This remarkable admission was made by the organisations foreign affairs spokesman, Thabo Mbeki, shortly after the ANC's national executive committee meeting last week.

What the organisation has are "guidelines," according to Mbeki.

The foundation for the guidelines devolve back down to the 35-year-old Freedom Charter.

These "guidelines" are not hard enough to be called a "policy," he says - and to judge by the varying statements made on the topic by various ANC leaders in past weeks - not even the guidelines are universally agreed to.

Ideals

Most of the ideals included in the Freedom Charter are vague enough to be interpreted virtually any way one wants to, with the exception of those pertaining to nationalisation.

The relevant paragraphs read:

"The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole"

"All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

While Mbeki says that nationalisation is not mentioned anywhere in the Freedom Charter (the word 'nationalisation' is indeed not mentioned), the above paragraphs unambiguously mean nationalisation.

Subject

Compare this to the initial words by Nelson Mandela on the subject in his letter from Victor Verster: "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."

His words are also unambiguous and clear.

almost exactly with those in the Freedom Charter.

But privately many leading members of the "new guard" of the ANC dismiss the bogey of nationalisation.

"The reality is that 99 percent of South Africans have nothing that could be nationalised," says Mbeki, implying that they therefore have nothing to fear from nationalisation.

System

He says that the present economic system has been distorted by monopolies and cartels, and that the system has gross inequalities and imbalances that have produced great poverty within the black sector of the population.

"Any democratic government will have to alter the structures inside the economy in order to create a system that can redress these imbalances.

"The issue is who controls the wealth in order to effect a more equitable system of distribution. The Afrikaners understood this when they used the *helnkekaar* programme to build their power bases such as Sanlam."

He said nationalisation remained an option of the ANC's in the restructuring of the economy.

"I have been told that the economy is so finely balanced that both nationalisation and increased taxation will derail it and that the only way to effect a re-distribution of wealth is to create more wealth that can then be re-distributed - but I cannot accept this argument."

Figures

One of the most influential figures in ANC economic thinking is the leader of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo, who is also a member of the ANC executive, and his thoughts on the topic of nationalisation are instructive.

"We have to look at the substance of the objective of the ANC for a post-apartheid economy, that is, to correct the inherent imbalance in the economy and distribution of

economic resources.

"Nationalisation on its own does not imply that this objective would be achieved."

He says that while strategies may be evolved or negotiated, what must remain is the commitment to restructuring the economy to meet the needs of the population as a whole, not just a privileged elite.

"I see the mechanism evolving being a multi-sided one, with a private sector, a public sector in addition to the involvement of international capital."

Bread

"We are perfectly aware that when the transformation comes, we will have to bake bread, not just slogans.

In order to make sense of much of what leading ANC figures say in private conversation it is necessary to read between the lines.

The present initiative of President FW de Klerk has taken the organisation almost completely unawares, events have moved faster than anyone could have imagined, especially for an organisation such as the ANC dedicated to long-winded theoretical conferences leading to group decisions.

So Mbeki's candid admission is seemingly correct: taken by surprise the ANC does not have an economic policy capable of being trotted out to meet the demands of the Press and others worried about the comments of individual members of the organisation, no matter how influential.

Secondly, most, if not all, of the ANC's leading economists were trained in the Eastern Bloc, and faced with the disintegration of the system they were trained in, they have simply not had the time to come up with a credible alternative.

The result could be that nationalisation could be one of the first topics for debate when any negotiation process finally gets underway - and one of the first casualties.

Blacks must liberate themselves

11A

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE Black Consciousness Movement is not going to leave the liberation of black people in white hands, because if it did, the liberation would never be a true one.

This was said by Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, a theologian at the University of Cape Town, at the weekend. He was speaking at the ninth national congress of the Azanian People's Organisation attended by more than 6 000 members at Shareworld in Johannesburg.

Mosala said it was not true that the Black Consciousness Movement hated white people. He said the movement also loved whites, like their comrades in other organisations.

"What we were never prepared to do, and are

never going to do, is to leave the liberation of black people in their hands, because it would never be true liberation. Black people must be subjects as well as objects of their own liberation," he said.

Mosala said while they welcomed the recent release of political leaders and the unbanning of organisations, they did

not pay any tribute to Mr F W de Klerk.

"We say the Government had no right to put Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Masemola, Kathrada and others in prison. They did not belong there in the first place.

It must not be forgotten that apartheid prisons are still holding many other political prisoners. The struggle to get them out must not be lost in the excitement to 'negotiate'

with those who put them in prison."

He called on the BCM to provide the people with a truly liberative alternative. This alternative, he said, has to be one that places squarely on the agenda of freedom the questions of land reconquest, socialist transformation of the economy, the building of a national culture in which all Azanians, irrespective of race, gender or religion will participate.

5/3/90

PJ's songs for ^{11A} Mandela

SINGER PJ Powers returned yesterday from an eight-week overseas visit. And she brought good news for her fans: " My latest album, *Styakubiza*, dedicated to Nelson Mandela (her eighth) will be released overseas soon." *Sweeten 5/3/90*

PJ's overseas trip covered France, Germany, New York, Los Angeles and London.

Red carpet out for Mandela

118
Sowetan
5/3/90

HARARE - Full decorum was paid to ANC patriarch Mr Nelson Mandela on Sunday when he arrived here to a rousing welcome by about 2 000 Zimbabwean and ANC supporters.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe hugged Mandela on the tarmac at the foot of the chartered Zambian plane to broad smiles from a top government delegation.

ANC foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, who had completed a one day workshop with leading white businessmen from the country, was also on hand to meet the ANC leader.

Hundreds of people waved flags and shouted anti-apartheid slogans as the ANC leader proceeded through the airport to a cavalcade of vehicles.

A team of "Marimba" dancers in traditional dress ululated and

pranced about as the ANC patriarch walked towards the vehicle cavalcade.

He was then whisked off to a reception at the city hall where he was to receive the freedom of the city of Harare.

Cadres

Later in the day, Mandela was to address thousands at the national sports stadium at a rally organised by the ruling Zanu (PF) party.

The ANC leader will spend three days in Zim-

babwe after which he will travel to Tanzania where most of the ANC cadres are now based.

On Saturday night, several leading white businessmen, including Premier Milling's Mr Peter Wrighton and the new chairman of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Mr Murray Hofmeyer, were hosted to a dinner together with an ANC delegation led by Mbeki, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Mac Maharaj. - Sapa



Nelson Mandela

ANC, govt talks may begin within weeks

CHARLENE SMITH

11A

ANC intelligence official Jacob Zuma and government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe were likely to be principal negotiators in "talks about talks" expected to begin in a few weeks, ANC sources said, at the weekend. *B1 Day 5/31/90*

Formally, however, the ANC delegation was likely to be led by newly elected deputy president Nelson Mandela. The government group would be led by President F. W. de Klerk or a senior Cabinet Minister.

EDYTH BULBRING reports that Depu-

□ To Page 2

ANC talks *B1 Day 5/31/90*

11A □ From Page 1

ty Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday the process of negotiations was being handled by De Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The team consisted of a number of people, including himself and Van der Merwe.

However, it would be premature to say Van der Merwe was heading the initial team, Meyer said.

The ANC said it hoped the initial return of exiles would coincide with the visit of its delegation for talks and the visit of a second team that is to hold discussions with anti-apartheid groups in SA. Some of these would include ANC Information Department officials.

The initial talks, which the ANC has stressed is not part of the negotiation process, will be about fulfilling the Harare Declaration preconditions, including the release of all political prisoners and the

lifting of the state of emergency.

The ANC will also press for clarification from government on the position of exiles and will demand amnesty for them. It will call on government for assistance in re-establishing the exiles, with particular regard to housing, education and pensions.

The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) said in a statement on Friday the second team "would together with the ANC leaders inside the country, carry out an extensive process of consultation with all democratic and anti-apartheid forces on the current situation and our perspective."

"The NEC group will be selected and sent home as soon as the necessary arrangements are made."

The second team is expected to be led by Steve Tshwete, former UDF border chairman who is now a member of the NEC and heads its Mass Mobilisation Department.



Mr 'Terror' Lekota . . . Inkatha should join majority of the people.

Inkatha rival document divisive, says UDF

By Esmaré van der
Merwe,
Political Reporter

Inkatha's plan to draw up a rival document to the Harare Declaration was a belated initiative compared to the ANC document which had already been endorsed by the majority of South Africans and the international world, United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said yesterday.

He was reacting to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's remarks at the weekend that the Harare Declaration was an ideological document drawn up by an ANC elite. Chief Buthelezi announced that Inkatha's central committee was discussing an alternative to the Harare Declaration.

Mr Lekota said the Harare Declaration, among other things stipulating the ANC's preconditions for negotiations, had been drawn up after wide consultations with internal democratic organisations.

Dismissing the Inkatha initiative, Mr Lekota said Inkatha should rather "join the majority of the people" in accepting the Harare document.

"An attempt to stand alone can only be divisive and therefore delay the process of negotiation."

Mr Lekota added that even the South African Government recognised the practical value of the Harare Declaration. This was demonstrated by the Government's willingness to release political prisoners, one of the preconditions spelt out in the document.

11A

5/3/90

LET's throw a googly into the debate on social justice: when American author John Gunther went to Moscow a long time ago to gather material for his book, *Inside Russia*, his first request was to visit a mental hospital.

Any civilisation, he explained, must be tested by its treatment of its most helpless citizens.

By that standard, South Africa is barbaric. Mental patients, especially if they are black, are treated in a fashion which has necessitated a special law to control, and in effect suppress, publication of information on what goes on in mental hospitals.

Usually, patients are drugged until their condition stabilises, and they are then discharged onto the streets to fend as best they can. The aged poor, and the abandoned young, are treated in much the same way, and they tend all to huddle together in the worst slums with the prostitutes and drug pedlars.

Of course, the insane don't vote, and we lack in this country even the eccentric parliamentarian who might take up the cause of the mentally ill as Helen Suzman took up the cause of that other unprotected class, the prison population. Therefore the plight of the mentally ill is pitiful.

They are the people who should, I think, top any list of priorities in the search for social justice. Anyway, as Gunther said, they constitute the test by which we may measure both the claims made for the free market, and the "coherent strategy" put forward by the Cosatu socialists who want to control the economy for, they say, the good of the nation.

The free-market argument that the plight of the insane is simply a "market failure" can be dismissed as immoral; civilised communities do not put up with such failures. On the other hand, it does not help much to chant that "health care is a right", unless one defines the level of care.

Surely it is unconscionable, wicked even, to maintain world-class

Once again the poor lunatic looks like being last in line

B/Dam 5/3/90

KEN OWEN



heart transplant units in a country experiencing an epidemic of tuberculosis; yet if we don't, our best young doctors will emigrate, taking their subsidised skills with them.

Obviously it is an atrocity, comparable with Nazi behaviour, to allow some hospitals to stand empty while in others the patients sleep on the floor, or simply die prematurely for want of medical care (as our statistics on life expectancy suggest they do). But does every patient who needs a dialysis machine have a right to one?

The debate on medical care, which does not permit the use of lies or damn lies but does permit statistics, has been grossly distorted by special pleading. For example, it has become fashionable to say that 30-million Americans lack medical care, without saying that 210-million Americans receive magnificent medical care.

In fact, as I know from 10 years of living in the United States, most Americans enjoy outstanding medical care at affordable cost. The difficulties of that immense delivery system arise, I would say, from the curious American search for medi-

cal perfection. Obviously, every improvement becomes harder — and costlier — to achieve.

The point is that in the United States, as in South Africa, it is simply nonsense — if not a demagogic trick — to talk of health care as "a right" unless the level of care is simultaneously defined.

For a poor country like ours, it is necessary even in a free market for the state to assume responsibility for basic health care. At the other end of the scale, it is equally necessary for the state to subsidise both research and teaching (though we might improve on the system where most of the subsidy goes to rich white students who have benefited from an elite education).

But that doesn't preclude people who can afford health insurance, or who are wealthy enough, or who simply don't like public hospitals, having the choice of using private medical services.

Nor does it do the slightest harm if patients, doctors and nurses go from public hospitals to private hospitals.

On the one hand, the burden on the public hospitals is lightened; on the other hand, the patient pays more, the doctor and the nurse earn more, and the owner of the hospital makes a profit which increases with efficiency.

And if they conspire to pad the accounts, or use unnecessary procedures, or charge for drugs not administered, the owner, the doctor and perhaps the nurse should be sent to jail for fraud, and the medical staff should be struck from the registers. The answer to criminal behaviour in a private hospital is to prosecute the criminals, not to nationalise the hospital.

Indeed, most arguments against privatisation of medical services seem to me calculated to serve the interests of those, often medical bureaucrats, who have a vested interest in immense institutions that must be kept going by a combination of overworked and underpaid nurses, exhausted interns, and tax revenues. Temptation looms largest when research funds are at stake.

The real problem, which is consistently evaded, is to determine the level of tax-supported medical care

which this society can afford for its poor. That level will be higher if the care of the middle classes and the wealthy is transferred from the subsidised public sector to the profitable private sector.

As the new South Africa takes shape, if it takes shape, this will become an essential debate, but, in the sense that politics concerns the division of the spoils, it is a political debate. The level of affordable care will change from year to year; some patients will prosper and demand American levels of treatment — and be prepared to pay for it — and others will subside into poverty and need to be subsidised.

The debate will continue, year after year, until we reach the fortunate position of the Americans, where patients sue their doctors rather than thank them. In other words, it is a normal political issue, never to be solved. We shall be forever struggling with partial answers, and inadequate resources.

Amid the exchange of ideological salvos, little thought has been given to health, or education, or any other welfare question. Cosatu's spokesman Alec Erwin demands a "coherent strategy" to control and direct the economy for the welfare of the people, but he doesn't spell out how such a coherent strategy might improve the care of the ill, or the mentally ill.

What we do know, from experience around the globe, is that the prospect of using other people's money to do good is infinitely corrupting, and that the major beneficiaries of welfare programmes tend to be the administrators of those programmes.

On the other hand, neither the liberals nor the social democrats (with the exception always of Harry Schwarz) have come up with much in the way of constructive ideas, and my hope for a new South Africa is tarnished, just a little, by the knowledge that when it comes to handing out the goodies, the lunatics will once again be last in line.

(11A) (11A)

SA whites will not lead on expertise alone, says Mandela

Bl Day 5/3/90

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — White South Africans "must not think their wealth and expertise alone will force Africa to ask them to lead", ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said on arrival from Lusaka yesterday.

"They never will lead as long as they are associated with the evil policy of apartheid, but the day they decide to settle with acknowledged leaders of the country, the day they commit themselves to a democratic, non-racial SA they will be accepted in this region, in Africa and in other parts of the world with wide-open arms.

The ANC was working on this, Mandela said at Harare airport.

But in an address shortly afterwards at Harare's Townshouse, where he was given the freedom of the city, Mandela said President F W de Klerk's government had, by unbanning the ANC, met only one of the five conditions in the Harare Declaration.

"Although we thank it for that step, there is much that it has to do before we can agree to sit down with the government.

"Therefore if peace in SA still eludes us, it is not our responsibility."

It was the responsibility of the SA government, he said.

He appealed for Zimbabwe's support in current political initiative.

Meanwhile, chief executives from eleven major SA corporations and 13 other leading businessmen wound up two days of talks about the future of the SA economy with a high-level delegation of the ANC.

Sources said the talks at Harare Sheraton Hotel were conducted in a "friendly and often genial atmosphere", but they hit "a disappointing low level" intellectually in the absence of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

ANC representatives held to the view that "apartheid is the product of capital-

ism", saying nationalisation was inevitable if the private sector was not able to make an impact on unemployment, economic opportunities, housing and poverty.

A brief statement said there was an "urgent need to address inequality and poverty", to develop SA's human resources, and dismantle apartheid.

There was unanimity on "the need to create a political and economic environment which will encourage local and international investments in a post-apartheid SA, in order to ensure rapid economic developments through the benefit for all SA."

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 6

B/Dam 5/3/90

11A



ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda wave to the crowd that gathered on Saturday to attend a rally in Lusaka. Picture: REUTERS

Mandela to help launch ANC's \$80m funds plea

DEPUTY ANC president Nelson Mandela will return home on March 16 to help launch an \$80m fund-raising campaign to re-establish the ANC in SA.

And the ANC seems certain to figure prominently in a UK government programme to give "practical assistance" to foreign political organisations.

Mandela, who is in Zimbabwe, will visit Tanzania and then meet his old friend and ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating from a stroke in a Swedish clinic.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi has estimated the organisation needs the huge amount of money to relocate an estimated 15 000 exiles back in SA. The process of re-establishing the organisation within SA and mounting political programmes has also to be undertaken.

Mandela made pleas to the EC, the UN, the Commonwealth and other diplomats and organisational heads in Lusaka last week for assistance.

Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clarke said his government was already investigating how best it could assist the ANC move toward peace.

Fund-raising campaigns will be

CHARLENE SMITH

launched in SA and abroad before the end of March.

IAN HOBBS reports from London the ANC is certain to figure prominently in a UK government plan, announced by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, to give "practical assistance" to previously suppressed foreign political organisations.

In a letter to Bernie Grant, the black London Labour MP who recently visited SA, Thatcher indicated the ANC was the sort of organisation that would be helped.

Her response was seen in London yesterday as a significant about-turn.

The expectation now is that while the ANC executive had wanted to snub her, Mandela will meet her when he attends a concert in his honour at Wembley stadium.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka that a research centre to study the SA economy and the impact of sanctions will open in London this year, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said at the weekend.

Headed by LSE lecturer Dr Jonathan Leape, the centre will monitor borrowing and debt repayments and efforts to circumvent sanctions.



Harare welcomes hero . . . African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela (left) and Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe are greeted by kneeling women on Mandela's arrival in the Zimbabwean capital yesterday.

Businessmen, ANC discuss economy

By Robin Drew, The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Prominent South African businessmen spent a day and a half in Harare at the weekend locked in discussions behind closed doors with a delegation of leading ANC officials.

In a joint statement, the two groups said they had noted the following broad issues:

- The urgent need to address economic inequality and poverty.
- A thorough ongoing process of human resource development.

● The need for a speedy process to dismantle apartheid.

● The need to create a political and economic environment which will encourage both local and international investment in a post-apartheid South Africa in order to ensure rapid economic development for the benefit of all South Africans.

The statement said it was agreed that a continuing dialogue should be encouraged to address the main issues identified.

The discussions covered the nature of the South African economy, includ-

ing the declining industrial base, the question of confidence in the economy, issues of poverty and inequality and the role of business in political and economic transformation.

The businessmen, representing major corporations, are members of the Consultative Business Movement, who support transformation to an effective and just political economy in a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The agenda included a presentation by the ANC of its view of the economy.

'No congratulations due to Govt'

UCT man tempers praise of De Klerk

The recent release of long-term ANC prisoners was to be applauded but no congratulations were due to the Government that had incarcerated them, University of Cape Town theologian Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala told the Ninth National Congress of the Azanian People's Organisation outside Johannesburg on Saturday.

Dr Mosala was delivering the keynote address at the opening of the congress at the Shareworld entertainment complex.

He told the audience of about 1 500 that the "white settler colonial regime had had no right" to put Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others behind bars in the first place.

No favour

"Therefore it is no favour for President de Klerk and his regime to take them out of prison.

"They did not belong there in the first place," he said.

Dr Mosala said all true socialists should welcome the recent fall of the "pseudo-socialist totalitarian regimes" in Eastern Europe as they were paying the price for prescribing socialism for the masses and feudal-capitalism for themselves.

Dr Mosala, who was a representative of the Black Consciousness Movement in January's Conference for a Democratic Future, said the event had betrayed the agenda for unity in the anti-apartheid struggle.

He proposed an alternative conference of Left and socialist groups to evolve a programme to intensify the struggle in what he said was the only way to prevent "a liberal sell-out of the struggle for national liberation".

A great number of people, groups and organisations had put large amounts of money and energy into the fight for the elimination of apartheid and it would be an "unforgivable betrayal of their efforts and trust to simply accommodate the struggle within the structures of white power — all in the name of a peaceful settlement".

Exploited majority

"There is at present a great deal of political theatrics ... parading as resistance politics.

"It has become difficult to distinguish between the words of the De Klerk regime and those of the resistance forces," he said.

A dangerous dependence syndrome had developed between these forces and the Govern-

ment line with calls on Mr de Klerk to do this, or that, or to fulfil certain promises.

The BCM, Dr Molala said to deafening applause, did not call on the State President to do anything.

"We call on the oppressed and exploited black majority to rise up for their freedom."

He stressed that the BCM did not hate white people but it was never prepared to leave the liberation of blacks in their hands.

"Black people must be the subjects as well as the objects of their liberation."

The South African Government had moved from a policy of "fascist racism to one of normal, enlightened exploitation".

"As far as Mr de Klerk is concerned the economic content of democracy is a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise. This of course is a reaffirmation of capitalist exploitation.

"Where in the past white people had a monopoly of running capitalist exploitation of black

people, in the 'new South Africa', black people will cooperate with whites in supervising capitalist oppression and exploitation of the black majority of black Azanians."

The policy of nationalisation would make no difference in South Africa just as it had failed to do elsewhere in the Third World.

Socialist

"If and when any government in the future tries to nationalise there will be very little left to nationalise," he said in obvious reference to the Government's initiative to privatise State and other organisations.

A plan for South Africa's future would have to place on the agenda the questions of land reconquest, socialist transformation of the economy and the building of a national culture.

After Dr Mosala's speech about 50 delegates raised him shoulder high and danced with him around the skating rink where the event was held. — Sapa.

Abandon the internal warring, pleads Azapo

Star 5/1/90 (1A)
By Thabo Leshilo

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday resolved to call upon all organisations within the liberation movement to abandon the use of violence against each other and accept, as a matter of principle, the plurality of ideas in society.

This call was made at Azapo's ninth congress held at Shareworld, near Soweto.

Azapo's outgoing president, Mr Nkosi Molala, called on "the oppressed and exploited" black people to join the Azanian National Liberation Army — the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — and intensify "the war" against the Government.

DRAMATIC

In the keynote address to the congress, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, of the University of Cape Town, said the Eighties had ended in a politically dramatic fashion.

"Those who in the 1960s performed in dramatic fashion for their *volk* by imprisoning leaders of black organisations, are joining the new populist drama of the Nineties, again for the

volk, by releasing these leaders and unbanning organisations."

Dr Mosala said although the Black Consciousness Movement welcomed the recent release of political leaders, it held that the Government had no right to jail them in the first place and it was therefore no favour for President de Klerk to have released them. "They did not belong there."

Dr Mosala said last December's Conference for a Democratic Future, at which he was a key speaker, had "betrayed the agenda for unity in struggle" and suggested, as a matter of urgency, an alternative conference of all socialist organisations to evolve a united programme of action to intensify the struggle.

● At the meeting, Dr Mosala was elected Azapo's new president. Other central committee members include: Dr Nchaube Mokoape (deputy), Mr Pandefani Nefolovhodwe (secretary-general), Mr Lusiba Ntloko (national organiser) and Mr Strini Moodley (publicity secretary).

● See Page 6.

406 5/3/90 (11A) ~~11A~~

'Nothing to fear for whites'

Mandela pledge on reconciliation

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday praised Zimbabwe's policy of reconciliation and said whites would have nothing to fear in South Africa under democratic rule.

Mr Mandela was addressing a rally in Harare. It was not the success that had been hoped for as thousands streamed away from the stadium because of Mr Mandela's late arrival.

Schools

Mr Mandela said the ANC was aware of white fears that blacks would wreak vengeance and whites would be dominated by blacks.

"We deny this," said Mr Mandela.

For example, he said, government schools would be nonracial. But those who preferred to run their own schools and maintain their cultural background would be entitled to do so.

South Africa would follow the same policy of reconciliation that was being practised in Zimbabwe and would be followed in Namibia.

The ANC was totally against any form of racialism or domination.

"We are sincere in saying whites will

not have to complain because the system of government would be designed to accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans."

Mr Mandela said he was deeply concerned about the situation regarding black political organisations. He wanted to see the creation of an atmosphere in which all black political organisations, all anti-apartheid elements, would come together to present a united front against apartheid.

At the end of the rally, Zimbabwe's President, Mr Robert Mugabe, announced today would be observed as Mandela Day and would be a holiday.

● The leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress last night failed to turn up for a dinner hosted by Mr Mugabe in honour of Mr Mandela, Sapa reports.

A senior foreign affairs official told the national news agency Ziana in Harare Mr Mugabe had extended an invitation to the PAC but for unknown reasons the PAC delegation, some of whom were attending a three-day meeting in Harare, did not arrive.

Officially greeting Mr Mandela, Mr Mugabe mentioned PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng as one of the invited dignitaries.

● See Page 6.

Star 5/3/90

(E) (HA)

ANC accused of cruelty, executions

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Allegations of executions and harsh treatment of prisoners at African National Congress prison camps in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda were reported in London yesterday.

The Johannesburg correspondent for the London *Sunday Times*, Andrew Hogg, reported that "an increasing number of reports are circulating about the harsh treatment meted out by the ANC-in-exile to critics within its ranks, and the victims of power struggles".

He added that the movement is known to have at least two prison camps in Tanzania. "But its notorious camp in Angola — Quattra — where executions were common and prisoners languished in shipping containers in the fierce heat, is believed to have been replaced by a new camp in Uganda."

Hogg reported that the overall number of prisoners is not known, although a former American diplomat who investigated the matter believes it could be as high as 1 500.

Last year 17 ANC defectors sought asylum in Sweden while in Kenya four defectors are awaiting a decision from the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees. In Tanzania there were at least 12 defections from the ANC last month, reported Hogg.

The report focused on the case of Mr Muzi Ngwenya, the highly successful ANC cell commander who masterminded the spate of bombings in Natal until 1988, when he was accused of being an informer. Late last year he died an emaciated wreck in Lusaka after months of solitary confinement.

"There are two schools of thought about Ngwenya's imprisonment. One is that he was the victim of a power struggle between the political and military wings. The other was that he simply angered an ANC leader," reported Hogg.

He added that, in common with Swapo, some ANC leaders are "said to have used fear of South African infiltration to justify draconian measures to retain their power".

**we'll return
but talks
are out,
says PAC**

Star 5/13/90

(11A)

(S)

HARARE — The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday blew hot and cold politically, deciding to relocate to South Africa but rejecting out of hand any negotiations with the South African Government.

The PAC's decision was made known in a communique issued at the end of a three-day consultative conference with the executive committee of the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) — a sister organisation launched in South Africa last year.

"The PAC will politically emerge inside occupied Azania to politically mobilise the Azanian masses and spearhead the struggle for national liberation and self determination. The PAC head office will be in Johannesburg," the communique said.

However, the organisation went on to say that there was no basis for negotiations.

It was prepared to discuss the creation of a mechanism to establish a constituent assembly elected through one person one vote. This assembly would have a mandate, through elections, to draw up a new constitution for the country.

It is clear that from the communique that PAM will maintain its independence and its own executive and membership.

Politically, this means the PAC external mission will have to rely on cadres within South Africa to organise on its behalf.
— Sapa.

Mandela: A

promise on *Capl. Trinks 5/3/90* 'own schools'

HARARE. — The African National Congress would respect the many separate cultures of South Africa and would allow each community to run its own schools, Mr Nelson Mandela, new deputy president of the organisation, said at a rally in the Zimbabwean capital yesterday.

"We are aware of their (white) fear . . . that blacks are going to try and wreak vengeance upon them, that liberation in South Africa will mean not only the end of white rule, but also the domination of whites by blacks.

"We deny this," Mr Mandela told about 10 000 people at Harare's national sports stadium.

Warning to SA whites — Page 3

It was his first speech on ANC policy since the movement's national executive committee (NEC) met in Lusaka on Thursday and Friday. He is expected to head an ANC delegation later this month in the first direct talks with the South African government for 30 years.

Mr Mandela said Zimbabwe's efforts at reconciliation between blacks and whites were an example for South Africa to follow.

"We have suffered for all these years . . . many of our children have paid with their lives. We know what hardship is brought by any form of racialism," Mr Mandela told the crowd. "That is why we have fought against all forms of domination, whether it is white or whether it is black.

"For our part, whites will not have to complain because the system of government we are bringing is intended to accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans." — Sapa-Reuter

Do Keep left

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 50 000 people gathered at Ellis Park stadium here yesterday for a gospel festival to celebrate "the new South Africa".

They were addressed by six leading churchmen and heard music performed by international and local stars.

The speakers stressed the need for justice and reconciliation and called on the nation to live out

50 000 at
new SA
festival

the Christian message of love.

The event was featured live on Bop-TV and on South Africa's TV1 channel an hour later.

The speakers included Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of the SA

Council of Churches, and Professor Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

Artists included The Imperials, one-time backing group for Elvis Presley and now one of the top gospel groups in the world.

The event was organised by the Rev Chris Lodewyk of Christian Accord International. — Sapa

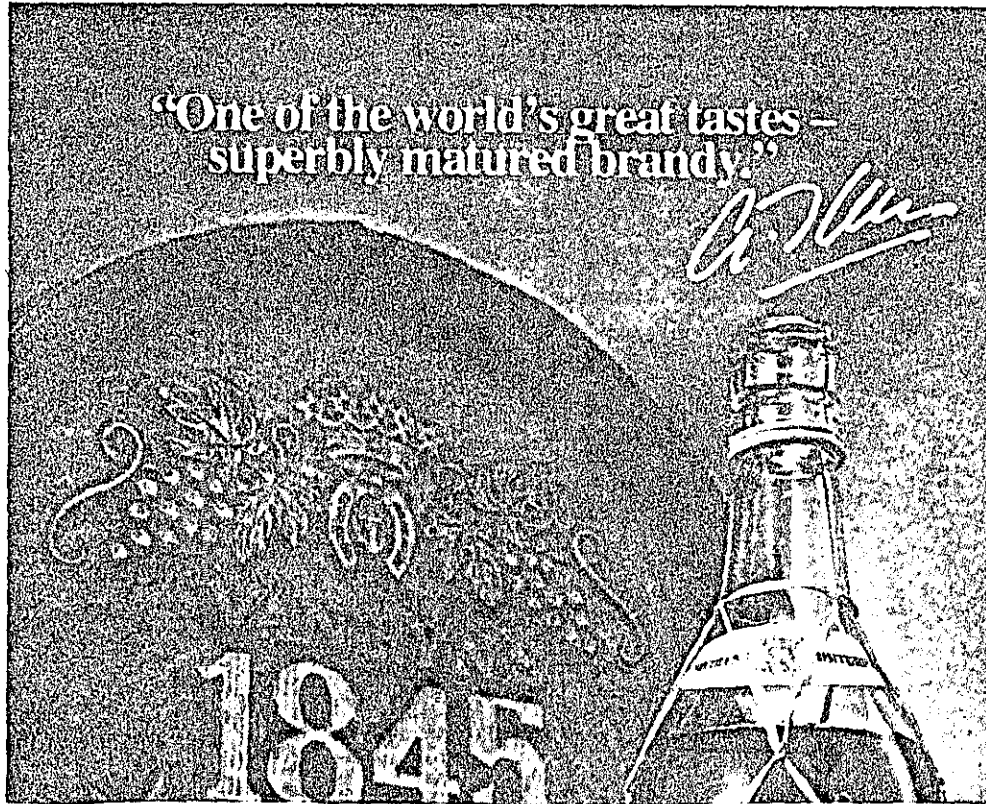


Table View toyi-toyi supports hunger-strikers

Cape Times 5/3/90

Staff Reporter

11A

A COUPLE of hundred ANC supporters toyi-toyi'd on Table View beachfront on Saturday evening and shone torches and car lights towards the hunger-striking prisoners on Robben Island.

The event went off without incident. Police in vans watched the windswept proceedings from a distance until everyone went home about 9pm.

Friends and family of those imprisoned on the Island say that some of them can see the Milnerton/ Table View coastline from their cells.

Mr Justice M R de Kock, the acting Judge President of the Cape, has visited the island to discuss the hunger strike with the committee leading it.

Campaigners claimed last night that the strike, which is a week old this morning, has spread to other prisons in the country.

Van der Merwe and Zuma set to do the talking

CAF ~~talks~~ 5/3/90
Own Correspondent

11A ~~2024~~

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC intelligence official Mr Jacob Zuma and government constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe were likely to be the principal negotiators in the "talks about talks" expected to begin within in the next few weeks, ANC sources said at the weekend.

The two parties' delegations will, however, be formally led by top leaders. The ANC delegation is likely to be led by newly elected deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and, it was expected, the government group by President F W de Klerk.

The ANC said it hoped the initial return of exiles would coincide with the visit of its delegation for talks, and the visit of a second team that would arrive here to hold discussions with pro-liberation groups. Some of these would include ANC information department officials, but no names were specified.

The initial talks, which the ANC has stressed cannot be seen as part of the negotiation process, will be about fulfilling Harare Declaration pre-conditions for negotiations, including the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the emergency.

The ANC will also press the government for assistance in re-establishing the exiles here in particular with regard to housing, education and pensions.

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Cape Times 5/3/90 (11A) (11)

LONDON. — The African National Congress, which was labelled a "terrorist" organisation three years ago by Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, could receive direct British government aid as part of a scheme to help previously suppressed political organisations.

Mrs Thatcher, writing to Labour Party MP Mr Bernie Grant, said she agreed there was "a case for practical assistance to those previously excluded from the political process."

"I hope it will be possible to establish a scheme soon."

Mr Grant, leader of the Black Parliamentary Caucus in Britain and a prominent supporter of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, accompanied US civil-rights leader Mr Jes-

Thatcher aid scheme likely for ANC

se Jackson to South Africa recently.

He met ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town shortly after he was released on February 11, and returned to Britain with a message for Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock to intensify the campaign for continued sanctions against South Africa.

A spokesperson for Mrs Thatcher said the aid scheme was meant to help organisations contributing to democratic progress in many coun-

tries, including Africa and Eastern Europe.

Her letter followed a request from Mr Grant for her to give the ANC "modest administrative training and equipment assistance" to help it prepare to play a full and peaceful political role in South Africa.

● A member of Britain's House of Commons and a spokesman for the African National Congress on Saturday denounced Mrs Thatcher's lifting of some economic

★ Cape Times, Monday, March 5, 1990 3

sanctions against South Africa.

Ms Diane Abbott and Mr Esop Pahad, of the ANC, spoke at a conference sponsored by the African American Student Union of the Harvard University Business School.

● A research centre to study the South African economy and the impact of sanctions will open in London this year, Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans announced after a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela in Lusaka on Saturday.

The centre will be based at the London School of Economics and will monitor South Africa's borrowing and debt repayments, and its efforts to circumvent sanctions. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter and AP

ANC's R200m campaign

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, will return home on March 16 to help launch an \$80 million (about R200m) fund-raising campaign to re-establish the ANC in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, who is at present in Zimbabwe, will visit Tanzania and then meet the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo.

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2

ANC 'order' to activist newlyweds

BY MONICA GRAAFF

THE ANC has issued a tongue-in-cheek order to political activists Mr Graeme Bloch and Ms Cheryl Carolus, who were married at the weekend: "Don't have children for five years. There's too much work to be done."

Mr Bloch, 34, is an executive member of both the United Democratic Front and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) and Ms Carolus, 32, is the UDF's publicity secretary.

The well-known activist couple were married at the Bloch family home in Rosebank on Saturday.

Everybody who is anybody in Cape Town "struggle" circles was there, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UDF president "Mama" Albertina Sisulu and recently returned SA Communist Party exiles Ms Ray Alexander and Professor Jack Simons.

Even Mr Nelson Mandela telephoned from Lusaka and then handed the phone over to ANC executive member Mr Pallo Jordan, who issued the executive council's tongue-in-cheek order.

A traditional Jewish element was also added to the wedding, conducted by activist Anglican minister the Rev Syd Lockett, when Mr Bloch smashed a glass with his foot.

Ms Carolus, well-known as a formidable public speaker, declined to make a speech, saying she was "too shy".

Mr Bloch said their love for each other was inseparable from their "militant commitment towards working for love and peace in the country".

Mr Bloch is one of seven children of city plastic surgeon Dr Cecil Bloch and Mrs Rosalie Bloch, a lawyer. Ms Carolus is the daughter of Mr Aubrey Carolus and Mrs Margaret Carolus of Silvertown.



UDF WEDDING . . . UDF executive members Mr Graeme Bloch and Ms Cheryl Carolus exchange marriage vows under the ANC flag at their celebrity wedding conducted by the Rev Syd Lockett in Rosebank on Saturday. Picture: BENNY GOOL

'Wealth alone won't help whites'

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — White South Africans "must not think their wealth and expertise alone will force Africa to ask them to lead", Mr Nelson Mandela warned here yesterday on arrival from Lusaka.

"They never will lead as long as they are associated with the evil policy of apartheid, but the day they decide to settle with acknowledged leaders of the country, the day they commit themselves to a democratic non-racial South Africa, they will be accepted in this region, in Africa and the world with wide, with open arms.

"This is what the ANC is working on," Mr Mandela said in his speech at Harare airport. "We are trying to persuade the government that it is madness we should be killing one another

when we can sit down, talk and settle our problems."

But in an address soon afterwards at Harare's Townhouse, when he was given the freedom of the city, Mr Mandela said President F W de Klerk's government had, by unbanning the ANC, so far had met only one of the five conditions in last October's Harare Declaration.

"Though we thank it for that step there is much that it has to do before we can agree to sit down with the government and talk."

Speaking after being greeted at Harare airport by President Robert Mugabe, Mr Mandela said "the ugly problems" which faced South Africa, Zimbabwe and the region could be resolved only by pooling the resources of all communities.

NO compromise from the PAC hardliners on talks

Star 8/3/90 11A

Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Harare greeting people in the name of peace and declaring that it was madness for South Africans to go on killing each other.

All eyes are, rightly, on the man who, in Mr Robert Mugabe's words, moved the world and on what he has to say.

But a very different tune was being played in Harare over the period of Mr Mandela's visit by leaders of the rival Pan Africanist Congress, who happened to be holding a top level meeting at the same time to review the swiftly changing South African scene.

The PAC and its ideologically aligned ally, the Pan-Africanist Movement, may not have the massive support evident for Mr Mandela and the ANC, but knowledgeable observers of South African politics say the organisations have significant growth potential and their strength is increasing.

The PAC was formed 30 years ago when the Africanists, led by Mr Robert Sobukwe, argued that the ANC Freedom Charter amounted to a betrayal of the revolution to rid South Africa of white domination.

Today, the PAC, led by one of its founder members, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, often referred to as Uncle Zeph, still maintains that the ANC is prepared to compromise with whites.

Mr Mothopeng, in his mid-seventies and walking with difficulty, is as fiery as ever.

No reassurances for whites from him. Mr Mandela went out of his way to calm white fears. Mr Mothopeng dismissed this approach as appeasement and said he was not interested in whites as such.

Loyal Azanians would have the same safeguards as anybody else, but by their very numbers blacks

ROBIN DREW of The Star's Africa News Service in Harare reports on the hardline stance of the Pan Africanist Congress towards negotiation with the South African Government.



Mr Nelson Mandela ... since his release, the ANC deputy president has gone out of his way to allay white fears.



Mr Zephania Mothopeng ... no assurances or appeasement for whites from the fiery leader of the PAC.

would dominate.

PAC spokesmen believe it will be a long time before the South African Government is forced into surrendering power to a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage on a common roll which would be given the task of drawing up a new constitution.

In the meantime, the struggle on all fronts, including the armed struggle, must be intensified.

No talk of madness in killing people. Indeed, when Mr Mothopeng was asked about targets in the armed struggle, he drew gales of laughter when he replied that people would not be told in advance before they were shot in the forehead.

of leaders and members to South Africa.

The hard line of the PAC was at odds with President Mugabe's public stance when he told Mr Mandela at a banquet that liberation movements in South Africa should enter into negotiations as soon as possible.

He pointedly referred to a discordant note from another quarter and the Zimbabweans were unhappy about the failure of Mr Mothopeng to attend the banquet.

His excuse — that security arrangements were inadequate — will also anger them.

Traditionally, the PAC and Mr Mugabe's Zanu (PF) have always been friends and in some Zimbabwean circles there is certainly sympathy for its standpoint.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than at the opening of the PAC-PAM meeting when the Zimbabwean Minister of State for Political Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, warned of the danger of going into negotiations with Pretoria.

He was cheered when he said South African black activists should be prepared to suffer and die in greater numbers.

The view from Harare is naturally coloured by the experiences in the declining years of the Rhodesian era.

Then, as Mr Mugabe pointed out, talks and various sets of negotiations took place over a number of years.

The sides were testing each other out. All the time the military struggle continued.

In the end, in Mr Mugabe's view, the enemy had been taught a sufficient lesson and negotiations for a transfer of power were concluded.

Swedish splendour awaits Mandela

The Argus Foreign Service

STOCKHOLM. — Mr Nelson Mandela will be following in the footsteps of the Pope at Europe's biggest ice hockey stadium when he arrives here next week.

The Swedes are planning a reception fit for a king and Mr Mandela will be speaking to thousands at Sweden's most prestigious venue, the Globe. Pope John Paul II is the only other individual to have spoken at the stadium, which resembles a gigantic igloo dominating Stockholm's skyline and usually hosts visiting rock bands and ice hockey teams.

Mr Mandela arrives here on Monday for a meeting with the African National Congress president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating at a Stockholm clinic after a stroke last August. The ANC chief representative in Stockholm, Mr Billy Modise, said Mr Tambo's condition was improving steadily.

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo, who have worked together for nearly half a century, last saw each other in 1962, although they have spoken by telephone several times since. The ANC's new deputy president will come to Sweden from Tanzania and will spend from March 12 to 17 in Sweden before returning to South Africa.

Meanwhile, a Swedish government investigation yesterday proposed extended sanctions against South Africa. Sweden has had a wide-ranging trade boycott against South Africa since October 1987. The latest proposal will cover service trades such as the buying of air tickets and business consultancies.

Mr Lennart Vodstrom, the chairman of the South Africa Committee, appointed to look into the sanctions issue, said on Swedish television yesterday that there was still a need for further sanctions to pressure President De Klerk into continuing the process of negotiations with the ANC.

ARGUS 6/3/90
11A

Scots to honour Mandela again

Soweto 6/3/90

11A

GLASGOW -THE freedom of the city - will be given for a second time in September to Mr Nelson Mandela, but this time to the African leader in person.

The ANC and anti-apartheid groups plan to stage a sechaba or freedom festival in the city.

An original scroll was accepted on Mandela's behalf by Nigeria in December 1980. At that time Glasgow district council requested the South African government to allow Mandela time out of detention to travel here and receive the award, but the request was refused.

The ceremony took place in July 1982 when

representatives of the Commonwealth High Commissions met here for the event.

A duplicate scroll will be made for the latest and second ceremony in Glasgow at the end of September or the beginning of October, when Mandela is expected to travel to Scotland for the occasion.

PAC rejects FW move for talks

HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress has responded to President F W de Klerk's unbanning of South African political organisations by rejecting negotiations in favour of one-man-one-vote for a constituent assembly.

At a Press conference in Harare yesterday, PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng emphasised that until this was

OWN CORRESPONDENT

achieved, his organisation would continue with the armed struggle.

"One cannot be expected to abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured to contest power," he said.

Mothopeng said his organisation was prepared to discuss with interested

parties the establishment of a mechanism for the creation of the constituent assembly.

Stance

Asked what stance his organisation would take towards white South Africans, he said: "I'm not interested in them as whites so I cannot assure them of anything, but I can assure them of everything as Azanians.

"Everybody will have equal rights in Azania," he said. "Those who want privileges because of their skins can go."

Mothopeng said the PAC had the support of the majority of black South Africans.

"We are being followed by the grassroots, not the political executives up there in their seats," he said.

At the conference, presided over by PAC

chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, the organisation's secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, read the six-page document detailing the PAC position following Pretoria's unbanning of political organisations on February 2.

Struggle

The statement said De Klerk's pronouncements were aimed at "liquidating the armed struggle

and undermining international isolation and sanctions - two key weapons to attain genuine liberation".

"The continued use of such terminology as 'collective units, national entities, associations, minorities and nations' is evidence of the regime's continued adherence to the declared fundamentals of apartheid," said the statement.

It said the PAC maintained that the question of land distribution be tackled immediately in order to remove economic imbalances. - Sapa.



MR MOTHOPENG

Youth leader killed: claim

CISKEIAN police shot and killed the chairman of the Alice Youth Congress at Gaga location, near Alice, on Saturday, the organisation's executive alleged yesterday.

A spokesman for the organisation, Mr Ace Mfiki, said Mr Tembani Saal was shot after the Gaga community had voluntarily handed in their Ciskei National Independence Cards.

Mfiki said the community of 1 500 people, including headmen, women and children, had gathered at about 10am.

Teargas

At about 11am police arrived and fired teargas into the crowd. In the ensuing confusion it was difficult to tell what had happened, but he thought police fired two shots.

Saul was wounded in the back of the head.

Mfiki said he was detained for about seven hours after the incident and then released.

"The Alice Youth Congress strongly condemns this brutal killing of the innocent," he said. - Sapa.

Scots to honour Mandela again

Sowetan 6/3/90

11A

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Group seeks links with young ANC

Sowetan 6/3/90

11A

SEKHUKHUNE Youth Organisation publicity-secretary, Mr Dewet Monakedi, said at the weekend that the organisation had resolved to dissolve and join with the ANC Youth League.

In a statement issued after the organisation's two-day annual congress which ended on Saturday,

the organisation also resolved to embark on campaigns for the dismantling of homelands.

It also decided to campaign for the removal of troops from villages, organise workshops for students and to give maximum support for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa).

The statement said the decision to dissolve into the ANC Youth League was in line with a SA Youth Congress resolution.

In another development, local Contralesa leader, Chief M N

Malekane, told a rally organised by the SYO at Jane Furse on Sunday that he had not joined Contralesa for cosmetic reasons.

Lions

"You young lions, pardon those chiefs you were labelling yesterday as enemies, and educate them about the struggle for liberation. Beware of opportunists in our area who had met Nelson Mandela for their own selfish gains and not for the nation."

Another pro-Contralesa chief, L A Masha, said it was time to eradicate white colonialism which had resulted in the oppressed killing each other. - Sapa.

Top white cop to head Namibian police force

A SENIOR white policeman, Major-General Piet Fouche, has been nominated by Swapo as the first head of the Namibian police force.

The announcement of the pending appointment was made over the weekend by the incoming Home Affairs Minister, Mr Hifikipunye Pohamba, during an information meeting held for residents

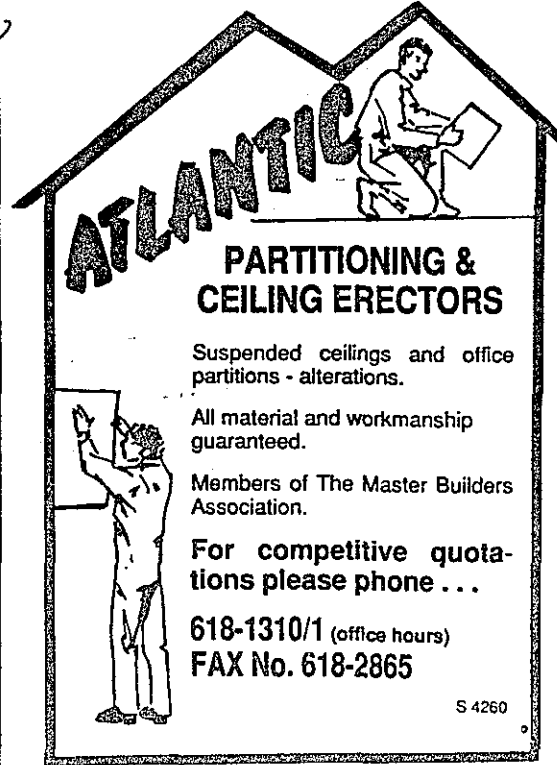
of the northern farming town of Grootfontein.

Pohamba pledged that Swapo would crack down, through the police, if the current crime wave across Namibia continued.

Fouche told his audience - which included white farmers and businessmen as well as Swapo supporters - that crime would not be tolerated in an indepen-

dent Namibia, and that those who were bent on such a life would "lose their freedom behind bars".

Three whites have been murdered in the Grootfontein area in recent weeks, while a wave of petty crimes has hit the town, which is undergoing a severe economic depression in the wake of the withdrawal of South African troops.



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Mandela record will be distributed worldwide

Sowetan 6/3/90

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By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

WELCOME Mandela, a song written and produced by Sam Wingate, is being pressed for worldwide distribution.

Sam Wingate said the song, originally written for air-play only, was conceived three weeks before Nelson Mandela's release.

The pop-mbaqanga song was recorded with the Famous Explorers Project, the name given to a group of musicians and

producers who came together at Wingate's request during the recording process.

"I wrote the song because I hoped it would contribute to the celebration of Mandela's release, which is why it is such a happy song," said Wingate.

While the recording was done initially for radio play only, subsequent response caused the grouping to agree to press the song as a commemorative maxi-single.

The grouping claimed it wrote a letter to Mandela before the pressing and that they also sent a cassette to him as a gift.

They have offered to contribute a substantial portion of the proceeds to a community project of Mandela's choice.

While the collective musicians, Famous Explorers Project, decided their names would appear on the sleeve of the single only, they include some well-known names in the South African music industry.

"What started as a reason simply to celebrate Mandela's home-coming has assumed unexpected proportions. What was also very exciting was the spirit in which everybody involved took part," said Wingate.

Meantime, the South African Musicians Alliance has warned against what it calls "a large commercial and exploitative industry which has surfaced after the release of Mandela.

Sama says that while it does not discourage or attempt to stifle any sincere effort made to applaud and document their joy at the release, it cautions that it will not tolerate exploitation, especially for personal gain, by using the name Nelson Mandela - in print, performance or otherwise.

"People should consult the relevant progressive organisations before they embark on any project concerning Nelson Mandela," said Sama in a statement

Mandela says he feels free at last

^{3 10 am 6/3/90}
HARARE — Tears flowed at the University of Zimbabwe yesterday when Nelson Mandela bent to hug South African children born in exile and said he was "feeling a free man for the first time in my 71 years".

Mandela spoke at the university to mark the 35th anniversary of the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), Sapa-Reuter reports.

(11A) (2)
"When the children came forward, I realised anew that nothing can ever stop an idea whose time has come. The idea of democracy, liberation, freedom and peace has come to our country," he said.

Of his arrival in Lusaka last Tuesday he said: "I felt a free man for the first time in my 71 years. I can now say that every day I

have enjoyed in freedom, I enjoyed feeling for the first time that I am a human being."

Mandela heads for Tanzania today.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's last-minute proclamation that yesterday be a public holiday in Mandela's honour caused chaos in banks, courts and schools.

Thousands of people in essential services could not get to work because the government commandeered 150 of Harare's 300 servicable buses to ferry people to a football match in Mandela's honour.

□ KIN BENTLEY reports from London that only three days after box offices opened, all 72 000 tickets for a Nelson Mandela Concert at Wembley Stadium on Easter Monday had been sold.

Liberation (11A)

HARARE - Nelson Mandela has vowed to keep up the struggle for South Africa's liberation from white rule, but reassured whites they had nothing to fear from a black-led government.

Soweto
06/12/90

Winnie, Zindzi link in Sithole suicide?

By BARRY STREEK

THE fact that Internal Security Act detainee Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole had implicated people very close to him — Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zindzi — in alleged criminal acts could have given rise to his decision to commit suicide, the Goldstone Commission said in a report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Mr Sithole, who committed suicide by hanging himself in John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on January 30, was the boyfriend of Miss Zindzi Mandela and the father of her child.

During interrogation on the morning of his death, Mr Sithole "made serious allegations of criminal conduct on the part of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zindzi".

Mr Justice R J Goldstone, the sole member of the commission, said that during the hearings he had ruled he did not consider it relevant or in the interests of fairness and justice for untested allegations against Mrs Man-

del and Miss Zindzi Mandela to be made public.

The report stated that there was no evidence to indicate or suggest that Mr Sithole's death had been caused by any act or omission involving an offence by anyone. This was conceded by counsel appearing for the family of Mr Sithole, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

The judge found that other factors that might have caused Mr Sithole to commit suicide were "his anger that certain people from Orlando West had provided the police with fake information against him" and "his impression that he could continue to be detained for a long time".

After his arrest on January 26 this year Mr Sithole admitted responsibility for armed attacks in Soweto during 1988 and 1989.

He said: "I am proud of what I did. If I get out I'll do the same again. The best thing is to hang me so that I can die. I am a soldier of the armed struggle."

CAP T. 15 6/3/90
Policemen
'ignorant
of rules

Political Staff

NO manpower shortage in the police force could justify detainees being guarded by policemen who were ignorant of the relevant regulations, the Goldstone Commission said yesterday.

The commission found that neither of the two policemen who were guarding the late Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, who died in detention in January, was aware of the provisions of the regulations on Section 29 detainees.

The commission said it was of the utmost importance that the letter and spirit of the Section 29 regulations should be adhered to by those responsible for the well-being of detainees.

Zeph scorns Mandela appeal to whites



Mr Mothopeng

HARARE. — The leader of the radical Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) denounced Mr Nelson Mandela's call for reconciliation with whites in South Africa and said his appeal for unity among black groups was a waste of time.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, 76, asked at a news conference yesterday about Mr Mandela's efforts to allay the fears of whites in South Africa, said: "Making allowances for the whites — that is compromise, appeasement."

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the rival ANC, appealed for black unity and promised reconciliation to South Africa's whites on the first day of his visit to Zimbabwe on Sunday.

"We do not believe in appeasement," Mr Mothopeng said. "We are going to recapture, to win and attain our freedom." He scorned Mr Mandela's famous speech from the dock at his 1964 trial, when he spoke of his dual fight against both white and black domination.

"That statement is false. Black people have never dominated any whites. We have never had that opportunity. That is projecting the sins of the white people on to the black people."

Goal is one person, one vote

11A

PAC rejects call for negotiations

Capit. Times 6/3/90

HARARE. — The Pan Africanist Congress has rejected negotiations in favour of one person, one vote for a Constituent Assembly.

At a press conference yesterday, PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said that until this was achieved, his organisation would continue with armed struggle.

"One cannot be expected to abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured to contest power," he said.

Mr Mothopeng said his organisation was prepared to discuss with interested parties the establishment of a Constituent Assembly.

Asked what stance his organi-

sation would take towards white South Africans, he said: "I'm not interested in them as whites so I cannot assure them of anything but I can assure them of everything as Azanians."

"Everybody will have equal rights in Azania. Those who want privileges because of their skins can go."

Mr Mothopeng said the PAC had the support of the majority of the black South Africans.

And newly elected Azanian People's Organisation president Dr Itumeleng Mosala said yesterday that the government's present package was not acceptable and rejected Mr F W de Klerk's "notion of negotiation".

He also called for an intensification of the armed struggle.

Azapo had come to the conclusion that the intention of Mr De Klerk's statements was to "shut the rest of the world up" and put sanctions on the backburner.

Negotiations now would serve to benefit a few elitist groups to the exclusion of the underprivileged, he said, and give a new lease of life to the capitalist system.

Negotiations said nothing on how black people were going to be economically and politically empowered, or how they would be included in the process.

Azapo, he said, had not yet officially spoken to PAC officials. It had resolved, however, to include the SA Communist Party in the broad-based leftist socialist front. — Sapa-Reuter

Sisulu to appeal to whites to join ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress will, at a meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand at 7.30 pm tonight, call on whites to join the organisation and address their concerns about the future.

The keynote speaker at the meeting will be the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu. He will share a platform with UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, recently released ANC member Ms Barbara Hogan, and Rev Theuns Eloff, former minister of the Gereformeerde Kerk who was ostracised by his community after meeting the ANC in Dakar.

Tonight's meeting will mark the beginning of a "ANC speaks to the white community" campaign spearheaded by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac).

The campaign will involve public meetings, debates and house meetings with a wide range of ANC speakers.

Mandela's words slammed by PAC

Src 6/3/40

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The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng today slammed as appeasement and compromise the reassuring words for whites from the ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"We do not believe in appeasement," said the 76-year-old veteran nationalist who added that Mr Mandela's promise of no domination was just "nice pleasing words".

Mr Mothopeng said he was not interested in whites, as whites. They will always be drowned by the African majority. But as loyal Azanians (the term used by the PAC for South Africa), they would have equal rights like everybody else.

The PAC has just held a top-level meeting in Harare with leaders of the Pan-Africanist Movement and other activists.

New Azapo chief says time not ripe for talks

Share 6/3/90

By Montshiwa Moroke

11A

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is to mobilise black communities and intensify the struggle for liberation, the newly elected president of Azapo, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, said yesterday.

Dr Mosala, a lecturer at the University of Cape Town, was speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg where the organisation's stand on recent political developments was outlined.

The conference followed the organisation's ninth annual congress at the weekend — its first since 1987 when it was restricted under the emergency curbs.

The congress, at Shareworld, was attended by more than 200 delegates and about 7 000 members.

Dr Mosala said Azapo's first task was not to speak to the Government, but to find out from blacks what they wanted. It was time to "de-mystify" misconceptions held by some people.

Azapo reaffirmed its position that the country was no closer to liberation than it was when ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and others were imprisoned after the ANC and PAC were banned.

MIDDLE CLASS

Despite the emergence of a urban black middle class, the position of blacks had generally deteriorated, he said. Azapo was committed to socialism.

Dr Mosala said Azapo was seeking the unification of liberation forces in South Africa.

"We must recognise that there are ideological differences between liberation movements and it would be idealistic to expect unity to come about overnight. But we hope organisations such as the PAC and the ANC will recognise that a time will come when the people around us are going to demand that of the socialist liberation forces," Dr Mosala said.

Referring to negotiations with the Government, Azapo said talks could only take place among equal partners.

It said the Government still retained political, military and economic power.

SA hasn't seen the last of Canada's Joe Clark

(11A)

By BRENDAN SEERY,

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Former Canadian Prime Minister Mr Joe Clark, who is now his country's Secretary of State for External Affairs, was the man who many white South Africans loved to hate.

In international forums, he railed against apartheid and led the tub-thumping for sanctions.

Last week, though, the same Joe Clark would have been much more acceptable to many of his critics in South Africa.

He told Mr Nelson Mandela in unambiguous terms that Canada believed the ANC should renounce the armed struggle and enter into negotiations with the South African Government.

Mr Clark's implication that Ottawa was not happy with the ANC's efforts to "meet halfway" with President de Klerk came hard on the heels of Mrs Thatcher's announced stand on lifting sanctions against South Africa to promote a climate for talks.

Although the Canadian Foreign Minister was forthright in his talks with Mr Mandela, and although the ANC veteran reiterated his feelings about the need to continue the armed resistance component of its policy, the two men apparently parted amicably after their hour-long discussions in Lusaka.

When Mr Clark jetted through to Windhoek immediately afterwards, he refused to be drawn on the possibility of a mediating role for Canada in future South African negotiations.

Yet, now that Mr Clark may have a changed image among the powers-that-be in Pretoria, the possibility must now be strong that Canada can become involved to a greater or lesser degree as an "honest broker" in the talks that lie ahead.

For a start, Canada is more acceptable to the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa than, for example, Britain and the US.

The perception is that London and Washington have never been harsh enough in their condemnation of apartheid.

Canada, on the other hand, has had no colonial involvement in the Third World and has a seemingly neutral



Joe Clark . . . railed against apartheid. stance in international diplomacy.

Ottawa was one of the original initiators of sanctions against South Africa and Mr Clark himself played a major role in implementing these restrictions. Canada has also been vigorously supporting anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, and will therefore have some significant "markers" to call in.

The precedent for Canada playing a role in negotiating peaceful settlements was set in Namibia.

Ottawa was a member of the five-nation Western Contact Group which drew up the independence proposals later embraced in Security Council Resolution 435.

Canada provided 250 troops for the UN peacekeeping force in Namibia and gave more than R8 million to the UN refugee repatriation programme here.

During his whistle-stop visit to Namibia, Mr Clark said his government was "very proud" of the success of the Namibian peace process which, he said, "clearly makes it easier for a negotiated, peaceful end to apartheid in South Africa".

Pressed about what immediate role Canada saw itself playing, Mr Clark would say only that he believed it would be limited to providing technical aid and expertise. He suggested that Canadian constitutional experts might be called in to help the negotiating parties formulate their bargaining positions, or even give advice later in drawing up a constitution for a new South Africa.

Whatever happens, South Africans can be sure they have not seen or heard the last of Joe Clark.

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Sweden warns ANC against the dangers of nationalisation

In the 1930s, the Swedish system was held up as a shining example to the West. At the start of the 1990s, the east finds faith in the north for rebuilding the ruins of communism. The African National Congress has its eye fixed on the country which has so far given it more than 500 million kroner (R200 million). SARAH CROWE in Stockholm examines the Swedish model as a possible template for a new South Africa.

The hope of the new socialist world has warned the ANC against the dangers of nationalisation and commando economics.

The warning comes from the country Mr Nelson Mandela calls the ANC's "most reliable friend", Sweden — the country which has in recent weeks hosted an historic gathering of the ANC leadership and where the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, is being treated for a stroke. The country which is the ANC's biggest financial supporter.

Within 10 days, Stockholm will again be the meeting-place for the two kingpins, Mandela and Tambo.

This week, the *Dagens Nyheter* newspaper reports Mr Mandela's praise.

"The socio-economic system you have in Sweden is very tempting for us," he says. "I have often considered that the geographical position of Scandinavia had helped you create an economical and social system which contains the best from both the east and the west."

The Swedish welfare state was born from socialistically inspired values of equality and community concern.

GUARANTEES

Swedes are guaranteed sick leave at 90 percent of their incomes, free education, virtually free health care, and pension at two-thirds of an average income. The unemployment rate is running at 1.4 percent and dropping.

Of course, someone has to pay for these benefits, and the Swedes have one of the highest income tax rates in the world. The scale starts at 30 percent and rises to 75 percent.

Pressure and falling productivity have, however, led to a re-think and the Government is now pushing through a tax reform package that will limit the top rate to 50 percent — still 10 percent higher than in Britain, for example.

All the community concern, and a highly competitive economy, gives Sweden one of the highest standards of living in the world.

But socialist Sweden is not. "Whites in South Africa misunderstand the Swedish model," says Mr Bertil Oden, economist at the Scandinavian

Institute of African Studies.

"They believe Sweden is a socialist country. The dynamics of private capital is the main locomotive of our economy, but, at the same time, with strong trade unions to keep the anti-social effects of the raw capitalistic system in check," he adds.

"The one prerequisite has been the growth of very strong popular movements in Sweden, and in South Africa the United Democratic Front and Cosatu could fill the same function."

However, he warned the ANC against nationalisation.

Government ownership of industry in Sweden is about 7 percent of the production sector, less than half the amount of Conservative Britain, and its record on free trade is more open than most other western countries.

The Swedish Secretary of State for Southern Africa, Ms Ulla Strom, also says nationalisation would be a mistake.

"Here the ANC can learn from the Swedish model because nationalisation is not an answer to any problems, and developments this past year have shown that economics based on commando economics never accomplish anything," says Ms Strom.

"The ANC has a very positive view of Sweden because of the massive support they have gained from us. This budget year they received 85 million kroner (R34 million).

"The success of the Swedish model is to leave business to the businessmen and women, but the government's task is to control them and to set up the networks to impose responsible thinking and ensure there are no strong divisions between labour and management."

Ironically, the perfect Swedish model is showing some serious cracks. The country has just survived one of the worst parliamentary crises ever, caused by a series of strikes, and an unpopular austerity packet has been proposed.

But even if a bourgeois coalition government were to take the place of the Social Democrats, who have enjoyed a virtually uninterrupted rule since 1931, Swedish policy on South Africa would be unlikely to change. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Revered veteran returns

Ray Alexander comes back home

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

WHEN the world celebrates International Women's Day tomorrow South Africa will also laud veteran human rights campaigner Ray Alexander, who returned home on Friday after 25 years in exile.

Alexander, among the first of the exiles to trickle back, and her husband Professor Jack Simons, were welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by about 200 people including recently-released United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Caroline Motsaolodi and women from the Federation of Transvaal Women and Women Against Repression.

Amid freedom songs and chants, Alexander told the crowd that racism and white supremacy had to be destroyed. She said the unbanning of political organisations and the release of some political prisoners led to hopes of a democratic society.

Her frail form belies the fervour that still burns passionately in her heart and the energy she has, all her life, devoted to the emancipation of women and the fight for equal rights for everybody.

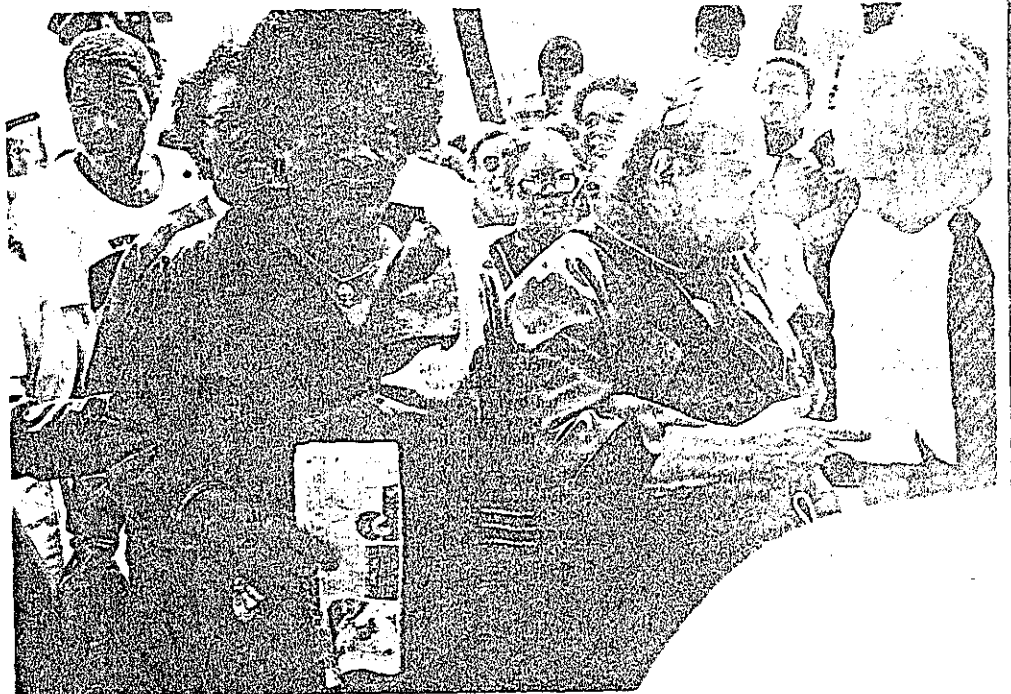
Built trade unions

Alexander was a key initiator of several trade unions in the country, including the Food and Allied Workers Union. She was also a member of the Federation of South African Women.

"She concentrated on building strong and stable unions among the worst-paid and most exploited sections of the working class, and on developing leadership and political awareness among women of all national groups," read a statement written on behalf of the two returning exiles.

A member of the South African Communist Party, Alexander continued her work after she emigrated to Lusaka in 1965 after "the apartheid regime had issued orders prohibiting us from pursuing our respective careers and imposing onerous restrictions on our freedom of movement, association, research and writing of publications". She was a member of the ANC Women's League and always assessed the role of women within the organisation.

Alexander and Simons will be working from the University of Cape Town. Alexander will be the main speaker at an International Women's Day rally to be held at the Wits Great Hall at 6pm tomorrow.



Ray Alexander walks arm-in-arm with Albertina Sisulu, while chatting to a bystander at Jan Smuts airport on her return.



ARIES: March 21 - April 21

Emotionally and materially, you'll feel more contented because your wishes are due to pan out in most instances to your liking. Close relationships ought to add to your security, friends readily backing your plans.

TAURUS: April 21 - May 21

Money is the dominant factor at present and your financial prospects will be extremely bright if you are active and enterprising in the commercial sector. Your good fortune may pass on to someone else if you dither.

GEMINI: May 21 - June 22

An adverse trend may prevail and you will find that some people are strongly opposed to your schemes. Choose your companions with care and keep out of controversy. Ignore matters which don't concern you at this time.

CANCER: June 22 - July 23

Self-expression ought to peak soon; a good time to get started on a new venture. Broaden your field of commercial activities and you will attract immediate and long-range gains. Entertain with business aims in mind.

LEO: July 23 - August 24

Sentimental mood may grip you and your thoughts will probably focus on an absent relative or friend. If you have to take a trip down memory lane, do try to think about the things that gave you the most cheer and joy.

VIRGO: August 24 - September 23

Occupational interests are favoured. An opportunity will arise if you are hoping to make a change in your employment situation. You could soon be earning a better living if you act quickly and deal only with top people.

LIBRA: September 23 - October 23

A potentially tricky period, so stay well clear of risky business. Dubious dealings and gambling could dent your resources. Make certain that your accounts are paid up to date before spending money on luxurious things.

SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23

You are almost certain to make progress, no matter what your aims and interests, because fate will invariably play into your hands. Even circumstances which appear to be unfavourable should gradually pan out well.

SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22

Your own aspirations may stagnate while current events contrive to involve you in the activities of other folk. However, you can play an important part as a mediator in their affairs or could guide them to safety.

CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21

You can certainly accomplish a great deal this time around, probably in areas where your hopes have been stymied hitherto. A fresh application of old techniques could do the trick. Enhanced vitality helps immensely.

AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20

Go all out to speed up business matters and to improve monetary arrangements. On no account must you be prepared to put up with interminable delays and frustrations during this potentially profitable yet tricky round.

PISCES: February 20 - March 21

With your psychic and spiritual powers becoming sharper than usual, you will undoubtedly make some exciting discoveries, should manage to accurately anticipate several happenings. You'll be well prepared for action.

If today is your birthday:

You are certain to get speedy and satisfactory responses to any requests you make at this time; a most favourable term for establishing important and useful contacts at top level, so set up interviews and meetings.

Recipes

ROYAL TIPSYPRUNE PUDDING

250g prunes
1x300g packet Royal hot
sponge pudding, vanilla
flavour
100 ml water
1 egg
125 ml brandy or rum
Cover prunes with water
and soak overnight.
Preheat oven to 200 de-
grees Centigrade. Prepare
hot sponge pudding sauce
as directed on the packet
and spread over the base
of an 180 - 200 mm oven-
proof dish which is at
least 80 mm deep. Gently
arrange prunes in the
custard sauce. Prepare
pudding mix according to
packet directions, using
100 ml water and egg.
Gently spread batter over
custard and prunes. Com-
bine juice in which prunes
were soaked with the
brandy or rum, adding
water to make up to 250
ml. Pour over pudding
and do not stir. Bake for
35-45 minutes and serve
warm.



Give Mandela 'benefit of the doubt' — rabbi

AK645
7/3/90

11A

By HANS-PETER BAKKER
Staff Reporter

JEWISH leaders last night called for calm and unity in the light of recent anti-semitic action by rightwing extremists and by the African National Congress (ANC) deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who embraced Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat in Lusaka last week.

At the capacity meeting in the Tifereth Israel synagogue, Gardens, attended by Israeli Ambassador to South Africa Mr Zvi Govari, Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris said the Jewish community should be calm and not jump to conclusions that all was lost, but they "should not ignore what is going on".

He called for unity and said the Jewish community couldn't afford to be fragmented.

"Our reactions to the insults to the flag of Israel and the hugging of Arafat should be to reaffirm our love of Zion and Israel.

"One can't cut out Israel from the

heart of the Jew and leave him a complete Jew," said Rabbi Harris.

He said the ANC stood a good chance of governing the country in five to 10 years. And, the Jewish community should be careful not to "close the door" to them.

He would like to give Mr Mandela the "benefit of the doubt and not take his statements at face value".

Mr Harry Schwartz, MP and chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies' international affairs committee, said "the symptoms of nazism were a danger to all South Africans and not just to the Jews".

"It is as much of a threat to them (other South Africans) as it is an insult to us."

He had met Mr Mandela in prison and said: "I know him not to be an anti-semite."

He said it was necessary to work hard for a society which respected human rights and freedom of religion.

Mr Mervyn Smith, national vice-chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, said the board accepted President De Klerk's pledge that he "would not stand for anti-semitism in any form".



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AK645
7/3/90

X/A



ANC sees united front with PAC

Mandela: Let's forget past errors

HARARE. — The ANC intends to organise a united front of all South African anti-apartheid movements, including the PAC, for constitutional talks with Pretoria, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

He told Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, at the end of a three-day official visit to Zimbabwe that the ANC favoured a policy of reconciliation in a post-apartheid society and was currently considering the question of guarantees for whites who feared black domination in a democratic South Africa.

Mr Mandela renewed his offer of reconciliation to whites, saying he hoped that one day the mistakes, cruelty and injustice of apartheid would be forgotten.

"We can then get all population groups in the country concentrating on the task of building their country."

He cited Zimbabwe as an example for reconciliation between blacks and whites.

"We intend to approach all political organisations in the coun-

try and to persuade them that we should present this united front (for constitutional negotiations)," Mr Mandela also said.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng has rejected the idea of talks with President F W de Klerk until one man, one vote elections have produced a constituent assembly.

Harare sources say the PAC leadership may have alienated their traditional ally, Mr Robert Mugabe, by the truculence of their behaviour and statements while they were his guests in Harare.

The Zimbabwean leader assured the ANC his country would continue to work for maintenance of pressure on Pretoria, reports Ziana.

He reaffirmed his support for the ANC decision to seek talks with Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency were under discussion as matters of "great importance ... and I will not be surprised if we are able to reach some consensus with the government".

He rebuffed the accusation that it was "contradictory" for him to urge warring factions in Natal to "throw your weapons into the sea" while continuing to advocate "armed struggle" against Mr De Klerk's government.

"The armed struggle was forced upon us. As far as the violence in Natal is concerned, it is violence that is undisciplined, as opposed to the violence which the ANC applies against the government, which is disciplined, controlled violence against specific targets."

● Mr Mandela left Harare yesterday for Tanzania where he will address many of the 3 000 ANC exiles who live there. Most are due to return home by the end of this year. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

PLO leaflet invite

JERUSALEM — Palestinian leaders of a 27-month-old revolt against Israeli rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip yesterday invited freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to visit "Palestine".

A leaflet issued by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, made up of the four major groups in the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, welcomed the meeting between Mr Mandela and PLO chairman Mr Yasser Arafat in Lusaka last week and called for world pressure on the Israeli and South African governments to free all political prisoners. — Sapa-Reuter

CNA on ANC mags

JOHANNESBURG. — The Central News Agency — South Africa's giant book and magazine seller — would consider selling future publications of previously banned organisations only if they were economically viable, CNA circulation manager Mr Steven Mertens said yesterday.

He believed, however, that the market was already flooded with political news by way of newspapers, magazines and television.

"If the PAC or ANC, for example, wanted us to handle their publications, they would have to send them to us to see whether

they were worthwhile on an economic basis," he said.

"But if they said terribly damaging things about South Africa and the brutality of the police, we would have to think twice."

Fair comment and normal political comment would be acceptable to the CNA, he said.

Shops were already becoming a bit crowded with publications, he added, so the magazines of political organisations would have to be looked at and, if they had the right price, would be considered.

"We're always prepared to look at new publications," he added. X

ANC to form united front for indaba

Sowetan
21/3/90
11A

HARARE - The ANC intends to organise and form a united front of all South African anti-apartheid movements - including the Pan-Africanist Congress - for constitutional talks with Pretoria. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela told Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, at the end of a three-day official visit to Zimbabwe that his organisation favoured a policy of reconciliation in a post-apartheid society.

Whites

He said the ANC was also considering the question of guarantees for whites who feared black domination in a democratic South Africa.

"We intend to approach all political organisations in the country and to persuade them that we should present

OWN CORRESPONDENT

this united front (for constitutional negotiations).

"I cannot predict what will happen if and when we have discussions with the PAC.

"We hope they will regard this matter in a serious way, as we do," he said, in answer to a question.

He did not indicate when the ANC would be approaching the other organisations.

"We do want to present a united front in the forthcoming negotiations because unity among the oppressed is a prerequisite to unity in the country as a whole," he added.



NELSON MANDELA

ARG 7/3/90 (11A) (6)

Mandela may testify in UK policy review

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is to be asked to give evidence to the House of Commons foreign affairs committee at its upcoming review of British policy on South Africa.

The committee, which is influential in steering British foreign policy, will start taking evidence in June.

The review has been scheduled "in the light of political changes" which have happened since its last policy overhaul in 1985/'86.

As at past hearings, many prominent South Africans are expected to testify. A committee spokesman said opinions would be canvassed "from as wide a political spectrum as possible".

After accepting oral and written evidence, the committee will present a report on its recommendations to parliament which will be used to shape future foreign policy.

Among the questions the committee will consider is the rather fraught issue of Britain's use of influence in international forums such as the European Community, the

Commonwealth and the United Nations. Mrs Thatcher has been strongly criticised by these bodies for her tendency to "go it alone" on the sanctions question.

Britain's substantial aid policy towards South Africa will also come under review.

Meanwhile, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd remained unmoved yesterday by a British Anti-Apartheid Movement call for stronger sanctions pressure.

An AAM delegation headed by president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston met Mr Hurd and handed over a hard-hitting six-page memorandum which described British policy on South Africa as "tragically wrong".

● Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, yesterday quashed rumours that Australia was about to go soft on sanctions against South Africa.

Predictions to this effect have been circulating since the release of Mr Mandela but Senator Evans made it clear the present Australian government would not consider lifting sanctions until there were fundamental changes to apartheid.

Star 7/13/90

11A

Reconciliation crucial

Mandela hopes for universal formula

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — Mr Nelson Mandela spoke yesterday of his hopes of forming a broad non-racial government in South Africa containing a formula which would satisfy the whites as well as the oppressed.

Mr Mandela told a news conference in Harare that South African whites wanted guarantees to protect them against domination by blacks.

"We are prepared to address that question, but the exact nature of the guarantee we cannot discuss here.

"It is something still under discussion. We can only hope that in due course we will be able to come out with a formula which will satisfy not only the oppressed people in the country, but the whites as well," he said.

Reconciliation

Mr Mandela was speaking before leaving for Tanzania after a three-day visit where he said the welcome accorded him had exceeded his wildest expectations.

He said he had learnt a lot about how Zimbabwe had applied its policy of reconciliation between the races and how the two main parties had united, reducing political differences among blacks to a minimum.

He said the question of reconciliation could not be stressed too much.

"We have a substantial white popu-

lation," he said, "and it is our intention that sooner or later the mistakes, the injustices and the cruelties of the past must be forgotten so that all population groups can concentrate on the path of building the country."

Mr Mandela said he was optimistic that the conditions laid down by the ANC for negotiations with the Government would be met.

Asked if he thought the Government of President de Klerk was close to meeting these conditions, he said he hoped a solution was not very far off, but he was not a prophet. Steps in the right direction had been taken.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would be approaching all political organisations so that they could go with a united front to the Government.

He could not predict what the reaction of the PAC would be. "What they do is their affair," he said. "We hope they will regard this question in a serious light."

Asked if there was not a contradiction in his appeal for peace among warring factions in Natal and the ANC backing for the continuation of the armed struggle to end apartheid, Mr Mandela said this was not so.

The violence in Natal was undisciplined and uncontrolled, as against the violence applied by the ANC against the government, which was disciplined and controlled and directed at specific targets. The armed struggle had been forced on the ANC because the Government had closed all other channels.

New attitudes give rise to optimism in SA

Changing attitudes towards this county must inevitably result in major expansion of the trade community along with renewed confidence in the future, thus impacting significantly on the property market.

In the process, Johannesburg will continue to reinforce its role as the continent's leading financial centre.

The trend, Mr Leissner believes, will be all the more strengthened by the fact that Soweto and its people will be brought into the plan for the decade and beyond.

"The expansion has seen substantial growth in the financial institutions and the legal and accounting professions with a corresponding fillup for property developers in the Johannesburg and neighbouring central business districts such as Sandton, Randburg and Bedfordview," says the Ampros managing director.

"Those who predicted a move toward Third World quality have been proven wrong by the high standard of buildings being erected."

Mr Leissner also believes that the Newtown redevelopment to the west of Johannesburg, parts of which are now complete, proves that South Africa is more than ever in line with international development standards.

"This project has served to shift the city's core, thus extending the vision for the area which began with the move there of the Stock Exchange in 1978," he says.

"Unfortunately, the Johannesburg City Council is only now

As South Africa strides into the new decade with high hopes of democratic reform following the unprecedented moves by President F W de Klerk and the incorporation of ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela into the negotiation process, there are strong pointers to the country's economic future, and the property industry in particular. GERALD LEISSNER, managing director of Anglo American Property Services (Ampros), looks ahead to the 90s.



Mr Gerald Leissner, MD of Anglo American Property Services.

learning to be proactive in its actions, having taken many years to learn the lessons of Durban and Cape Town."

One might well expect drastic changes and a breakaway from the tendency to plan only for whites "in the face of a massive presence of black residents, workers, entrepreneurs and consumers".

The Ampros managing director believes, too, that the challenges which have been "met with dynamism in Johannesburg have been reflected elsewhere.

"Pretoria remains a govern-

ment city, but with the Government's continued expansion, growth in the capital has been consistent," he says.

Even now, in the wake of the De Klerk initiatives, many countries are reported to be eager to set up embassy status as well as renewing trade and business missions.

In this connection, Denmark is taking the lead in setting up an embassy again.

This greater diplomatic representation in South Africa must inevitably spin off into big benefits for the office development market, not to mention steady demand for residential units.

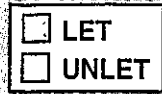
Cape Town, too, has moved into the big league of international-style development with its Docklands venture, while Durban has "reaped the rewards" of major development during the 80s.

Looking at the retail sector, Mr Leissner sees major advantages arising from the privatisation process of South African Transport Services and the development of its land and air-space areas around rail stations.

"Overall, I have no doubt the new decade will be one of immense challenge for the property industry," says Mr Leissner.

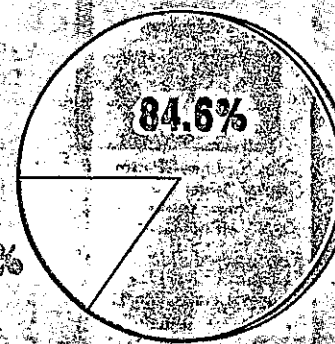
OFFICE SUPPLY - MAJOR CENTRES - JANUARY 1990

(A, B, C grade space)



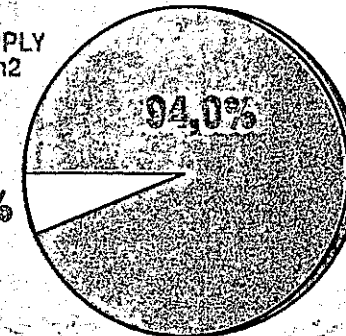
JOHANNESBURG CBD

Handwritten notes: (A), (B), (C), (D), (E), (F), (G), (H), (I), (J), (K), (L), (M), (N), (O), (P), (Q), (R), (S), (T), (U), (V), (W), (X), (Y), (Z), (AA), (AB), (AC), (AD), (AE), (AF), (AG), (AH), (AI), (AJ), (AK), (AL), (AM), (AN), (AO), (AP), (AQ), (AR), (AS), (AT), (AU), (AV), (AW), (AX), (AY), (AZ), (BA), (BB), (BC), (BD), (BE), (BF), (BG), (BH), (BI), (BJ), (BK), (BL), (BM), (BN), (BO), (BP), (BQ), (BR), (BS), (BT), (BU), (BV), (BW), (BX), (BY), (BZ), (CA), (CB), (CC), (CD), (CE), (CF), (CG), (CH), (CI), (CJ), (CK), (CL), (CM), (CN), (CO), (CP), (CQ), (CR), (CS), (CT), (CU), (CV), (CW), (CX), (CY), (CZ), (DA), (DB), (DC), (DD), (DE), (DF), (DG), (DH), (DI), (DJ), (DK), (DL), (DM), (DN), (DO), (DP), (DQ), (DR), (DS), (DT), (DU), (DV), (DW), (DX), (DY), (DZ), (EA), (EB), (EC), (ED), (EE), (EF), (EG), (EH), (EI), (EJ), (EK), (EL), (EM), (EN), (EO), (EP), (EQ), (ER), (ES), (ET), (EU), (EV), (EW), (EX), (EY), (EZ), (FA), (FB), (FC), (FD), (FE), (FF), (FG), (FH), (FI), (FJ), (FK), (FL), (FM), (FN), (FO), (FP), (FQ), (FR), (FS), (FT), (FU), (FV), (FW), (FX), (FY), (FZ), (GA), (GB), (GC), (GD), (GE), (GF), (GG), (GH), (GI), (GJ), (GK), (GL), (GM), (GN), (GO), (GP), (GQ), (GR), (GS), (GT), (GU), (GV), (GW), (GX), (GY), (GZ), (HA), (HB), (HC), (HD), (HE), (HF), (HG), (HH), (HI), (HJ), (HK), (HL), (HM), (HN), (HO), (HP), (HQ), (HR), (HS), (HT), (HU), (HV), (HW), (HX), (HY), (HZ), (IA), (IB), (IC), (ID), (IE), (IF), (IG), (IH), (II), (IJ), (IK), (IL), (IM), (IN), (IO), (IP), (IQ), (IR), (IS), (IT), (IU), (IV), (IW), (IX), (IY), (IZ), (JA), (JB), (JC), (JD), (JE), (JF), (JG), (JH), (JI), (JJ), (JK), (JL), (JM), (JN), (JO), (JP), (JQ), (JR), (JS), (JT), (JU), (JV), (JW), (JX), (JY), (JZ), (KA), (KB), (KC), (KD), (KE), (KF), (KG), (KH), (KI), (KJ), (KK), (KL), (KM), (KN), (KO), (KP), (KQ), (KR), (KS), (KT), (KU), (KV), (KW), (KX), (KY), (KZ), (LA), (LB), (LC), (LD), (LE), (LF), (LG), (LH), (LI), (LJ), (LK), (LL), (LM), (LN), (LO), (LP), (LQ), (LR), (LS), (LT), (LU), (LV), (LW), (LX), (LY), (LZ), (MA), (MB), (MC), (MD), (ME), (MF), (MG), (MH), (MI), (MJ), (MK), (ML), (MM), (MN), (MO), (MP), (MQ), (MR), (MS), (MT), (MU), (MV), (MW), (MX), (MY), (MZ), (NA), (NB), (NC), (ND), (NE), (NF), (NG), (NH), (NI), (NJ), (NK), (NL), (NM), (NN), (NO), (NP), (NQ), (NR), (NS), (NT), (NU), (NV), (NW), (NX), (NY), (NZ), (OA), (OB), (OC), (OD), (OE), (OF), (OG), (OH), (OI), (OJ), (OK), (OL), (OM), (ON), (OO), (OP), (OQ), (OR), (OS), (OT), (OU), (OV), (OW), (OX), (OY), (OZ), (PA), (PB), (PC), (PD), (PE), (PF), (PG), (PH), (PI), (PJ), (PK), (PL), (PM), (PN), (PO), (PP), (PQ), (PR), (PS), (PT), (PU), (PV), (PW), (PX), (PY), (PZ), (QA), (QB), (QC), (QD), (QE), (QF), (QG), (QH), (QI), (QJ), (QK), (QL), (QM), (QN), (QO), (QP), (QQ), (QR), (QS), (QT), (QU), (QV), (QW), (QX), (QY), (QZ), (RA), (RB), (RC), (RD), (RE), (RF), (RG), (RH), (RI), (RJ), (RK), (RL), (RM), (RN), (RO), (RP), (RQ), (RR), (RS), (RT), (RU), (RV), (RW), (RX), (RY), (RZ), (SA), (SB), (SC), (SD), (SE), (SF), (SG), (SH), (SI), (SJ), (SK), (SL), (SM), (SN), (SO), (SP), (SQ), (SR), (SS), (ST), (SU), (SV), (SW), (SX), (SY), (SZ), (TA), (TB), (TC), (TD), (TE), (TF), (TG), (TH), (TI), (TJ), (TK), (TL), (TM), (TN), (TO), (TP), (TQ), (TR), (TS), (TT), (TU), (TV), (TW), (TX), (TY), (TZ), (UA), (UB), (UC), (UD), (UE), (UF), (UG), (UH), (UI), (UJ), (UK), (UL), (UM), (UN), (UO), (UP), (UQ), (UR), (US), (UT), (UU), (UV), (UW), (UX), (UY), (UZ), (VA), (VB), (VC), (VD), (VE), (VF), (VG), (VH), (VI), (VJ), (VK), (VL), (VM), (VN), (VO), (VP), (VQ), (VR), (VS), (VT), (VU), (VV), (VW), (VX), (VY), (VZ), (WA), (WB), (WC), (WD), (WE), (WF), (WG), (WH), (WI), (WJ), (WK), (WL), (WM), (WN), (WO), (WP), (WQ), (WR), (WS), (WT), (WU), (WV), (WW), (WX), (WY), (WZ), (XA), (XB), (XC), (XD), (XE), (XF), (XG), (XH), (XI), (XJ), (XK), (XL), (XM), (XN), (XO), (XP), (XQ), (XR), (XS), (XT), (XU), (XV), (XW), (XZ), (YA), (YB), (YC), (YD), (YE), (YF), (YG), (YH), (YI), (YJ), (YK), (YL), (YM), (YN), (YO), (YP), (YQ), (YR), (YS), (YT), (YU), (YV), (YW), (YZ), (ZA), (ZB), (ZC), (ZD), (ZE), (ZF), (ZG), (ZH), (ZI), (ZJ), (ZK), (ZL), (ZM), (ZN), (ZO), (ZP), (ZQ), (ZR), (ZS), (ZT), (ZU), (ZV), (ZW), (ZX), (ZY), (ZZ).



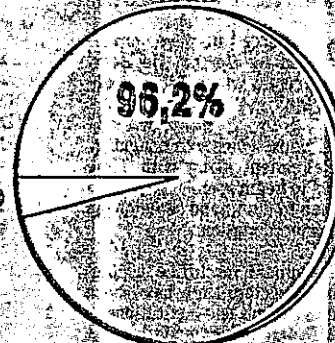
PRETORIA CBD

TOTAL SUPPLY 958 300 m2



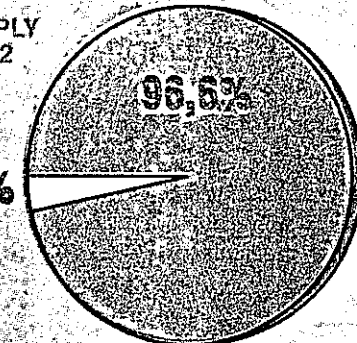
CAPE TOWN CBD

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DURBAN CBD

TOTAL SUPPLY 618 861 m2



Graphic: Liz Warder

AMPROS RESEARCH

Rustvia Extension 3, the fast-developing industrial area on the East Rand near the R22 motorway and Jan Smuts Airport, is to get a mini-industrial village.

The village will be developed by LTA Developments for the Southern Life Property portfolio.

"The township of Rustvia Extension 3 has been completely sold, since its rezoning to industrial use in mid-1989", says

New development for Rustvia Ext 3

Mr Brian Langford, senior partner of API Property Group.

Construction on the Rustvia Industrial Village has started and will be ready for occupation in June.

Rentals at the Village are

projected at the R8,50 a square metre level.

There will be 24 units ranging from 260 sq m to 675 sq m, including office space.

An investigation, by API agents for the Rustvia Industrial Village, into the availability

of industrial land in the East Rand areas of Edenvale, Kempton Park and Germiston has shown that anyone requiring larger amounts of land already in township, have a problem.

Sebenza and Eastleigh are almost fully sold and Spartan and Isando are almost fully developed although some commercially zoned land is in the process of being rezoned industrial.

Star 7/3/90



Concert for ANC leader sets record in London

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Nelson Mandela's Easter Monday concert is a record sell-out.

All 72 000 £ 20 (R86) tickets had been sold by Saturday, just two days after it was announced that Mr Mandela would speak at the event.

A Wembley Stadium spokesman said this was the quickest yet sell-out of any Wembley concert and was "definitely a record".

INQUIRIES

An Anti-Apartheid Movement spokeswoman said it was still receiving inquiries about where tickets could be obtained.

"It's remarkable. We have had hundreds of calls, but unfortunately all the tickets have gone."

Among the bands and singers who will appear are Simple Minds, Tracey Chapman and Hugh Masekela.

The programme is still under discussion.

Buthelezi to host historic meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will soon hold wide ranging talks, Chief Buthelezi announced yesterday.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport that the talks would be held at his residence in Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi, who returned from visits to the United States and Britain, said Mr Mandela had phoned him on February 17 "as an old friend and colleague" and had requested a meeting with him and Zulu leader King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Chief Buthelezi said he had applauded President George Bush for his "positive remarks" in response to State President Mr F W de Klerk's latest reforms.

He said he and President Bush had discussed a variety of issues, including sanctions, and that he had expressed his understanding of the fact that President Bush was constrained by United

States legislation and could not immediately lift sanctions.

Chief Buthelezi said he had also met the US Secretary of State, Mr Jim Baker, and Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Hank Cohen, with whom he had discussed the same issues.

In his meeting with Mrs Thatcher in London on Monday, Chief Buthelezi said he had "applauded her courage".

He said both Mrs Thatcher and Mr Bush were looking forward to meeting Mr Mandela.

Asked what Inkatha's future role in South Africa would be, Chief Buthelezi said: "I can't answer that question. What I can say is that President de Klerk singled me out in Parliament on February 2 and commended me for the role I had played against apartheid and Mr Mandela himself has said I have a role to play."

He said he was not in favour of the ANC's Harare Declaration because it proposed for South Africa a solution similar to that in Namibia. "The situation in South Africa is different."

11A

7/13/90

7/13/90

UK wants Mandela's evidence

By Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LONDON — ANC vice president Mr Nelson Mandela is to be asked to give evidence to the House of Commons foreign affairs committee at its upcoming review of British policy towards South Africa.

The committee will start taking evidence in June.

The review has been scheduled "in the light of political changes" which have happened since its last policy overhaul in 1985/86.

After accepting oral and written evidence, the committee will present a report on its recommendations to Parliament which will be used to shape future foreign policy.

Among the questions the committee will consider is the rather fraught issue

of Britain's use of influence in international forums such as the European Community, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

Britain's substantial aid policy towards South Africa will also come under review.

The committee will also study the work of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Council (SADCC), which has spearheaded frontline attempts to counter regional destabilisation and rebuild their shattered economies.

The committee will look at the development of trade between the region and Britain and the EC.

The implications of Namibian independence will also be assessed.

STAR 7/5/90 (119)

Alliances are goal of new ball game in black politics

SAK 7/19/0
11A 116



Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already indicated that he is an ally of the MDM.



Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope has had death threats after refusing to rejoin SA.



Professor Hudson Ntswanisi faces increasing pressure as restlessness emerges in Gazankulu.



Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, has already held several meetings with the MDM.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is due to meet Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss "common matters".

Black politics has shifted from sloganeering to policy development and mobilisation. The release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and South African Communist Party has brought about a whole new ball game.

The euphoria over Mr Mandela's freedom will continue for the next few weeks following his visit to Lusaka to confer with the ANC leadership-in-exile.

In the meantime, alliance building has become a major aspect of both extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics.

The Government has been engaged in discussions with various homeland leaders, and other "moderate black leaders". This move has been interpreted as the Government trying to forge a type of Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — hoping to draw enough support to neutralise the impact of the ANC and PAC.

The extent of its success is difficult to assess, but there is every indication that the Government would insist on a position for them at the negotiating table.

On the black front, organisations have been active in trying to win support in the homelands. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has had success in Transkei, where Major-General Bantu Holomisa has

JOE LATAKGOMO looks at changes of emphasis in black politics now that political organisations have been unbanned, and a free Mr Nelson Mandela gets into his political stride.

emerged as a likely ally. However, there has also been a strong PAC presence there, and recently, members of the Military Council conferred with the PAC in Harare.

Up north, both the MDM and the Black Consciousness groups have been active. The Venda homeland is divided, and calls for its return to South Africa have been the major focus for protests and stayaways.

It is significant that this year, for the first time, a protest rally backed by the MDM was held in Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane. In both areas, Chief Lucas Mangope does not have the same tight grip that he has over other areas in the homeland.

Last week, Mr Mangope said he had received death threats over his refusal to return to South Africa, but vowed that Bophuthatswana would exist "100 years from now".

This seems to have set the scene for further confrontation with residents in politically conscious areas like Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa. At the same time, developments in Gazankulu indicate a restlessness that must cause concern for Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntswanisi.

Major-General Holomisa also announced that a committee of senior Transkei defence force officers

would enter into negotiations with the ANC and the PAC in March.

He also called for a more equitable distribution of wealth — interpreted as an echo of the socialist stand of the PAC and the nationalisation policies of the ANC.

It was also significant that Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, paid Mr Mandela a visit — as did leader of the coloured Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

The fact that the MDM has had discussions with Mr Ramodike indicates he is more likely to throw his weight behind the MDM.

Recently, the PAC leader, Mr Jeff Masemola, was in Natal where he is believed to have reactivated PAC structures, while Mr Mandela was due to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Initial reports suggested the meeting was only to discuss the Natal violence, but Chief Buthelezi stressed it was more than that: he saw it as a meeting between old friends, where common matters would be discussed.

At a meeting between Mr Mandela and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of South Africa, the BC group proposed setting up a consultative network of various organisations.

In recent months, there have been suggestions that the BCM was more likely to enter into an alliance with the ANC, and the organisation's participation in the Conference for a Democratic Future indicated that at least co-operation between the BCM and the MDM was possible.

But the BCM has to take cognisance of its constituency, and it seems the bulk of supporters may feel more comfortable with an alliance with the PAC, rather than the ANC.

So far, the major issue has been the question of nationalisation. Mr Mandela restated ANC policy, and sent shockwaves through the Johannesburg Stock Exchange when he spoke of nationalisation of particularly the mines and "monopoly industries". Although conciliatory statements were subsequently made, markets remain jittery.

The PAC has said capitalism was not designed to deal with the imbalances that apartheid has created, and pointed out that the Afrikaner turned to socialism to address the "poor white" problem in their quest for equality with the English. It was through state operations like the South African Railways that employment was provided for unskilled Afrikaners. They argue, therefore, that if socialism worked for the Afrikaner, why will it not work for blacks?



KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi greets a crowd of well-wishers on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

ANC is on wrong road — Buthelezi

CHARLENE SMITH

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised continued sanctions and the ANC's strategy for negotiations based on the Harare Declaration.

Speaking on his arrival yesterday from the US and Britain, where he met President George Bush and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Buthelezi said he had applauded Thatcher's decision to relax sanctions measures against SA. He called on Bush to do the same.

Buthelezi said the euphoria after recent moves by President F W de Klerk could be dangerous in that "people could think there's a short run".

He said: "The going could be tough; there could be a right-wing backlash. Time is of the essence."

"All parties must participate in negotiations and not follow the Harare Declaration."

He said the Harare Declaration —

which has been adopted by the Organisation of African Unity, the UN General Assembly and the Conference for a Democratic Future — made proposals similar to the path followed in Namibia, and for the same sort of constituent assembly.

Buthelezi said he was opposed to bipolar discussions between the ANC and government. "I don't think that's the correct road to follow. Negotiations should involve all parties." He disputed that constituent assemblies were representative of all parties.

In answer to questions, Buthelezi said he was not surprised by the coup in the Ciskei as there had been long-simmering problems.

On unrest in the homelands, he said unrest was a nationwide phenomenon.

13/04/70

Nyerere warns Mandela on SA promises

ARGUS
8/3/90
11A
EB

DAR ES SALAAM. — Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere has urged Mr Nelson Mandela to be wary of Pretoria's promises of reform.

"Mandela is out of jail but he is not free," Mr Nyerere said at a rally attended by the 71-year-old African National Congress leader.

Earlier, Mr Mandela had talks with Mr Nyerere, who stepped down as president in 1985, and leaders of Tanzania's ruling party, which has staunchly supported the ANC in its struggle against white rule in South Africa.

Struggle goes on

Speaking at the rally, Mr Nyerere said he was glad Mr Mandela had been released from jail, but the struggle against apartheid in South Afri-

ca had not been won yet.

"They (the government) are in charge of an inhuman system and we have to fight relentlessly until that system has been destroyed," he said.

Mr Mandela, addressing the rally, thanked Tanzania for supporting the ANC and other liberation movements.

He said Tanzania was the first country to provide facilities for the training of the ANC's armed wing in 1962.

There are now more ANC cadres living, studying and undergoing military training in Tanzania than in any other African country. Diplomats put the total at about 31 000.

Today, Mr Mandela was due to visit the island of Zanzibar before spending two days touring ANC camps in Tanzania's interior.

He flies to Sweden on Sunday

night to see the ANC's ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering in a Stockholm hospital from a stroke last year.

Sweden was preparing a reception for Mr Mandela normally reserved for a visiting head of state.

He will have an audience with King Carl Gustav, meet Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and members of the government, and possibly deliver an address to parliament. — Sapa-Reuter.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the possibility of the British government giving aid to the ANC has angered some of its MPs.

Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd confirmed he was considering ways of helping the recently unbanned organisation.

SWEDEN ROLLS OUT RED CARPET

IAN HOBS

11A

LONDON — Nelson Mandela will be greeted with the pomp and ceremony accorded to heads of state when he arrives in Stockholm on Monday for his first meeting in nearly 30 years with ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo. *Bibby 8/3/90*

The Swedish government, which has been the ANC's main Western political and financial sponsor for two decades, plans a week of celebrations.

King Carl Gustav XVI and Queen Silvia have also asked to meet him, and a spectacular royal reception is being planned.

Monday is being set aside for Mandela to have private talks with Tambo, who is being treated at a clinic in Stockholm following a stroke last August.

They will then hold what the ANC says are likely to be important talks throughout next week with key members of the ANC national executive committee.

□ Sapa-AP reports from Dar es Salaam that Mandela yesterday thanked Tanzania for its help and asked for further help with grassroots organising. He was speaking at a welcome rally attended by 40 000 people.

□ RIAAN SMIT reports that an official Human Rainbow welcoming concert for Mandela, hosted by SA's top musicians, will take place at Ellis Park on March 17, the SA Musicians Alliance (Sama) and the Mandela Reception Committee said yesterday.

Poverty key to wealth debate

6/day - 8/3/90

SAM VAN COLLER

to draw the line along colour lines; we have a more complex income distribution pattern.

It has been customary to describe developing countries as having dual economies comprising the formal and informal sectors. There is a third sector, comprising those who are not yet even in the informal sector — the large numbers of unemployed and unemployables. In a sense this sector could be described as the "non-economy". The classification into formal and informal conveys a picture of two vibrant but different economies. This is not so.

There is an important distinction between the formal sector and the other two for the purpose of this analysis. In the formal sector there is a framework within which employers and employees, represented through trade unions, can in the collective bargaining process make important choices that will determine the rate of wealth in that sector.

They can embark on joint strategies to increase income; in their annual negotiations determine how income is to be distributed; agree on

the proportion of income that is not to be consumed and how that surplus is to be turned into wealth which creates further income or benefits.

Those in the informal and "non-economies" have no such framework. Their need is access to economic activity as evidenced by the extent to which they very often have to break the law to achieve it.

While there clearly is a challenge facing the formal sector to create more wealth, the real challenge for the country as a whole is how to enable (or empower) a very large proportion of our population to climb out of poverty — otherwise our society will be bedevilled by instability and conflict, not between white and black but among have-nots and between haves and have-nots.

We must reach a political resolution as there is not much likelihood of economic growth and wealth creation without it.

At the next level is the question of

appropriate policies for the country's economic needs. The emphasis in economic policy today is on reducing the role of government, promoting the market and free enterprise, privatisation and deregulation to foster the informal sector.

These policies may be sound in principle but new policies which target on the consequences of wrong past policies are necessary.

The consequences can be seen very specifically in the crisis facing SA cities in the areas of housing, education, health care, local government and service provision. This environment has a negative impact on workers with jobs in the formal sector and obstructs efforts to launch development programmes to overcome deprivation in our metropolitan area.

How best can we address the issue of poverty? It is not my intention to enter the nationalisation debate. There is going to be an intense debate about issues such as control, ownership, role of the market, regulation, taxation and profit levels.

Because of the uneven distribution

of wealth, there will be a tug of war between those seeking to create more wealth so that sufficient surplus can be generated to meet the country's social needs and those who wish to extract the maximum surplus out of current levels of income either through taxation or nationalisation for the same purpose due to the situation's urgency.

Hopefully out of this process the political economy that emerges will be able to compete internationally, generate surpluses and thus grow.

Within the Urban Foundation some understanding is developing from our experience and analysis of the key components of a viable strategy to address the issue of poverty.

Poverty is not peripheral to the country's economic problems. It is central. Without progress on this issue, conflict and instability will continue to undermine our efforts.

There may be a feeling that in reality the needs of those on the outside looking in are not the concern of the formal business sector. Failure to find the road out of poverty will stand in the way of wealth-creation in the society as a whole.

Van Coller is CE of the Urban Foundation. This is an excerpt from his address to the Challenge of the 1990s conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

LETTERS

BCMA can play role of peacemaker - chairman

(11A)
Sowetan
8/3/90.

The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania stood in a better position to bring unity between the PAC and the ANC.

This was said by the chairman of the BCMA, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, in an interview with *Sowetan* at the movement's Harare headquarters.

The BCMA's statement is similar to that made by the internal Azanian People's Organisation prior to its congress last week.

And ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said in Zimbabwe on Monday that his organisation intended forging unity with other organisations, including the PAC in order to present a united front when negotiations took place.

"We intend to approach all political organisations in the country and to persuade them that we should present this united front (for constitutional negotiations).

"I cannot predict what will happen if and when we have discussions with the PAC," Mandela said.

The PAC has ruled out any negotiations with Pretoria and has repeated-

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

ly said it was prepared to negotiate with the ANC and other liberation movements.

Mangena said in the interview: "We prefer a united front because there are many cases of commonness among us which could be emphasised through such unity.

"However, we have not changed our approach. Our programme will continue to unfold as the situation is still the same in our country.

He said the question of negotiations with the Government would be influenced by State President FW de Klerk meeting three demands the BCMA considered as non-negotiable. These were:

- *One-person-one-vote;
- *The redistribution of land; and
- *The redistribution of wealth.

"There is no reason to compromise. We cannot negotiate before these demands are met.

Rastafarian cult denies links to anti-ANC gang

11A

Soweto
8/3/90

THE Soweto Rastafarian Cult, a group representing the rasta community in the township, has dissociated itself from the anti-ANC gang calling itself the Rastas, which allegedly shot dead two and injured scores of people in the past week.

The gang, allegedly led by a former member of the cult known as 'Sugar', went on the rampage last week attacking members of groups affiliated to the MDM, including the Soweto Students Congress, Soweto Christian Students and the UDF's Street Committees.

Those killed were Emmanuel Zwane of Jabulani, a member of Sosco, and Bafana Dhlamini of Emndeni, a member of Soyco.

Soweto police have confirmed the killings and said investigations were still continuing. No arrest have been made.

Comrades in the area are reported to have vowed to revenge the killings.

A spokesman for the Rastafarians, Mr Tsietsi Seleke, said 'Sugar', who stays in Jabulani, was no longer a member of their cult.

"He left us last year after we confronted and warned him against his behaviour. We appeal to the community and comrades to know that we are not part of the gang.

Mandela's ^{crusade} crusade ^{8/3/90}

DAR ES SALAAM - Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday brought his crusade for black majority rule in South Africa to Tanzania, the home of thousands of exiled black compatriots.

Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, arrived in Tanzania from Zimbabwe and said he had learned a lesson for the future. Sapa-AP

BCM a force for unity, says leader

CAT Times 8/3/90 (11A)
HARARE. — The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) believes it is better suited to forge unity between anti-apartheid organisations, as it has not been part of the traditional squabbles between the ANC and PAC.

This was said this week by the chairman of the exiled BCM, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, in a wide-ranging interview at his headquarters here.

“The Black Consciousness move-

ment has always stood for unity among the oppressed. In exile, we have tried to forge this unity at several levels. The organisation believes in principled unity in a united front,” the exiled leader said.

The BCM runs the Azanian Liberation Army (Azanla), seven of whose members are currently appearing on treason charges in a Krugersdorp court.

Ex-political prisoners of SA unite

South
8/3-11/3/90

11A

From ZOLA NTUTU

PORT ELIZABETH. — A former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Benson Fihla of Port Elizabeth, has been elected as the first national president of the Association of Ex-Political Prisoners.

Fihla said the association had been formed after Eastern Cape prisoners had complained to a delegation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) recently that they were neglected.

Some prisoners had experienced difficulty in readjusting to normal family life after they had been released from prison.

Fihla said a delegation to the Paris indaba last November had been instrumental in the association being founded.

The delegation, consisting of Mr Henry Fazzie, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, Mr

Stone Sizani, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack and the Rev Beyers Naude had met the ANC separately during the meeting in France.

ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, at the time said the issue of political prisoners was "very important", according to Fihla.

Although formed by the ANC, the association was open to all former political prisoners.

He said the association was also "paying attention to comrades on Death Row and in exile".

Other office-bearers of the new association are Mr Peter Mogano, Johannesburg (vice-president); Mr AL Lengesi, Western Cape (secretary general); Mr H Sithole, Natal (assistant secretary); and Mr H Tembeni, Border (treasurer).

The finance committee comprises Ms Joyce Mashamba, Transvaal; Mr Prince Madikiyela, Transkei; Mr J Kati, Western Cape; Mr M Sulelo, Eastern Cape; Mr Sabelo Ngobelo, Natal; Mr C Tinto, Western Cape; and Mr J Tingana, Border. — PEN

S201 2/3/90

11A

Sisulu seeks to reassure anxious whites

Fear and mistrust of ANC not necessary

By Thabo Leshilo

Hundreds of whites last night were at the University of the Witwatersrand to hear ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu put the organisation's policies into perspective.

The meeting was organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee as part of its "ANC Speaks to the White Community" campaign to give whites a chance of getting to know the ANC.

Mr Sisulu said feelings of fear and mistrust experienced by whites were unnecessary and reflected the "artificial racial situation in our country".

He said the ANC cherished the commitment of democratic whites to peace.

These "democratic whites", Mr Sisulu said, "had abandoned the life of privilege" which their colour had afforded them in exchange for peace and justice in a democratic non-racial land.

He named Dr Rick Turner, Dr Neil Agget, Miss Ruth First and Dr David Webster as among those who had lost their lives at the hands of "apartheid assassins", adding that South Africans of all races had played "an

increasingly important" role in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

Mr Sisulu said South Africa belonged to all who lived in it.

He said the ANC had not resorted to violence because it enjoyed "massacre and slaughter", but because it viewed it as a legitimate means of self-defence against the minority white rule.

He condemned privatisation and deregulation as strategies which would deny a future government the necessary resources to redress massive economic inequalities.

Miss Barbara Hogan, who was recently released after serving eight and a half years in jail for treason, said she had joined the ANC in 1977 because she was appalled by atrocities perpetrated against black people by the Nationalist Government.

She said she was prepared to go to jail again for her commitment to the ANC, even if it meant staying there for 20 years.

UDF secretary Mr Popo Molefe said 42 years of National Party rule had left the country with deep scars, "bleeding and yelling for peace".

NO compromise from the PAC hardliners on talks

Star 8/3/90 11A

Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Harare greeting people in the name of peace and declaring that it was madness for South Africans to go on killing each other.

All eyes are, rightly, on the man who, in Mr Robert Mugabe's words, moved the world and on what he has to say.

But a very different tune was being played in Harare over the period of Mr Mandela's visit by leaders of the rival Pan Africanist Congress, who happened to be holding a top level meeting at the same time to review the swiftly changing South African scene.

The PAC and its ideologically aligned ally, the Pan-Africanist Movement, may not have the massive support evident for Mr Mandela and the ANC, but knowledgeable observers of South African politics say the organisations have significant growth potential and their strength is increasing.

The PAC was formed 30 years ago when the Africanists, led by Mr Robert Sobukwe, argued that the ANC Freedom Charter amounted to a betrayal of the revolution to rid South Africa of white domination.

Today, the PAC, led by one of its founder members, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, often referred to as Uncle Zeph, still maintains that the ANC is prepared to compromise with whites.

Mr Mothopeng, in his mid-seventies and walking with difficulty, is as fiery as ever.

No reassurances for whites from him. Mr Mandela went out of his way to calm white fears. Mr Mothopeng dismissed this approach as appeasement and said he was not interested in whites as such.

Loyal Azanians would have the same safeguards as anybody else, but by their very numbers blacks

ROBIN DREW of The Star's Africa News Service in Harare reports on the hardline stance of the Pan Africanist Congress towards negotiation with the South African Government.



Mr Nelson Mandela ... since his release, the ANC deputy president has gone out of his way to allay white fears.



Mr Zephania Mothopeng ... no assurances or appeasement for whites from the fiery leader of the PAC.

would dominate.

PAC spokesmen believe it will be a long time before the South African Government is forced into surrendering power to a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage on a common roll which would be given the task of drawing up a new constitution.

In the meantime, the struggle on all fronts, including the armed struggle, must be intensified.

No talk of madness in killing people. Indeed, when Mr Mothopeng was asked about targets in the armed struggle, he drew gales of laughter when he replied that people would not be told in advance before they were shot in the forehead.

The only concession, if it could be called that, was an offer by the PAC to talk to anyone about the mechanism for creating a constituent assembly.

Mr Mothopeng dismissed appeals for a reconciliation with the ANC. Democracy, he said, recognised the right of people to form parties and the PAC intended to pursue its policy of uniting the people at grassroots under the banner of African nationalism.

Now that it has been unbanned, the PAC is to establish its head office in Johannesburg, but it is to keep its external structures intact.

The party says there will be a "phased and programmed return"

of leaders and members to South Africa.

The hard line of the PAC was at odds with President Mugabe's public stance when he told Mr Mandela at a banquet that liberation movements in South Africa should enter into negotiations as soon as possible.

He pointedly referred to a discordant note from another quarter and the Zimbabweans were unhappy about the failure of Mr Mothopeng to attend the banquet.

His excuse — that security arrangements were inadequate — will also anger them.

Traditionally, the PAC and Mr Mugabe's Zanu (PF) have always been friends and in some Zimbabwean circles there is certainly sympathy for its standpoint.

Nowhere was this better illustrated than at the opening of the PAC-PAM meeting when the Zimbabwean Minister of State for Political Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, warned of the danger of going into negotiations with Pretoria.

He was cheered when he said South African black activists should be prepared to suffer and die in greater numbers.

The view from Harare is naturally coloured by the experiences in the declining years of the Rhodesian era.

Then, as Mr Mugabe pointed out, talks and various sets of negotiations took place over a number of years.

The sides were testing each other out. All the time the military struggle continued.

In the end, in Mr Mugabe's view, the enemy had been taught a sufficient lesson and negotiations for a transfer of power were concluded.

1111

Mandela: I'll return with atomic bomb of peace

DAR ES SALAAM. — Mr Nelson Mandela said in Tanzania yesterday he would return to South Africa with an "atomic bomb" of change for peace.

Addressing more than 30 000 people in Dar es Salaam's sports stadium, Mr Mandela, 71, said: "We will go back to South Africa with an atomic bomb in our heart and blood, not for the purposes of destruction, but to bring about peace and equality in our country."

The bomb of change, he said, "will bring happiness and not misery to all South Africans".

Mr Mandela is in Tanzania on a six-day visit as part of a 17-day African tour. Earlier yesterday he held lengthy talks with former president Mr Julius Nyerere, opened a road named after himself and received the "Order of Kill-

manjaro, 2nd Class", one of the Tanzanian government's highest decorations.

At the stadium, he praised Tanzania, and Mr Nyerere in particular, for their solidarity with the cause of black liberation in South Africa.

Mr Nyerere, who shared the podium with him, had words of caution for the crowd about celebrating reforms announced by President F W de Klerk.

Mr Mandela was not yet truly free, he said, as long as the apartheid system remained in place in South Africa. "We are not fighting Mr de Klerk or his wife or his children or anybody else," Mr Nyerere said. "We have to fight the system, apartheid, until it is abolished."

Now chairman of Tanzania's sole party, the socialist Chama Cha Mapinduzi, Mr Nyerere has consistently advo-

cated armed struggle against the Pretoria government. It was he who invited Mr Mandela in 1961 to set up ANC military training camps in Tanzania.

It was revealed yesterday that Mr Mandela nearly abandoned his trip to Tanzania to fly home to deal with the Ciskei coup crisis, which he viewed as a dangerous conflict within the black community at a time when it needed to close ranks against apartheid.

Eventually he decided to send home another of the veteran internal leaders, Mr Walter Sisulu, to deal with the crisis while he continued his tour, sources said.

Today Mr Mandela visits the autonomous offshore island of Zanzibar before flying to Iringa in south-west Tanzania,

where the ANC has a number of military training camps.

Sources said about 18 000 ANC cadres are undergoing military training at several camps in the region, which Mr Mandela was expected to visit.

He then flies to Morogoro, 280km west of Dar es Salaam, for a tour of ANC farming and educational settlements.

IAN HOBBS reports that Mr Mandela will be greeted with the full pomp and ceremony accorded to a head of state when he arrives in Stockholm on Monday for his first meeting in nearly 30 years with ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

The Swedish government, which has been the ANC's main Western political and financial sponsor for two decades, plans a week of celebrations and recep-

tions to honour him.

King Carl Gustav and Queen Silvia have also asked to meet him and a spectacular royal reception is being planned.

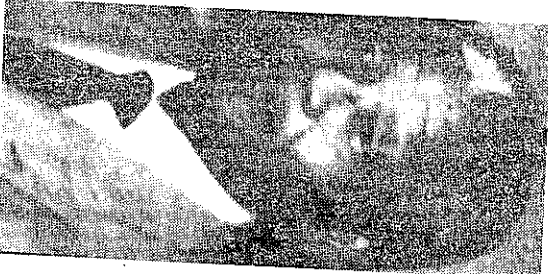
After he is met at Stockholm airport on Monday by government leaders, Monday is being set aside for Mr Mandela to have private talks with Mr Tambo, who is being treated at a rehabilitation clinic in Stockholm following a stroke last August.

On Tuesday he will have separate meetings with Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson before being received by the full cabinet.

The ANC said invitations for him to stop over in London have not been taken up at this stage and he will fly home directly to South Africa on Saturday.



Mr Sisulu



Mr Mandela

po peace call

South 8/3 - 14/3/90

(11A)

The call was issued at Azapo's 9th annual congress in Shareworld outside Soweto at the weekend.

Azapo resolved to outlaw violence in the liberation movement as a matter of principle and to call on all black liberation movements to commit them-

selves to an all-inclusive consultative conference to seek ways of ending endemic violence in black communities.

Delegates to the congress rejected the Harare Declaration as "inadequate" to form the basis for negotiations with the South African government and called for an intensification of the

armed struggle.

At a press conference after the conference, an Azapo spokesperson said the country was no closer to liberation than when ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was imprisoned by the government in the 1960s.

He said the material conditions of black people in South Africa had deteriorated, despite the emergence of a

tiny urban black middle class.

The organisation reaffirmed its commitment to socialism and the centrality of black people's self-activity.

University of Cape Town lecturer, Mr Jerry Mosala, was elected Azapo president.

Meanwhile, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is to open offices in Johannesburg as the first step towards restructuring itself inside South Africa.

The decision was taken at the movement's conference in Harare last weekend.

Delegates to the conference rejected negotiations with the South African government.

PAC president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, emphasised that — until a one-man one-vote constituent assembly existed — the PAC would continue the armed struggle.

"One cannot abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured," he said.

Mothopeng said the PAC was willing to discuss how a constituent assembly could be formed.

Recognised

He said the PAC could not assure white rights in South Africa since it did not recognise race. However, all "Azanians" would have equal rights.

The PAC had the support of most black South Africans, he claimed.

"We are being followed by the grassroots, not the political executives."

The organisation's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, read a six-page document detailing the PAC's position since Pretoria unbanned political organisations on February 2.

The statement said De Klerk's announcements were aimed at "liquidating the armed struggle and undermining international isolation and sanctions - two key weapons to attain genuine liberation".

"The continued use of such terminology as collective units, national entities, associations, minorities and nations is evidence of the regime's continued adherence to the declared fundamentals of apartheid," the statement read.

It said the PAC maintained that the question of land distribution be tackled immediately in order to remove economic imbalances."

Azapo

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG. - The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called for a "peace conference" of all organisations of the black liberation movement in South Africa.

DELEGATES AT HARARE CONFERENCE SAY:

'Women in theatre not prostitutes'

South #13-14/3/90

By Heather Robertson

THE role of women in theatre came under the spotlight at a historic conference held in Harare in January.

For the first time ever, women theatre practitioners from cultural groups in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Ethiopia, Kenya and South Africa, came together to discuss common problems and share ideas about developing women's roles in theatre in Africa.

South African delegates included Gina Mhlope, assistant director of the Market Theatre; Phyllis Klots, director of "So Where To" and "You strike a woman, you strike a rock"; Patty Henderson of the Community Arts Project; and the cast of "So Where To" and "Somidaga".

Discussion panels and seminars focussed on six major topics:

- how traditional and colonial culture has limited women,
- images of women in theatre,
- socio-economic issues,
- theatre in education,
- how the political climate affects the theatre, and
- theatre for liberation.

"Women discussed patriarchal notions of women. Almost all of the African delegates noted how women involved in theatre are regarded as prostitutes," said Henderson.

She adds, that in independent African countries, patriarchal notions severely restrict women's participation in the-

atre. Governments often suppress cultural work which expresses the frustrations of ordinary people or criticises the state.

All delegates pointed out that no African state was prepared to accept constructive criticism and that many cultural ministries still uphold colonial attitudes.

The Zimbabwean delegate spoke on traditions, such as lobola, which still restrict women.

"Women get auctioned like a cow," she said. "Sometimes if a woman wants to further her education, the husband would say 'to hell with education. I paid for you to do what I say.'"

Other men questioned lobola payments, asking why they should pay if women wanted to be equal.

Ama Ata Aidoo, a playwright and novelist from Ghana, spoke of a husband who poured petrol over his wife and set her alight because she joined a theatre troupe. Emphasising the archaic, sexist attitude towards African women in theatre, she mentioned the Piro drama group which operated for 40 years without a single woman actress. Instead, men performed the roles of women.

Amandile Sihamba of Tanzania, addressing the panel on theatre for liberation, stressed the need for the "total liberation of theatre". She spoke of the Paukwa Theatre, where women perform in provocative theatre, used to intervene in ideological thinking.

In Tanzania, however, there is more of a demand for women in stereotyped roles as "dolly birds" and housewives than in

more meaningful roles.

Matilda Tikwiza of Zambia, a stage actress since 1968, spoke of the need "to ask our own leadership whether they are fulfilling our aspirations". She said: "After many years of independence, white theatre still dominates."

As an example of the effectiveness of developmental theatre, she spoke of a school in a remote rural area which staged a play depicting children who were beaten by prefects, and others who fell asleep on the street because they had to walk long distances to school.

A local councillor who saw the play had the prefect system abolished and organised a truck to transport the children to school on a daily basis.

In Zambia, women who work in the market place formed cultural groups which engaged in drama and traditional singing. These women started to ask why they always had to perform at events in praise of the government.

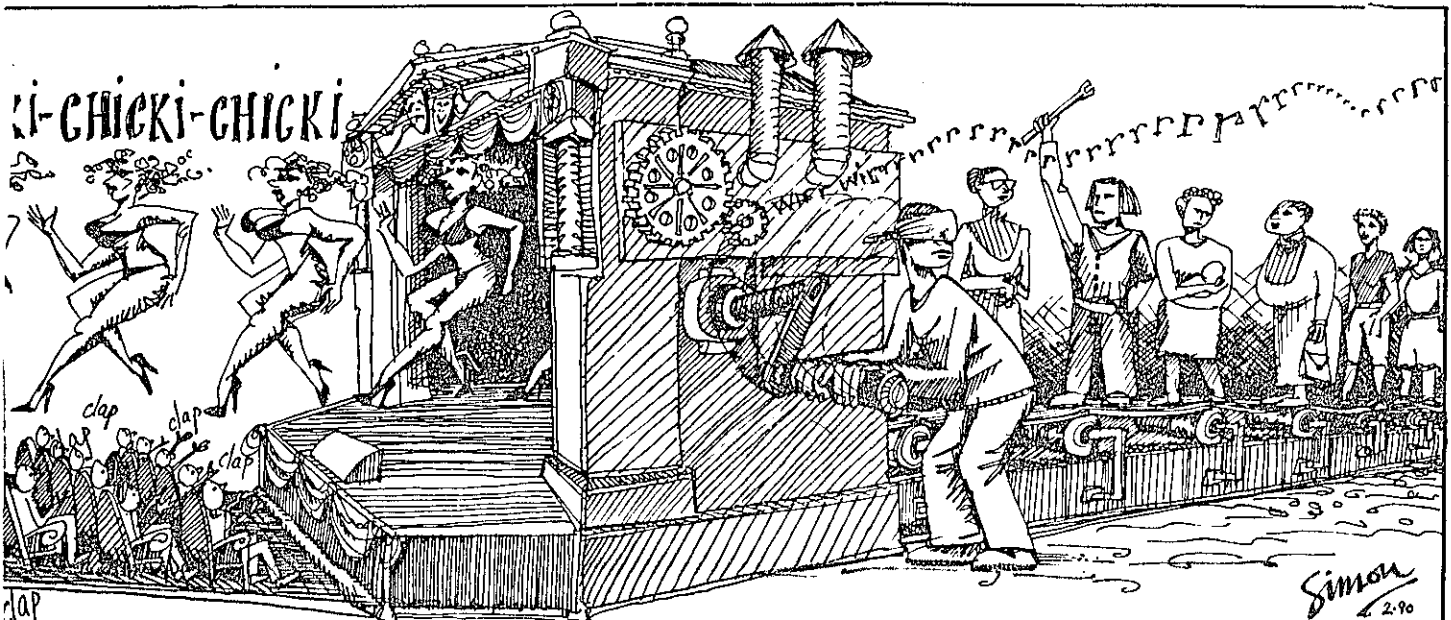
Now they reflect on the real problems they experience.

The conference ended on a positive note with all delegates agreeing to lobby ministries of culture to address women's issues and needs.

The need for a Union of African Performing Artists to lobby governments and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was accepted.

Delegates also agreed to strengthen links between women theatre practitioners and to engage in theatre training programmes to promote critical theatre in the Southern African region.

The conference was funded by the Canadian University Services.



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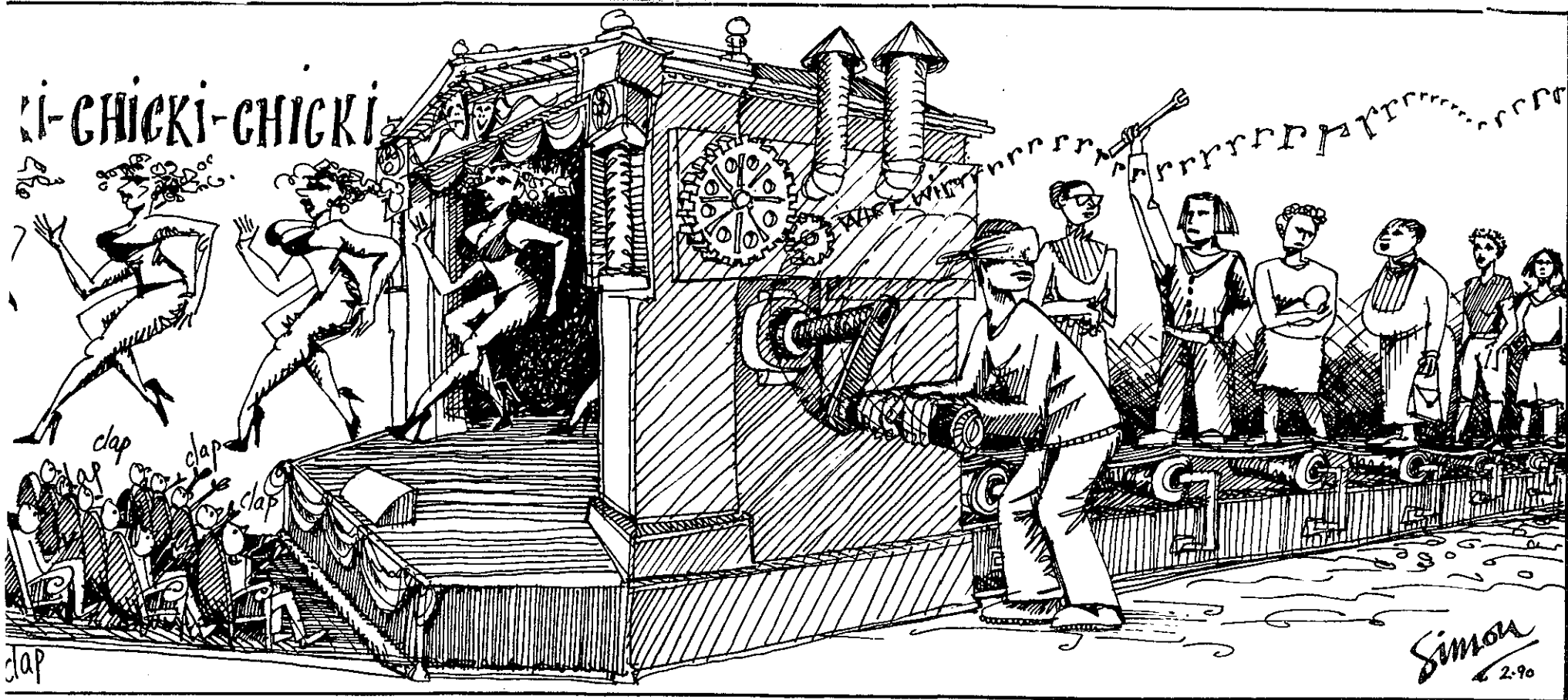
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PAM — going for 'everything'

South 8/3-14/3/90

THE Pan-Africanist Movement is contemplating nationalism on a grand scale, affecting all big business in the country, says Mr Benny Alexander, PAM general secretary.

"We are not going to nationalise the boerewors trolly on the street corner. But big industries which go to the heart of the economy and such things will have to be subjected to a planned economy so that everybody is benefited by that."

He said the pillars of the PAM policy was African nationalism, scientific socialism and continental unity.

The economic policy was socialism, a planned economy within the context of a political democracy. PAM did not believe totalitarianism was inherent in a planned economy.

On negotiations, Alexander said PAM was prepared to talk to the government on the ownership of resources — of which land was primary — and one person, one vote in a unitary state without checks and balances for groups.

"Once the government is in principle prepared to negotiate on these items, we will be prepared to talk about them," he said.

"Unlike the ANC, we do not make a distinction between a climate, pre-conditions and an agenda. These two items constitute for us our climate,



PAM president, Zephania Mothopeng

The Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), launched last December, is the fastest-growing political tendency, claims its general secretary, Benny Alexander. He spoke on the movement's attitude on nationalisation and other issues:

our pre-conditions, our agenda, our everything."

The land, which had been taken from the African people, had to be returned to "its rightful owners" through decolonialisation.

"The land is not confined to a peasant understanding of the land. It implies the means of production, the totality of the resources," Alexander said.

Asked whether this included factories and financial institutions, he replied: "Everything."

Whites were running the economy in the interests of foreign capital. An insignificant part of the economy was in the hands of Afrikaners.

Alexander said PAM was non-racial and was building one nation — "an African nation, where everyone who pledges allegiance to Africa, its development and its people will be an African, and the colour of a person's skin will be irrelevant".

"We propose the Africanisation of all institutions — learning and all other things."

He said PAM shared an ideology with PAC, but whereas the latter had



PAM general secretary, Benny Alexander

a military wing. PAM's was a political struggle.

PAC had had no input on PAM's organisation.

"I think you can read that by the fact that PAC president Zephania Mothopeng consulted with the interim committee and opened the launching congress," Alexander said.

"Naciu has defined us as an ally together with the Black Consciousness Movement and the New Unity

Youth Unity (Azanyu), the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), the African Women's Organisation (Awo) and the African Labour Coordinating Committee (Alcooc).
These four national affiliates were represented on the national executive.
Responding to the question whether PAM accepted white members, Alexander said: "We do not accept in PAM any people who regard themselves as white or any people who regard themselves as black."
"We only take those who regard themselves as African in terms of our definition. An African is defined as someone who is indigenous or who pays his daily allegiance to Africa, its people and its development and accepts straightforward democratic practices."

On PAM's international relations, Alexander says its strongest allies would be in the Non-Aligned Movement.
The organisation would look at smaller, leftist and Pan-Africanist organisations in the West.
"In Britain, the city of London Anti-Apartheid Movement, the various Pan-Africanist movements such as the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, the Pan-African Congress movement of Britain, and the (Maoist) Revolutionary Communist Group. Also with the Marxist Workers Tendency, I think. And the black section of the Labour Party — we have met them already," he said.

PAM would not regard Western governments as allies — although Norway was "quite open".
(Adapted from an article published in the latest issue of the political journal, "Work in Progress").

PERSPECTIVE



The 1959 visionary

TODAY'S life-and-death debates in politics in this country and around the world are over racism and the definition of democracy.

After Hitler's Nazism devastated the world, nobody wants to be called racist, whatever his practice.

But shouts of racism can be heard all the way from Britain in the north to Australia in the south and from the United States in the west to Africa.

In his address to the inaugural congress of the Pan Africanist Congress, Sobukwe took a revolutionary path of non-racialism: "The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species...."

"The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary therefore the word 'race' as applied to man, has no plural form.

"We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation," he said.

"In Africa the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe in order to facilitate and justify their inhuman exploitation of the indigenous people of the land.

"It is from this myth of race with its attendant claims of cultural superiority that the doctrine of white supremacy stems."

This was April 1959, long before non-racialism became the vogue word.

This trail he was blazing in South African politics would obviously have practical implications. Would the PAC admit whites as members? Was the organisation anti-white?

"Once white domination has been overthrown and the white man is no longer 'white-man boss' but is an individual member of society, there will be no reason to hate him and he will not be hated even by the masses.

"We are not anti-white, therefore. We do not hate the European because he is white. We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it."

He conceded that there were whites who were "intellectually converted to our cause" but because of their positions materially, they could not identify fully with the struggle of the African people.

"They want safeguards and check-points along the way, with the result that the struggle of the people is blunted, stultified and crushed."

In other words the oppressed could not expect 100

percent support from people who were still enjoying the benefits of being white in a racist society.

If they do join the struggle it will probably be with the intention of showing the "natives" how they should be doing it. They will be offering their "expertise".

But what happens after the collapse of white domination?

"We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups," was his response.

His vision was obviously ahead of his time because in debates around the world today man is still trying to work out a method of "guaranteeing" minority rights. Man has still not come to accept himself as mere man among fellow men.

Along with this debate on race are the birth pangs of a new society in Eastern Europe.

The Western media is flooding us with stories about the collapse of socialism and the triumph of the free enterprise system. The people in Eastern Europe, like Gorbachev, don't see it as the collapse of socialism. They see it as merely a democratisation of their system.

As far back as 1959 Sobukwe confronted this 1990 question: "We are not blind to the fact that the countries which pursue a policy of planned state economy have outstripped, in industrial development, those that follow the path of private enterprise. Today, China is industrially far ahead of India.

Prophetic vision

"Unfortunately, this rapid industrial development has been accompanied in all cases by a rigid totalitarianism Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the west. We also reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few..."

"Borrowing then the best from the East and the best from the West we nonetheless retain and maintain our distinctive personality and refuse to be satraps or stooges of either power block."

At the time he was howled down in some quarters for fence sitting, but history is finally vindicating him.

I could go on talking about the man's prophetic vision, but space does not allow.

But I will remember the warm, gentle man, with the infectious laugh. Cold pipe in one hand, he would regale us with stories he picked up in the third class coach of the train from Dube to Braamfontein as he went to work, ironically to teach mainly white students at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He would not travel first class even when he could afford it.

Sobukwe. RIP.

'Teach folk to fish, don't give them fish'

Sowetan - **Sibeko**

9/3/90 By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE road has been long and rough for Elizabeth Sibeko but after 25 years in exile she has not given up.

Widowed on June 12 1979 when an assassin's bullet killed her husband David Sibeko, then Pan Africanist Congress director of foreign affairs in Dar es Salaam, she has not abandoned the ideals that made her leave her country.

She now heads the women's affairs wing of the PAX at its Dar es Salaam headquarters.

For 14 years prior to her appointment as secretary for women's affairs in december last year, Sibeko was based at the United Nations observer mission in New York. For about two years she was PAC secretary for labour.

Sibeko spoke to *Sowetan* during the PAC's conference held in Harare on March 3.

Equality of the sexes

She says her task is to co-ordinate projects to empower women through training so that they can take their place in the fields of technology and economics.

"We cannot sit back and say men should empower us," she says, stressing that she believes in equality of the sexes.

"Women need to be trained to run projects just like men do. They must move away from the stereotype that they should only rear children and be good wives. They must plan their own destiny.

"We are looking forward to rebuilding our country and as Africanist women we are also going to take our rightful place in a future United States of Africa," she says.

"That ideal is not a pipe dream. We are not talking about a utopia because we are advancing towards our goal."



Elizabeth Sibeko exiled for 25 years.

Sibeko believes that women inside South Africa should be self-reliant and learn more about African tradition, culture and power.

She says that although she is not a Maoist, she believes strongly in Mao Tse-tung's teaching that people should work hard, be resilient and give each other strength.

That philosophy made her survive during the rough times after her husband died, she says.

She holds a Master of Arts degree from the University of Columbia in the United States. She plans to study for a PhD at the University of Tanzania.

Education a priority

Her four children, aged between 23 and 28, are studying in the US.

She believes education should be a priority for women if they are to claim a stake in society.

"We should rather teach people to fish than to give them fish," she says.

She was born in Sophiatown (she refuses to divulge her age) and lived with her husband in Evaton.

David Sibeko was PAC Vaal branch chairman before it was banned in 1960. He left the country in 1963. His wife followed in 1965.

Biko made me join - Hogan

THE Black Consciousness Movement and Steve Biko inspired Barbara Hogan to join the struggle to end apartheid.

But because she was white the movement did not have a "home" for her, hence her joining the ANC, a move for which she was sentenced to 10 years in jail, Hogan told a gathering at Wits University's Great Hall on Wednesday night.

Hogan - who was jailed for 10 years for being a member of the ANC - was released on February 2.

Sowetan
9/13/90

Disturbed

11A

She was disturbed by the upheavals of 1976, Biko's death and the banning of black consciousness organisations.

"Today, after repeated attacks by successive governments, the ANC remained stoic in its commitment to non-racial democracy," she said.

Mr Walter Sisulu, who spoke on behalf of the ANC, said feelings of fear and mistrust by whites were unnecessary and reflected the "artificial racial situation in our country".

Huge concert to honour Mandela

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to attend the Human Rainbow Concert for Unity and Prosperity at the Ellis Park stadium in Johannesburg on March 17.

The concert, to be held in his honour, has been organised by the South African Musicians Alliance and the Mandela Reception Committee. It

will run for 10am to 10pm.

Twenty acts, to be selected from a list of 44, will perform with the proceeds going to Sama and the MRC.

Some of the enter-

tainers likely to be featured in the concert include Lucky Dube, Sakhile, Gereformeerde Blues Band, Spho Mabuse, Stimela, PJ Powers, Mango Groove, Sankomota, Marcalex,

Jennifer Ferguson, Brenda Fassie and Rebecca Malope.

The artists have offered to perform for free and the owners of Ellis Park have offered the venue at no cost.

Jonathan Clegg and his Savuka music band, currently on an overseas tour, is also expected to attend.

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

'Change in SA' sparked unrest

BID 913190

THE present homeland unrest was a consequence of the creation of the system without popular support, a prominent political analyst, the UDF and the ANC have claimed.

SA Institute of International Affairs director John Barratt said yesterday discipline needed to be restored to the "bantustan" areas, preferably by the joint efforts of the UDF-ANC alliance and government, with as little force as possible.

Barratt believed the trigger to the present disturbances was the change in government's approach to political issues and, in particular, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of ANC leaders.

Positive

However, he believed that was only a small part of the story and the situation went back to the creation of the unpopular system. Calls now for reincorporation also played a role.

Barratt said there were some very positive aspects to the present situation, one of which meant that the issue of homelands would be a less difficult negotiating problem. Already, he said, Ciskei, Transkei, Lebowa and KaNgwane had displayed support for the ANC, while government had shown a willingness to discuss reincorporation.

The inherent dangers in the present situation was that it could cause a delay in the lifting of the state of emergency

CHARLENE SMITH

and white fear, particularly, extreme right-wing fears, could increase.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the homeland system was finally collapsing, and violence was an unfortunate outcome of people denied free political activity.

He said grievances that had existed for a long time, and that had no vent through open political structures, had finally burst.

The bantustan system had been discredited and people were rebelling against forced integration and citizenship of these areas, as well as forced membership of the ruling organisations, as in Bophuthatswana.

However, said Morobe, if the present situation in the homelands was used as a reason not to lift the state of emergency, "it would show the extent of confusion in the way the state relates to bantustans".

The situation in Katlehong was slightly different, he said.

"We warned of the effects of deregulation, and these are the consequences. There is rampant exploitation and a total disregard for norms of decency."

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said in Lusaka that the ANC was attempting to find the causes underpinning the wave of disturbances in the homelands.

The ANC still had not ascertained these.

Kinnock meets Mandela next

Sowetan 9/3/90



LONDON - Opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock will meet Mr Nelson Mandela in Stockholm next week, Kinnock's office announced yesterday.

The Stockholm meeting on March 14 will include Mr Oliver Tambo,

week

president of the ANC, and other prominent figures in the organisation.

Mandela, who was released on February 11 from 27 years imprisonment in South Africa, is to attend a concert in his honour at London's Wembley Stadium on April 16.

He has not indicated whether he will accept an

invitation to visit Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Despite the ANC's pleas that the international community maintain economic sanctions to pressure the Pretoria government for further reforms, Thatcher has unilaterally lifted some sanctions.

She says the government of President FW de Klerk must be rewarded for freeing Mandela and other prisoners and for legalising black groups like the ANC. - Sapa-AP

PAC loses Mugabe's preference

11/11
By ANDREW MELDRUM

A RIFT appears to have opened between Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and Zephania Mothopeng, president of South Africa's Pan-Africanist Congress.

Differences between the two former allies became apparent on Sunday night, when the PAC leader snubbed Mugabe's invitation to attend a state banquet in honour of a visit by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mugabe had to alter a dinner speech in which he intended to call on the PAC and the ANC to negotiate with the South African government.

Instead, Mugabe made a general call on "all progressive forces in South Africa to come together" and obliquely referred to Mothopeng's snub as a discordant note coming from other quarters saying that negotiations are not the correct thing today.

Mugabe's move towards the ANC away from the PAC — the organisation to which he had once been more closely aligned — was again made apparent at Harare airport on Tuesday, when Mandela left for Tanzania.

Mugabe told a press conference that he fully supported Mandela's efforts "to lead a team of negotiators to the conference table to discuss a new political order in South Africa".

Mugabe has thrown his support behind the ANC and has thus ensured that Zimbabwe will have a role in the negotiations to bring majority rule to South Africa.

The closer ties between Mugabe and the ANC is a clear rebuff for Mothopeng, who had earlier rejected calls by both Mandela and Mugabe to enter into talks with President FW de Klerk's government.

"At this stage there exists no basis for genuine negotiations with the Pretoria regime," said the PAC

Black man's burden

The problem, it turns out, is not what Nelson Mandela will do. After the initial disappointment of the speech he made on the night of his release, he has shown himself to be a reasonable man. We disagree strongly with some of his statements on the economy but he has made it clear that he believes in negotiation and that nothing is non-negotiable.

He has been at pains to reassure whites — even to the point of conceding, in effect, a form of “own affairs” education. At times, weirdly, it has appeared that government spokesmen like Gerrit Viljoen might even be ahead of Mandela on some issues.

No, the problem is not Mandela. The problem is that he may have far less influence over the voteless millions than anyone expected. Since his release he has called repeatedly (as did Walter Sisulu before him) on black pupils to return to school and stressed the importance of an educated population in building a new SA.

However, the day after he made this appeal at the major rally at Soccer City (“Go back to your schools . . .”) near Soweto, thousands of black teachers chose to desert their classes to march on the offices of the Department of Education & Training in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Since then, many schools have experienced sporadic attendances and little teaching since the beginning of the year. Pupils have also staged protests and boycotts.

As the *FM* went to press this week, 6 000 teachers from

Soweto and Alexandra were on strike. Many of their grievances are valid (overwork, departmental inefficiency, shortage of classrooms), but nothing will be solved by a strike; meanwhile, tens of thousands of young minds are left to their own devices. And productivity must surely be affected when thousands of parents are worried sick about what children as young as six are up to while their teachers carry placards.

In short, the teachers and some children of Soweto and other townships have simply ignored Mandela. He may feel compelled to cease making such appeals to preserve his credibility.

The same problem confronts the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement leadership as a whole. Their calls for peace in Natal may be falling on sympathetic ears — but for a variety of reasons, the response is muted. And the looting in Ciskei continued despite impassioned appeals by MDM leaders.

If Mandela and the ANC cannot control the teachers, let alone the mobs, who can? Perhaps the “lost generation” of the past decade is indeed lost to any kind of principled, coherent leadership.

Already, then, there seem to be cracks in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally claimed as its own. In time, the fissures may be reflected in the ANC executive itself, as Mandela consolidates his grip as deputy president.

The effect on negotiations could be profound. ■

Palace revolt (11A)

When Nelson Mandela checked out of Victor Verster prison, he refused to move into the Soweto Sun — a nickname for the 15-room mansion built by his wife, Winnie. Perched

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FIM 9/3/90

(11A)

on a hillside in Orlando West Extension, it has been vacant since it was built in 1987. Rumours suggest the ANC will use it as an office.

Mandela decided instead to return to 8115 Vilakazi Street, in nearby Orlando West, to the four-roomed home he and Winnie shared before he went to prison. Apart from the tight-lipped youths in their wrap-around sunglasses who stand guard, Mandela's visible security comprises a coil of razor-sharp blade wire on top of the 2 m wall around the house and a camera at the metal gate.

The house drew international attention in July 1988, when students from the local high school set fire to it as retribution against the notorious "Mandela Football Club" which used it as a base. The house was rebuilt within a month with overseas donations.

After the fire, Winnie moved to Diepkloof Extension. The R28 000 down-payment on her new house was paid by millionaire American chat-show host Oprah Winfrey.

That's according to Armstrong Williams, who administers her charitable fund. Williams works for B&C Associates, a North Carolina PR firm owned by Robert Brown. He is a friend of the Mandela family and claimed in 1988 to have power of attorney to protect the Mandela name. Rumours continue to surround the ownership of the Diepkloof house.

Stompie

It was at the Diepkloof house that some members of the football club allegedly tortured and murdered 14-year-old activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei around December 1988. The trial of Jerry Richardson, club coach, has been postponed until May.

Though Winnie has always denied any wrongdoing, early last year the UDF and Cosatu called on the community to distance themselves from her because she had violated "the spirit and ethos of the democratic movement." She has since worked hard to

keep quiet and toe the company line.

As the young second wife of an older man, she never endeared herself to her tradition-bound neighbours and her jet-setting lifestyle and expensive clothes have suggested that she is not exactly one of the workers.

Winnie has said that she used the proceeds from her book, *My Soul Went With Him*, to build the modernistic Orlando West mansion on four adjoining sites. But various foreign donors (including singer Harry Belafonte) contributed heavily to the cost, which has been estimated at anything from R500 000 to R2m. Recently the house, damaged by vandals and neglect, underwent an estimated R100 000 renovation.

Williams, publicist in the US for Winnie's and Nelson's daughter, Zenani, says Winnie "never, ever, had any intention of living there." He says she built the house for her children and grandchildren "for the part they played in the struggle" and also as offices for the ANC. ■

'Surprise' Mandela visit to Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA. — Mr Nelson Mandela switched plans yesterday and flew here to thank Africa's ambassadors to the Organisation of African Unity for their support.

Interrupting what was to have been a six-day visit to Tanzania, the new deputy president of the African National Congress hastily rearranged his itinerary in an apparent effort to kill a flock of birds with one stone.

Western diplomats here said the visit came as a "total surprise".

Mr Mandela, in the midst of a 17-day African tour in his effort to win support for the anti-apartheid movement, had in fact been invited to Ethiopia last month, said OAU spokesman Mr Ibrahim Dagash.

But his decision appeared ad hoc.

Mr Mandela has received invitations to visit dozens of countries since his release from prison four weeks ago.

By interrupting his schedule to address ambassadors accredited to the OAU, which is headquartered in Ethiopia's capital, Mr Mandela found a way to thank the entire continent for its support of him and his organisation.

His speech to the ambassadors was scheduled for this morning, following a meeting with OAU officials. Then he was to fly back to Tanzania to visit a number of ANC guerilla-training camps before leaving on Sunday for Sweden, where ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is recuperating from a stroke.

Diplomats said Ethiopia's Soviet-backed government, pressured by recent military defeats in a civil war and a new famine in the north of the country, was anxious for Mr Mandela's support to bolster its shaky position.

Although the Tanzanian government has never officially acknowledged them, there are at least six ANC camps housing between 3 000 and 4 000 guerillas in the country. Some of the first black South Africans to take up arms against white rule were trained in the camps nearly 30 years ago.

Mr Mandela flew to Addis Ababa from Zanzibar, the semi-autonomous island off Tanzania's east coast, where he spoke at a public rally and laid a wreath on the tomb of Abeid Amani Karume, Zanzibar's first president. At the rally, Mr Mandela, looking tired, spoke of the "supreme importance" of African unity. — Sapa-AP, UPI

Shooting alleged as councillors attack rival meeting

By DON HOLLIDAY
Staff Reporter

A 14-year-old girl was wounded in the thigh when four Lingeletu West town councillors opened fire at a meeting of the rival Khayelitsha Civic Association, it has been claimed.

Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck said he had investigated the matter and would be raising it in parliament.

Mr Michael Mapongwana, regional chairman of the Federation of Western Cape Civic Associations, said the councillors arrived at a creche in Town Two on Wednesday night where the weekly meeting of the civic association was being held.

ARGUMENT

They told about 100 people there they had no right to hold such a meeting without the council's permission and demanded to speak to Mr Mapongwana.

When he arrived an argument ensued. One of the councillors drew a pistol and people stampeded to get out of the creche.

"All four of the councillors started firing wildly inside the room," said Mr Mapongwana.

One woman had her leg gashed when she fell in the entrance and was trampled. A 14-year-old girl, Nozuko Zide, was shot in the right thigh.

"I hid behind some chairs and managed to escape. The men then walked away."

Seven empty 9mm cartridges and a live round were found in the room. What appeared to be bullet holes were seen in a plastic chair, a window, the floor and the roof.

Mr Mapongwana said he would be laying a charge against the men as soon as he had consulted his lawyer.

POWER STRUGGLE

A power struggle between the town council and the civic association has been going on for several months, with the association demanding the council's resignation.

Mr Graham Lawrence, Lingeletu West town clerk, said Mr Mapongwana had informed him of the allegations.

He had spoken to the councillors involved and they had confirmed "an incident" had taken place between themselves and the civic association but they did not admit to the shooting. The matter was being investigated further, he said.

Déjà vu for Anglo

Twice this year Anglo American officials have met Nelson Mandela. In January gold and uranium head Clem Sunter went to Victor Verster Prison at Paarl to visit the ANC leader. More recently chairman Gavin Relly conferred with Mandela at his home in Soweto.

Then, last weekend, ^(11A) Michael Spicer — Relly's personal assistant — was part of a business delegation to Harare that met the ANC for talks on the future of the SA economy.

So, while government continues to talk about talks about talks on politics, the largest conglomerate has pushed ahead with talks of its own on the future of business. With nationalisation high on the ANC agenda, Anglo's task is to outline better ways of furthering the ANC's economic goals.

Albie Sachs, of the ANC's constitution committee, says the organisation is looking to the private sector for solutions. That means Anglo will be involved. In Namibia, Anglo chief Harry Oppenheimer met Sam Nujoma before the UN-supervised elections. Anglo has not disclosed its plans for Namibia but it is significant that Swapo is back pedalling on nationalisation. Sachs says SA is likely to follow Namibia's example.

"Business is going to have a very important role to play in a democratic SA, partly through its economic activities and partly because it can become a major agent for nation-building by contributing towards breaking down inequalities.

"We are not keen on the idea of a purely passive or beleaguered business community," Sachs says.

Anglo realises that unless the private sector provides market-orientated solutions to the problem of black impoverishment, an ANC government could be forced to nationalise. There are vast economic aspirations to be satisfied and, to stay in power, Anglo officials believe the ANC might have no choice but to nationalise — the examples of eastern Europe and Africa notwithstanding.

However, the takeover of monopolies, banks and mines will not automatically result in black advancement because few blacks have the skills to staff and run these sectors. The ANC's education arm, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, estimates that 60% of black adults are illiterate and 40% of black youngsters are not attending school.

Anglo has been there before. It was faced with Afrikaner economic aspirations and threats of nationalisation in the Forties and Fifties.

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<p>In the mid-Fifties Anglo chief Ernest Oppenheimer decided to help a mid-sized Afrikaner mining company to gain a large foothold in the gold mining industry after thwarting its efforts for years. This was the Afrikaners' first entrance into the world of big business.</p> <p>Harry Oppenheimer continued the effort after his father died in 1957. It was Harry who drew up the proposal for the Afrikaner</p>	<p>takeover of General Mining which, ironically, drew a sharp protest from arch Afrikaner Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. He and several Cabinet colleagues attacked the move by claiming it was a trick to trap Afrikaner savings and syphon them off into Anglo's coffers.</p> <p>But unexpected praise came from pro-nationalisation Nationalists, including Nico Diederichs, then Minister of Economic Af-</p>
<p>fairs, who said: "Far from being swallowed up in General Mining and Anglo, Federale Mynbou (the Afrikaner company) had won a most valuable stake in a world hitherto out of reach. It could only be to the good of everyone — as Harry had insisted all along."</p> <p>The acquisition of General Mining was followed by the purchase of Union Corp which, with General Mining, now makes up mining giant Gencon.</p>	

11A

'The violence would not benefit us' ANC, UDF deny any link to unrest

By Helen Grange

The African National Congress and its offshoot, the United Democratic Front, have rejected suggestions that the ANC and affiliated organisations are instigating the current violence to upset the negotiation process.

The ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina said the South African Government was "sucking its thumb" when suggesting the ANC was to blame. "There is no evidence to support this," he said.

"The ANC has never directly or indirectly been involved in instigating violence. It would never benefit the ANC," he said.

However, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that the so-called homeland governments were unpopular since their inception. "If the people in these homelands can now take the advantage of telling these despots to get out, they have a legitimate right to do so.

"Unnecessary violence may occur as pent up emotions explode," Mr Sebina said.

Asked whether the ANC would consider calling for a halt to the violence, Mr Sebina said he would have to refer the question to his seniors.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen placed the blame squarely in the ANC camp yesterday when he

said: "We interpret the present unrest and violence as a sign of unreadiness on the part of certain leaders to get involved in the negotiation process."

State President Mr F W De Klerk, also in clear reference to the ANC, said the violence was "to some extent a result of the continuing war talk and clinging to the armed struggle when it is not necessary".

"It is certainly not in the policies of our organisations that people should behave in this fashion," said UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota yesterday.

While expressing some sympathy towards the "gushing of political emotion which has been suppressed for a long time", UDF officials said they could not condone or encourage violence.

Homelands rejected

"We have always said the so-called leaders of homelands do not enjoy the people's support. Part of what we are seeing is a violent manifestation of the rejection of these hated administrations, said Mr Lekota."

He added that there was "no doubt" that the homelands would collapse and that homelands resisting this would be dismantled by a democratic government in a negotiated settlement.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF spokesman and National Reception Committee member, questioned on whether people involved in the unrest could be controlled, said: "The problem is that there are actors who have agendas different to ours. There are many new structures in hiding and there is a problem in that respect."

He said the violence was area specific in that different circumstances were influencing the direction of events.

"In Ga-Rankuwa, there is a hostile regime clamping down on protest. The violence can be attributed to the reactions of the arrogant and unfeeling Bophuthatswana authorities".

In Venda and Gazankulu, there were problems of corruption and people were also fighting against repression and heavy handedness.

But in Ciskei, much of the violence was the result of unplanned, uncoordinated celebration over Brigadier Gqozo's coup success. "We hope he will remain consistent in allowing the process of re-incorporation to take place," said Mr Morobe.

"But there is no point in violence that does not serve the community. While we could appreciate what happened in Soweto in 1976, we cannot condone and will never encourage it," Mr Morobe said.

Nothing ersatz in ANC embrace of the PLO

Mr Nelson Mandela's recognition of PLO chairman Mr Yasser Arafat as a political kinsman, battling — like the African National Congress — against a unique form of colonialism shocked many South African Jews.

But, in retrospect, Mr Mandela's equation of the ANC's struggle against apartheid with the PLO's fight against Zionism was hardly surprising.

As far back as 1975, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution by 75 votes to 35, with 32 abstentions, condemning Zionism as a "form of racism and racial domination".

The rationale underlying the contentious resolution is that Zionism seeks to perpetuate Israeli rule over Arabs — Israel being by definition a state controlled by Jews.

The resolution was carried mainly on Third World votes. Mr Mandela is the leader of a Third World community in South Africa. The community has been influenced by wider Third World perceptions.

Thus, on his arrival at Lusaka International airport last week, Mr Mandela saw the bearded Mr Arafat as a friend and comrade, not a terrorist. His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, similarly referred to Mr

PATRICK LAURENCE discusses the controversial comparison between the Palestine Liberation Organisation's fight with Israel and the African National Congress's liberation struggle in South Africa.

Arafat warmly in her brief remarks from the podium.

Judging from the way in which Mr Mandela and Mr Arafat greeted one another — they hugged and Mr Arafat kissed Mr Mandela on both cheeks — there was nothing ersatz about the fraternity Mr Mandela expressed for his Arab comrade.

Speaking without notes and therefore spontaneously, Mr Mandela said of Mr Arafat: "Like us, he is fighting against a unique form of colonialism and we wish him success in his struggle."

Mr Mandela's remarks were in harmony with the sentiments of the mainly black crowd at the airport, which appeared to empathise with Mr Arafat and the PLO.

Before Mr Mandela's arrival, the heads of state from several African countries arrived. They included Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. None was cheered more loudly than Mr Arafat,

who arrived on an Iraqi jet wearing a checked keffiyeh. A pistol was strapped to his hip, the holster decorated with bullets.

Later, at a news conference, Mr Mandela was asked whether he was not afraid of alienating South Africa's small, but influential, Jewish community by drawing an analogy between the ANC's fight against apartheid and the PLO's struggle against Zionism.

With Mr Arafat looking on, Mr Mandela replied: "If the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that is too bad."

He added: "We accept that everybody who is exploring the possibility of lasting solutions will be able to face the truth. I sincerely believe there are many similarities between our struggle and that of the PLO. We live under a unique form of colonialism in South Africa and in Israel."

In an interview in a corridor of State House in Lusaka, where the news conference was held, Mr Arafat endorsed Mr Mandela's appraisal. "We are in the same trench struggling against the same enemy."

the twin 'Tel Aviv and Pretoria regimes, apartheid, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.' Later Palestinian leaders invited Mr Mandela to "occupied Palestine" to "observe on the ground the same conditions of repression that both our struggling peoples live under".

The Israeli ambassador to South Africa, Mr Zvi Gov-Ari, disagreed strongly, expressing deep regret that Mr Mandela had embraced an "arch terrorist whose hands drip with the blood of countless innocent victims of numerous nationalities throughout the world".

He was distressed that Mr Mandela should see similarities between Mr Arafat's "murderous struggle to destroy the Jewish state" with the "process of dismantling apartheid".

Mr Gov-Ari took issue with Mr Mandela's dismissal of Jewish concern over his views as an inability to face the truth and "too bad". It was, he said, hardly the way to instil credibility and confidence in the ANC leader's calls for dialogue.

A statement released by the embassy on Israel's policy on South Africa says: "South African society is in strife because four-fifths of South African citizens are denied basic rights... By contrast, Israel is a stable democracy granting full and equal rights to all its citizens, including 700 000 Arabs."

The Jewish Board of Deputies responded by declaring its support for the establishment of a just, fair and equal dispensation for everyone living in South Africa and its conviction that society in Israel was totally non-racial.

It added that it looked forward to an opportunity for dialogue with Mr Mandela, in the belief, presumably, that it could persuade him to revise his views.

Israel has had some success in turning the tide of pro-Arab and pro-PLO sentiment in black-ruled Africa.

In 1973, in the wake of the Yom Kippur or October War, all but three black-ruled African states broke off relations with Israel. Israel, however, fought back in succeeding years, re-establishing diplomatic ties with seven African states.

A black-ruled South Africa remains the biggest prize in the diplomatic struggle between Israel and the PLO. Hence, in one sense, the importance of Mr Mandela's remarks.

February 27 at Lusaka Airport... the leader of the PLO Mr Yasser Arafat was one of the first people to greet Mr Nelson Mandela.



Culture IS struggle's weapon - Desk

THE Interim Cultural Desk this week said that as much as it agreed cultural organisations should only provide leadership and not control or prescribe to artists the way they should contribute to the struggle, the desk maintained that culture must be used as a weapon for struggle.

Responding to the paper entitled *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom*, delivered at an African National Congress leadership seminar earlier this year by ANC constitutional advisor Albie Sachs, the cultural desk said it did not think seeing culture as a weapon of struggle is "wrong", "banal" or "devoid of real content".

Sachs, in his paper, had called — tongue-in-cheek — for a five-year ban on ANC members "saying that culture is a weapon of the struggle".

The desk said building an alternative, truly non-racial culture is one of the best ways to fight apartheid.

"Culture should give expression to the whole range of human emotions and experience, it should capture the fullness and contribute to the richness of the type of existence with which we wish to replace apartheid and enhance the quality of our life.

The Interim Cultural Desk has replied — with some caution — to Albie Sachs' recent paper on culture, which, by implication, rejected the very notion of the Cultural Desk. PHIL MOLEFE reports.

"Though we do not wish to prescribe how, it is our right and duty to challenge all cultural workers to contribute towards the struggle against apartheid in whatever way they may be best equipped."

Sachs, one of the ANC's most influential intellectuals and co-author of the organisation's Constitutional Guidelines, argued in his paper that seeing culture as an instrument of the struggle is wrong and "potentially harmful".

"Instead of getting real criticism, we get solidarity criticism. Our artists are not pushed to improve the quality of their work; it is enough that it be politically correct," Sachs wrote.

The desk, however, reiterated the view of the 1984 Gaborone arts conference and the Culture for Another South Africa (Casa) conference in Amsterdam in 1987 that "one is first part of the struggle and then a cultural worker.

"We challenge cultural workers to root themselves in the democratic movement so that their creative responses to life will be informed by an understanding and experience of the struggle.

"We also challenge cultural workers to contribute to the discussion and theory of culture that could help us understand what a non-racial culture could be, and how to address the imbalances to cultural expression brought about apartheid," said a statement from the desk.

"We pose these challenges mindful of the fact that creativity does not follow rules, that each cultural worker must find a way of contributing that is true to him/herself, and that different and varied creative responses are to be valued as contributing to the richness of the culture that we wish to create."

The desk said it does not demand that all art should be "political" in a very narrow sense of the word but should "express all aspects of humanity that will make up a non-racial way of life".

It re-affirmed its position that it is not only through art that cultural workers can contribute to the struggle.

Union's civic action goes back to its roots

W/Mand 9/3-19/3/90

By EDDJE KOCH

COSATU has decided to call for the creation of a national civic organisation that will devise a method of local government for townships in a non-racial South Africa.

The plan, rooted in a resolution at Cosatu's congress last year to revitalise grassroots civic structures nation wide, will be discussed with the internal committee of the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front later this month.

The meeting will deal with the insurrection currently sweeping the homelands and plans to discuss forms of administration that can replace the fragile governments that now rule over these areas.

The labour federation's executive committee was spurred into action by the militancy that has erupted around black local authorities in recent weeks as well as the homeland uprisings.

Alexandra township, north of the Johannesburg, has been hit by a wave of militancy that poses a fundamental challenge to the official system of black local authorities.

The township was the lynchpin in the government's strategy to win support for its reform programme by upgrading conditions and setting up moderate local leaders to administer these "oil spots".

But the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO), under the leadership of former treason trialist Moses Mayekiso, has revitalised a mass-based campaign to oust the councillors and demand a non-racial form of government.

After a march by 80 000 residents last month in support of ACO's demands, two of the councillors secretly met the organisation and offered to resign, says Mayekiso. There have been a spate of similar protests in townships on the East Rand and in Brits near Pretoria in recent months.

"The state has failed with the Brazilian option — the elimination of militant local leaders and their replacement by moderates backed up by development — in Alexandra and other townships," says Mayekiso.



Organiser ... Moses Mayekiso

He believes the government is now considering two options: either to deal with the civic organisation in line with its commitment to negotiations or to repress the resistance in the township and prop up their town councillors as moderate counterparts to the ANC in the negotiation process.

Cosatu's response to both prospects is to mobilise support for a powerful network of democratic civic groups in the townships.

The national civic organisation will be influenced by the alternative development policies that ACO is demanding and should form the basis of negotiation between the people of Alexandra and government authorities.

These include demands for:

- The central government to assume responsibility for the provision of low-cost housing rather than rely on private developers;
- The state to allocate urban land for low-income development;
- Subsidies for basic services such as water, electricity and sewage;
- Support from the government for housing co-operatives and self-help projects;
- Non-racial municipalities with a shared system of rates and taxes that can generate revenue to subsidise development in underprivileged areas.

Mayekiso has been asked to draft proposals about how the crisis in the homeland's can be addressed and plans to adapt the methods used to build township civics to the rural situation.

The soft revenge of fighter Albie

W/Mail 9/3 - 15/3/90

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ALBIE SACHS would like to meet the man responsible for placing the bomb which mutilated him in Maputo 13 months ago — but retribution is not what he has in mind.

While recovering from the blast which lost him his right arm, the partial sight of one eye and shattered his body, he received a letter from a "comrade" promising the attack would be avenged.

"I thought a lot about that," Sachs said in Lusaka this week. "The idea of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an arm for an arm — to avenge me — was awful.

"I thought, is that freedom? Is that what we want in South Africa — people walking around without limbs?"

For Sachs, the real vengeance or, as he terms it, the "soft vengeance", would be "democracy; to achieve what we set out to do".

Another part of that "soft" vengeance would be to meet his assailant: "To show him I'm a person, a human being rather than just a target. It would be my way of disarming him."

Sachs has never lost the conviction that he would return — "but it's one thing to live with an expectation which is all very serene in your head and then be faced with the reality ... joy can be destabilising.

"It's not just the physical thing of taking your body across a border ... A friend phoned me after the African National Congress was unbanned and asked me how I felt and I found myself holding back — I've got to learn how to speak freely on the phone again.

"My worry is that a lot of these things associated with resistance, survival, not being detected, not being caught, can serve us badly in the new phase where we really have to open up ...

"We have to have a very broad vision, a vision of a whole country with all its facets and characteristics, where we're not only working within our framework of shared goals and ideals but working and collaborating with people who have very different outlooks."

Like other exiles, Sachs is asking himself where he'll live, what he'll do — and pondering the adjustment to a much broader world.

He is pleased with the ANC leadership's step-by-step approach, based on consultations with its entire membership. "If you follow good democratic processes you usually come to better solutions — also, everyone feels they've had their say."

Bitterness and anger don't feature in Sachs' emotional repertoire.

"Perhaps the reason I don't feel bitter is that when I entered the political struggle I knew there were risks, so I can't feel that fate has been unkind to me."

Of the 10 days he spent in hospital in Maputo — "they saved my life" — he

After decades as a political non-person, unseen and unheard by most South Africans,

Albie Sachs has quickly established himself a formidable reputation as an ANC thinker who is taken seriously even by the movement's foes. Here he speaks to **GAYE DAVIS** in Lusaka

remembers the tenderness and care with which he was nursed, the sense he had of "the whole city rooting for me".

When he was flown to London for further treatment, it was the first time he had travelled first-class. Not that he remembers much of the flight: one of his lungs collapsed en route.

But the "joy and elation" he felt on finding he had survived have never left him, despite the dark hours of an early morning "when the painkillers wore off and I felt just a mass of fractures and



Sachs ... after the car bomb which mutilated him

bruises".

In a book to be published in Britain and the United States later this year, Sachs tells the story of "what it was like to be blown up" and his subsequent healing, a recovery he sees as paralleling that of anti-apartheid organisations inside South Africa, when new ways of operating were learned despite the ravages of successive States of Emergency, detentions and harassment.

"As I was learning to walk again, people were picking themselves up, learning to do things differently."

He has titled the book *The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*, and describes it as "an echo" of *The Jail Diary of Albie Sachs*, which recounts his 168 days of solitary confinement in 1963.

Born in Cape Town in 1935 to parents who were both politically active, Sachs shunned politics as a youth. But while

studying law at the University of Cape Town, he joined the Modern Youth Society, closely aligned to the ANC, which at that stage had only African members.

"I couldn't believe that all the dreams I'd had, my training and education, were just directed towards a date on Saturday night," Sachs says.

So, he took part in the Defiance Campaign in 1950 and attended the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, the year in which his first banning order was imposed.

A second banning order came in 1963, by which time he was a young advocate, immersed in political and civil rights cases.

Later that year he was detained under the notorious "90 days" Act: on his release he ran from Cape Town's Caledonian Square police station to Clifton beach, several kilometres away, and plunged, fully clad, into the water. "I'd never run anything like that distance before," he recalled. "My joy carried me."

He was again detained, this time for three months, in 1966 — an election year. One of his interrogators came to him with a ballot paper. "I can remember him saying, 'Mr Sachs, this is a democratic country — here is your vote'."

Later that year Sachs left for England where he was to spend 11 years studying and teaching law. A visit to Mozambique in 1976 convinced him it was where he wanted to be. He spent 11 years in that country too.

His experience in formulating a new law for an independent Mozambique is invaluable to the ANC: he is part of a legal team working on constitutional questions.

"We have to adjust to being on the side of authority — not challenging laws but making them.

"If one envisages a constitution as a compact rather than a product of horse-trading — solemnly entered into by people coming from different viewpoints but wanting the best for the country — then the defence of the constitution becomes the business of everybody and where you get conflicts of interest you have the courts and parliament to sort them out."

For Sachs the process of defining a constitution should "involve everyone, from Gatsha Buthelezi to the AWB". It was for the ANC leadership to decide how this should be achieved, but people "who are going to be governed by the law must have a hand in making it".

"We should be speaking not about retribution or punishment, but about scrapping apartheid, creating universal suffrage and a society in which the very rich cultural variety of our country can be recognised and encouraged."

Odd couples ... the MDM and the homelands

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Two Ciskei residents help themselves to looted groceries

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

THE Mass Democratic Movement's firmly-held tradition of non-participation in government-created structures has never seemed more blurred as the homelands erupt in chaos.

Previously, the MDM and its supporters would not back any homeland government. It was inconceivable that any campaign by the MDM to rid South Africa of homelands would ever coincide with the interests of homeland leaders.

But this week in the Ciskei, Major General Oupa Gqozo rose to power and joined the call for reincorporation into South Africa against a backdrop of African National Congress and South African Communist Party flags.

Major General Bantu Holomisa, who led a Transkei coup last year, has also thrown his weight behind the call for reincorporation and has set up mechanisms for a referendum to test Transkeians' opinions on the issue.

He has surrounded himself with MDM supporters as political advisers and has indicated that at a future negotiating table he is likely to seek an alliance with the ANC.

Homeland legislative assemblies are filling up with MDM-supporting chiefs, many of them recent converts, as the MDM-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa sweeps through the countryside wooing traditional chiefs.

The Conference for a Democratic Future, held in Johannesburg last year to map out a strategy of political action for the Mass Democratic Movement and its allies, may be the key to understanding the homeland uprisings.

The CDF outlined a new MDM strategy of pulling the support base from underneath homeland leaders — rather than simply boycotting them — while wooing those who have mass support.

How far is the MDM prepared to go? Will it, in homelands such as the Transkei and Ciskei, involve itself in government structures geared towards returning these territories to South Africa?

It is likely that they will remain outside these structures and use mass pressure on the ground to push for the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

In leftwing circles it is widely be-

The decision of MDM leaders to share platforms with homeland leaders can be traced back to the CDF conference last year.

Reports by **THANDEKA QGUBULE**

lieved that the government is likely to try and dampen the impact of the MDM and the ANC by pursuing an equivalent of Namibia's DTA-option, creating alliances in the centre of the political spectrum.

The ANC/MDM response appears to bring closer to themselves those homeland leaders on the fringes of the MDM, such as Enoš Mabuza, the liberal leader of kaNgwane, and try and create their own alliances.

In those homelands where old-style hardline homeland leaders still reign, such as Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda, the strategy appears to be to step up mass pressure to weaken their position.

Emerging from the CDF was the strategy of rendering some homelands "ungovernable". Acts of bureaucratic sabotage have crippled Venda and Gazankulu in the last few weeks, while people in Ciskei have been burning their homeland party membership cards.

The CDF also resolved to hold referenda in all homelands to test popular feelings on the return to the republic and the creation of one unitary South Africa. The conference decided to call mass meetings in all the homelands between January and March to mobilise people behind the call of the MDM for one unitary South Africa.

It appears that the MDM had accurately read the mood and tapped into popular demands for reincorporation.

However, its time schedule for such moves has been overtaken by events and "popular referenda", signed with blood and fire, that have taken place in the homelands.

President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of parliament and the release of Nelson Mandela were catalysts that opened up a new political chemistry and led to the overtaking of the CDF schedule.

The MDM is likely to continue to enter into talks with willing homeland leaders.

A splash of new paint for SABC's coverage

WMed 9/3 - 15/3/90

SOUTH African TV viewers were riveted to their screens as they watched the barriers to freedom falling one by one in Eastern Europe just three months ago.

At about that time chairman of the SABC board Professor Christo Viljoen sat down to a diplomatic dinner to listen to Chester Crocker talk about the South African dilemma.

Seated next to him was a senior member of the Mass Democratic Movement. The two parties were, to say the least, somewhat incompatible. However, Viljoen took the opportunity to broach the subject of the MDM's refusal to speak to the SABC.

The response was unambiguous. The MDM

spokesman Thabo Mbeki is accorded, in an in-depth interview, the respect normally given Foreign Minister Pik Botha; Nelson Mandela is questioned with the deference, almost reverence, usually reserved for State President FW de Klerk. The Tuzus and Boesaks and Sisulus get as much airtime as the Treurnichs and assorted Van der Merwes. It's getting so even cabinet ministers can no longer be sure of their regular spots in the nightly parade of talking heads.

It's easy to be cynical. It's easy to point to the fiasco of the coverage of Mandela's release; the failure to broadcast any of his speeches live; the desperate attempts to paint over the

longer His Master's Voice'.

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK investigates

spokesman flatly rejected any change in attitude. Dead or alive, he told Viljoen, there was no way he would grant an interview to the SABC.

Three months later anything goes on TV news. African National Congress foreign affairs

spokesman Thabo Mbeki is accorded, in an in-depth interview, the respect normally given Foreign Minister Pik Botha; Nelson Mandela is questioned with the deference, almost reverence, usually reserved for State President FW de Klerk. The Tuzus and Boesaks and Sisulus get as much airtime as the Treurnichs and assorted Van der Merwes. It's getting so even cabinet ministers can no longer be sure of their regular spots in the nightly parade of talking heads.

It's easy to be cynical. It's easy to point to the fiasco of the coverage of Mandela's release; the failure to broadcast any of his speeches live; the desperate attempts to paint over the

Satanic picture the SABC had created of the ANC over the years.

The criticisms are all valid — but who could have predicted the SABC coming under attack for being too nice to the ANC?

For one, Viljoen.

"We are no longer His Master's Voice," Viljoen told the *Weekly Mail* this week. "Since De Klerk took over, we haven't received a single instruction from Tuzynhuus or the minister of information and broadcasting.

"When I was appointed, I was given a guarantee that I would be allowed to do things as I saw fit. We are doing what we believe should

● TO PAGE 24

SABC's news service gets a brand new look

● From PAGE 21

be done. I think we've shown that we are serious about producing exciting, unbiased news reportage."

He insists that De Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament on February 2 had little to do with the new-look TV news — besides scrapping media regulations which prevented the SABC quoting the ANC, South African Communist Party and Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging.

"We've been taking an independent line since I took over as chairman eight months ago. During the past election for instance, there was a far freer flow of information than ever before, when we allowed different parties equal time to state their case on TV and radio."

Viljoen says that recent events had preempted changes already being visualised at the SABC — the main effect had been that the station was able to introduce the changes earlier than anticipated.

"We realised last year that we had to be proactive — that we'd have to prepare the population for changes we foresaw."

In an establishment conditioned to holding back on progress, "preparing the population for changes" may seem courageous and visionary. For a viewing public weary of crude news manipulation, such an agenda smacks of reverse propaganda.

The argument goes like this.

After years of vilifying the left the SABC had to carry out dramatic renovations on the TV facade of the extra-parliamentary opposition, in order to justify government concessions. WMed 9/3 - 15/3/90

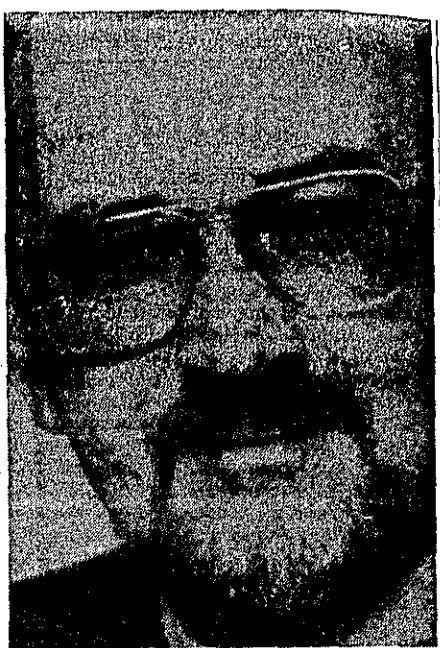
The voting public had been persuaded by their chosen leaders that this opposition was made up of terrorists, murderers and agents of Moscow. Now that the government wanted to negotiate with these forces of darkness, the image of evil was somewhat embarrassing. So splash on a new coat of paint and suddenly the government is dealing with reasonable people who share a total commitment to peace.

The argument is seductive and compelling. And, according to the counter-argument, it is also a naive throwback to the "old South Africa". In recent weeks, goes that argument, too many people have put too much on the line for their initiatives to be dismissed as ploys or manipulation. Such dismissals now readily come across as a cop-out for critics who are unwilling to acknowledge new realities.

In this context, Viljoen's words have the ring of conviction. Or, at least, far more conviction than any of his predecessors could have offered.

"We are being very heavily criticised for over-exposing the ANC," he says. "All parties want extra airtime and we try to balance their viewpoints. The government is in control of the country, so we naturally give them ample opportunity to state their policies. But we do not speak on behalf of the government. We allow all parties to be heard.

"We've had complaints from National Party circles that far too much attention is paid to the left and the right and not enough to the NP. But, no matter what part of the spectrum you represent, you'll be unhappy. At present every-



Christo Viljoen ... faced with the task of dragging SABC into the 20th century

one criticises the SABC."

Viljoen recalls an adage told in legal circles. When a dispute goes to arbitration, a good verdict is one that leaves both parties unhappy. If one party is happy, the outcome will have been unfair to the other.

"At the moment, no party is happy with our political balance. That means we're achieving what we set out to do."

Of course, that's the same argument used by the controversial newspaper editor shortly before the mob lynched him. But, for now, the government appears satisfied. The SABC Board's term of office expires shortly, but Viljoen expects to retain his job, along with what he regards as one of the finest boards that is possible to put together.

Once he has the rubber stamp for another year at the helm, Viljoen faces a far greater challenge than that of merely dragging the SABC into the 20th century. The SABC's own *apparatchiks*, from management through production, editorial and technical, have to be weaned off years of slavish obedience, not to the party line, but to a stultifying environment of buck-passing bureaucracy.

Viljoen insists that staff morale is exceptionally high. Powerful initiatives behind the scenes have persuaded even the most hardline critics of the SABC to make themselves available for comment and interviews. "The world said 'show me', and I think we've finally showed them," says Viljoen.

He dismisses the outcry over the broadcast of Nelson Mandela's release as a situation over which the SABC had no control.

Nevertheless, it is in such situations where a news medium shows its real mettle, and it is evidence of such mettle that hardline critics await before they will even consider giving Viljoen the benefit of the doubt.

● Another nail was knocked into the coffin of the old-style SABC on Monday. Its regular morning editorial commentary, *Current Affairs*, for 25 years the hard-core of National Party propaganda, has been scrapped. According to an official statement, the SABC said that such "talks" were "no longer a suitable format for the presentation of an editorial standpoint".

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called for a broad front of socialist organisations to unite to "fashion out a socialist agenda for liberation".

This was urged at the organisation's ninth national congress held last weekend at the Shareworld complex in Johannesburg.

The newly elected Azapo president, Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, said the "200 delegates and about 7 000 observers at the congress" reaffirmed the organisations's commitment to socialism and resolved to initiate a conference of socialist organisations soon.

In his keynote address at the meeting Mosala stressed the absolute urgency of an "alternative conference of left and socialist formations and organisations — a conference independent of liberation organisations who are comfortable with the *status quo* — in order to evolve a united programme of action for intensifying the struggle".

Organisations could include the Cape Action League, Action Youth and union groupings and movements committed to socialism.

Azapo sees this as the only way to block a negotiated settlement.

The movement believes that in the political scenario negotiations between "the government and the African National Congress look imminent".

The congress deliberated over participating in negotiations but unanimously rejected the idea.

"Azapo believes President FW de Klerk's negotiation package will not be acceptable to black people once they understand the true nature of his offer, and it cannot be absorbed into our programme for liberation," said Mosala.

We should talk to each other first - Azapo

At its annual congress this weekend, Azapo called on resistance groups to unite before negotiating with the government, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY

"The South African regime still retains political, military and economic power over the liberation forces. Hence the timing for negotiations is premature and therefore cannot deliver the expected revolutionary change.

At present talks would benefit a few elitist groups, the Azapo resolution stated. It would also revitalise the capitalist system which was showing signs of collapse and create confusion and conflict between different organisations.

"Negotiations should take place among resistance organisations of the black people, not with the ruling class," said Mosala.

The incoming central committee was urged at the congress to address unity with other oppressed organisations, he added.

In a resolution on internecine violence the congress decided to plan an all-in consultative conference of resistance organisations to try to find a solution in Natal, Uitenhage and Bekersdal.

Other important resolutions included a call for the international community to intensify sanctions, an intensification of the struggle for land, the workers' struggle, the women's secretariat, black theology and media relations.

The congress's theme was "Reconstruct for a socialist Azania" and, Mosala explained, this implied reconstruction of the country and of Azapo now that it was derestricted.

Azapo needed to reclarify its ideology, development and approach to present political conditions.

The central committee comprises founder members of the Black Consciousness Movement who have spent up to six years on Robben Island after being convicted of terrorism. They are: Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaupe Mokoape, general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, publicity secretary Strini Moodley, and the projects coordinator, Muntu Myeza.

Mosala said: "It is significant that the new generation of BC people elected the founder members to take the movement they started, forward."

Mosala, who is a senior theology lecturer at the University of Cape Town, has been a member of the BCM since 1971.

Other central committee members include: the vice-president of finance, Peter Jones, who was arrested with Steve Biko at a roadblock near Grahamstown in 1977; Lusiba Ntloko (national organiser); Monde Ntwasa (Cape vice-president); Dr Gomolemo Mokae (Transvaal vice-president); and Dr Victor Dlamini (vice-president of political education).

ANC census to count up the exiled thousands

The first step in the ANC plans for returning exiles is to find out how many there are, reports - GAYE DAVIS in Lusaka

FACED with the huge task of bringing its members back home, the African National Congress is to conduct a census to find out exactly how many there are outside the country.

A special committee has been appointed in Lusaka to carry out the count and investigate ways of handling ANC members' return, according to Pallo Jordan, secretary for information and publicity.

Conservative estimates put the number of ANC members in exile at between 10 000 and 30 000, but the real figure is probably much higher.

According to ANC representative Tom Sebina, members in Lusaka, home of the ANC's headquarters for the past 23 years, number about 1 200. The bulk of exiles are based in Tanzania and Uganda, where the ANC has military camps and support-projects such as schools, clinics and farms, but there are also exiles living elsewhere in Africa, in Western and Eastern Europe, Scandinavia, India, Japan and other parts of the world.

"People have been coming out since 1960," said Jordan. "There are so many contingencies to calculate regarding peoples' return."

"The fact that someone came from a certain place doesn't necessarily mean he'll be able to return there: forced removals have meant that some places don't even exist any more."

Some exiles have been trying to make contact with their families, only to find that telephone numbers and addresses have changed.

Indications are that every effort will be made to provide a roof over the head of every returning exile. Whether this will mean a roof of their own, or a collective one in a relocation camp until accommodation can be found, remains to be seen.

According to Jordan, the pace and quality of ANC members' repatriation will depend on whether or not paratriation will depend on whether international agencies and non-government organisations play a role.

"Usually, issues of resettlement are handled by agencies which specialise in that kind of work," he said.

The ANC is unlikely to have the necessary funds to pay for such an operation.

In the speech he made on his arrival in Lusaka last week, Nelson Mandela said the unbanning of the ANC, "as welcome as it is, has brought us a host of problems ... which we cannot address without resources".

He may have had the cost of bringing home thousands of exiles in mind when he went on to appeal to the international community "to provide us with capital and other resources".

For the ANC, one of the implications of its transition from exiled liberation movement to internal political party will be the likelihood of foreign governments cutting funds for fear of being accused of interfering in the domestic political process.

But they are unlikely to recoil from taking part in an international effort to assist the return and re-integration into society of ANC exiles, according to Sir Shridath Ramphal, outgoing secretary of the Commonwealth.

"At the request of the ANC, the Commonwealth would look very closely at its ensuring the smooth process of the return home," he said.



Returning exiles Ray Alexander and Jack Simons greet old friend Francis Baard at the airport

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Euphoria as the Simons' come home

By GAVIN EVANS

VETERAN communists Jack Simons and Ray Alexander became the first exiles to return to South Africa last Friday, and have already returned to action within the country.

Alexander, 76, a national executive committee member of South African Congress of Trade Unions and former secretary of the Federation of South African Women and member of the Women's Secretariat of the African National Congress, addressed an International Women's Day rally yesterday.

Her husband, Jack, 83, has had a lower profile, but has also played a prominent part in the liberation movement since the 1930s.

Wits senior law lecturer Raymond Sutner, who has known the couple for 30 years, said Simons "was in great demand as a lecturer to (Umkhonto weSizwe) cadres in the camps". W/M 9/3 - 15/3/90

An anthropologist who completed an economics PhD at the London School of Economics, he was chairman of the Communist Party when it was banned in 1950. For 27 years he lectured in African Government and Law at UCT, until a banning order forced him out of his job.

"Often we would attend his lectures and would emerge exhilarated through having developed new powers and insights that he helped us make our own," said Sutner.

Reform or not, the Sash still has plenty of work

W/M 9/3 - 15/3/90

THE Black Sash ended its annual conference in Grahamstown with a clear commitment to continuing its independent role regardless of political changes in South Africa.

According to newly-elected president Jenny de Tolly, there had been members who had asked whether the prospect of political change would mean that the Sash would disband.

"But listening day after day to the accounts of advice offices, and things like pensions, there is a massive amount of work to be done," she said.

"We are living in quite difficult and dangerous times." De Tolly said the conference had been "optimistic about a possible political resolution, but very cautious about the tremendous amount of work that needs to be done to construct a new South Africa."

"The legacy that South Africa is inheriting, of so many years of dispossession, and particularly the last 40 years of apartheid, is going to take a long time to unravel."

One of the campaigns to be embarked on will be one looking at what dismantling apartheid really means. It would aim at educating members, and the white public as a whole, what change would mean, and what was involved in "redressing injustice".

By FRANZ KRÜGER

Outgoing president Mary Burton, in her opening address, set the tone for the conference by looking at length at the Sash's own role in the light of political changes.

She said the Sash's commitment to non-racialism made the mass democratic movement "our natural allies", but its "commitment to democracy and freedom makes us recognise too the value and the rights of other groupings."

The task of monitoring and protecting human rights made absolute independence essential. Members might decide to belong to the African National Congress, but the Sash itself should remain independent, supporting issues rather than parties, Burton said.

There was a need not only for "first generation civil and political rights", but also "second generation rights", like social security, education and adequate wages, as well as "third generation rights" to peace, a healthy environment and opportunities for development.

The conference also decided to launch a campaign around black pensions. — Albany News Agency

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us to count up the exiled thousands



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"Often we would attend his lectures and would emerge exhilarated through having developed new powers and insights that he helped us make our own," said Suttner.

Returning exiles Ray Alexander and Jack Simons greet old friend Francis Beard at the airport

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Quality of

'Football Club' death: 3 sentenced

JOHANNESBURG. — Sisusiso Chili, who killed a member of a hit squad from the Mandela Football Club who had been sent to kill him, was yesterday sentenced to an effective two years' imprisonment.

Mr Justice R A Solomon, who passed sentence in the Rand Supreme Court, said that what he should do with Chili had worried him "tremendously".

In February last year, Mr Maxwell Madondo and a man called "Killer" began a fight with Mr Chili, 25, and if Chili's twin brother had not arrived, Chili might have died.

"Killer" ran away and when the brothers took Mr Madondo to their mother to consult her, Mr Madondo tried to run away.

Isaac Mazibuko, 24, who threw half-bricks at Mr Madondo, was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, and Sandilo Blanket, 22, who threw stones, was sentenced to six months for common assault. Both sentences were suspended for three years. — Sapa

1981 Times 10/3/90

Unrest: Mabuza meets with UDF

JOHANNESBURG — KaNgwane leader Mr Enos Mabuza met senior members of the United Democratic Front here yesterday to discuss the current wave of unrest sweeping the homelands and "agents provocateurs" seeking to plunge KaNgwane into similar chaos.

In a statement, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said his organisation had always counted Mr Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement as an ally.

Yesterday's talks were planned long before the present lightning upheavals in the homelands, he added.

"We noted (during the talks) that agents provocateurs are presently attempting to destabilise KaNgwane," a statement said. — Sapa

Umkhonto men to meet ex-soldiers

PAT DEVEREAUX

FORMER South African Defence Force generals and admirals are to meet with members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe in Lusaka early next month to initiate talks on the military's role in a future South Africa.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa's Western Cape director, Mr Nic Borain, said about 80 delegates — 40 South Africans and 40 Umkhonto we Sizwe members — will be at the conference starting on April 4.

Although he was not able to release the names of the delegates at this stage Mr Borain said it was expected that Umkhonto we Sizwe leader, Mr Chris Hani would head the ANC delegation.

"The Idasa organised conference will focus on perceptions of the conduct of security forces within the country. The continuation of the armed struggle, conscription, the proposed manpower policy and what kind of defence force will be needed in a future South Africa.

"At some stage in the negotiation process between the Government and the ANC the military will have to be examined. We are hoping this conference will help to establish initial contact between the forces on both sides," he said.

Mr Borain said the South African delegation included a number of recently retired SADF staff including several generals and admirals.

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Flickering hopes

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

DURBAN — It was the lighted candles that broke the ice.

The prayer service in Ntuzuma near Durban recently was tense at first when members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) filed into a massive tent and faced each other grimly from opposite sides.

But when it came time to exchange candles, they embraced each other and wept, and promised that never again would they attack and hurt one another.

It was not the first time such promises have been exchanged. There have been several attempts before to secure peace after nearly three years of bloody confrontation, killings, rapes, arson and looting which has left nearly 3 000 people dead and thousands of homes destroyed.

But on each occasion the violence has broken out again. Now Natal residents are sceptical about these grassroots peace initiatives.

In the immediate area surrounding Durban alone, the violence claimed 178 lives in December, 107 in January and 105 in February, according to the co-ordinator of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group, Roy Ainslie. So far this month at least 18 people have died.

Deep-rooted causes

There have been ongoing peace talks between leaders of Inkatha and the Council of SA Trade Unions/UDF alliance, and every so often the violence simmers down, raising hopes among victims that their lives will return to normal once again.

But reality paints a different picture. The violence is far too deep-rooted and complex to simply disappear overnight.

Many political analysts have described the Natal violence as symptomatic of problems apparent in the rest of the country. Appalling socio-economic conditions have created a general feeling of discontent among black people, who are forced to compete for inadequate and limited resources, which in turn has given rise to "tsotsism" and criminal activities.

Rapid urbanisation, lack of infrastructural resources for residential purposes and widespread unemployment are very serious problems in Natal. Durban, said to be the second fastest growing city in the world, is surrounded by massive and constantly mushrooming squatter areas, where between 500 and 1 000 people can depend on the same single tap for water. Families are squashed into tiny tin-and-mud shacks, which wash away every time it rains. There is no electricity, no sewerage system and no roads.

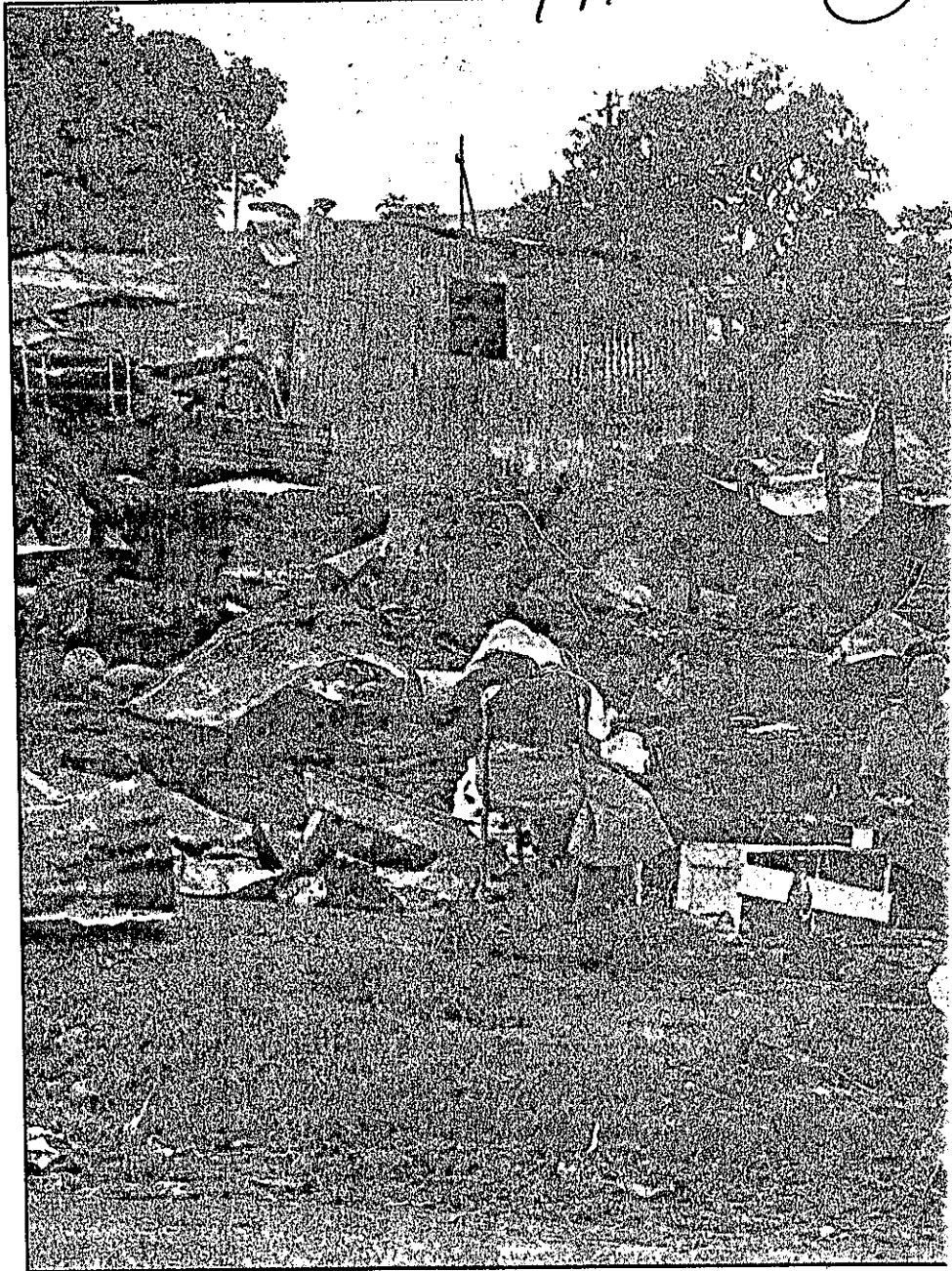
Gangsterism is on the increase. There are at least 10 well-established gangs operating in Durban's townships, who leap on the political bandwagon and constantly perpetrate atrocities in the names of Inkatha and/or the UDF or ANC.

And the problem of violence is compounded by the political struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance.

Research into reasons for the violence has been widespread. John Aitchison, director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg, suggests that there are two reasons for the violence: That it is simply a later occurrence of the revolt

against government structures that started elsewhere in 1984/85, or that it is by nature a different conflict altogether, between differing political factions.

He said the two are not mutually exclusive, but that the second option is more compelling, and would certainly explain



RUINS OF WAR: To these despairing Natal squatters, caught up in a miasma of misery, these

UDF-Inkatha clashes take no heed

what he calls "the curious inability or unwillingness of the State's forces to crush the violence."

The role of the South African Police and the kwaZulu Police in the violence has been highly controversial, with both Inkatha and UDF members accusing them of partisanship on different

occasions.

Formal peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance have followed a path fraught with difficulties. They took over a year to get off the ground, and late last year the Inkatha central committee declared a moratorium on the talks.

However, although the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, believes these peace talks have not achieved much, the leaders who are involved are cautiously optimistic about their success.

KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture,

Dr Oscar Dhlom believed the peace talks had had a good beginning in June, the rate of unredeemed deaths decrease average of 35 a nine.

The violence again late last year, the peace talks

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Sweden wins in toss-up for attention

Mandela sticks to schedule after all

STOCKHOLM — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, scheduled to arrive in Stockholm today on the last leg of an intensively scheduled tour abroad, is a tired man who wishes he could be in two places at once.

With a renewed wave of violence in South Africa's homelands and black townships, he decided on Friday to cut short his planned week-long visit to Sweden and return home in response to calls for his personal intervention.

Urgent petitions yesterday afternoon from anti-apartheid solidarity organisations who successfully turned Sweden into the backbone of international political and material support for the ANC won the day and it was agreed he would stay until Saturday.

His original packed schedule of official meetings was reinstated, with particular emphasis on a mass rally he is to address in

Stockholm on Friday night to meet the Swedish public and personally thank them for their vital support for the ANC during the years of struggle against apartheid.

Campaigners and the ANC leadership abroad at the same time make no secret of the fact Mr Mandela's powerful presence will be a vital factor in ensuring continued if not increased support for the anti-apartheid cause.

Redirect aid

One leading Swedish campaigner, active since 1959, said yesterday there was a real danger people could mistakenly assume the struggle against racism and for democracy in South Africa was over, and swing their humanitarian focus closer to home in Eastern Europe, where calls for foreign aid were increasing.

A personal call from Mr Mandela to the Swedish public and their Nordic neighbours for their unflinching support until, and also after apartheid was abolished, was very important, he said.

This year alone, Sweden has allocated R110 million in non-military aid to the ANC.

The organisation's chief representative in Sweden, Mr Billy Modise, said last night when he announced Mr Mandela would be staying on after all: "We are acutely conscious of the political and material support that we have received from Sweden."

It had been agreed "after consultations" that the "very important rally" should take place as scheduled.

"It will give (Mr Mandela's) delegation an opportunity to meet the people of Sweden and to help strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples." — Sapa.

Blood ties, bantustans and war to the finish

Star 12/3/90

11A

The Struggle, a History of the African National Congress by Heidi Holland (Grafton R24,99)
Reviewed by PATRICK LAURENCE

In the late 1970s Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the man who led Transkei to nominal independence, sought to visit the jailed Mr Nelson Mandela on Robben Island.

The arch-collaborator, as he was seen by ANC activists, wanted to confer with the man who symbolised resistance to apartheid. Chief Matanzima's mission was to secure Mr Mandela's release and to offer him high office in Transkei.

There was a Faustian ring to it. Acceptance by Mr Mandela would have meant giving his blessing to bantustan policy, which, as an integral part of apartheid, the ANC leader had resisted all his adult life.

Offer complicated

The offer was complicated by blood ties. Chief Matanzima and Mr Mandela were cousins as well as political enemies.

Heidi Holland, in her new book on the ANC, provides an insight into the relationship between the two men.

"Kaiser or 'KD' as everyone called him, was fond of Nelson," she writes of their younger days in Transkei. "He admired Nelson's kindness, especially towards his family, and he found the young Mandela agreeably thoughtful company ..."

"Whatever Nelson said was well considered and worth hearing," KD once remarked.

"Matanzima and Mandela were distinctively tall young men who shared the features of their common *inkosi* grandfather. They were both Xhosa aristocrats, dignified with straight



Mandela: did not allow sentiment about his relationship to Matanzima to cloud his judgment.

backs and proud heads. Both were destined to be leaders in the struggle for South Africa, though in opposing camps."

No sentiment

Holland, an experienced journalist, recalls that Mr Mandela did not allow sentiment to cloud his judgment when Chief Matanzima's request for a meeting reached him in prison.

"Mandela put it to the vote, obtaining clearance from the authorities to hold meetings in two sections

(on Robben Island) holding ANC men. A traitor in the eyes of Congress ... Matanzima was told not to come."

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, gave the ANC leader's reply to the offer.

"He will not stay in a homeland under any circumstances. If he is banished there, he



Matanzima: admired his cousin Mandela's kindness and found him agreeably thoughtful company.

would return to Johannesburg immediately."

Holland's account of the ANC is an unashamedly popular history. It is readable, providing the broad picture skillfully and accurately, illuminating it with details like the one described above.

Hunger strike

The book was completed last year. The epilogue includes an account of the hunger strike by detainees which marked the beginning of the process which culminated in President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

Judging by her last chapter, "The Foreseeable Future," Holland did not anticipate the speed at which events have moved in the past six months. She is not alone, however. She has lots of journalists, analysts and diplomats for company.

Her warning about the dangers of polarisation if the National Party and the ANC cannot reach a *modus vivendi* remain apposite, however.

The Conservative Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress remain in the wings, as she reminds us, waiting to fight the final war to the finish.

Holland provides interesting data on why the ANC is committed to nationalising key sections of the economy.

"With the wealthiest whites in South Africa — some 5 percent of the population — owning 88 percent of private wealth in the country, and the entire black population owning only 2 percent, it is very obvious that any black constituency will demand redistribution of wealth."

Leaders condemn violence

PAT DEVEREAUX

POLITICAL leaders from across the spectrum yesterday roundly condemned the rising countrywide violence and urged South Africans to remain calm.

The Democratic Party would support the Minister of Law and Order in his efforts to bring about stability in the country, co-leader Dr Denis Worral said yesterday.

Mr Casper Uys of the Conservative Party said the unrest of the past few days had not been the work of criminals as was being claimed, but of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the UDF.

But ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu last night dismissed claims that the ANC was behind the current violence as "nonsense". He said this was an attempt to shift the responsibility for the current crisis in the country.

"Any crackdown on our political activists and leadership can only fuel

TO P

Reaction

FROM PAGE 1.

the already explosive situation," he warned.

Addressing a press conference at St Alban's Cathedral in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Patrick (Terror) Lekota, national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said people should refrain from

"all behaviour which disguised the direction of the struggle".

Mr Lekota said events now taking place around the country were results of heightened expectations that a negotiated solution to South Africa's problems can be found.

They was an indication that the Government was moving far too slowly for the victims of apartheid, he said.

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ANC-Govt showdown ready in two weeks

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THE South African Government and a delegation of ANC representatives are to thrash out remaining obstacles to negotiations within two weeks — shortly after Mr Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa.

Mr Mandela, the newly-elected deputy president of the African National Congress and effective leader of the organisation while Mr Oliver Tambo recovers from a stroke, plans to return to South Africa by March 17.

His return is expected to trigger the first round of "talks about talks" between the Government and ANC representatives. They will be in Cape Town, according to both sources.

This follows the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka last week which decided to make immediate contact with the Government and set up talks in which representatives of the ANC and President F W de Klerk will meet for the first

But it'll be 'talks on talks'

PAT DEVEREAUX

time over a negotiating table.

The Government this week announced that it was prepared to meet an ANC delegation at short notice to discuss remaining obstacles blocking the way of negotiations.

It seems the ANC delegation will include newly-elected NEC members Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki, and the South African Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo.

The ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Mr Chris Hani, are also expected to be key figures at the meeting.

Expected on Mr de Klerk's team are: Minister of Constitutional Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen; Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and his deputy, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

Recruitment drive

Mr de Klerk admitted recently that legislation concerning the return of ANC exiles was being looked into.

Discussions between the two teams are likely to focus on the ANC's two main preconditions to negotiations — the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the ANC is expected to emerge as a legal political body within the next month.

Mr Sisulu has been given a mandate to set in motion the restructuring of the ANC and establish headquarters in Johannesburg and regional offices.

He spoke this week of a massive recruitment drive to be launched at local and regional levels.

"Membership of the ANC is open to all, and members would pay subscriptions and actively involve themselves in the organisation," he said.

The SACP has announced that it will also send a delegation to South Africa for talks with the Government.

"We shall be announcing a public SACP leadership core within our country and also despatch Communist Party members into the country to strengthen the core as soon as possible," a statement said.

Exiles will face some problems back home

C/press 11/3/90

11A

WHAT next. Mr Mandela? This was the question posed to the newly-elected ANC deputy president by a member who demanded to know when exiles would start returning home.

Mandela, who addressed a closed meeting of the ANC's rank and file members in Lusaka last week, obtained a first-hand assessment of the real mood among members in exile.

Mandela said plans for the exiles' return were being worked out. "It is not easy," he admitted.

According to ANC spokesman Tom Sebina, Mandela advised exiles that it would be naive to send people to South Africa immediately because most of them would not know where to go.

"We want to integrate them properly," said Sebina, who indicated that the return of exiles was one of the ANC's most important considerations.

The organisation was working around the clock on plans to have the exiles "smoothly repatriated", said Sebina.

But Mandela said those who knew where they could go to find shelter without undue problems could do so.

Said one senior official who attended the meeting: "We don't want to return to South Africa only to be lodged in transit camps while waiting to be resettled."

The Zimbabwe and Namibian experience was a good lesson and the ANC wanted to avoid similar inconvenience to that suffered by Zimbabweans and Namibians who had to wait in transit camps after their return to their motherland.

"We want to go back home as heroes and not be subjected to another form of confinement - dehumanising treatment even if it is done by your own people," Sebina said.

Most of the ANC's 16 000 exiles in countries around the world want to return home as soon as possible.

There are about 2 000 exiles in Zambia, between 4 000 and 5 000 in Tanzania, a few hundred in Zimbabwe and other African countries and the balance scattered around the world - from the United States to the Soviet Union.

A special committee headed by ANC veteran Walter Sisulu is sorting out how and when people should start returning to South Africa. In Zambia a similar committee has been established under the chairmanship of Jackie Selebe, leader of the ANC youth wing.

The majority of exiles are young people, some of them with families.

"All these issues must be taken into account. We cannot just dump these people in South Africa and tell them to find their own way," said Victor Moshe, a member of the ANC's foreign affairs department.

A major question facing the ANC is what to do with the exiles once they return to South Africa. At present the ANC runs several subsistence farms and other projects in countries like Tanzania and Zambia.

"We have been looking after our people in exile," said Sebina. "But the question is how do we care for them once they are back in South Africa?"

Even foreign governments have expressed concern about the repatriation of exiles.

Outgoing Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal said in Lusaka that the international community must assist the ANC.

"I will go myself to member states and ask their governments for financial assistance. Now is the time for the international community to show their solidarity



Nelson Mandela . . . seeking answers for exiles.

by providing the capital to assist these people resettle in South Africa," he said.

During last week's NEC summit, the ANC resolved to set up structures inside South Africa as soon as possible. Mandela will spearhead the administration and the formation of the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

The ANC will have to obtain more than 80 million US dollars to re-establish itself inside South Africa.

Part of this money would be used to find employment and accommodation for ANC exiles who had lost track of their relatives and homes.

Overcoming the remaining obstacles - mainly the lifting of the state of emergency the release of all political prisoners and unconditional indemnity for all exiles - will undoubtedly be the signal for the thousands of exiles to start their journey back home - ANO.

Mandela calls for funds

NELSON Mandela has called on the international community to provide funds to resettle thousands of returning South African exiles. *AP News 11/3/90*

In a speech to diplomats and representatives of international organisations at the OAU headquarters in Ethiopia on Friday, he said: "We will need tremendous resources to find jobs and accommodation for thousands of exiles and political detainees still held in South African jails."

"We rely on the international community, particularly the African states, to provide resources."

Afterwards, he returned to Tanzania to complete his six-day visit with a tour

of ANC training camps. He leaves for Sweden today to visit ANC President Oliver Tambo, being treated in a Stockholm hospital, but will cut short his trip by two days due to unrest in the South African homelands.

(11A) Mandela will be met at Stockholm airport tomorrow by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and during his stay will receive courtesies usually reserved for a visiting head of state.

(11B) A meeting in Stockholm between Mandela and British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, seen as a rebuff to Margaret Thatcher, is still scheduled for Wednesday. - Sapa-Reuter-AP
■ See Page 10

Diary of an MK guerrilla

Comrade Ginger (not his real name) could be your newspaper vendor or the man next door. His stocky build and unassuming manner belie his wartime heroism.

For this is the man who fled South Africa, received extensive military training and joined the Zanu forces fighting against colonialism in Zimbabwe. A South African by birth, he fled the country in 1961 and is a staunch member of the ANC.

He would not disclose his identity "because I want to come back home too". This is his true story of war, as told to CHARLES MOGALE in Harare.



what is called the "sagga" - a most difficult form of training which prepares soldiers for the battlefield.

During your training, you could eat a live snake. You are taught how to survive without food, fire or water.

There I introduced my own "kangaroo bakery". It is a baking method where we dug a hole, made a fire, removed the fire, put in raw food and covered the hole. It became very popular.

It was decided that some of us would have to help Zanu in their fight against the combined forces of Ian Smith's Rhodesia and South Africa.

We were split into two groups. Modise and Dumiso Damekwa were also in my group.

Then came Operation Siphohlolo. We were supposed to engage the enemy - the Rhodesian army - in the eastern part of Zimbabwe. We advanced until we reached the Zambezi Valley on January 12, 1968.

That night Modise gave us the most beautiful and enjoyable speech

"We were the first South Africans to undergo training at the military academy in Russia. I am a qualified military engineer. We were also the first blacks to operate tanks."

I have ever heard. He spoke for two hours, telling us how to operate.

While we were there we heard on the radio that the Smith government had issued a statement to the effect that it "seemed" ANC and Zanu guerrillas were crossing the Zambezi River, because guerrillas were not seen in Lusaka.

We kept on moving. We were in the forest until January 18.

Our orders were to open a base in Zimbabwe, and some of us would be instructed to swim across the Limpopo.

It was raining very hard that year,

and we could not make fires for food - so we survived on raw meat. We ate hare, elephant, zebra, rhino and even a lion. In our report we noted that we had killed 87 animals in about three months.

On March 14, the enemy spotted our tracks. The same day our guys knew we had been spotted. Moffat Radebe, the commander of the group, was the first to notice.

We were told to keep moving forward. We had to descend a mountain we called "Table Mountain". Going down a mountain in warfare is a very difficult thing, it is more difficult than going up. You slip, lose your balance and so on.

We were divided into two groups of the fit and unfit. I was with the fit ones. On March 18 the enemy increased its numbers. They approached our camp using elephant routes. The men we had at the outpost, Kanti Hlekani and David "Shine" Mpumelelo, deliberately let 11 of them, each with a dog, pass through.

We mowed them down. We had started trouble. The enemy got mad.

Among the casualties were the ANC's Pat Mmolawa (former president of the youth league), David Molefe from Skhukhuni, Sidwell Mayona from East London, Stanley Tsotsi and James Goniwe.

Later, when the matter was raised in court, the commanding officer of the enemy troops, a Colonel Chris, told Judge Davis that he had deployed 5 000 men, 100 vehicles, and six air squadrons. We were shocked, because there were only 50 of us.

On March 21 we had another battle on second base. We lost three ANC men - among them Pencil Ntsele from Alexandra, who was the national commissar, and Mike Boikhutso, a member of the first MK support group. We gave them hell.

We saw 15 men we had killed, but the police later reported we had killed 24.

The same day, I got lost. At about 7pm, my group clashed with the en-

emy, and Henry Ntsele sustained injuries which left him paralysed. I reunited with my group the same night.

On the 23rd we fought again. We were surrounded for 11 days. However, on April 1 we made a break. We spotted an enemy camp and approached it using the tiger's crawl.

There was a problematic coward among us, and we explained to him that he would have to be killed (by us) because he was just being a burden. He wept and begged us to spare him. We got him to crawl ahead of us.

There were three members of the enemy. They did not see us until we were very near them. I shot first, killing them instantly.

We found lots of good food and water. We virtually partied that day. " "

Next week: Captured, sentenced to death, and experiences on Death Row in Rhodesia.

I LEFT home near Pretoria in March 1961, just weeks before the Union became the so-called Republic of South Africa.

I was an activist and feared arrest, especially after then Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd made it clear that a "kaffir" would know his place after May 31 of the same year.

I got a tip-off that I was on the list of people to be detained, so I decided to go underground.

I got a lift in a truck to Botswana. There were no problems going through the border in those days because traders' vehicles were not checked. We left home at 5am and arrived in Serowe at midday.

In Botswana, I met Robert Rashe of the ANC National Executive Committee, and he advised me to proceed to Tanganyika (now Tanzania).

I was in Tanganyika when Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was formed. It was decided that I should be sent to Beirut in Lebanon to study what is the equivalent of matric.

While there I wrote a letter to the ANC in London applying to join MK.

The reply came and instructed me to go back to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika, where I was to be based at Mzini Camp. I did. In October of the same year, I was taken to the Soviet Union - there were 50 of us. We

were not told where we were going.

We went by road until Khartoum, and stayed at the local university for 14 days. Then the Russian ambassador came and we knew we were going to Russia, but we did not know where.

Before our plane landed, I told my friends we were in the Ukraine, Odessa - I could see from the black soil. We arrived at 4.30pm, and it was snowing. We did not see the sun until the next April.

After that many groups came in dribs and drabs until we numbered about 100.

We were the first South Africans to undergo training at the military academy in Russia. I am a qualified military engineer. We were also the first blacks to operate tanks. There were 17 of us on that course, and only nine passed.

I trained in the same group with Joe Modise, commander-in-chief of MK, along with Patrick Molawa and Joe Modiba.

We stayed there for 13 months and then went back to Tanzania where we stayed in the camps for two and half years while undergoing further training.

In May 1967, I was selected to go to the front - that is the frontline of the battle. I was taken with Chris Hani, Phoka Noka and others, some of whom are spies now.

We went to Egypt to be trained in



ON TELEVISION and in a great many photographs you can see him standing just behind Nelson Mandela — Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers.

And he is listening to what Mr Mandela is saying: We are going to nationalise the mines and banks and break up the monopolies.

I wonder what he is thinking as he stands there, listening?

Perhaps: striking against the capitalist mine bosses was the *right* thing to do. Striking against mine bosses who are the ANC: will that be right? Will it be possible?

Won't I lose my power base? After all, I am an important man in the country, working for my union members against the Great Exploiters.

Look at Zimbabwe: a liberated country where the unions have little say and are of less consequence. In fact, where on our continent are the unions in the same powerful position as they are here?

Perhaps, Mr Ramaphosa might



Harald Pakendorf

says trade unions should pause to think about nationalisation and how it will affect them

be ruminating, nationalisation is something we can think about again. After all, why not let an ANC government hit big business really hard with tax while we go on strike for higher wages? That might be a better way of redistributing wealth.

On the other hand, in any period after liberation will we still be free to strike at all? There is very little historical evidence of freedom to strike to put pressure on a new government anywhere in the world.

It might just be expected that we all pull together, that we be united for the greater good of all, that we should suffer a little — only in the beginning, the new government will say, but who knows how long the beginning is going to be?

Is that what Cyril Ramaphosa is thinking as he stands behind Mr Mandela? If not, he ought to be considering some of the possibilities which liberation may bring with it.

After all, it is not as if all the unions — even in his federation, Cosatu — are as one on all issues, either politically, in the way they see their own roles, or on how the economy should be run.

Because what has happened since February 2 is that the political playing grounds are now open

Should workers fear the ANC?

SI Times 11/3/90
to all — not quite level, though, as some still have to play uphill while the powers-that-be have several advantages.

We are all South Africans now, competing with each other for political power and influence among all the people of the country. And that makes a difference.

Cosatu already knows this. It is competing with Nactu. And if our own Communist Party is anything like communist parties elsewhere in the world, it is also looking to the workers as its real power base — to Cosatu members, to Cyril Ramaphosa's supporters.

Is the ANC not also going to look to the same people for votes in future — competing with the

SACP, the PAC, Inkatha and possibly a number of smaller groupings — politely knocking on your door, and asking: "Excuse me, sir, I represent the ANC and I wondered if you would care to join?"

And if you decline, the kindly canvasser will shake your hand and say: "It's a free country and you can join any political party you wish, sir. Thank you for your time, sir."

Is that how it is going to be? Somehow, I doubt it. Initially the competition for support might just be more direct.

However it happens, the fact is that just being against apartheid and white minority rule is not enough any more. We all need to

consider what it is we want when the New South Africa comes about — and it is something we have to begin to spell out now and to live now.

Just mouthing the words of long ago might be safe and make you feel good, but South Africa today is not anywhere near the South Africa of the Fifties.

The New South Africa will be even more different, with this nice exception to the past: we can all help shape it. It is conceivable that the mineworkers and other union members do not see their new-found freedoms *as workers* just disappearing in the name of liberation.

Perhaps then we should not be all that concerned about some of the slogans some of the politicians are mouthing some of the time — because all of the voters are not going to fall for all of the slogans.

Because it is a new ball game and nationalisation might not be bad only for Anglo but also for the mineworkers. And the union bosses.

By Robyn Chalmers

WALTER Sisulu shook the JSE on Friday by telling a Wits Business School breakfast that the ANC would not budge on its nationalisation policy.

The veteran ANC leader delivered a hard-hitting speech about post-apartheid SA to more than 550 businessmen and bankers, including Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals, Anglo American outgoing chairman Gavin Relly and JSE president Tony Norton.

Mr Sisulu reiterated ANC policy of nationalising "monopoly banks, mining houses and financial institutions".

Businessmen were disappointed that their warnings had gone unheard by the ANC.

S/Times 11/3/90
Central

Mr Sisulu said "creative nationalisation" was central to the ANC's economic policy.

Asked whether the ANC had considered any options to nationalisation in the face of foreign investor jitters, Mr Sisulu said it had not. The main objective of ANC policy was to uplift the economy while righting injustice. Nationalisation was the best method to do so.

"But we will not adopt a mechanical approach to nationalisation, rather we will be creative within given circumstances. The aim is to rid SA of present inequalities in terms of wealth.

"Sometimes one must go to war to secure peace. We realise that in the short term nationalisation may discourage foreign investment, but believe that in the long term it is the only solution."

A democratic SA would have to pursue an activist economic programme. Busi-

Sisulu hard line shocks business



WALTER SISULU ... we stick to nationalisation

ness would have to play a major role in funding the State's requirements for the redistribution of income.

Mr Sisulu listed some ways to achieve a mixed economy:

- Curbs on monopoly power through legislation and dismemberment of some key conglomerates to bring industry and its development closer to the workforce.

- Greater diffusion of power in industry through the spread of ownership by share ownership schemes.

- Renationalisation of privatised concerns, not only to maintain the industrial and service infrastructure, but to facilitate wealth redistribution.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC had not yet seen anything ap-

proaching a fundamental recasting of policies either by business or the Government.

"This explains why our people suspect that the main concern of both Government and business is not the dismantling of the key structures of apartheid, but rather the winning of international acceptability through the removal of anti-apartheid sanctions and boycotts."

He stressed that the business community had to recognise that old ways of resolving crises could not work.

Mr Sisulu called on businessmen to put aside their fears and work with the ANC.

"Together, we can forge a vibrant, prosperous new SA."

Exhausted Mandela cuts short his whirlwind tour

S Times 11/3/90 (11A) 2

Sunday Times Reporter

A WORN-OUT Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday delivered his shortest speech — two minutes and 45 seconds.

A Tanzanian official described him as "very tired" by his three-week nation-hopping tour, which he has now cut short by a day.

Mr Mandela, 71, spoke in the Tanzanian provincial capital of Morogoro about 200km west of Dar es Salaam.

Morogoro is home to about 2 500 black refugees from South Africa and is the site of a school and training farm run by the ANC.

Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie and a number of other ANC leaders arrived in Morogoro in the afternoon, five hours behind schedule. They had come from Iringa, about 250km away.

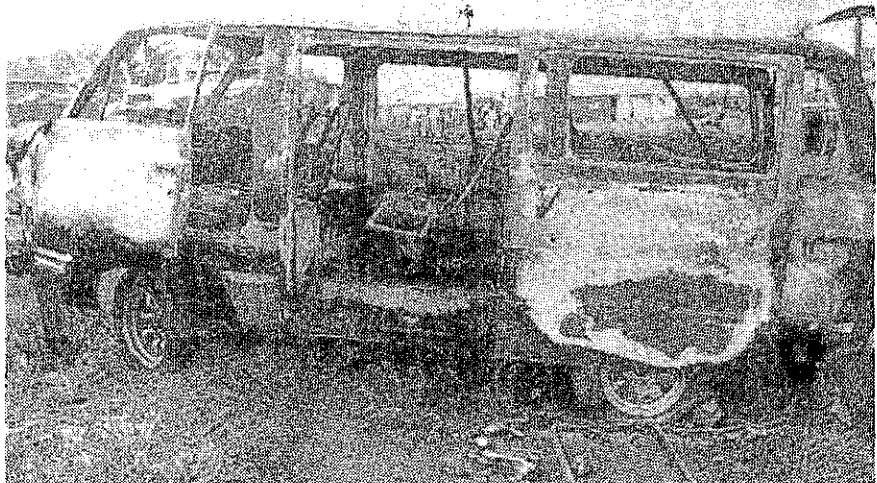
In his brief remarks to the refugees at Morogoro, Mr Mandela once again thanked Tanzania for its support of black South Africans in their efforts to end white rule.

To Sweden

Mandela's tour has so far taken him to Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Ethiopia. He is scheduled to speak to the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity in Dar es Salaam today before going on to Sweden.

As the newly elected vice-president of the ANC, Mr Mandela will hold emergency talks with his executive in Stockholm tomorrow when he meets ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo for the first time in nearly 30 years.

It is considered vital to the ANC's and Mr Mandela's



STREETS OF VIOLENCE . . . the burnt-out shell of a taxi in Kattlehong

credibility that they be able to prove their influence in bringing an end to the current bloodshed in South Africa.

His exhaustion, and worry about the violence at home, has forced him to cut one day from a week-long visit to Stockholm, where he awaits a heroic reception from the country that has provided the most funds for the ANC in three decades.

He will fly straight home on Friday after his talks with Mr Tambo, who is being treated in a Stockholm clinic for the effects of the stroke he suffered in August.

● In London, officials confirmed privately that Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd would meet President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Cape Town before he flies on to next week's Namibian independence celebrations.

Homeland turmoil a boost for ANC

THE violence sweeping SA's black client states, and its political consequences, will change the line-up of forces when negotiations for a new South African deal begin.

Political upheaval has now engulfed all of the so-called TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which, until recently, were considered the show-cases of apartheid.

The turmoil there, starting with Transkei's coup in 1987, has two important common characteristics.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

The first is that there appears to be overwhelming popular rejection of the states' independence, considered by many a sham since the first of them, Transkei, came into being 13 years ago.

The second common thread is that the states either through the medium of new governments or in response to large public pro-

tests — are distancing themselves from the SA Government and are lining up closer to the African National Congress.

This means President F W de Klerk's Government will probably be facing the independent states across the negotiating table, rather than having them on his side.

The Government has been placing considerable store by the impact established groups of "moderate" blacks will make at negotiations, as a counter to the expected

more radical stance of the ANC.

The expressed desire of the new heads of state of Transkei and Ciskei for re-incorporation, and that of massive public protests in Bophuthatswana and Venda, will also dramatically broaden the ambit of negotiations.

In turn, this will move the concepts of federalism and confederalism higher up the negotiating agenda.

In addition to the four independent states, there are six self-governing homelands.

They have autonomous governments, but have stopped short of becoming formally independent from SA.

At least one of these leaders, Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane, has made no secret of his inclinations towards the ANC.

The most significant among the self-governing leaders, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, has long since positioned himself to keep his options open on both the Government and ANC sides.

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ANC starts 'feeder' talks

ArL 12/3/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

DISCUSSIONS are taking place between "intermediaries" to arrange a meeting between the government and the African National Congress, says Mr Walter Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC.

He declined to give more details.

"I can't give more facts. There are discussions being held to prepare for a meeting where talks about talks will take place. We don't know yet when the meeting with the government will take place."

Meanwhile, Mr Sisulu today reiterated his call for calm and peace in South Africa.

He said the unrest sweeping the country and independent homelands "is disturbing any progress we are making".

Office-bearers of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were arranging a meeting between warring factions in Katlehong.

"It looks like we are having some success there," said Mr Sisulu.

Representatives of the two organisations were also working for peace in Gazankulu and were doing likewise in Carletonville, he said.

● He said the ANC would open its South African headquarters in Johannesburg next week.

CML Trips 12/3/90 11A

Red carpet for Mandela in Sweden

DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania. — A tired Mr Nelson Mandela ended a six-day visit to Tanzania yesterday and headed for Sweden, where he was to receive a welcome fit for a head of state.

Mr Mandela, 71, was to take a late-night flight to Stockholm on the last leg of an almost month-long visit to five nations in his crusade to obtain support for the African National Congress.

Visibly tired, Mr Mandela was seen by doctors on Saturday evening in the Tanzanian town of Morogoro, home to about 2 500 South African refugees and a school and training farm run by the ANC.

"He's no longer a 41-year-old," Mr Solly Rathabe, an ANC spokesman, said yesterday. "He was tired and we called doctors to check him. He's not sick, he's just tired."

But Mr Rathabe denied reports that Mr Mandela would shorten his visit to Sweden, insisting he would remain in Stockholm a full five days "and might even extend his stay".

A Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman said last week that Mr Mandela planned to cut short his visit, a move

the Swedish national news agency attributed to his concern over violence in South Africa's black homelands.

The primary purpose of the trip to Sweden was to visit Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, who has been recuperating in a Stockholm clinic from a stroke suffered late last year. Mr Mandela was recently named deputy president of the ANC, making him the effective head of the organisation as long as Mr Tambo is incapacitated.

The Swedish government, which has long been a major financial and diplomatic supporter of the ANC, plans to roll out a red carpet for Mr Mandela.

He is to be greeted on his arrival this morning by Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and members of the Swedish government. Tomorrow he is to meet Mr Carlsson and members of his cabinet, then speak to the Riksdag, the national assembly.

Mr Mandela is also to meet the British Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, in Stockholm in what is seen as a rebuff to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who advocated a relaxing of international sanctions against South Africa following Mr Mandela's release from jail. — Sapa-AP

Struggle goes on — Winnie

HARARE. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, says freedom for all is in sight in South Africa but that it is not time for guerillas to lay down their arms.

Mrs Mandela, in an interview published yesterday by the Sunday Mail newspaper here, said the path to freedom was still a long one.

"There are a lot of political prisoners still inside ..." — Sapa-AP

PAM renamed to do 'internal' PAC work

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Pan-Africanist Movement, founded late last year, will be dissolved to form part of the the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), a special congress held here said in a statement yesterday.

PAM has been renamed PAC-Internal and will operate within the country. The PAC external wing will continue to work outside the country and engage the "racist settlers" in the struggle — including the armed struggle — for a free Azania, a spokesman said.

PAC-Internal will politically modernise the "African masses in liberating themselves". It will retain its fraternal relations with the PAC external wing in the cause of Africanism, a spokesman said.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will retain his position. Former president of PAM Mr Mlamli Makwetu will become the vice-president of PAC-Internal. — Sapa

Inkatha is seeking black support for FW's moves

INKATHA'S powerful Central Committee has pledged full support for peace talks with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and called on all black organisations to back President F W de Klerk's "white political boldness" with what it called "black political honour".

The committee resolved on Saturday to urge De Klerk to get negotiations off the ground now for a new democratic constitution and to be bold in his rejection of Far Right detractors.

It applauded what ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other released political prisoners had said in committing themselves to ending violence among black people.

The committee took a firm decision to intensify Inkatha's own action for peace and to do everything it could to make "the ongoing peace initiatives between Inkatha and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu alliance" as successful as possible.

It further called on all black organisations and political and community

leaders to support "every move anybody makes" for peace.

In its resolution calling for black backing for De Klerk's initiatives, Inkatha said that this would be "fulfilling the dreams of past heroes and martyrs of the struggle - and those of the majority of blacks today - of negotiating a political settlement in South Africa."

Preamble

In a preamble to the peace resolution, the committee said it had always supported and applauded Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and had looked forward to the abatement of black-on-black confrontations once this had been done.

It noted "with deepening concern", however, that violence showed no signs of abatement in the KwaZulu/Natal region and that it showed signs of escalating elsewhere in the country.

It also recorded that, while there was not "specific loud and

publicised condemnation" from the ANC, UDF or Cosatu of each act of violence, "we really do applaud what Mandela and other released political prisoners have said in commitments to ending black-on-black confrontations." - Sapa.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Handwritten notes in circles: "11A" and "11A".

Prayer service 11A

ABOUT 1 000 candles were lit at a prayer service for detainees at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church, Soweto, yesterday. Soweto (23) 190

Supporters of the Black Consciousness Movement and the African National Congress held candles while Father Emmanuel La Font of the Moletsane Catholic parish led the congregation in prayers marking National Detainees Day.

B/day 12/3/90

11A

~~11B~~

ANC rhetoric fans violence, says Viljoen

CHARLENE SMITH

CONTINUING rhetoric about violence and the armed struggle by the ANC was a contributing factor to present violence, Constitutional Affairs and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said on Friday.

Viljoen, who also issued a terse "no comment" when asked if any homeland leaders had approached government about reincorporation into SA, said he believed there were quite a few interests behind the present violence in the homelands and other areas.

He refused to name these interests. Viljoen said those who claimed vio-

lence existed in the areas because there was no free political activity and people lacked places to air their grievances were "unreasonable, particularly as the government has taken giant steps forward to normalise the political process. It makes the use of violence unjustified."

There were continuing discussions in government about the homeland situation, and homeland leaders were being consulted, Viljoen said.

Pretoria plays host to the Sebes

Business Day Reporter

FORMER Ciskei president-for-life Lennox Sebe and his wife Virginia were enjoying SA government hospitality in a government guest house in Pretoria at the weekend after his hush-hush arrival at Jan Smuts on Thursday.

Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Rusty Evans confirmed Sebe had been offered SA hospitality with the goodwill of the new Ciskeian regime. There was no question of Sebe seeking political asylum.

Evans confirmed Sebe had been met by protocol officials at the airport. The deposed leader succeeded in avoiding a large contingent of local and international Press.

Sebe has made it known he does not wish to speak to the Press, despite offers from Pretoria to arrange a Press conference.

Ciskei's new military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo, has told the SA government Sebe will be arrested if he returns to Ciskei.

Meanwhile, LINDA ENSOR reports that SA Special Risk Association (Sasria) MD Rodney Schneeberger left for Ciskei yes-

terday to assess the damage caused by rioting.

"Our initial information is that the amount of damage is somewhat larger than the reported R10m, but it is too early to make a realistic assessment," Schneeberger said.

In the past week, about 60 shops, offices, supermarkets, factories, hotels and government buildings have been burnt down or damaged.

And our EAST LONDON Correspondent reports that more than 140 people between the ages of 14 and 50 were arrested in Mdantsane between Wednesday and Friday after Ciskei police began raiding houses to locate stolen property.

Bisho police liaison officer Capt Ngwendu said on Friday many stolen items had been recovered. He appealed to those who had lost belongings in looting to report to the police station to identify and reclaim recovered property.

B/day 12/3/90

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Inkatha body supports peace talks

ULUNDI — Inkatha's powerful central committee has pledged full support for peace talks with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and called on all black organisations to back President FW de Klerk's act of "white political boldness" with what it called "black political honour".

The committee resolved on Saturday to urge De Klerk to get negotiations off the ground for a new democratic constitution.

And it applauded what ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and other released political prisoners had said in committing themselves

to ending violence among black people.

The committee took a firm decision to intensify Inkatha's own action for peace.

It further called on all black organisations and leaders to support "every move anybody makes" for peace.

In a preamble to the peace resolution, the committee said it had always supported and applauded Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and had looked forward to the abatement of black-

on-black confrontations once this had been done.

It noted "with deepening concern", however, that violence showed no signs of abatement in the Kwa-Zulu/Natal region and that it showed signs of escalating elsewhere.

□ Buthelezi has introduced a document entitled Inkatha's Declaration in 1990 — the organisation's version of the ANC's Harare Declaration.

The document was released at the start of the central committee meeting and distributed to committee members for their approval.

Buthelezi urged members to clarify their position on the Harare Declaration, which he said was not their document and on which they were not consulted when it was drawn up. — Sapa.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:.....	668
February 1989 — March 8 1990:.....	673
Past 72 hours' official toll:.....	15
TOTAL:.....	1 356

UNITED SERVICE TECHNOLOGIES LIMITED

(Incorporated in the British Virgin Islands)
("Uniserv")

Declaration of dividend on the "B" variable rate cumulative convertible preference shares

Notice is hereby given that preference dividend No. 2 of 15,5 cents has been declared for the year ended 28 February 1990. This dividend is payable to the holders of the "B" variable rate cumulative convertible preference shares registered in the books of the company at the close of business on Friday, 23 March 1990.

Dividend cheques will be posted on or about 30 March 1990.

By order of the Board
L.R. Samuels *Secretary*

Johannesburg
12 March 1990

JONSSONS

Mandela trims schedule after doctor's order to rest

MOROGORO — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela cut short his engagements in Tanzania on Saturday after doctors ordered him to rest, ANC sources said.

Mandela had frequently looked worn out by his punishing schedule since his release a month ago, but this was the first time the 71-year-old leader had cancelled engagements to rest.

Mandela flew to the central Tanzanian town after visiting an ANC military training camp near Iringa in southwestern Tanzania.

Mandela's trip to Sweden this week to visit ANC leader Oliver Tambo has been shortened by one day because of the outbreak of violence in SA, but will still take place, organisers said.

Senior ANC officials including secretary-general Alfred Nzo and chief foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki have arrived in Stockholm to co-ordinate Mandela's four-day stay, which begins today.

But a fifth day which would have culminated in a mass rally in Stockholm's Globe arena has been cancelled in view of the violence, Swedish visit organisers said on Saturday.

Soon after arriving in Stockholm, Mandela will meet ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is convalescing in a local clinic. Tomorrow, he will meet Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, whose Social Democratic Party has given the ANC support and funds. Later Mandela will address Sweden's single-chamber parliament.

On Wednesday he is scheduled to meet British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock and British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. — Sapa-Reuter.

Sowetan 12/3/90

Not time to lay down arms, says Winnie

(11A)

HARARE - Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, says freedom for all is in sight in South Africa but it is not time for guerillas to lay down their arms.

In an interview published yesterday by the *Sunday Mail* newspaper in Harare, Winnie said the legalisation of anti-apartheid movements at home and the release of political prisoners, including her husband, were steps in the right direction.

But those efforts were not enough for the ANC which, until early last month, was outlawed for 30 years.

Nelson Mandela (71) yesterday left Tanzania for Sweden with his wife after visits to Ethiopia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mrs Mandela, interviewed while she was



Mrs Mandela.

in Harare last week, told the *Mail Pretoria* still had to meet certain ANC preconditions for more formal constitutional talks.

She said: "The steps they have taken are a result of pressure and the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

"The path to freedom is still a long one."

"There are a lot of political prisoners still inside and ... the hunger strikes are spreading," she said.

PAC forms its internal wing

Sowetan 12/3/90

11A

THE Pan Africanist Movement renamed itself the Pan Africanist Congress (Internal) at a special congress in Bloemfontein over the weekend.

More than 300 delegates from 49 areas resolved that the internal PAC, which shares the ideology of the PAC externally, would operate within the country.

The PAC External wing will continue to work outside the country and engage the "racist settlers" in the struggle, including the armed struggle, for a free Azania, a spokesman said.

The PAC Internal wing will politically mobilise the "African masses in liberating themselves".

It will retain its fraternal relations with the PAC, a spokesman said.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will retain his position.

Former president of PAM, Mr Mlamli Makwetu, will become the vice-president of the PAC Internal wing.

Mr Bennie Alexander has been appointed the general secretary of the PAC Internal wing.

The date for the next national conference will be announced when the return of PAC exiles has been formulated.

A new executive will then be elected, the spokesman said.

Draw

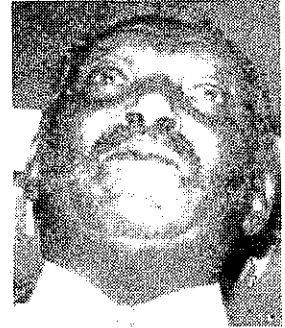
At the congress, Mothopeng reiterated his organisation's call for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

He said such an Assembly, based on one person, one vote in a unitary state and on a common voters' roll, would be the most democratic method as its members would be representatives of their constituencies.

Speaking at the same conference, PAC member

Mr Barney Desai said the PAC was committed to the quest for social justice.

Desai, who recently returned from exile, cautioned PAC supporters against the slogan "One settler one bullet", saying no mature liberation movement had ever had as its policy an intention to "drive white people in the sea". - Sapa.



ZEPH MOTHOPENG

3 000 attend slain Azayo man's burial

11A

ABOUT 3 000 mourners attended the funeral of slain Azanian Youth Organisation member in Bekkersdal at the weekend amid a heavy police presence.

Mr Douglas Chuma (22), who died a week ago after being attacked by people believed to be members of the Bekkersdal Youth Congress, was given a hero's funeral in the West Rand township. Sowetan 2/3/90

Paying tributes to Chuma, Azapo secretary general, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said the BCM has never considered black people as enemies and that such crimes could only be perpetrated by the system or those whose interests coincided with the system.

"Azapo considers those who have taken our land as enemies of black people and our foes are obviously in Pretoria," Nefolovhodwe said.

Azapo secretary general, Kenny Mampondo, said a negotiated settlement could only be supported by those who have run out of stamina to struggle further. He said black workers would benefit nothing from the settlement.

A man is to appear in the Westonaria magistrate's court tomorrow in connection with Chuma's death.

Lekota warns looters

UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota said people who deviate from the purpose of demonstration and indulge in looting "are enemies of the people and have to be identified".

Speaking on a SABC television documentary yesterday, Lekota said: "We want to have freedom to do these things (demonstrate), but there are limits within which we can exercise that right." *Scutler 12/3/90*

Lekota welcomed the improved relationships between the SAP and march organisers, adding that hostility towards the

police by certain people would continue as long as blacks regarded the cops as a force "in the hands of whites and responsible for Whites" **11A**

Also speaking on the documentary, commissioner of police General Johan van der Merwe said he agreed with the principle of the "right to demonstrate", adding that as long as the demonstrations are legal, orderly and do not impinge on the right of others.

Van der Merwe said in the past the police had tried to discuss demonstrations with organisers, "with little success".

UDF: Looters are our enemies

CAPT Timp 12/3/90

11A



Mr Lekota

JOHANNESBURG. — UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota said that people who deviated from the purpose of demonstration and indulged in looting were "enemies of the people and have to be identified".

He was speaking as unrest continued throughout much of the country at the weekend, resulting in 16 deaths. Scores of people were injured.

Interviewed on SATV by Cliff Saunders yesterday, Mr Lekota said: "We want to have freedom to do these things (demonstrate), but there are limits within which we can exercise that right."

Mr Lekota welcomed the improved relationships between the SAP and march organisers, adding that hostility towards the SAP by certain people would continue so long as blacks regarded the SAP as a force "in the hands of whites and responsible for whites".

Also speaking on the programme, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said he agreed with the principle of the "right to demonstrate", so long as demonstrations were legal, orderly and did not impinge on the right of others.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said trouble in demonstrations was usually caused by a minority or by criminal elements.

In weekend unrest reports, police in

Pretoria reported 16 deaths as well as widespread stonings and arson attacks.

- A youth was shot dead in KTC.
- Four people died in Katlehong.
- Three people died in Dambuza, Edendale, when homes were set alight.
- An SAP constable was shot dead in Imbali, near Maritzburg, after four men opened fire from their vehicle.

● The bullet-riddled bodies of a man and woman were found by police at Kwa-Makuta, near Amanzimtoti.

● In Betania, near Port Shepstone, the charred remains of a man were found. In the nearby township of Mbutshini, a bus was attacked and a man stabbed to death.

● A woman was shot dead in her home by gunmen in Mpumalanga. In another incident a man was wounded when security forces returned fire after their vehicle was fired on.

● A municipal policeman was stabbed to death after an argument with a man in Bhekazulu, near Vryheid.

● A man was killed and a woman injured at KwaMashu, near Durban. In another incident, four people were taken to hospital after being shot during an attack on a home. In nearby Inanda, a youth was shot in the leg when a man fired at him from a moving vehicle.

In the Free State, a number of stonings were reported from Phiritona, Heilbron and Thabong, Welkom. Six people — in-

cluding two policemen and a 40-year-old man — were injured.

A house was petrol-bombed at Itomaleng, Jagersfontein. Police used pistols, rubber bullets, birdshot and teargas to disperse a large crowd which barricaded a road and stoned another home.

A man was injured when youths stoned vehicles at Kgotsong, near Bothaville. A police vehicle was among the vehicles stoned. Rubber bullets and teargas were used to disperse his attackers.

Two police vehicles were stoned in Bohlokong, near Bethlehem, and Meloding, Virginia.

In Mhluzi, near Middelburg in the Transvaal, a bus, a delivery vehicle and two private vehicles were set alight. A house was petrol-bombed.

At Nancefield, Messina, police used teargas after a large crowd set fire to a vehicle and stoned the owner's house.

Damage was caused to a dry-cleaning premises in Soweto after a detonator and a fuse were placed against the door in an apparent attempt to gain entry.

In a gunfight in Davidsonville, near Roo-deport, five people were stabbed. Five others were arrested, but a crowd attacked the police and freed the five.

● Five huts were burnt and police arrested seven people during a "generally quiet" weekend in Gazankulu, the homeland's government said. — Sapa

Sweden wins in toss-up for attention

Mandela sticks to schedule after all

STOCKHOLM — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, scheduled to arrive in Stockholm today on the last leg of an intensively scheduled tour abroad, is a tired man who wishes he could be in two places at once.

With a renewed wave of violence in South Africa's homelands and black townships, he decided on Friday to cut short his planned week-long visit to Sweden and return home in response to calls for his personal intervention.

Urgent petitions yesterday afternoon from anti-apartheid solidarity organisations who successfully turned Sweden into the backbone of international political and material support for the ANC won the day and it was agreed he would stay until Saturday.

His original packed schedule of official meetings was reinstated, with particular emphasis on a mass rally he is to address in

Stockholm on Friday night to meet the Swedish public and personally thank them for their vital support for the ANC during the years of struggle against apartheid.

Campaigners and the ANC leadership abroad at the same time make no secret of the fact Mr Mandela's powerful presence will be a vital factor in ensuring continued if not increased support for the anti-apartheid cause.

Redirect aid

One leading Swedish campaigner, active since 1959, said yesterday there was a real danger people could mistakenly assume the struggle against racism and for democracy in South Africa was over, and swing their humanitarian focus closer to home in Eastern Europe, where calls for foreign aid were increasing.

A personal call from Mr Mandela to the Swedish public and their Nordic neighbours for their unflagging support until, and also after apartheid was abolished, was very important, he said.

This year alone, Sweden has allocated R110 million in non-military aid to the ANC.

The organisation's chief representative in Sweden, Mr Billy Modise, said last night when he announced Mr Mandela would be staying on after all: "We are acutely conscious of the political and material support that we have received from Sweden."

It had been agreed "after consultations" that the "very important rally" should take place as scheduled.

"It will give (Mr Mandela's) delegation an opportunity to meet the people of Sweden and to help strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples." — Sapa.

Swedes have persuaded Mandela to stay a week

11A

Somefan 13/3/90

STOCKHOLM - ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who arrived in Stockholm yesterday morning on the last leg of an intensively scheduled tour abroad, is a tired man who wishes he could be in two places at once.

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Vital factor

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A personal call from Mandela to the Swedish public and their Nordic neighbours for their unflagging support until, and also after apartheid was totally abolished, was very important, he said.

This year alone, Sweden has allocated US\$45 million in non-military aid to the ANC.

The organisation's chief representative in Sweden, Billy Modise, said on Sunday evening when he announced that Mandela would be staying on after all:

"We are acutely conscious of

the political and material support that we have received from Sweden."

It had been agreed "after consultations" that the "very important rally" should take place as scheduled.

"It will give Mandela's delegation an opportunity to meet with the people of Sweden and to help strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two peoples.

"Sweden has been one of the backbones in our struggle and it is correct and appropriate that Mr Mandela should start reaching: out of Africa by first visiting Stockholm," he said.

Ms Anita Jansson, representing the Swedish Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAC) and the country's Mandela Reception Committee, expressed her gratitude to Mandela for agreeing to stay on.

"I speak for the Mandela Committee but also indirectly for the Swedish people in saying thank you to Nelson Mandela for agreeing to stay so that we can meet him and salute him."

Giving an indication of the persuasive arguments Swedish campaigners used on Mandela and the ANC, she said preparations for Friday's public rally had been intensive and elaborate.

There was widespread public interest, with supporters from as far afield as Iceland, Norway, Finland and Denmark making ar-



Mandela ... a tired man

rangements to charter aircrafts and buses to come to Stockholm.

Although she did not say it, the message solidarity groups conveyed to the ANC was clear: longstanding "man in the street" supporters of the organisation's cause would be extremely disappointed, and possibly even resentful, if Mandela fulfilled his official engagements but cancelled a meeting with them.

The ANC's Modise acknowledged in response to a question that the organisation's executive was concerned at the toll Mandela's non-stop schedule was taking on him.

He confirmed Mandela was "tired", but rejected reports that

his health was being endangered, saying these were "not in the proper context".

Mandela was continually being called on from all sides in and outside South Africa - "even President F W De Klerk" - to intervene and deal with a host of problems, and it was "only natural" he should be tired.

Mandela's trip through Africa last week had been particularly strenuous, and his well-being was being closely watched.

"We hope we will not overburden him ... we need him healthy rather than broken down, but for the moment he is healthy," Modise said. - Sapa.

Black US leaders in bid to raise R52-m for ANC

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Black leaders here have formally asked the Bush administration to give between R52 million and R65 million to the African National Congress for the development of democratic structures in South Africa.

A range of prominent US black leaders made the request at a meeting with US Secretary of State Mr James Baker in Washington yesterday.

The delegation included the Rev Jesse Jackson, Mr Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, Mrs Coretta Scott King (wife of Dr Martin Luther King) and Mrs Dorothy Height of the National

Council of Negro Women.

The meeting with Mr Baker was described by the delegation as unique in that it was the first between African American leadership and the US Secretary of State.

There had in fact been more contact between the white and black leadership of South Africa than there had been between the white and black leadership in the US in recent years, they said.

Mr Baker apparently did not respond to the request for the ANC funds.

He did, however, apparently agree with the delegation that US sanctions against South Africa should be maintained until not only all the conditions of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-

Apartheid Act had been met, but that substantial reversal of the apartheid system had taken place.

Mr Baker apparently also did not respond to a request by the delegation that President De Klerk's visit to the US should be delayed until the steps required by the CAAA had been taken, and certainly delayed until after Mr Nelson Mandela had made his visit to the US.

The delegation said it had no problem with Mr Baker visiting South Africa in principle.

Mr Robinson said the delegation did not ask Mr Baker for a tightening of sanctions against South Africa. However, he said, if South Africa had not made the progress expected of it by

June there would be pressure to increase sanctions.

● Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Mr Joe Clark, has appealed to Canadians to help raise millions of dollars for the African National Congress.

Mr Clark was responding to a personal appeal from Mr Mandela to help the organisation raise US\$20 million (R52 million). Most of the money is to be used to relocate the ANC headquarters from Lusaka to Johannesburg.

Mr Clark told a dinner in Toronto attended by representatives of the three major Canadian political parties and churches, that the ANC needed to level the playing field as it approached negotiations with the South African government.

Affectionate reunion for Mandela, Tambo

By Sarah Crowe, ^{Star 13/3/90}
The Star's Foreign News Service (11A)

STOCKHOLM — The two stalwarts of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo, had an emotional reunion in a snow-covered Swedish castle yesterday.

It was the first time the two leaders had met in nearly three decades and it marked the start of Mr Mandela's official visit to Sweden.

"It was fantastic," said Mr Mohammed Vale of the Mass Democratic Movement, who has been travelling in the Mandela delegation through Africa. "It was so exciting. We all took pictures."

The two septuagenarians, who have been friends and political colleagues since the 1930s, greeted each other affectionately as "boy" when they met and were then left alone for most of yesterday afternoon.

But it was proper and statesmanlike, said Mr Trevor Manuels of the United Democratic Front.

"It was much too proper," he said. "They are both so controlled. But Winnie (Mandela) was just over the top. She was so excited and she kept talking about how lovely the snow looked and how wonderful everything was."

Members of the Mandela party were greeted on their arrival from Tanzania by a crowd of about 200 waving ANC flags at Stockholm airport. African ambassadors and the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Sten Andersson, also met the South African group.

Mr Manuels said the African tour had been exhausting and members of the delegation were concerned that the trip might be too much for the ANC's deputy president.

"It was much too hectic. We're all feeling exhausted," he said. "Mr Mandela seems to be coping well, but we're trying to limit his programme a bit now."



Mr Tambo was said to be looking strong and well after his stroke.

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo will meet again during the week for in-depth policy discussions which will undoubtedly centre around pressing political issues such as the return of ANC exiles, including Mr Tambo, who has been in exile for 30 years, and negotiations with the South African Government.

Mr Mandela will meet Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and other Cabinet Ministers this morning. Mr Carlsson and Mr Mandela will then give a joint press conference before Mr Mandela addresses the Swedish parliament this afternoon.

Reunion . . . ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo (right) and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela are all smiles after meeting again for the first time in 28 years at Haga near Stockholm. The two septuagenarians, who have been friends and political colleagues since the 1930s, greeted each other affectionately as "boy" when they met.

Star 13/3/90

Conditions set for talks

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

If President de Klerk wanted to get negotiations started as soon as possible he would have to lift the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, speakers at a National Detainees' Day prayer meeting in Johannesburg said yesterday.

Addressing the lunchtime meeting of about 70 people at the Central Methodist Church, Dr Max Coleman of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said as long as detention without trial was on the statute books, anti-apartheid activists would have to campaign much more vigorously against repressive and racist legislation.

"In terms of the state of emergency and the Internal Security Act, political trials continue unabated, there is still a blanket ban on all outdoor political activities without permission, police brutalities in dealing with protest marches abound and harassment of the press still continues despite the lifting of the media regulations.

"The total strategy of the security forces is far from being abandoned," he said.

Dr Coleman said while the State had identified fewer than 100 political prisoners who qualified for release following President de Klerk's historic February 2 speech in Parliament, there were about 300 politi-

cal prisoners in South African jails.

Dr Coleman said it was alleged that the violence now sweeping across the country — especially in the homelands — was a result of "unrealistic expectations" since Mr Mandela's release early this year.

The people's expectations, he said, were "not at all unreasonable and should have been fulfilled a long time ago".

Mr Brian Hlongwa, chairman at the meeting, said detention without trial had to be fought and that March 12 would have to continue to be observed as National Detainees' Day even if a new, democratic Government took over.

Many people had died in detention and "out there are police whose hands are dripping with the blood of our people".

The general secretary of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa), Mr Vusi Khumalo, said the Government had now decided to privatise the post office as soon as possible, and not in 1991 as initially scheduled, because ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela had spoken about nationalisation.

Potwa was therefore planning to ask the ANC to tell the Government privatisation should be suspended to further create a climate conducive to talks.

Prisoners: new moves

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has made an important concession to the African National Congress's demand that all political prisoners be released before negotiations begin.

This was the interpretation placed today on Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee's announcement last night that some political prisoners on Robben Island might be released.

These prisoners are being held for "ordinary" crimes such as sabotage, arson and murder — though committed with a political motive.

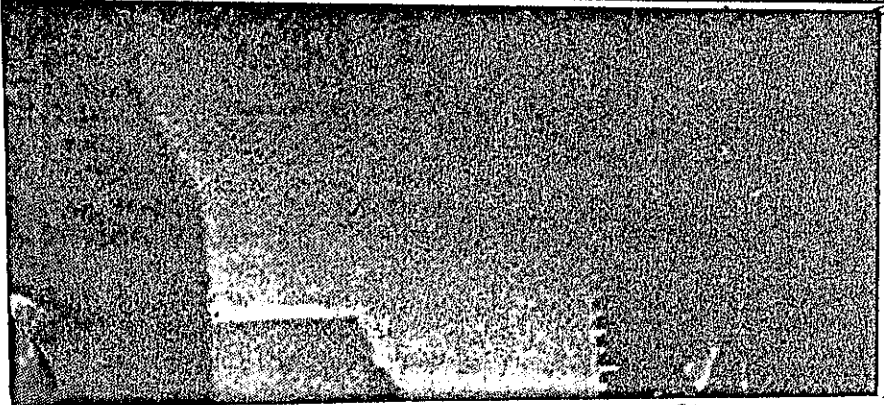
Until now, the Government

has only been prepared to release people held for no other reason than their political beliefs — for pursuing the aims of formerly banned organisations.

The release of all political prisoners, including those guilty of violent crimes, is one of the main ANC conditions

Mr Coetsee made the announcement of forthcoming releases last night in reaction to a statement by civil rights lawyers Mr Dullah Omar yesterday that the Government was about to make an important concession by releasing prisoners.

Mr Coetsee also announced that prison conditions of Robben Island could be improved.



Emotional reunion

Mandela, Tambo meet in Swedish castle

The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa report from Stockholm

THE two stalwarts of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo, had an emotional reunion in a snow-covered Swedish castle yesterday.

It was the first time the two leaders had met in nearly three decades and it marked the start of Mr Mandela's official tour to Sweden on the fifth and final leg of his foreign tour.

"It was fantastic," said Mohammed Vale of the Mass Democratic Movement from inside the castle. Mr Vale has been travelling in the Mandela delegation through Africa. "It was so exciting. We all took pictures."

The two septuagenarians, who have been friends and political colleagues since the 1930s, greeted each other affectionately as "Boy" when they met and were then left alone to "talk about old times" for most of yesterday afternoon.

But it was proper and statesmanlike, said Mr Trevor Mannuels of the United Democratic Front, who witnessed the historic meeting.

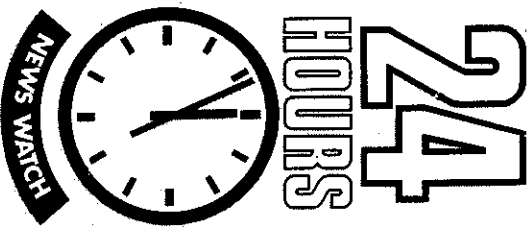
'Controlled'

"It was much too proper," he said. "They are both so controlled. But Winnie (Mandela) was just over the top. She was so excited and she kept talking about how lovely the snow looked and how wonderful everything was."

Members of the Mandela party were greeted on their arrival from Tanzania by a crowd of about 200 waving ANC flags and singing black liberation songs at Stockholm airport.

A large group of African ambassadors and the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Sten Andersson also met the South African group.

Mr Mannuels said the African tour had been exhausting and members of the delega-



tion were concerned that the trip might be too much for the newly released prisoner.

"It was much too hectic. We're all feeling exhausted," he said. "Mr Mandela seems to be coping well, but we're trying to limit his programme a bit now."

Mr Tambo, who is recuperating at a Swedish clinic after a stroke, was said to be looking strong and well recovered.

Anders Holmstrom, the Swedish photographer who took the historic photograph of the reunion, said he was surprised Mr Tambo looked so well. "He was laughing and talking. He looked fit, but he did have difficulty walking down stairs."

Discussions

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo will meet again during the week for more in-depth policy discussions which will undoubtedly centre around pressing political issues such as the return of ANC exiles — including Mr Tambo, who has been in exile for 30 years — and negotiations with the South African government.

Mr Mandela will meet Swedish Prime Minister Mr

Ingvar Carlsson and other cabinet ministers today.

Mr Mandela will address the Swedish Parliament today and is expected to use the opportunity to repeat his call for continued sanctions and international pressure to end apartheid in South Africa.

Mr Mandela was understood to have also started a round of strategy discussions with the organisation's overseas leadership.

Exhausted

Exhausted from the intensive schedule laid on for him during his whirlwind Africa tour last week, the 71-year-old ANC deputy president also obeyed doctors' orders to rest in preparation for the hectic programme which will carry him through to a mass public rally on Friday night before he returns to South Africa.

Sweden has been a major source of non-military support for the ANC over the years, with aid this year alone totalling 45-million US dollars, and he will thank the government for their support. After a luncheon hosted by the Speaker of the Swedish Parliament (the Riksdag), Mr Mandela will address political party leaders and MPs.

Officials have been continually rearranging Mr Mandela's official engagements after it was first announced on Friday that he wanted to return to South Africa on Thursday — two days earlier than planned — in response to calls for his personal intervention in spreading black township violence.

This was followed on Sunday night, after urgent petitions from Swedish anti-apartheid organisations and solidarity groups, by a decision that Mr Mandela would after all stay on to address an elaborately prepared mass public rally and music festival in his honour on Friday.



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, left, and president Mr Oliver Tambo pose with their wives, Mrs Winnie Mandela (right) and Mrs Adelaide Tambo at Haga Castle, near Stockholm, at the leaders' first meeting in 28 years



Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo wave to a statesman's welcome meeting in 28 years. Mr Mandela arrived in Sweden

Conflict conundrum: The view from the PAC

ARGUS 13/3/90

11A

WE have witnessed to the north of the African continent that so-called co-operation (with Europeans) has led to blatant neo-colonial rule where the European conquest has reduced our people to bondage and slavery of a different kind.

POWER GAME

The European ruler has replaced his government with one that has black lips but speaks with a white tongue.

It is against this background that we are rightly cautioned by PAC President Zeph Motopeng not to be ensnared by open-ended negotiations at this stage. He is right when he says that unbanning our organisations is but a return to the situation of the 'Sixties.

The world may be impressed by good intentions enumerated recently by the (South African) regime — but we remain unimpressed until a clear break is made with the past — a break that is fundamental, radical and just.

I subscribe fully to the proposition that what we as oppressed people have not won on the battlefield we will never retrieve at the negotiation table. Our struggle continues unabated because the domestic forces of oppression enjoy a monopoly of economic, political, cultural and military power.

A settlement based on these facts is undesirable.

The Press informs us that the PAC rejects negotiations. This is a blatant lie because no other than President Motopeng is on record as stating in Harare that the PAC was prepared to discuss with interested parties the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a new

constitution on the basis of one person one vote. There can be no guarantees for

Recently-returned Pan Africanist Congress exile BARNEY DESAI addressed a special congress of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) — which is now merging with the PAC — in Bloemfontein at the weekend. In these excerpts he spells out some of the goals of the PAC — the third political movement recently unbanned with the ANC and the South African Communist Party

group rights — only human rights.

We stand for a planned economy and the equitable distribution of wealth within the framework of a political democracy. How we work out the new system must be a matter for the delegates of this constituent assembly.

We further reiterate that in a free and democratic country there is no reason why a predominantly black electorate should not elect a white man to parliament for the monstrosity of racism will

count for nothing in a free Azania.

There is no room for hegemony of one group, or organisation, over this country. Our democracy must have a place for dissent.

Our trade unions must be strengthened far beyond their present membership. Our self-help structures will make us self-reliant. A people's co-operative movement for our economic empowerment is an imperative.

Europeans who have made their homes in Africa and

who identify with the aspirations of Africans are Africans. There are no "coloureds" for their Khoisan ancestors were the original inhabitants when the Dutch established themselves in the Cape. Indians were brought by imperialism to these shores as bonded labour and have made Africa their home land. We are all Africans, or we are nothing.

We want peace but not appeasement.

With deliberation I have said what I have. If this excludes the PAC from negotiations then so be it. Those who wish to play the Muzorewa role in South Africa — let it be on their heads.

I wish also to caution my brothers and sisters that the slogan of "one settler on bullet" is inconsistent with our stated aims. No mature liberation movement has ever had as its stated policy an intention to drive the white people into the sea.

UDF call to 'intensify the struggle' for peace

By SHARON SOROUR
Staff Reporter

IT was essential to intensify the struggle to create peace in a new South Africa, according to UDF executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus.

Addressing a lively Lansdowne rally to commemorate National Detainees' Day yesterday, she told about 300 people that although President F W de Klerk was responding to the initiative of the struggle, he fell short of creating a climate for negotiation.

"We must be able to put forward our ideas freely — although the South African Communist Party is unbanned, propagating communism is still a crime in this country.

"Negotiation means the transfer of power and the racist clique of the Nationalist Party must give us the power over our own lives."

Despite the wonderful words of Mr De Klerk there were still over 3 000 political prisoners and the state of emergency had not been lifted.

She said: "We don't want to talk under the shadow of their guns and in their prisons. We must intensify our struggle to create peace.

"We will continue to defy the laws of apartheid until there is a people's government in this country and we will continue to fight for the release of all political prisoners."

Women's role in a new South Africa in the spotlight

Sowetan
13/3/90

11A
~~11A~~



Ray Alexander



Sister Bernard Ncube



Judith Howarden

By SIZA KOOMA

THE role of women both in the present situation, at the negotiation table and in the future South Africa was under the spotlight at an International Woman's Day rally held at the Wits Great Hall in Johannesburg.

All speakers called on women to "commit themselves to finally achieving the vision" they had longed to see become reality all their lives.

The rally was attended by about 500 people among them veteran political activist Helen Joseph, Barbara Hogan, the first woman political prisoner to be released from prison, Pauline Moloise, Benjamin Moloise's mother and Caroline Motsoaledi, wife of Rivonia trialist Elias Motsoaledi.

Ray Alexander, returned exile and guest speaker at the rally, after dedicating a moment's silence to "all comrades who have fought for us to have a democratic South Africa" said she wanted to see, in

future, half the executive of the ANC and all political organisations being made up of women.

Women, she said, were the first to form a non-racial organisation for a non-racial and democratic society in the country.

The Women's Charter which was formulated by the organisation, Fed saw, was later adapted into the ANC's Freedom Charter when it drafted its constitution.

Their role in a future South Africa should be as symbolic and unifying as it was with the formation of the organisation.

"Women should continue to fight for jobs, homes and schools for their children. They must demand that all schools be open for children of all races", Alexander said.

She said the march by American women in New York in 1909, to protest long working hours and unfair salaries, was also a march to protest war.

She urged women to

fight violence as the struggle in the country was part of the struggle for world peace. It was the mothers who gave birth to children and no mother wanted to see her child die, she said.

The Transvaal regional chairman for Black Sash, Judith Howarden, said women should make sure their voice would be heard in the formation of new policies and a constitution for the country.

She said they should start first by insisting that women representatives be included in the delegation that would sit for negotiations with the State President.

"Women should ensure that issues like maternity benefits, shelter and security, child care, health and education, which are all fundamental to the growth of a healthy society, are addressed in the laws that are going to be made," Howarden said.

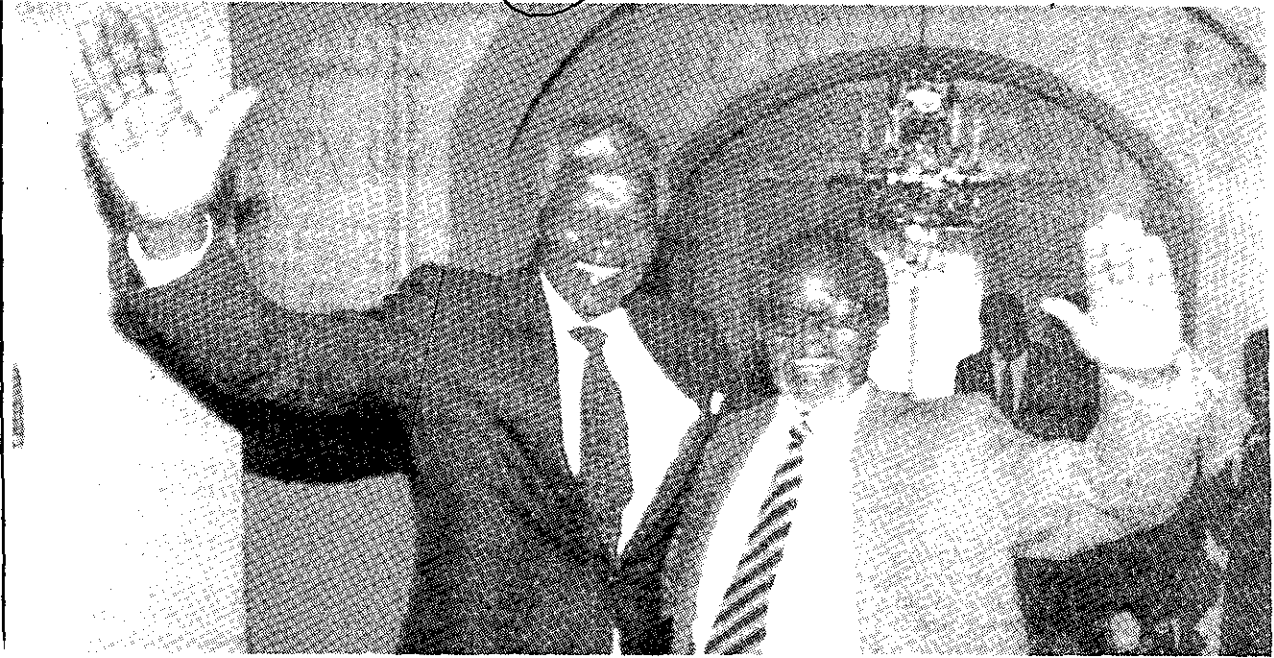
Strong emphasis was also put on the role that women should play in the present violence that has unsettled homelands and some townships in the country.

Sister Bernard Ncube said it was urgent that women take a resolution to address the problems in the community and not wait for more lives to be wasted.

"Women should put their energies together to correct the wrongs in the country today, not tomorrow. Mothers should be marked for their difference as compassionate people who help in times of trouble," she Ncube.

She suggested that women march to trouble-torn areas and plead with the communities there to stop the violence.

11A



ANC president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela met yesterday in a castle near Stockholm, Sweden.

Picture: REUTERS

Tears as ANC's top pair meet 11A

STOCKHOLM — Nelson Mandela and ANC president Oliver Tambo had an emotional reunion in Stockholm's Royal Palace yesterday — after three decades apart.

The two old colleagues, who have led the ANC from exile and prison for 28 years, hugged each other for a long, silent moment. Then they erupted into joyful laughter and slapped each other's backs.

ANC and Swedish government officials, including Foreign Minister Stig Andersson, applauded and wept or fought back tears.

The ANC's Swedish representative Billy Modise said: "They were like two young men again. It made everything we have all suffered — and by that I mean the people of SA — seem worthwhile."

"The last time they saw each other was 28 years ago when they were on the run."

The Press was excluded but officials said Tambo, who is receiving physiothera-

IAN HOBBS

py in Stockholm after a stroke, was walking well unaided and looked fit.

Modise said Tambo was, in fact, well on the way to full recovery.

Soon after the reunion Tambo, Mandela and a quorum of national executive committee members were discussing business on the theme The Struggle Goes On. There are likely to be more such meetings before Mandela flies home next weekend.

Earlier, at Stockholm airport dozens of young Swedes and exiled blacks toy-toyed and sang freedom songs as Mandela left his aircraft to be greeted by Nordic foreign ministers and a long line of African diplomats.

Mandela, clearly touched, pushed through the throng to greet the choir.

● Picture: Page 3

SA 227 13/3/90

510-1513190 (11A)

ANC will consider rejoining C'wealth

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress (ANC) would be prepared to consider a return to the Commonwealth once South Africa was a free, democratic country rid of apartheid, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Tom Sebina, said yesterday.

However, the secretary-general of the internal wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Benny Alexander, said his organisation was inclined to take with a pinch of salt anything emanating from Britain.

The question of whether or not to rejoin the Commonwealth, Mr Alexander said, would have to be taken by a democratically elected constituent assembly once the country's problems had been resolved.

The two organisations were responding to speculation, following Queen Elizabeth II's Commonwealth Day message on Monday that an apartheid-free South Africa could rejoin the Commonwealth.

South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961 when Pretoria declared a republic.

Contacted in Lusaka, Mr Sebina said: "Once the issue of apartheid is dealt with there should be no reason for South Africa not to rejoin the Commonwealth."

The ANC spokesman added that although no date had been set for the opening of the ANC's office in Johannesburg, it would be organised as soon as possible.

An internal committee dealing with the details is being headed by Mr Walter Sisulu.

F W unveils R3-bn black upliftment plan

Sec 15/3/90 (SHT) (11A)



PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has launched a major R3 billion black upliftment initiative which the ANC and UDF are being invited to join.

Mr de Klerk announced last night that the Government would add another R1 billion from the proceeds of privatisation to the R2 billion fund for tackling backlogs in black socio-economic development announced by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis on Wednesday.

Mr de Klerk said the R3 billion would be divided into two funds.

A total of R1 billion would be used by the Government to eliminate capital backlogs in education and to acquire land for black urbanisation.

The remaining R2 billion would be used to start a private trust to be managed by Mr Jan Steyn, honorary chairman of the Urban Foundation.

Mr Steyn will decide how the trust money should be used, after consultation with community leaders and the private sector.

Mr Steyn said this could include members of the ANC and UDF, who would be invited to serve as trustees.

He said he had put out feelers to ANC and UDF leaders and top businessmen and had been encouraged by their response. One businessman approached was Mr Hal Miller, outgoing chairman of the Argus group.

Mr de Klerk said that the Government wanted to ensure that the trust enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am fully aware that R3 billion will not suffice to eliminate all of South

ANC to meet Govt in 'talks about talks'

STC 15/3/90
PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Historic talks between the ANC and the Government will take place in Cape Town on April 11 to try to remove obstacles delaying the start of real negotiations for a new constitution.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced yesterday that the Government would meet an ANC delegation headed by vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and including exiles and leaders from within the country.

No one would be prevented from forming part of the delegation on grounds of convictions for offences in

© TO PAGE 2.

money should be used, after consultation with community leaders and the private sector.

Mr Steyn said this could include members of the ANC and UDF, who would be invited to serve as trustees.

He said he had put out feelers to ANC and UDF leaders and top businessmen and had been encouraged by their response. One businessman approached was Mr Hal Miller, outgoing chairman of the Argus group.

Mr de Klerk said that the Government wanted to ensure that the trust enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

Mr de Klerk said: "I am fully aware that R3 billion will not suffice to eliminate all of South Africa's socio-economic problems.

"There is a compelling need to provide as many South Africans as possible with a better quality of life and with greater opportunity for individual advancement.

"It is thus my earnest hope that this initiative will receive the widest possible support from every quarter in South Africa, as well as from abroad."

The trust would be run outside the ambit of the Government, so that private sector and other institutions in South Africa and abroad may also contribute to it.

Commitment

Mr de Klerk said the Government's commitment to improving the quality of life of all was demonstrated by the 40 percent share socio-economic development had in the Budget tabled on Wednesday.

"Government also clearly intends to base the development process on economic enablement and not on the hand-out approach that has failed so dismally in similar circumstances elsewhere."

Mr de Klerk said the Government's contribution to the trust would be augmented when resources permitted.

"And I am confident the trust will grow apace though contributions from other sources."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Steyn said no new bureaucracies would be created to administer the R1 billion fund.

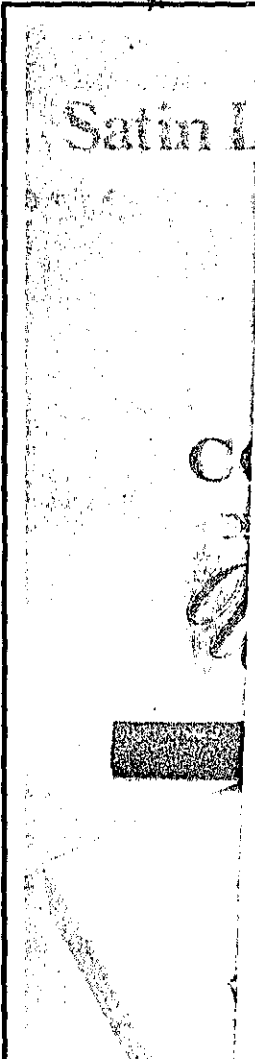
It would be administered through agencies such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Small Business De-

● TO PAGE 2.

the ANC a place in C to remove of real neg tion.

The S Klerk, an Governme gation he Nelson M and leader

No one forming grounds



Saturday Star March 17 1990

R3-bn plan

● FROM PAGE 1.

velopment Corporation and the Urban Foundation.

If proceeds from privatisation in the coming financial year did not materialise because of market factors, other steps would be taken to finance it in anticipation of future privatisation proceeds.

Mr Steyn said he had been concerned that racially discriminatory legislation could inhibit the project.

But the Government

had assured him of its commitment to removing such legislation with all deliberate speed.

The Urban Foundation welcomed the announcement. "The Urban Foundation has always held the view that there needs to be much more equitable access to development resources especially aimed at assisting the poor," it said.

The Democratic also Party welcomed the fund, and was especially pleased it was to be administered independently of the government, co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said.

Talks with Govt near'

11A
save to 13/31/90

DISCUSSIONS are taking place between "intermediaries" to arrange a meeting between the Government and the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, said yesterday.

"I can't give more facts. There are discussions being held to prepare for a meeting where talks about talks will take place. We don't know yet when the meeting with the Government will take place," he said.

Mr Sisulu reiterated his call for calm and peace and said the unrest sweeping the country "is disturbing any progress we are making". - Sapa.

Sowetan 13/3/90

Buthelezi discloses new plans Inkatha strategy differs from ANC

INKATHA'S central committee has produced a working document alternative to the ANC's Harare Declaration, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in an interview in Ulundi, Kwazulu, at the weekend.

Inkatha had "for some time" been working on an alternative to the Harare Declaration,

which he labelled "one based on the Namibian Resolution 435 and a reflection of the ideology of the ANC leadership, particularly the wishes of the ANC exiled members".

Inkatha's commitment to constituent politics gave its members a personal stake in strategies, "unlike the process that prevailed with the drawing up of the Harare Declaration."

Inkatha's alternative, which was not yet a conclusive document, would properly represent the peoples' wishes "and not a declaration imposed

from above on those below."

The paper was discussed by Inkatha's central committee on Saturday, Buthelezi said.



**ANC 'will
not do it'**
Sowetan 13/3/90

SOUTH Africa's longest-banned person, Mr Rowley Arenstein, a committed communist since he joined the SA Communist Party, says he does not believe the ANC will seriously consider nationalisation.

Interviewed in the March issue of Southern Africa Special Dispatch, Arenstein said: "You can't build socialism on a backward economy. Marx said that, and Soviet experts now say it could take a century before a socialist state can be reached in SA." - Sapa.

Historic embrace for ANC leaders

From IAN HOBBS

13/3/90

11A

STOCKHOLM. — Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday had an emotional reunion in the Royal Palace here after three decades apart.

The two old colleagues, who have led the ANC from exile and prison for 28 years, hugged each other for a long, silent moment. Then they erupted into joyful laughter and slapped each other's backs.

ANC and Swedish government officials, including Foreign Minister Mr Stig Andersson, applauded and fought back tears — or wept openly.

The two leaders last met in June, 1962, at the Tanzanian border town of Mpeya. Mr Mandela, 71, has since spent 27 years in

prisons and Mr Tambo, 72, has led the ANC from exile in Zambia.

The press was excluded from the meeting but officials said Mr Tambo, who is receiving physiotherapy for the stroke he suffered last August, was walking well unaided and seemed fit and cheerful.

Only a small group of close friends and senior ANC leaders witnessed the reunion, but privately commissioned photographs of the meeting were released later.

Mr Mandela is staying at the guest house of the palace, used to house visiting heads of state. It is understood that Mr Tambo is also staying there, with doctors attending him, so that the two leaders can spend as much time as possible together.

"Mr Tambo seems to have problems climbing stairs but otherwise he looked very well," said Mr Anders Holmstrom, who was present at the guest house.

The two ANC leaders went on to hold meetings with retired British Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a close friend who served in South Africa for 12 years.

The meeting came as a spokesman for the Nobel Committee said Mr Mandela was a firm candidate for the 1990 Peace Prize and would probably be on a shortlist of candidates for the award.

To page 3



© Mr Nelson Mandela (left) and Mr Oliver Tambo who were reunited in Sweden yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

From page 1

Mandela

13/3/90

11A

Mr Mandela showed no sign of fears for his health when he and his wife, Winnie, were given a spectacular welcome at Stockholm Airport in the morning.

He was greeted by 50 singing ANC supporters, a 40-metre queue of dignitaries and a throng of 250 international journalists.

Swedish authorities took elaborate security precautions, diverting the aircraft to a secluded section of the airport.

"It is a privilege to welcome you here," Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson said in a message.

Mr Carlsson, who is in Dublin for talks with the current EEC president, Irish Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, will be back in Stockholm this morning to hold talks with Mr Mandela and his cabinet at which they are expected to say that economic and trade sanctions will be strengthened.

Included in Mr Mandela's heavy schedule today is a banquet with King Carl Gustav.

Mr Mandela appeared relaxed and rested after the 12-hour flight via Amsterdam in spite of a virtually non-stop schedule in Africa over the past week.

ANC officials have confirmed they are concerned at the toll on Mr Mandela's health, and his official programme is continually being rejigged in an effort to ensure he is not overburdened.

He will spend a full week in Stockholm, then fly out next weekend to be plunged into the homelands and townships crises. He will go on to Windhoek next Tuesday for the independence celebrations.

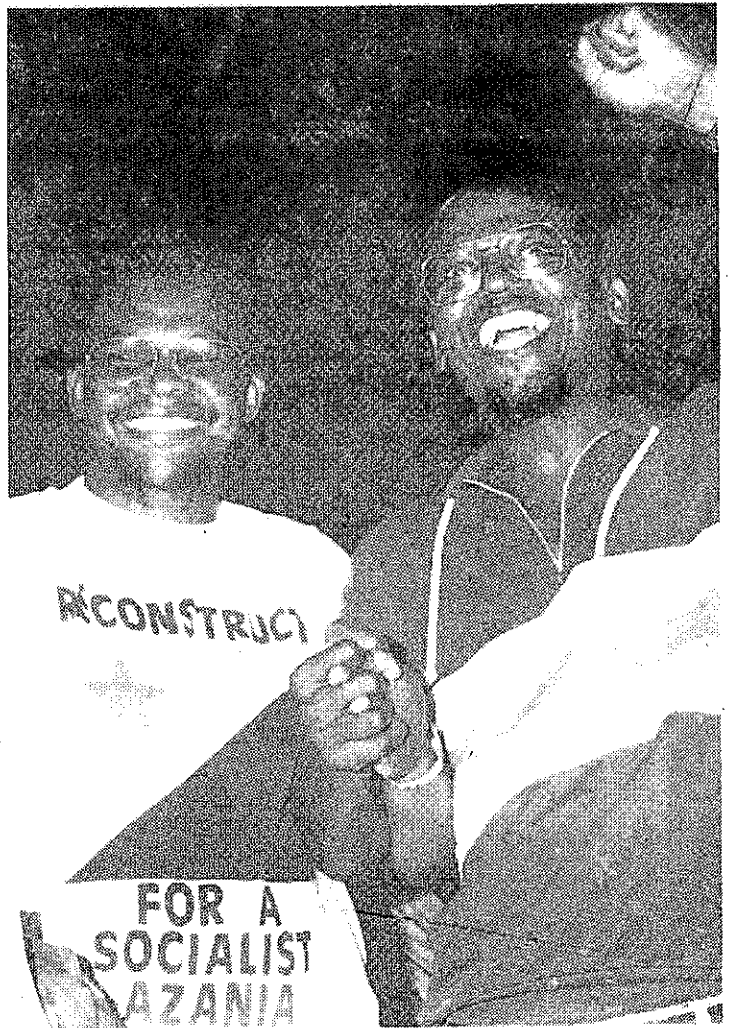
There was a sharp background row last week when the ANC said Mr Mandela would cut short his Swedish visit to only three days.

However, the wishes of doctors and the AN executive were defeated by appeals from ordinary Swedish people and activist groups who have done the groundwork that forced their government to support the ANC.

The ANC's Swedish representative, Mr Billy Modise, said Mr Mandela wanted to thank them properly.

We must not be seduced - Mosala

11A
Soweto
14/3/90



New Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala is congratulated by Soweto branch member Pule Pule after his election at the congress.

FOCUS

By MOKGADI PELA

WHEN members of Azapo elected their new president and national executive, they seemingly handpicked people with a strong commitment to scientific socialism.

The previous executive had developed this commitment among members of the organisation, but they felt they should hand over the leadership to others in keeping with the philosophy of collective leadership.

Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala emerged as the strongest contender for the presidency because of his unquestioned commitment to scientific socialism.

He represented Azapo at the Conference for a Democratic Future at which he and Walter Sisulu of the ANC were joint keynote speakers.

Banned

And he further enhanced his standing among his Azapo comrades when he delivered the keynote speech at the Azapo congress on March 3 and 4, the first the organisation had held since December 1977.

In February 1988, Azapo and organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front were restricted by Government decree.

'Incoming Azapo president a committed socialist'

Azapo president Nkosi Molala was in detention for the better part of 1988 and two members of the central committee - deputy president Lybon Mabasa and national organiser Charles Mabitsela - were banned and had to report to police stations twice a day.

In this period Mosala, whose involvement in the Black Consciousness movement dates back to the early '70s, worked relentlessly in trying to hone Azapo's socialist perspective.

In 1971 he joined the South African Students Organisation in Bloemfontein and also became a minister in the Methodist Church.

Mosala, who was born in 1950, approached his religious calling from the perspective of black theology, which politicised many black ministers in the '70s:

He did his basic degree and completed his Masters at Manchester University, England in 1980.

He lectured and became head of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of

Botswana and Swaziland where he taught until 1983 when he took up a post as a senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town.

In 1985, he was a visiting doctoral student at the Graduate Theological Union at Berkley in California and returned to UCT, where he completed his doctorate.

Author

He has written a number of books and co-edited *The Unquestionable Right To Be Free*.

In Cape Town, he was elected chairman of Azapo's Gugulethu branch and also became regional chairman of the Western Cape.

He travelled widely to Africa, Europe and America on academic, church and political missions and also became involved in the World Council of Churches as a theological advisor.

He is also president of the Black Methodist Consultation and a member of numerous academic associations. He graduated at the Federal Theological seminary

with a distinction in 1976. He obtained his BA Hons and Masters degrees at Manchester University. In 1987 he completed his PhD at UCT.

At the Azapo congress, he offered stern words of advice, saying the Black Consciousness movement must "show the same courage against the neo-colonial betrayal of our people as it has shown against the genocidal onslaught of apartheid on our people."

"We must articulate for the oppressed and exploited of Azania how not to be seduced by the prospect of sitting in the same parliament with FW de Klerk at the expense of the genuine liberation of our country and people, at the expense of fundamental transformation of the economy, fundamental transformation of the political structure, fundamental transformation of the social and cultural structures of our country," he said.

Mosala's wife's name is Louisa and the couple has two children, Mosala-Mosala and Olebogeng.

Mandela urges more pressure

CAPT TIMES 14/3/90 114

From IAN HOBBS

STOCKHOLM — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday asked world governments drastically to increase sanctions, including total diplomatic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa.

In his first major press conference in Europe, he told more than 300 international journalists gathered in Stockholm that sanctions were essential to maintain pressure on Pretoria to accept a peaceful negotiated settlement.

He said that even pressures like the cultural and sporting boycotts had to be used to full effect. Sportsmen who longed to compete against South Africans would do so all the sooner if they cut all ties now.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was stronger now than at any time in its history and would act in unison with all the oppressed movements and people of South Africa.

Support

"No stone must be left unturned in the effort to unite the oppressed people of our country."

He had started the day attending a meeting of the full Swedish cabinet, when it is understood that he urged Sweden and the Nordic bloc to use all influence on other governments to enforce sanctions, with an emphasis immediately on cutting diplomatic ties and oil flow to South Africa.

Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson said Sweden's support for "forces working against apart-

Mandela call 'won't hurt govt'

Political Staff

FOREIGN MINISTER Mr Pik Botha said Mr Nelson Mandela's call for total isolation of South Africa would not harm the government.

"I don't know what Mr Mandela is trying to achieve. What I do know is that this kind of call will not harm the SA government," Mr Botha said.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has warned that its supporters are trained soldiers and they would never surrender to "a communist such as Mandela".

It said hundreds of thousands of whites were trained soldiers.

"Do you think we will simply surrender to a communist such as Mandela? It is out of the question."

heid" would continue — but he did not immediately say if his government would act as drastically as Mr Mandela wanted.

Mr Mandela said President F W de Klerk was a man of integrity, but stressed that the main "pillars of apartheid" were all still in place and sanctions should be enforced to break them down.

He dismissed suggestions that increased sanctions raised the danger of a right-wing backlash.

He said the last election showed that 75% of whites favoured change and if South Africa was examined in perspective, the right wing was "very weak". Mr De Klerk, he said, would have the support of the

overwhelming majority of the population, including blacks, if he went ahead with "fundamental change".

He said he saw no reason for "a hue and cry" on the issue of nationalisation.

But he made no direct reference to the mines when he added that political rights alone would be meaningless if there was no economic power for the people.

"Economic liberation must go hand in hand with political liberation," he said, adding that the economic imbalances had to be redressed and a formula found to "share the wealth of the country among all the people".

Asked about the politically volatile question of the redistribution of land, now 86% owned by whites, he replied briefly that this would be an important matter for negotiation.

Mr Mandela said Sweden's invaluable humanitarian assistance to the ANC, the democratic movement and South Africa's suffering people had inspired many others throughout the world.

Tyranny

"However, the continued existence of the apartheid system requires that we ask you to persist in the path on which you have embarked.

"To help us end apartheid, you must continue to apply sanctions.

"The road we still have to traverse will not be long, it may not be smooth and easy, but clearly the racist tyranny is on its way out.

"White South Africa has elected its last racial parliament and its last apartheid president."

FW ACCUSED OF SLIPPING BACK

THE UDF yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of reverting to "the old repressive measures and exacerbating riotous behaviour" by detaining more than 179 of its supporters since Thursday.

But a Law and Order spokesman denied the police were detaining political activists and said they were clamping down on people involved in intimidation and violence.

Responding to the police clampdown on unrest, which has reached the heights of the mid-'80s in the first two weeks of March, UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota called on De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to reconsider their actions.

Lekota said the immediate cause was "the provocative presence of the corrupt local administrations linked to the heightened expectations of the people,

BILLY PADDOCK

since the release of Nelson Mandela.

"De Klerk and Vlok must realise our people expected the negotiation process to start immediately. They must move quicker and at least meet the ANC so the focus can be shifted and our people will see things starting to move," Lekota said.

However, Law and Order spokesman Capt Peet Bothma said the clampdown was the only way to stabilise the situation.

He said De Klerk had warned in his February 2 speech that the security situation was volatile and if bloodshed and unrest grew the security forces would act against it.

He said police were acting against "those who are attacking innocent people and destroying their property".

Murder is committed every 45 minutes

CAPE TOWN — A person was murdered every 45 minutes in SA last year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Parliament yesterday.

He also said a serious assault took place every four minutes, a rape every 26 minutes, a car theft every nine minutes, a robbery every 10 minutes and a burglary every three minutes.

And he revealed that the rate of resignations from the police force in the past two months had risen to 22 each day.

Speaking during a debate on a private member's motion on the police force yesterday, Vlok said 11 750 murders took place in SA last year.

Discussing last year's crime statistics, Vlok said there were 128 887 serious assaults, 50 636 rapes; 58 298 car thefts; 50 636 robberies; and 187 946 burglaries.

Almost 60% of murder cases, 75% of rape cases, 44% of robberies, 25% of burglaries, 22% of car thefts and 39% of other cases of theft were solved.

This was despite a serious shortage of policemen.

About 725 policemen left the police force

MIKE ROBERTSON

in January and 595 in February, Vlok said.

The resignations were not surprising as 373 members of the police had died in the course of duty over the last five-and-a-half years, 232 were disabled and 23 340 sustained injuries, he said.

As a result, policemen were forced to work long hours.

A total of 11 039 extra members would be needed to do away with the need for policemen to work overtime.

For this reason, he said, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had been instructed by President F W de Klerk to investigate what could be done to improve the lot of policemen.

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989.....	668
February 1989 — March 12 1990:.....	689
Past 24 hours' official toll.....	8
TOTAL:	1 365

BIPART 14/3/90

Diplomatic links singled out

Mandela calls on world to cut all SA ties

B/D am 14/3/90

11A

STOCKHOLM — Nelson Mandela yesterday asked world governments to drastically intensify sanctions, and called for the total diplomatic, cultural and sporting isolation of SA.

In his first major media conference in Europe, he told more than 300 international journalists that sanctions were essential to pressurise Pretoria into accepting a peaceful negotiated settlement.

Seated alongside Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, he used the occasion, which was being broadcast around the world, to appeal for intensified sanctions to bring about the end of white apartheid rule.

He said even pressures such as cultural and sporting boycotts had to be used to full effect. Sportsmen who longed to compete against South Africans would do so all the sooner if they cut all ties now.

The ANC was stronger now than at any time in its history, and he would act in unison with all the oppressed movements and people of SA.

Mandela began the day by attending a meeting of the Swedish cabinet. It is understood he urged Sweden and the Nordic bloc to use their influence on other governments



● MANDELA

IAN HOBBS

to enforce sanctions, with an emphasis on immediately cutting diplomatic ties and the flow of oil to SA.

Carlsson told the media conference Sweden's support for "forces working against apartheid" would continue, but he did not say whether his government would act as drastically as Mandela had requested.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from Cape Town that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in reaction to Mandela's call for the total isolation of SA that this kind of statement would not harm the SA government.

"I don't know what Mr Mandela is trying to achieve by his call to the international community to sever all diplomatic ties with SA. What I do know is that this kind of call will not harm the SA government," Botha said.

Mandela repeated his assertion that President F W de Klerk was a man of integrity, but the main "pillars of apartheid" were still in place and sanctions should be enforced to break them down.

He said the ANC had not decided whether or not he should accept an invitation to meet British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London next month.

He dismissed suggestions that increased sanctions raised the danger of a right-wing backlash against De Klerk.

The last election showed 75% of whites favoured change, and if SA was viewed in perspective the right wing was "very weak", Mandela said. De Klerk would have the support of the overwhelming majority

□ To Page 2

Mandela call

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□ From Page 1

of the population, including blacks, if he went ahead with fundamental change.

If this happened there would be "nothing the right wing could do to undermine him".

Asked whether he intended nationalising the mines, Mandela said he saw no reason for "a hue and cry" over the issue of nationalisation. But political rights would be meaningless without economic power for the people.

Economic imbalances had to be redressed and a formula found to "share the wealth ... among all the people".

Nationalisation was only one avenue of consideration, and it had precedents.

"Many sectors of the economy are already nationalised," he said.

Asked about the possible redistribution of land, 86% of which is owned by whites, he replied this would be an important matter for negotiation.

He was asked repeatedly about his health and age, but each time replied that

he believed he was fitter and healthier than his questioners.

Also in Stockholm, ANC executive member Aziz Pahad said yesterday the first formal meeting between government and the "united front" of the ANC and opposition parties -- to define the obstacles to constitutional negotiations -- could take place very soon.

Pahad said the meeting would be "technical rather than political", and there was no reason for delay. Because so many senior opposition leaders were still in exile, the meeting could be held outside SA.

He denied a newspaper report in Johannesburg last week which claimed he and ANC Foreign Secretary Thabo Mbeki had already held secret talks in London with SA government representatives.

Other ANC executive members in Stockholm suggested yesterday that the movement's president Oliver Tambo could return to SA in the near future to take part in the negotiating process.

B/D am 14/3/90

UDF supports Mabuza

Sowetan 14/3/90
THE ANC-aligned United Democratic Front has come out in open support of the homeland government of Chief Minister Enos Mabuza of kaNgwane.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said yesterday moves by "some elements" to force the resignation of Mabuza were "opportunism which is unacceptable to us".

He added that the liberation movement had always been opposed to


the homeland system, a main pillar of apartheid.

"But their disappearance must be timed correctly, not haphazardly. When a homeland government is sympathetic to the liberation movement - such as that of kaNgwane which subscribes to the Freedom Charter - there should be no hurry to pressure government officials to abandon their positions."

Lekota made these remarks in the wake of discussions last week be-

tween the UDF and Mabuza's Inyandza movement, which first held talks with the ANC in Lusaka three years ago.

He claimed that the South African Government "is trying to create conditions in which Chief Minister Mabuza's government is faced with mutiny from its own people" by withholding funds for administrative functions from the homeland government - thereby "creating the impression that the kaNg-


wane administration is unable to meet its obligations".

He said the national Insika movement, which for years had pushed for the homeland's independence, was one of the organisations seeking to topple the Mabuza government.

"Some people are infiltrating our organisations and saying Chief Minister Mabuza is the enemy of the liberation movement. The truth is that we count him as an ally," said Lekota.

Cut SA ties, Mandela urges

Political Correspondent and Sapa

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has called for all diplomatic ties with South Africa to be cut, but Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has brushed aside the call, saying it would not harm the Government.

And European diplomatic sources said today Mr Mandela's call for total diplomatic economic, sporting and cultural isolation of South Africa was unlikely to be heeded.

The diplomatic sources said today they could not understand Mr Mandela's call. It was the first time he had gone so far by calling for complete isolation. They felt their diplomatic presence in South Africa had benefitted blacks.

It was likely the appeal would be discussed with Mr Mandela but not heeded. "I don't think we are going to take this too seriously," one diplomat said.

Addressing his first press conference in Stockholm after arriving in Sweden for a week-long visit on Monday, Mr Mandela said yesterday: "Nothing has changed in the political situation in South Africa to warrant a review of our policy."

He called for punitive international action against the South African Government to force the end of apartheid.

He told 300 media representatives at the press conference he wanted the entire international community to intensify sanctions against South Africa.

All diplomatic ties with South Africa should be cut, and the international community should assist the black majority's struggle for freedom by instituting "any other form of sanctions and pressure they can give".

Mr Botha commented today: "I don't know what Mr Mandela is trying to achieve. What I do know is that this kind of call will not harm the SA Government."

Mr Mandela and his delegation had earlier met the Swedish government for formal discussions.

"We are not in a position to choose ... We are asking the international community to assist us in prosecuting the apartheid system," Mr Mandela said.

This same message would be given to the British government, which has relaxed sanctions against South Africa in the last month, when the ANC eventually met Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mr Mandela refused to be drawn on whether he was "disappointed" with Mrs Thatcher's attitude, and whether he would have any special message.

"I have already answered that question ... Our message to the international community is to intensify sanctions," he said.

Fielding a wide range of questions, including what his opinion "as a world leader" was of developments in Eastern Europe, he defended his organisation's policy of nationalisation as one way to redress the imbalance of wealth in South Africa, and dismissed as inconsequential the threat to political freedom for the majority posed by white right-wingers.

While reiterating that President de Klerk was a "man of integrity who wants to honour the commitments he has made", Mr Mandela offered no further concessions to the South African Government towards negotiations.

Mr de Klerk had to "appreciate that our organisation's strategies and policies are not determined by what we see in an individual ... It is the policy of the party that he represents.

"That has not changed and we are guided by that."

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UDF comes out in favour of Mabuza

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

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tunism which is unacceptable to us".

government officials to abandon their positions."

The ANC-aligned United Democratic Front has come out in open support of the homeland government of Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza of kaNgwane.

He added that the liberation movement had always been opposed to the homelands.

His remarks come in the wake of discussions last week between the UDF and Mr Mabuza's Inyandza movement.

"But their disappearance must be timed correctly, not haphazardly.

Mr Lekota claimed that the South African Government was trying to create conditions in which Mr Mabuza's government was faced with mutiny from its own people, by withholding funds for administrative functions.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said yesterday that moves by "some elements" to force the resignation of Mr Mabuza were "oppor-

"When a homeland government is sympathetic to the liberation movement — such as that of kaNgwane — there should be no hurry to pressure



ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo met for the first time after 28 years at the beginning of a week-long visit of Mandela to Sweden this week.

Call for sanctions

STOCKHOLM - ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday intensified his call for punitive international action against the South African Government to force the end of apartheid.

"Nothing has changed in the political situation in South Africa to warrant a review of our policy," he said at his first press conference in Stockholm yes-

terday after arriving in Sweden for a week-long visit on Monday.

Mandela and his delegation had earlier met the Swedish Government for formal discussions, and he told some 300 media representatives at the press conference he wanted the entire international community to intensify sanctions against South Africa.

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Mandela refused to be drawn on whether he was "disappointed" with Thatcher's attitude, and whether he would have any special message for her.

MDM settles Sappi Novoboard dispute

By JUSTICE
SIGONYELA

A MONTH-OLD dispute at Sappi Novobord in Port Elizabeth was settled

this week after a delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement intervened. In the agreement signed by the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu) and

the company, both parties agreed on a R1-an-hour across-the-board increase.

This represents a 16 percent average increase.

The union initially demanded an increase of R1,10 an hour, while the

company offered 17 cents.

The agreement also provides for a shift allowance increase and an attendance bonus as well as a no work, no pay policy for June 16 and March 21.

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A curious alliance of old foes ... under an ANC flag

One of the more curious aspects of the Ciskei coup is the relationship that developed between the homeland soldiers and the UDF, whose leaders helped to halt the violence. **FRANZ KRÜGER** reports

MAKING his first appearance before the people of Mdantsane, Ciskei coup leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo spoke under the flags of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

And the next day, after the outbreak of violence and looting in Mdantsane, Gqozo shared a platform at the Bisho stadium with Border United Democratic Front President Mluleki George. He had asked the UDF to share the platform, Gqozo said, because it knew the wishes of the people.

Perhaps the most curious aspect of the Ciskei coup and its violent aftermath has been the relationship that has developed between two very unlikely partners, the Mass Democratic Movement and a group of homeland soldiers.

In his very first speech, Gqozo announced the release of all security detainees, and said the ultimate goal of his government was the reincorporation of the Ciskei into South Africa. He promised to allow organisations to operate freely.

There would be consultations with "all representative groups", he added.

And Gqozo was as good as his word. Within days detainees were being freed, and meetings began with various formations of the MDM.

First the military council met with the East London unit of the UDF, and then with the regional executive. On Tuesday, a delegation of national UDF leaders including general secretary Popo Molefe flew in and also held discussions with the council.

The Mdantsane violence undoubtedly played a major role in bringing the two groups together. The first discussions were dominated by the question of how to calm the situation.

Both the MDM and the new military rulers saw the dangerous possibility of South African intervention if anarchy continued in the sprawling township.

Significantly, South African intervention was remarkably restrained. Media reports said South African



As an army truck rolls down the centre of Bisho, residents climb aboard to indulge in some light-hearted role-playing. The role is Rambo. Pictures: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix



Smoke plumes rise from a burning factory as arson and looting take hold. The plant made brass beds

forces had moved in to halt the violence, eagerly picking up on Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement in Cape Town.

But on the ground, South African forces were much less in evidence. There were some roadblocks, and some patrolling around factories, but no evidence of a serious attempt to reimpose control.

According to a source in the UDF, the military council had asked the South African Defence Force not to come into Mdantsane itself, and just to patrol the industrial area. The request was made at the suggestion of the UDF, the source claimed.

At least part of the blame for the extent of the violence must go to the lack of response by the Ciskei forces.

The Ciskei army had just taken power on the back of substantial disaffection with the brutality of the Sebe regime. They "did not want to be seen to be killing people," the source said.

The notoriously ill-disciplined and heavy-handed police, on the other hand, was of doubtful loyalty to the new regime. The new rulers were also simply overwhelmed by the speed with which jubilation turned to violence.

They turned to the MDM, in the hopes that its political authority would calm the situation. After the peace meeting in the Bisho stadium, the UDF held a rally in Mdantsane on Tuesday at which it was decided to launch a "clean-up campaign" and send out teams of marshalls to stop

looting and arson.

According to George, marshalls had recovered three stolen vehicles and a quantity of stolen goods within an hour of starting work. He said there were "up to 200" activists available for marshalling work. It is likely that sheer exhaustion, and the MDM's political authority, played a greater role in the decline in violence than the UDF's policing efforts.

By Tuesday's meeting with the national UDF delegation, it was possible to deal with other issues. Molefe said afterwards that these had included Gqozo's promise to allow organisations to operate, the need to see industries begin operating again, and that "people should be given an opportunity to voice their opinion on the

Ciskei."

He said the UDF delegation had promised to change people's attitudes to the police and the new military rulers. "The police were yesterday's enemies, but they can be today's and tomorrow's friends," he said.

There would be regular contacts between the military council and the UDF, he said. Asked whether the UDF was calling on people to support the military regime, Molefe said he wouldn't go so far. The UDF was merely asking people to "keep an open mind" and give the military a chance to prove themselves.

Other MDM members were talking of the Ciskei as a possible liberated zone, as the military rulers began taking advice from Lawyers for Human Rights and the National Democratic Lawyers Association on labour legislation and a possible new constitution.

But the reality of the territory remains that of an impoverished homeland, whose history and identity remains rooted in apartheid. Willy-nilly, the new rulers have been swept up by a tide of popular support that would have gone to anyone removing Sebe. Expectations are high, and it is doubtful whether it will be possible for the military rulers to even begin meeting them within the constraints imposed by the structures they have inherited.

For instance, one early demand may be for realistic minimum wage legislation, but this would probably effectively close down industries set up on the basis of poverty wages and the suppression of trade unions. — East Cape News Agencies

'UDF started Natal fight'

Sowetan 15/3/90

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THE United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were spending thousands of rands to establish a violent force to oppose Inkatha, but they would never succeed, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said during his policy speech at Ulundi yesterday.

Buthelezi asked how Inkatha could be involved in the politics of negotiation while violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region was taking place.

"The carnage that is going on across KwaZulu/Natal must now cease. Inkatha has not been crushed by this violence. Inkatha will never be crushed by violence.

"Cheap politics trying to make political gain out of violence against Inkatha is not going to succeed. We can face realities around us without distorting them," he said.

Buthelezi said thousands of



BUTHELEZI

rands were being spent on-propaganda against Inkatha in the form of affidavits blaming Inkatha for violence.

"The UDF has its university groups researching and document-

ing conflict and presenting their politically motivated findings which pretend that the glass - when it is broken - is only broken on one side and that Inkatha is the enemy of democracy," he said.

He cited the Luthuli tribal area as an example of UDF-instigated violence. An Indian-driven minibus had visited the area and "bought access" to one of the indunas, who was paid R500.

Others who joined the UDF were given R50 each.

"When this had been done, guns were brought into the area by the same people and then in typical fashion a conflict was manufactured at the Luthulu High School.

"Students were persuaded to go on strike to confront the principal on an issue which could easily have been solved in other ways.

"Again violence broke out, with the UDF drawing first blood. While five people were attacked violently, one of them was castrated in broad daylight," he said.

CHRIS Hani, who until recently was counted as the ANC's most visible and persuasive hardliner, today embodies a new mood of optimism in exiled ranks.

Hani's hopes have its roots in the belief that any attempt by state president FW de Klerk to halt or reverse the process of change would exact such a high price in terms of internal resistance and international pressure as to be unthinkable.

But that does not mean the 47-year-old chief-of-staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, believes the new South Africa lies around the corner.

Rather, he envisages a protracted political struggle.

"For me, the unbanning of the ANC is a tremendous event. It means the regime recognises all that it has denied and refuted in the past," he says.

"The unbanning gives us considerable space to build a much more powerful ANC than it was at the time of its banning — certainly more powerful and stronger than the United Democratic Front."

Hani is destined to be at the centre of this process. He is popular among the thousands of exiled youths who left the country since the Soweto uprising in 1976 — as he is with a large section of militant black youth inside the country.

"I see young faces coming into the national executive of the ANC — young people who have been responsible for popularising the ANC through the Mass Democratic Movement.

"These young people — the Jay Naidoo, Cyril Ramaphosa and many others — have got a constituency. They are not going to need patronage from the guys from outside," he says.

While Hani ascribes the new political changes to a combination of internal pressure and rapidly changing international events, he acknowledges De Klerk's role.

But he is not convinced De Klerk has yet crossed the Rubicon to a fully democratic and non-racial society.

"At the moment I don't think he has any coherent ideas about the sort of South Africa he wants to build," says Hani.

He believes a non-racial, democratic South Africa could come in less than 10 years.

The ANC, including its military wing, will be back home within five years, engaged in a political struggle, he says.

His views reflect a personal change-of-heart which has been brewing since an internal row within

Hani's change of heart

South 15/3-21/3/90



The new political changes in South Africa have resulted in a re-look in the ANC's military offensive. This is reflected in what JOHN BATTERSBY, who interviewed Chris Hani, calls a "change of heart" experienced by Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of staff:

the ANC executive 18 months ago over how far the organisation should go in taking its campaign of sabotage and bombings into the white areas.

Hani, interviewed in mid-1988 that the "sweet life" of white South Africans should be ended and they should be made to associate the maintenance of apartheid with insecurity and physical pain.

He no longer advocates this view, but insists it played a valuable role in persuading whites to break with old-style apartheid.

"When we first began to attack targets in the white areas, white South Africans for the first time began to sit up and say: this thing is coming. Obviously it is going to grow and we need to do something about it.

"When they actually began to hear explosions in the centre of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, they began to realise that, what they saw happening in other countries where there was an armed struggle, was beginning to take place in South Africa."

Hani says the problem was that the strategy became difficult because of the spontaneous anger of ANC cadres. It was a "difficult thing" to control.

"We felt that going for civilian targets would be counter-productive in terms of our broad strategy of uniting South Africans."

Hani says before there can be a suspension of the ANC's armed struggle, there will have to be direct talks between senior officials of the South African Defence Force



Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff

(SADF) and commanders of MK.

"The SADF and MK — at the right moment — must sit down together and discuss the modalities and monitoring mechanism for achieving a cessation of hostilities," he says.

The recent revelations about "hit squads" would have to form part of the pre-ceasefire talks between the two military groups.

"We certainly would demand the stopping of these irregular forces

which are terroristic.

"I was absolutely taken aback when I was told that senior officers of the SADF were involved in the Civic Cooperation Bureau (CCB), because its operations have actually been responsible for the wilful killing of civilians.

"I have never taken part in an operation that has involved sending people into South Africa to kill white civilians. It is inconceivable," says Hani.

At its consultative conference in 1985, the ANC reaffirmed its policy of avoiding civilian targets. It noted, though, that it was inevitable that more civilians would get caught in the crossfire as the war escalated.

At a subsequent executive meeting in August 1988, which Hani described as the stormiest of his career, the ANC condemned attacks in which civilians were targeted. It vowed to take steps to prevent further civilians deaths.

But Hani insists that MK has been instrumental in building the ANC into the force it is today.

"MK became the inspirer and organiser of the people in terms of resistance.

"We exploded bombs that acted as a stimulus to our people in terms of resistance. We used bombs, ambushes and raids to popularise the ANC," Hani says.

MK had also played a pivotal role in building up the ANC underground inside the country. The ANC now had units within South Africa to train and organise people.

"If there is a breakdown in the talks and we see the government is not serious and is resorting to its old ways of violence against us, then those units will be given instructions to fight back to continue the armed struggle."

Until six months ago, Hani was still calling for an escalation of the armed struggle. Now he prefaces many statements with "when the war is over".

"The times have changed," he says. "That was the time of PW Botha. The enemy was sending its forces across the border and killing our people.

"It was a very difficult period, so my language had to reflect that sort of climate," Hani explains.

"We are calling for unity and reconciliation. We want to diffuse the emotions and the passions."

Hani acknowledges the contribution whites have made to the economy.

"We have one of the best economies in Africa — thanks to their skills. We don't want to destroy that economy. We are proud of it."

But he says whites will have to "stop crowing" about the failure of socialism and work out an equitable system with social justice.

Whites would sleep better if they tackled the question of the impoverishment of black people.

"Private enterprise has a social obligation. Major industry has a duty to contribute to proper housing and medical facilities for their employees."

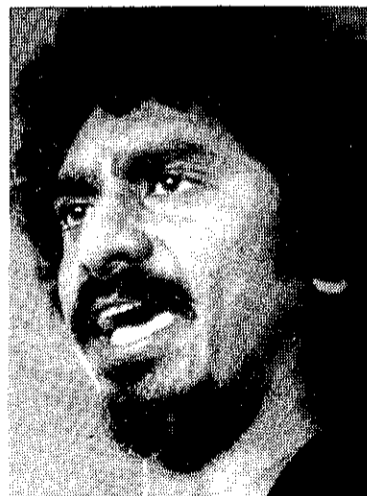
Uplift

He says the ANC believes black upliftment can come through partial nationalisation. The Afrikaners had done it, and today occupied commanding positions in the economy.

"What I would like to ask the South African industrialists is: how do you uplift the blacks? They can't be vague. They must provide answers.

"You can't expect a post-apartheid government to solve all these problems.

"We face a challenge to work out a system that will ensure social justice for all our people. How it comes about, I don't know," he says.



Jay Naidoo for the NEC?

The most immediate reason for Hani's sudden transformation appears to be the influence of Nelson Mandela, who presided over his first ANC executive meeting in Lusaka last week.

"Here is a man who has been incarcerated for 28 years and there is not a trace of bitterness," he says.

For us, this is an important lesson. We tend to be very angry, and yet we have not been exposed to the harshness of life Nelson has been exposed to.

"I think we are going to learn from him the need to be better South Africans — to forgive and forget, and to look forward to building a new South Africa," Hani says.

John Battersby is the Southern African correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor

SA has reached 'crucial phase'

CNA
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15/3/90
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Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICANS had reached "a crucial phase ... where the battle for the nature of the future democracy is being fought", ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu said last night.

He was speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape at which, among others, a BA degree was conferred on his daughter, Miss Nonkululeko Sisulu.

The graduation was the first of four ceremonies this week in which 1 500 students will graduate.

Mr Sisulu said there were clear signs that the "ruling/privileged groups are mobilising their intellectual resources to plan and dig the new 'trenches' from which to defend themselves and their grip on our lives and wealth".

"These forces are not going to abdicate from the position of power. Nor are our people going to establish their rights easily.

"The apartheid system will leave any new democracy with an awesome responsibility in respect of the housing of our people," Mr Sisulu said.

PAC surprised at Swedish interest

11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress has expressed astonishment at what seemed to be a "sudden interest" shown by the Swedish government in the organisation's position on talks with the South African Government.

The PAC's information officer resident in Sweden, Mr Cecil Sondlo, reported that a Swedish foreign ministry spokesperson, Mrs Ulla Strom, expressed Sweden's disappointment and disturbance at the organisation's stand not to go into negotiations with the South African Government.

Sowetan 15/3/90

Added interest

"In turn the PAC felt astonished by the sudden interest by the Swedes since they have always backed the ANC with millions of crowns since 1972.

"This year the ANC expects to earn 85 million Swedish crowns and the PAC nil," Sondlo said.

The PAC is not officially recognised by the Swedish government and "our relations with them are almost non-existent," the PAC office in Zimbabwe said.

'ANC against violence' *11A*

Somefan 15/3/90

THE African National Congress yesterday condemned the violence sweeping across the country, and said it did not encourage violence "in any form."

ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki said the violence taking place was not in the ANC's interest.

Mandela show jitters

11A

THERE is confusion over the exact arrival back to South Africa of Mr Nelson Mandela from Sweden.

The South African Musicians Alliance announced this week that the ANC leader would address the large crowd expected at the Mandela Concert at Ellis Park in Johannesburg on Saturday.

By ELLIOT
MAKHAYA

Mr Roberet Rydberg, of the Swedish Embassy, said yesterday the only confirmation they had about Mandela was that he planned to attend a rally in Stockholm on Friday night. "When he will leave Stockholm, we do not know."

Reports from Sweden said he was expected back in Johannesburg on Sunday. But a report by SAPA said attempts to establish when he would return were unsuccessful.

Sama said yesterday they were trying to organise a private jet to bring him back on time for the concert.

Natal killings: Mandela, Buthelezi meeting in the offing

STOCKHOLM - ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to contact Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi urgently when he returns to South Africa on Sunday to arrange a meeting on the continuing Natal violence.

In an interview broadcast on Swedish television on Monday night, Mandela said: "One of the first things I intend to do when I go back to South Africa is to telephone Chief Buthelezi and arrange a meeting with him."

He said the "black on black" violence and killings in Natal had been a

source of great concern to him even while he had still been in jail.

The situation had become increasingly difficult in Natal as so many people had lost their beloved ones, so losing the ability to face the problems objectively.

There was, however, a sign of hope now that all concerned had agreed a meeting between the warring Zulu Inkatha movement and the ANC affiliated United Demo-

cratic Front/Cosatu alliance had become imperative.

Chief Buthelezi has already extended an invitation to the ANC leader to meet him and the Zulus' King Goodwill Zwelithini at the earliest opportunity, and a meeting is now pos-

sible even before the ANC leader travels to Windhoek for Namibia's independence celebrations next Wednesday.

Mandela said in a television interview a return to peace in Natal was impossible without agreement between Inkatha and

the UDF/Cosatu alliance, and emphasised his top priority was to end the killings.

Earlier, Mr Mandela told his interviewer the ANC would review all its policies, including those on sanctions and the armed struggle, if President FW de Klerk's government instituted the fundamental changes being demanded of it.

Sweden 15/3/90

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ANC's top military pair wary of talks

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MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The leaders of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) have said in an interview published here that they are opposed to being "stamped into talks" before receiving guarantees from the SA government that these will lead to black majority rule.

Any suspension of the armed struggle to facilitate talks would have to be for a previously negotiated period, they are reported to have said.

MK commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Chris Hani also said they would want to see their guerrilla cadres integrated into the SADF on the lines of the amalgamation exercise which merged Zanla and Zipra guerrillas in the army here in 1980.

Hani told Tommy Sithole, editor-in-chief of the semi-official Zimbabwe Newspapers Group: "They (the SA government) are just pushing us into talks.

"They know what they want, and the talks they want us to have with them will obviously be aimed at achieving that."

□ The Japanese government, one of Pretoria's major trading partners, played host yesterday to SACC secre-

tary general the Rev Frank Chikane, and discussed a visit by Nelson Mandela, reports Reuter.

Chikane arrived in Tokyo on Tuesday for talks with government and business leaders.

He is the third anti-apartheid leader to visit Japan officially this year.

Meanwhile, Foreign Ministry officials in Tokyo discussed dates for a Mandela visit with Jerry Matsila, the ANC's chief representative in Japan and East Asia, Matsila said.

"I am sure it will be before the end of the year," he said.

"He will explain ANC economic policy to business leaders and ask for financial help from them and the government to resettle in SA 50 000 exiled ANC members."

□ In Stockholm, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela laid a wreath at the grave of Sweden's assassinated prime minister Olaf Palme, on the third day of his visit to Sweden, reports Sapa.

Palme, a strong supporter of the ANC, was shot dead in a Stockholm street in February 1986. His widow Lisbet has remained a prominent figure in the anti-apartheid campaign in Sweden since then.

Baker will spearhead the big US-SA indaba next week

WASHINGTON — US Secretary of State James Baker will hold separate meetings next week with President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

US officials say the location will be announced on Wednesday.

Also, a group of prominent black US citizens headed by TransAfrica leader Randall Robinson has asked Baker for about \$25-million in aid for a leading anti-apartheid group in SA.

The money will be used to help the

ANC plan a new political structure.

Baker has not given the group any commitment as yet.

US State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said the US was prepared to assist SA refugees as they returned home and that the US would contribute \$31,6-million this year to help prepare South Africans for leadership in a post-apartheid democracy.

Tutwiler said the programme would be administered through private organisations.

Of the ANC, she said: "We share many of its political objectives, such as ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial SA." *BIDAM 15/3/90*

Baker will visit Namibia on Sunday to attend the country's March 21 independence celebrations. He will use the trip for a round of active US diplomacy.

He may go to Zaire to see President Mobutu Sese Seko and he is also trying to arrange talks with Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa.

Murdered PAC leader to be buried in SA

Sowetan 15/3/90

11A

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Pan Africanist Congress chief representative in California in the United States, who was murdered in that country last month, will be buried in South Africa on Saturday.

Mr Puledi Shoba (32) will be buried at Ga-Nkwana in Sekhukhuneland, Pietersburg.

He was stabbed to death by an unknown assailant in the US on February 23 and was in a coma for two weeks before he died at the Oakland County Clinic, Cali-

formia. US police are investigating.

A memorial service will be held at 5 pm at Funda Centre, Soweto, today.

Transport to take mourners to the funeral will leave from 1066 Sethana Street, Central Western Jabavu, Soweto on Friday; Lekton House, 5 Wanderers Street, Johannesburg; and from the Nactu offices in Pretoria.

For transport arrangements people can contact Mr Lucky Mooketsi, Mr Carter Seleke or Mr Patrick Baleka at (011) 23-9261/58 or Ms Joyce Sedibe at (012) 26-6242.

Former

A former member of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Shoba left the country to join the PAC in 1976.

The Departed PAC Combatants Co-

ordinating Committee said: "Comrade Shoba represented and advanced the cause of the oppressed Africans to colleges, governors and churches, among others, in the US.

"He was also instrumental for the successful first tour of the US by the late chairman of the PAC Comrade Nyathi John Pokela."

Shoba is survived by his wife Kgadi, a son and daughter and his widowed mother, Mrs Magdeline Shoba.

Break from 'old order' — Sisulu



Walter Sisulu

By CHIARA CARTER

ANC leader Walter Sisulu has called for a "united front of all tertiary institutions" to begin laying the foundations for a future South Africa.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape on Wednesday night, Sisulu said it was necessary to make "strategic plans" which would lay the basis for the future, while providing "meaningful relief" now.

He said universities and colleges should commit themselves to breaking away from the "old order" and evolving a new and just society.

They should work out a joint programme for a mass education and literacy campaign; establish joint projects to assist civic, health, welfare

and education organisations; plan for the improvement of the lives of people — especially those living in the rural areas; build a reservoir of human resources to run and manage a free South Africa; and develop a "new intellectual" committed to the masses.

"We cannot wait until liberation for the reconstruction process to take place," Sisulu said

"The apartheid system will leave any new democracy with an awesome responsibility in respect of housing.

"The valiant struggles of communities must be directed to the solution of

the problems of housing, unemployment and land".

Sisulu said the role of the UWC and other universities was to help find these solutions.

He described the present period in South Africa as a "crucial phase, where the very battle for the nature of the future democracy is being fought".

He called on the UWC — whose role he praised as "an intellectual home of the left" — to "combine the freedom and critical boldness of intellectual enquiry with the need to address the strategic needs of the working people".

15/3/90

11A

US hedges on call to fund ANC

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The State Department is being evasive about a request by American black leaders that a grant of \$25 million to \$30 million (about R60 million to 75 million) should be given to the African National Congress.

Afro-American leaders made the request during a meeting with Secretary of State Mr Jim Baker on Monday. They said he was unresponsive.

State Department spokesman Miss Margaret Tutwiler said the following day the Bush administration was working on various support programmes in South Africa.

She pointed out that aid of \$31,6 million (R80 million) in the current tax year assisted disadvantaged South Africans to prepare themselves for leadership in a post-apartheid, non-racial democracy.

● Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Mr Joe Clark, has appealed to Canadians to help raise millions of dollars for the ANC.

He was responding at the weekend to a personal appeal from ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to help the organisation raise money, most of which is to be used to move the ANC headquarters to Johannesburg.

Mr Clark told parliament last week it was not possible for the Canadian government to give direct assistance to the ANC, as Mr Mandela had requested, because it was the policy of successive governments not to fund political parties in other countries.

However, Mr Clark has decided to lead the campaign in Canada to raise funds for the ANC by way of public conscription.

Milking industry through nationalisation is not the answer

Let people free themselves

Nationalisation of "key industries" like mining and banking, the ANC says, will bring "social justice": it will generate money for the post-apartheid government to pour into black education and housing.

Free marketeers say this plan won't work, and they are right. But we have yet to hear *their* plan. Here's one, offered for debate.

First, the criticism: mine nationalisation has never brought a country extra wealth to spread around. When English coal mines were nationalised in 1947, they were producing roughly 197 million tons a year. Twenty years later they were producing 20 million tons less. In 1959, the British government prohibited all imports of coal. In 1961 it slapped a duty on fuel oil, coal's competitor, and in 1967 forced the British electricity industry to start burning 6 million tons of coal a year, over and above what it actually needed.

Subsidies to the coal mines tumbled in the early 1980s, and by 1985 it cost Britain three times as much to produce a ton of coal as it cost Australia, the United States or South Africa.

The Zambian copper mines were nationalised in 1969 when they were producing 750 000 tons a year. Now they are producing 400 000, or about half of what they produced 20 years ago. Between 1970 and 1985, when most of the nationalisation and economic repression in independent southern Africa started, the region's share of world exports fell from 7 percent to 4 percent.

NANCY SEIJAS, senior researcher at the Free Market Foundation, writes on the need for a free market plan to counter ANC calls for nationalisation.

The Economist (December 9 last year) estimates that drop has cost southern Africa \$10 billion (about R26 billion) a year, or about R130 billion in lost earnings.

Few economists blame governments alone for these economic disasters (world markets, the political environment and changing technology all played a role), but what is the fault of government alone is the economic controls that came with, or followed, nationalisation.

Milking an industry

Any government that attempts to milk an industry through nationalisation and redistribution of its profits is bound to resort to subsidies, controls on imports and other attempts at protection, once the milch cow starts to falter.

If the post-apartheid government wants "social justice", it would do much better to free the people, and let them bring justice to themselves. The people have always been better than the government at raising the welfare of the nation.

Research shows that in the Transvaal Republic under President Paul Kruger, 90 percent of white children attended school without any laws to force them to go, or government-funded schools.

Misleading statistics about

school-age children convinced the British government of the 1800s to make schooling mandatory and to build public schools. The result: embarrassingly empty government schools.

To fill them, the government gave bigger and bigger subsidies to the public schools to help them lower their fees.

It wasn't long before the private schools could no longer compete with the subsidised low fees at government schools. As the competition withered away, standards at government schools began to drop.

After 100 years of this system, the British government is starting to reform education. Under new legislation, British schools can choose to "opt out" of government control, yet still be funded by government.

This kind of reform in South Africa would solve the problem of unequal education funding between races. We would simply take the education budget and divide it between the total number of pupils attending government schools.

It would depoliticise education, because parents would have the major responsibility for deciding what it taught in schools.

The same is true of the housing shortage in South Africa: completely private control of land and housing will end the shortage. The major obstacle to affordable housing for

all in South Africa is not poverty, although that plays a large role, but legislation.

We have a plethora of legislation that either directly prohibits black people from buying land or houses, or makes it prohibitively expensive for poor and middle-income people in general.

What black people need most is a system that protects property rights, and despite how their rights have been violated in the past, a post-apartheid government cannot afford to condone that by doing the same thing.

Privatising townships has been recommended and also handing to squatters government land on which squatters are living.

Free society

The kind of thing you find in a free society includes private initiatives to help the poor to provide "social justice". That is because there is an economic opportunity in it. There is a huge demand in South Africa for low-cost housing, low-cost medical care, job training and education.

Unfortunately, governments don't go out of business. The people, especially the poor, simply have to suffer under governments' inefficiency and injustice until they can win their freedom. In the post-apartheid South Africa, it is the people who should be in business — especially the business of social justice — not the government.

Mandela can 'thank Inkatha for release'

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela can thank Inkatha for his release, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday during his policy speech.

"I walk very tall today when I know that were it not for what we in this House did, South Africa just would not be where it is today. Dr Nelson Mandela would not now be released. Mr F W de Klerk would not even be State President."

He said the establishment of the Buthelezi Commission had done much to uplift the black community in South Africa.

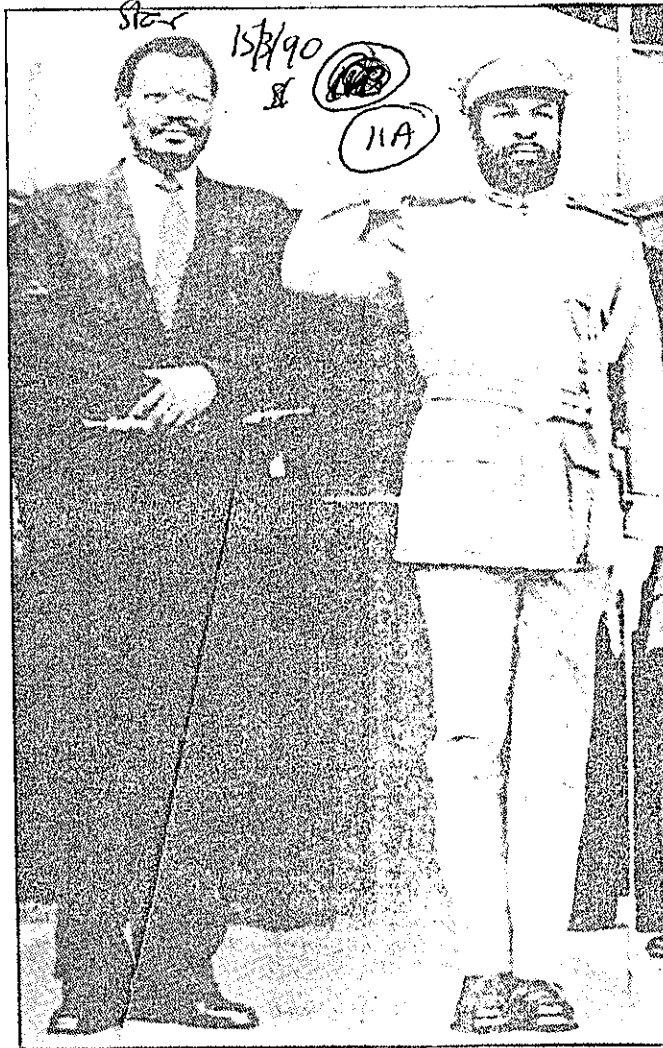
"When I get off a plane in Frankfurt, in London, in New York or in Washington, I actually get the feeling of walking that much taller than my God-given physical stature because of the Buthelezi Commission and because of the many other things I have done with you and with others.

"The struggle has increased my pride in myself and my people and in my country."

He said if Inkatha had succumbed to apartheid, it would have been trampled the same way as people in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were trampled upon.

"Mr P W Botha would have succeeded in establishing his dreamed of Confederation of Southern African States and the world would have been faced with the realities of apartheid as *real politik*.

"We put an end to it. The



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (left) and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini at the opening of the kwaZulu legislative assembly this week.

homelands policy fell because of what we did. I am proud of this assembly that did it. When the history of this period is finally written in the perspective of time, that fact will come out very

clearly.

"Even Dr Mandela, in addressing the welcome meeting for him at King's Park on February 25 said that he is grateful for what Inkatha did for his release".

'Not enough money for blacks'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Extra-parliamentary democratic organisations have welcomed the Budget increases on social spending, but said more funds should have been made available to address social backlogs in the black communities.

The United Democratic Front, aligned to the African National Congress, welcomed Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis's substantial allocations to housing, education, health services and welfare.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said the emphasis on social spending reflected the changing political objectives in society.

However, social spending was still "far too little to address the need of communities most disadvantaged by the last 40 years of apartheid rule".

The country needed a speedily-negotiated political settlement and "a government which is capable of going further than these tentative steps".

Said Mr Lekota, who is also a spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement: "In the short term, the

question is how much of the allocated expenditure will in fact meet the needs of black communities?"

The UDF welcomed the tax relief for married women, the aged and people in the low-income brackets.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said the allocation to social services might be impressive in money terms but would not go far towards putting blacks on a par with whites.

"One can only hope that the historical mistake will not yet again be made whereby most of the money goes towards social services of the small white minority."

Mr Saloojee, also the director of the Johannesburg Institute of Social Services, said the historical discrimination against married women had not been wiped out completely by tax relief to people in this category.

"There should be no distinction between married and unmarried women or men in a non-sexist equal society."

There was no comment from the Pan Africanist Congress.



Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota . . . social spending still too little to address the need of disadvantaged communities.

black socio-economic...
Barend du Plessis on Wednesday.

ANC to meet Govt in 'talks about talks'

87-15/1570
PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Historic talks between the ANC and the Government will take place in Cape Town on April 11 to try to remove obstacles delaying the start of real negotiations for a new constitution.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced yesterday that the Government would meet an ANC delegation headed by vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and including exiles and leaders from within the country.

No one would be prevented from forming part of the delegation on grounds of convictions for offences in

● TO PAGE 2.

Talks

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● FROM PAGE 1.

side South Africa, he said.

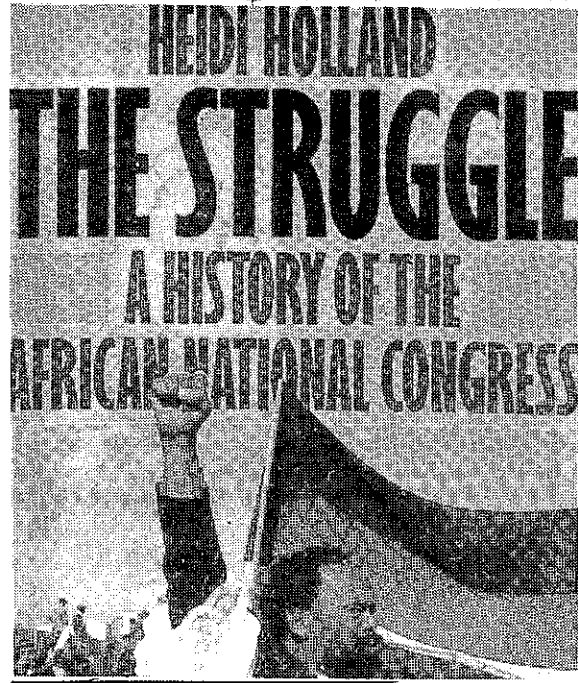
This means that former government bogymen such as SA Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani will probably step with immunity on South African soil for the first time in years.

The meeting follows the decision by the ANC national executive committee in Lusaka on February 16 to send a delegation to South Africa to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

Mr de Klerk agreed on February 23 to receive the delegation, and intense behind-the-scene activity since then has resulted in the April 11 meeting.

The ANC leadership identified the conditions for negotiation as the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the ending of the state of emergency, the repeal of repressive legislation, the halting of all political trials and the removal of troops from the townships.

Asked if other matters would be discussed, such as economic policies, Mr de Klerk said that the meeting had been structured to deal with stumbling-blocks to negotiation.



A chatty, readable history of the ANC

South 15/3-21/3/90

11A

HEIDI Holland, journalist for more than 20 years, has just had her first book, "The Struggle — A History of the African National Congress," released in South Africa.

She spoke to Barbara Schreiner about the book described by Colin Bundy as "a chatty and readable history."

BS: Heidi, what made you write a book on the ANC?

HH: I wrote it as a journalist, not as an activist.

I realised there was a gap for a chronological history of the struggle, and a popular one.

I realised there were going to be problems. I started work in 1986, and had to do most of my reading research in London, because I could not get all the material in South Africa.

Obviously, I couldn't write an honest book without working closely with the ANC. I went to Lusaka in January 1987 and approached Thabo Mbeki.

One of the biggest problems the government would be up against would be how to persuade whites that the people who had been portrayed as monsters with blood dripping

down their faces were now worthy to negotiate with.

I felt maybe I could help whites come to terms with change.

Thabo gave the okay for me to interview certain people.

BS: Was your intended audience white?

HH: Well, it wasn't totally.

I didn't ever think of myself as something apart from the white community.

I understood their fears, and I think the ANC understands their fears extremely well. But the book doesn't pander to white fears. My book is a story, and it's very readable

It brings out the extraordinary commitment, courage and special qualities of those people that I focus on.

BS: What struck you most during your research?

HH: It was a really rewarding research exercise, because I kept meeting these astonishing people. Also, I was very impressed by the broadly-based nature of the ANC.

I found it very receptive to a diversity of opinion. I never realised how many adjustments the ANC had made. I had no idea how it had adapted itself to the formation of the PAC, for example.

I mean, it was extremely difficult for the ANC to stick to its non-racial principles in that face of that sort of opposition. But it has never wavered from its non-racialism.

It's a pity that whites don't realise that.

BS: It has been said that your book is very anecdotal, that it leaves out major historical points like the Morogoro Conference.

she'd been in the ANC for a long time. I found it very interesting to meet her, because she was the same age as I.

I found the kind of life she led in exile intriguing. She told me she slept with a gun under her pillow every night. Meeting her was memorable.

BS: How did you find the process of research?

HH: There was a lot of waiting in Lusaka. I mean, they don't phone you up and tell you Steve Tshwete will be at your hotel at four o'clock — for obvious reasons. It was always very uncertain in that way.

You can't go out either, because you may miss that moment when someone does arrive, and you've blown it.

One time I'd been waiting a long time for Oliver Tambo, not daring to move from the hotel room. The only thing that kept me going were these ridiculous John Cleese movies on the box!

The only thing that bugged me was that I was in Lusaka at the time the South Africans were often springing raids into the neighbouring countries.

But it's actually nice to work on one subject after you've been a journalist for a long time. There are a lot of funny things you suddenly put together, and it's so exhilarating.

BS: What was the response of your friends to your decision to do this book?

HH: A lot of my friends thought I was off the wall. Even a strong left-wing friend of mine in London, who has often taxed me on why I stay in a rotten society, said I should not write the book on the ANC because "they're not nice people! They're terrorists!"

You find that they're all over the place — people who masquerade with the most astonishing credentials, and then you find such a hollow base.

But my family has been supportive. My son always has school projects that tie in with ma's research.

BS: Do you feel slightly "post-natal" now that the book is out?

HH: Yes, that's exactly it. Almost every book seems to be about a year in production. It is like a gestation period, exactly the same as having a child.

You mind so desperately about it. It's a part of you. And for all the slings and arrows that might come, I'm part of that book.

I think this book may be a contribution if people read it — not a monumental one, but it might make a difference.

Because you can only get insight only if it hits your heart, instead of your rationalising with your head.

Many people can relate to anecdotes. In vulgar terms, this book is that human face of the ANC.

● See review page 14

HH: I think historians get very cross when they see anecdotal history. But it is what it was designed to be — a very readable account outlining the major influences in the ANC. I wanted to focus on people, not meetings.

BS: Did you interview many women?

HH: Not many. There was Sikosi Mji, who's very well-educated; Helen Joseph, who helped me a lot; and Amina Cachalia. There was a white woman I often saw in Lusaka, but I never named her — for obvious reasons.

She was very helpful because

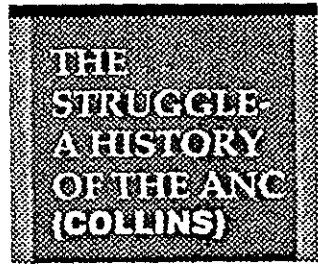


● some of the photographs which feature in Holland's book

Cont



POLITICS



These virtues also suggest the limitations of the book. Rich in anecdote, it is poor in analysis. Strong on individual leaders, it is rather weak on the changing character of mass support.

Take, for instance, Holland's treatment of the radicalisation of the ANC during the 1940s.

There are fascinating sketches of Youth Leaguers, Lembede, Mda, Tambo, Mandela and Sisulu — but one short paragraph on the struggles in squatter camps and on factory floors that shaped their politics, and not a single mention of the 1946 miners' strike.

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Similarly, there is no attempt to explore or explain shifts in the ANC's tactical and strategic thinking during the years in exile. It is a strange history of the ANC which refers neither to the 1967/8 guerrilla incursions of Zimbabwe nor to the Morogoro Conference.

Overall, then, this paperback provides a chatty and readable history, sympathetic to its subject, but not one that probes very deeply or requires its readers to think very hard.

Oh, the answers to the quiz questions?

- (i) They used the inner tubes to make timing devices for home-made bombs;
- (ii) Oliver Tambo;
- (iii) Dr James Moroka;
- (iv) Chris Hani.

— Colin Bundy

WHY did the first MK combatants buy large numbers of ballpoint pens?

Which Youth Leaguer was known as "The Christian"?

Which ANC president owned several farms in Thaba 'Nchu and helped fund a school for poor Afrikaners?

Who was selected at a camp in Mamre for military training abroad — although Albie Sachs feared he might be "a little soft for the city, having spent most of his life in educational institutions in the Transkei"?

If you want to be able to answer quiz questions such as these, this is the book you need! Heidi Holland has written what her publishers call, "the first comprehensive popular history of the ANC". My guess is that it will sell well in South Africa.

Holland worked as a journalist for 18 years. She writes crisply and simply, and has a good eye and ear for an entertaining story. More importantly, she has conducted interviews with several ANC leaders and activists. Her account is thus constantly made lively by personal memories and revealing incidents.

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US rebuffs Mandela's call to cut SA links



WASHINGTON - Washington yesterday rebuffed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela's request for Western nations to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Officials said Secretary of State James Baker had decided to meet President FW de Klerk in Cape Town next week.

Officials were still trying to arrange a meeting for Baker with Mandela in Windhoek -- where both men will be attending Namibia's independence celebrations on March 21 -- because the black leader is unwilling

to meet him in South Africa.

It was still uncertain how long Baker would stay in South Africa and who else he would see.

At the moment, the officials said, the plan was for him to spend five or six hours there on March 22 and meet Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other opposition leaders.

But they stressed this could change.

Invites

From Cape Town, Baker would travel to Zaire for a meeting with US-backed Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi before flying home.

President George Bush

has invited both Mandela and De Klerk to Washington. Neither has formally responded.

The US believes De Klerk has taken some brave steps since taking office last September, notably his freeing of Mandela last month.

Eager

Baker, who would be the first Secretary of State to visit South Africa since Cyrus Vance in 1978, is eager to encourage this trend and believes a meeting with De Klerk could make a positive contribution.

But setting up the visit has proved difficult. De

Klerk, pressing for the prestige of a meeting on his territory, refused to meet Baker in Namibia while Mandela refused to meet him in South Africa.

On Mandela's call for Western nations to sharpen economic sanctions against South Africa, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler noted that he was merely restating the position of the ANC.

"We believe we can best play a helpful role in support of negotiations by maintaining contact with both sides and by following existing US law with respect to sanctions," Tutwiler said. - Sapa-
Reuter

Budget extremely political - Azapo

THE Budget was extremely political and reflected the current schizophrenia of the government of the day, Azapo vice-president (Finance) Mr P C Jones said in Cape Town yesterday.

While acknowledging the major emphasis of the Budget on the creation of a State Fund to remove socio-economic backlog was a major departure from the traditional emphasis of strengthening the defence forces and other protective measures of white interests, he pointed out the government was "trying to satisfy too many fundamentally contradictory interest groups". *Sowetan 16/3/90*

"The lack of definition of the beneficiaries of the State Fund is clearly also directed at white fears that their impoverishment would be made worse by the government's current concerns for black problems," he said.

"The Budget is extremely political," he said.
Sapa

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FW wants ANC talks on political prisoners

Staff Reporter

AK645 16/3/90

THE government is waiting to talk to the African National Congress before it considers releasing "so-called political prisoners" who have committed crimes in the process of political activity, said President De Klerk.

He was interviewed at Tuynhuys yesterday by Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, and his deputy, Mr Joe Thlooe.

Mr De Klerk also rejected the creation of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

He referred to his February 2 announcement on the release of prisoners convicted as members of banned organisations.

"Many have been released and if they have not been, then they are in the process of being released.

"Others have been convicted of crimes like murder, arson and theft in pursuance of political activity. These did not fall within this category."

Mr De Klerk said he was prepared to talk about these with an ANC delegation: "We are in the process of arranging those talks and an announcement will be made soon."

More than 300 political prisoners were recently on a hunger strike demanding immediate release. The strike was "suspended" after talks between their lawyers and the government.

Addressing the call for a constituent assembly, Mr De Klerk said that any person who stated a precondition that would offer him victory before the negotiating process started was not helping the process.

He also rejected the one-person, one-vote model as it "would not protect the rights of minorities".

The process of inviting participants to the negotiating table would be discussed with "the leaders of South Africa".

HOMELAND CONSTITUENCIES

The government had abandoned the idea of a "black election" of representatives as it had been received negatively. New suggestions would be discussed with the leaders themselves and not in the media.

The homeland leaders had constituencies that had to be taken into account. It was too early, though, to decide on the status of the TBVC countries.

Mr De Klerk said he was merely continuing changes started by the National Party in 1986 "after we found that the moral basis of separate development had fallen away".

● Mr De Klerk is visiting Bophuthatswana today for talks with President Lucas Mangope.

The visit was arranged before the recent unrest in the territory, but this is expected to be one of the main points of discussion.

Star 16/3/90

(11A)

Hearing told of ANC member's 'defection'

The amazing story of a "disillusioned" member of the African National Congress, who had been released from a Swaziland jail by fellow-cadres, was recounted to the Harms Commission yesterday.

The commission heard that the man, code-named "September", had apparently told a closed hearing of a court case in 1988 that he had decided to give himself up to the South African authorities after his release "because the cadres didn't know what to do with me, or how to get me out of Swaziland".

"Everyone was after me, the ANC didn't know what to do with me and I wanted to study".

The story was told to Mr Justice Louis Harms by Mr Sam Maritz, SC, for retired and serving South African Police members, at the end of his cross-examination of Butana Almond Nofemela, a convicted murderer and self-confessed member of an alleged police death squad.

"September" told the court he had been sent, with false papers, to Swaziland by the ANC.

"Arrested by the Swazi police, he was first held at Manzini and then taken to Makhanyana, on the South African border.

"Members of his machinery — the ANC cadres — had broken into the jail and released him. But once outside, 'September' was left to his own devices.

"He decided to walk to Piet Retief, in South Africa, and crossed the border near the Houtkop border post, according to the evidence.

"Walking down a Piet Retief street, he accosted a policeman who directed him to the local

Security Police headquarters. There, he told an officer he wanted to defect to South Africa.

"The decision, he said, had been taken while walking through the forest."

Mr Maritz said "September" had apparently thought to himself "the Swazis and the Boers want to kill me, and all I want to do is to study".

The man's version of what happened in Swaziland is a direct contradiction of Nofemela's version of the abduction of "September" by the alleged SAP hit squad.

Nofemela immediately described the account as "a well-organised lie".

"I am not surprised, he now works for the police.

"I find it very strange that the ANC would take the trouble to rescue him from jail and then have nothing to do with him.

"This proves it is a well-organised story."

In Nofemela's version, given earlier to the Harms Commission, he said the hit squad had broken into a Manzini jail and kidnapped "September".

The break-in had allegedly received help from a former commissioner of the Swaziland Police (whom Nofemela did not name).

Nofemela said "September" had been abducted, taken across a border fence and interrogated on a farm.

It later transpired, during cross-examination by Mr Bob Nugent, SC, for the Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression and for Lawyers for Human Rights, that the Swaziland abduction had taken place on August 14, 1986.

ANC exiles: bid to ~~(S)~~ speed up applications (11A)

Pretoria Correspondent Star 16/3/90

The Department of Foreign Affairs is investigating the establishment of a "think scrum" to process, with the minimum delay, exiled African National Congress members' applications to return to the country.

This move is said to form part of the Government's commitment to get negotiations for an internal settlement off the ground as soon as possible.

The investigation is believed to be in an advanced stage.

On inquiry, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs told The Star: "We are keen to get this off the ground as soon as possible. It would make our lives a lot easier.

"This effort is directed at people who left South Africa for legitimate political reasons. It is not designed as a loophole for criminals."

She said the South African authorities did not have the names of all the exiles, excluding those who are wanted for criminal activities in the country.

The Department of Foreign Affairs accepted that the majority of exiles would not have South African passports and would be applying to South African missions for visas or passports.

Since visa and passport applications were lodged with Foreign Affairs, it had also been involved in the "think scrum".

The committee would, within days, be able to advise returning exiles on their legal status.

The spokesman added that the setting up of such a committee was a normal procedure.

A similar "think scrum" was apparently established when hundreds of journalists applied for visas to cover the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

A Home Affairs spokesman said: "Exact figures are not available since applications for re-admission to the RSA may also have been lodged with South African mission abroad."

United society our goal — ANC exile

By SHARON SOROUR, Staff Reporter

CREATING a universal franchise in the country was a challenge facing all South Africans — democrats, radicals, communists and socialists — said veteran ANC and Communist Party exile Professor Jack Simons.

In his first public address since arriving in South Africa two weeks ago, he told nearly 300 people at a Cape Democrats meeting last night that everyone had to take part in the political process.

"Blacks and whites will never be able to join hands until they meet in a parliamentary chamber where race, class and sex are not contributing factors," he said.

More than 50 000 SACP and ANC exiles were wanting to come home but faced many difficulties "including the attitude of the South African government".

Professor Simons, who received two standing ovations, said it was "a matter of great rejoicing" that Mr Nelson Mandela had not only survived 27 years imprisonment but had emerged as a great statesman and leader.

"We should put our trust in a man with his calibre and follow his guidance."

The ANC had struggled for a common society and the time had come to build "this great movement" inside South Africa.

ANC brass to attend UDF council talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu and other senior ANC members are due to attend the United Democratic Front national general council meeting in Cape Town next month.

Other ANC stalwarts expected at the meeting are Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Elias Motsoaledi.

The meeting — from April 6 to 8 — is likely to be held at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville.

Mr Bulelani Nqcuca, regional UDF leader, expected discussion of policy matters to include the UDF's relationship with the ANC.

The mob factor

"Who controls the townships?" The answer must surely be: "The mob."

Government and the ANC seem equally concerned about the continuing violence. It's a political threat to both President FW de Klerk and the ANC. The organisation's influence in many areas is being seriously questioned as repeated calls by its leaders for peace and a return to school are ignored.

The leaders of the mobs (if indeed there are leaders) are often as difficult to identify as their aims. No one seems to know who they are or what they hope to achieve. In an effort to break the back of the current wave of violence police have detained more than 150 alleged instigators.

But violence continues.

The concern of mainstream extraparliamentary leaders was highlighted in a weekend TV interview with UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. In effect, he branded people involved in political violence as traitors to the liberation cause. He called them enemies who must be identified. He also acknowledged that there were limits within which political protest could take place.

This indicates growing concern in ANC/UDF circles that the unrest is beyond their control, notwithstanding their claims to have played a part in restoring relative calm to Ciskei.

Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told parliament last week that the unrest situation was "extremely fluid" but under control "as far as is humanly possible."

Vlok also acknowledges public concern that the "shocking" events of the mid-Eighties are on the verge of being repeated. "I can understand it, but I appeal to one and all to stay calm and go on with their daily lives and not allow themselves to be intimidated. The police are in control of the situation and will do all in their power to protect the public."

That's easy to say when one doesn't live in a township, particularly if it's controlled by "the youth." Vlok sees them as a serious obstacle to ending the unrest.

Many of the youngsters are the Lost Generation. Their crude political views were forged in the unrest fires of the mid-Eighties. Their allegiance to the mainstream of the

ANC is doubtful.

There's another element. UCT political scientist Robert Schrire says there is "an enormous forgotten class" of uneducated and unemployed people who see life's opportunities passing them by. They've used the liberalising political climate to vent anger and frustration by rioting and looting. In the 1984-1985 violence the major political players seemed to have an influential organisational role. This is now lacking.

Schrire says part of the problem is that in the past two years neither government nor the ANC has addressed the basic concerns of this extremely large — and growing — class. Concerns such as education, jobs and housing come before political allegiances and ideologies.

Schrire sees the situation as bad news for the ANC in the sense that it could be the biggest loser if the reform initiative is aborted and the white government remains in power. For this reason, he believes, there will be tacit ANC support for government action to stop the violence. But there will also have to be a far greater effort from both sides to address the real grievances of the impoverished township communities.

It's clear that government expects the ANC and other organisations to play a more active role in "responsible" politics and ending of the violence. Vlok argues that no one is now locked out of political participation. Tough action will continue to be taken against people instigating and leading unrest, he says.

The latest detentions are part of that action, as was the massive police presence in central Cape Town this week when a few dozen demonstrators tried to protest against food prices. Most were arrested.

The DP supports government action to maintain law and order. Co-leader Denis Worrall warns that history shows reform doesn't hold off revolution but, in fact, brings it closer. That's why it's so important for government to keep its nerve.

Worrall believes more is required than simply the maintenance of law and order by hard-pressed policemen. Negotiations will take a long time. Interim practical steps are necessary to stimulate investment, growth and job-creation. ■

Lessons across a border

FIM 16/3/90



1/A

There are some who will say it is one of life's rich ironies. Others will claim the superiority of practical experience over theory. But the fact is that on the very day the ANC's ageing Walter Sisulu was threatening businessmen in Johannesburg with "creative nationalisation," the PM of Mozambique — a younger but wiser man — was saying exactly the opposite in Maputo.

"If the ANC were to ask me," Mario Machungo told the *FM*, "I would tell them that nationalisation is not the right way to go." Both he and Finance Minister Magid Osman made very clear that they would welcome private investment — especially in the area of financial services — and that they regard a strong, democratic and well-managed SA as vital to the prosperity of the southern African region.

Hardly a week goes by nowadays without some leftwing intellectual or trade union leader here proclaiming that a post-apartheid SA will need to be centrally planned into prosperity: from a low-wage high-cost economy into a high-wage, low-cost economy. Precisely what that means requires an arcane insight not vouchsafed to ordinary business folk.

The reasoning seems to be that not only will nationalisation and central planning bring prosperity, it will redistribute wealth more equitably and bring about a society somehow less harsh than capitalism. It is a proposition that has no basis either in rational theory or practical experience.

Five years ago, there were those who could have argued with greater credibility that socialism brought about less prosperous but more equitable societies than those in free enterprise countries. But even that has proven wrong. Socialist countries in eastern Europe, Asia and Africa have failed to produce the basic necessities of life (such as food and shelter) and has given rise to authoritarian regimes whose human conduct has made the so-called harshness of capitalism pale by comparison.

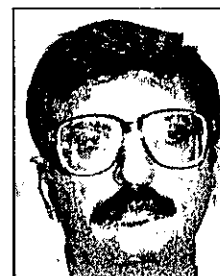
As the London *Financial Times* said last week: "The argument about the limits of communism is over." Whatever elements of it are retained in any society will not soften

capitalism but reinforce tendencies towards authoritarianism and circumscribe prosperity. Socialism is not an egalitarian luxury to be enjoyed by only the prosperous nations. It is a system of providing the basics of life that has failed and will fail in any society.

Our neighbour, Mozambique, has been through it, all: revolution, nationalisation, central planning, authoritarianism (with social engineering projects far worse than apartheid), brigandage and, finally, destitution. It has come to the conclusion that it is far more socially beneficial to create wealth in a country where elections are free and private ownership is restored than to try and redistribute resources that its own socialist policies are eroding.

Osman makes it very clear that redistribution of wealth in the new, reconstituted Mozambique will be through fiscal means. "We will use the tax system to do it," he told the *FM*.

Mozambique, of course, did not have to



Osman



Machungo

nationalise very much. The threat was sufficient to cause the majority of small businessmen to abandon their assets and flee — a process that the ANC's nationalisation threats has already started in this country. Having effectively destroyed the small business sector — the very sector with the potential to create the most jobs — Frelimo found itself having to allow the larger companies to continue to produce what were very quickly seen to be essential goods and services.

So the Marxists were forced to horse trade. They did special deals with those companies they felt they needed. Lonrho was one of them. And their agreements with govern-

ment exclude them from the vagaries of some laws and regulations. That appears to be what Sisulu has in mind when he refers to "creative" nationalisation here. So much for equity and egalitarianism.

On its knees

The ANC does not have to go to eastern Europe or Asia to see the folly of what it is proposing for this country. Mozambique is only a half-hour flight away. It is a country on its knees. It lives on foreign aid; it cannot provide sufficient food for its peoples despite its rich agricultural potential; law and order is uncertain. There are strikes, shortages, corruption and disease. As the *FM* pointed out on March 2, it is a disaster almost entirely man-made — by Frelimo and its collectivist preoccupation.

Frelimo today has had the courage and wisdom to change its mind. The young men in key ministerial posts now have not learnt the new policies they are implementing — with the help of the World Bank — from text books alone. They have themselves experienced the grinding poverty and degradation of collectivism.

And, despite the enormous constraints of the Renamo war, they are making progress, slowly, hampered often by their own inability to shrug off entirely the sentiments of their rejected ideology. The process of reform is painfully slow. The GDP will rise by only 4% this year. But the new rulers are sufficiently magnanimous to negotiate with companies willing to return who want their abandoned assets back. They will welcome back, too, those who fled after the revolution provided they feel they have something to offer a sovereign country.

What the ANC, with Mozambique in mind, should be doing now is not threaten nationalisation and central planning — the harm that does is potentially as destructive as the fact — but probe ways of redistributing the country's wealth without dissipating it. It is not the issue of ownership of productive assets which will accomplish that task.

It is the wisdom of a sovereign government that has a claim on the fruits of that ownership.

SPACE FOR THE ANC

FM 16/3/90 (11A)
It looks as though the ANC's new Johannesburg offices could be located in the Munich Re building on Sauer Street — directly opposite *The Star's* Argus headquarters and a block away from Times Media Limited, publishers of the *FM*.

While owners Munich Re-insurance rightly refuse to divulge any information about tenants, it's known that the Mandela National Reception Committee, as well as the National Education Crisis Committee (an MDM-ANC affiliate), have been renting space there (about 30 offices or 500 m²) for the last month. An MDM source reckons these will in due course be converted into official ANC offices.

Plan for
South Africa 16/3/90
the future
(11A)
- Sisulu



SOUTH Africans had reached "a crucial phase ... where the battle for the nature of the future democracy is being fought", ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu said on Wednesday night.

He was speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape where his daughter, Nonkululeko Sisulu, was among graduates.

Sisulu said there were clear signs that the "ruling/privileged groups are mobilising their intellectual resources to plan and dig the new trenches from which to defend themselves and their grip on our lives and wealth".

"These forces are not going to abdicate from the position of power. Nor are our people going to establish their rights easily."

The past six months, Sisulu said, had unleashed a "new and complex process of transformation in South Africa".

"A process in which the democratic forces have to reorganise and restructure. Preparation has to be made for the new forms of political struggles likely to unfold and new ideological and political tensions may arise.

"The battle between our rulers and ourselves will now be about the shape of the future SA. The ruling class may yet devise new methods to subvert our progress," he added.

"The valiant struggles must be directed by strategic plans which will begin to lay the basis for the future and, at the same time provide meaningful relief now." - Sapa.

Stars at Mandela concert

By VICTOR
METSAMERE

TENS of thousands of music fans are expected at Ellis Park tomorrow for the Human Rainbow Concert for Unity and Prosperity. (11A)

The country's top artists are scheduled to perform in this "Welcome Mandela" show.

According to the South African Musicians Alliance, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was expected to leave for South Africa tonight. Sweden

Mandela is in Sweden where a rally in his honour was held yesterday. 16/3/90

However, his return date will only be known today. A statement will be released to the media.

If Mandela does return, he will definitely be at the stadium, at least for the song composed in his honour.

■ Details on page 12.

Ethics code keeps British press in line

LONDON. — Britain's Press Council issued a code of practice for newspapers and magazines yesterday listing strict standards in response to growing public criticism of the press.

The 16-point code, drawn up with the co-operation of editors, newspaper societies and journalists' unions, sets standards on accuracy, discourages intrusion into privacy and grief and opposes subterfuge.

The council reported that complaints rose by 4% in 1989 with 1871 cases handled during the year.

The council called on newspapers and journalists to resist censorship.

It said unethical conduct jeopardised this objective. — Sapa-Reuter



MANDELA MEETING ... The leader of Britain's opposition Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, yesterday flew to Sweden to meet Mr Nelson Mandela in Stockholm.

Picture: REUTERS

Sanctions essential for peace — Kinnock

Cape Times 16/3/90
(11A) (10) (285)

From IAN HOBBS

STOCKHOLM. — The ANC felt "deep bitterness" towards Mrs Margaret Thatcher for starting to lift sanctions as soon as Mr Nelson Mandela was freed, British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock said yesterday.

After a private meeting in Stockholm with Mr Mandela, he said the message he would take to the British prime minister was that sanctions were essential as the only alternative to unrest.

Mr Kinnock said the ANC was still undecided on whether or not to snub Mrs Thatcher's request to meet Mr Mandela when he attends an Easter Monday mass concert in his honour at Wembley

Stadium.

He said that although the ANC felt a "deep sense of bitterness" at Mrs Thatcher's unilateral decision to start lifting sanctions, he did not try to dissuade Mr Mandela from meeting her in London.

"But in all honesty, Mrs Thatcher and her motivations did not preoccupy us," he said.

Mr Kinnock admitted he opposed Mr Mandela's call this week for South Africa's diplomatic isolation — and new sanctions at this stage.

He said British diplomatic ties had been valuable in promoting change and he supported their retention.

But he said repeatedly that ex-

isting sanctions had to be maintained and effectively used to strengthen efforts by South Africans for non-racial advancement.

Lifting sanctions now would give Pretoria "maximum reward for minimal action" and actually be unhelpful, he said.

"I think President De Klerk actually needs sanctions. They provide him with a means of securing change from whites. It will not help him if sanctions are too quickly removed in response to nominal gestures."

He said meeting Mr Mandela gave him "great hope for the future of South Africa" and he supported his proposed meeting with Mr De Klerk.

Jane Fonda joins in 'Mandela mania'

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Actress Jane Fonda has joined President George Bush, the mayor of Los Angeles and a score of United States cities, universities and institutions in the queue for "a spot on Mr (Nelson) Mandela's social calendar", according to the Wall Street Journal.

And promoter Mr Don Walker, who "handles" ex-president Mr Gerald Ford and former secretary of state Mr Henry Kissinger, claims Mr Mandela could get \$40 000 (about R104 000) a speech on the after-dinner speaking circuit. Mr Walker has not yet done a deal but is trying to sign up Mr Mandela — through a "former ambassador" — and told the Journal he saw the ANC deputy president as one of the all-time stars as a speaker.

"He can do as many (engagements) as he wants," said Mr Walker, who collects 30% of the fees.

The Journal reports that Los Angeles

mayor Mr Tom Bradley has asked Mr Mandela to address a "rally for inter-racial harmony" in the 92 000-seat Memorial Coliseum, used for the 1984 Olympics.

Mr Bradley and the mayor of Detroit, Mr Coleman Young, sent their invitations via Archbishop Desmond Tutu and New York mayor Mr David Dinkins conveyed his through Mr Jesse Jackson, who met Mr Mandela after his release last month.

The Journal says the list of invitations includes the city of Chicago and Duke University, North Carolina, among US institutions who want "to heap praise, prizes and cash" on Mr Mandela. Duke University is baiting its invitation with what international studies director Mr Edward Tiryanian calls "a package that would capture his attention".

It could be a fellowship for South African blacks plus an advisory appointment with "what would certainly be a competitive honorarium".

Jane Fonda has also offered to stage a

Hollywood fund-raising function for Mr Mandela and the ANC. She ran a benefit for Archbishop Tutu during the 1980s.

Mandela mania since his release has already benefited the ANC leader's daughter Maki, a post-graduate student at the University of Massachusetts. Her booking agent, Mr Bob Katz, has raised her speaking fee by about \$1 000 (about R2 600) to \$7 000 (about R18,200).

The Journal quotes Maki as saying: "What I do with the money is not for public consumption."

Mr Katz says he is not rushing to try to book Mr Mandela but adds: "He embodies those qualities of oratorical skill, dramatic profile and quality message that make him the synthesis of all that is attractive in a public speaker."

Mr Mandela's long imprisonment has boosted his market appeal. "He's not over-exposed, to say the least," Mr Katz told the Journal.

Mandela

trumps

US ratings

11A

in Mail
16/3-22/3/90

By THOMAS ROSENSTIEL

IN a month when American media audiences were being over-fed with reports on big-money marital misery, the most closely followed story turned out to be the release of Nelson Mandela.

The release captured the attention of 30 percent of the respondents to Times Mirror News Interest Index, a monthly survey of public attitudes in the United States towards the news in the print and electronic media.

Earlier, the announcement that Mandela would be released and that the African National Congress would be unbanned was closely followed by only 11 percent of the public.

The near tripling of public interest last month coincided with saturation coverage on network evening news.

The results of the survey came as a surprise to some media analysts, who expected reports on the dissolving marriage of flamboyant property developer Donald Trump and Ivana, and his relationship to beauty queen Marla Maples, to have laid a much larger claim to TV audiences.

But the survey found that Americans had had enough of the Trump saga, with a record 55 percent saying the media had devoted too much coverage to the Trumps' \$26-million (around R65-million) marital dispute.

— Newsday.

11A

PROFILE

WJ/Mond 16/31 - 22/3/90

An interview with the

CHRIS HANI, until recently the African National Congress' most visible and persuasive hardliner, today embodies a new mood of optimism in exile ranks.

In an interview this week, the chief-of-staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing, said:

"For me, the unbanning of the ANC is a tremendous event. It means that the regime recognises all that it has denied and refuted in the past."

"The unbanning of the ANC gives us considerable space to build a much more powerful ANC than it was at the time of its banning — certainly more powerful and stronger than the United Democratic Front."

While Hani ascribes the new political changes to a combination of internal pressure and rapidly changing international events, he acknowledges President FW de Klerk's role:

"For him it must have taken a lot of courage to make the sort of declarations he made on February 2 where he recognised that all South Africans must participate in the administration of the country," he said.

But he is not convinced that De Klerk has yet crossed the Rubicon to a fully non-racial society. "At the moment I don't think he has any coherent ideas about the sort of South Africa that he wants to build."

Hani's views reflect a personal change of heart which has been brewing since an internal row within the ANC executive 18 months ago over how far the organisation should go in taking its campaign of sabotage and bombings into the white areas.

Hani argued in an interview in mid-1988, published both abroad and in the *Weekly Mail*, that the "sweet life" of white South Africans should be ended and they should be made to associate the maintenance of apartheid with insecurity and physical pain.

He no longer holds this view, but insists it played a valuable role in persuading whites to break with old-style apartheid.

"When we began to attack targets in the white areas — for the first time white South Africans began to sit up and say: 'This thing is coming, obviously it is going to grow and we need to do something about it.'

"When they actually began to hear explosions in the centre of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban they began to realise that what they saw happening in other countries where there was an armed struggle was beginning to take place in South Africa," Hani said.

He said the problem was that the strategy became difficult to regulate because of the spontaneous anger of ANC cadres.

"We had to control it and it was a very difficult thing," Hani said. "We felt that going for civilian targets would be counter-productive in terms of our broad strategy of uniting South Africans," he said.

Hani says that before there can be a suspension of the ANC's armed struggle there will have to be direct talks be-

In a controversial interview during 1988, ANC military chief-of-staff Chris Hani argued a tough case for stepping up sabotage to end the 'sweet life' of white South Africans. This month, the reporter who interviewed Hani eighteen months ago met him again, to find him a much mellowed man.

By JOHN BATTERSBY

tween senior officers of the South African Defence Force and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

"The SADF and MK — at the right moment — must sit down together and discuss a monitoring mechanism for achieving a cessation of hostilities," said Hani.

He said the recent revelations about "hit squads" would have to form part of pre-ceasefire talks.

"We would certainly demand the stopping of these irregular forces which are



Chris Hani ... Optimistic but unconvinced

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

terroristic," he said. "I was absolutely taken aback when I was told that senior officers of the SADF were involved in operations responsible for the willful killing of civilians," said Hani.

"I have never taken part in an operation that has involved sending people into South Africa to kill white civilians. It is inconceivable," he said.

At its consultative conference in 1985, the ANC, re-affirming its policy of avoiding civilian targets, noted that it was inevitable that more civilians would get caught in the crossfire as the war escalated.

At a subsequent executive meeting in August 1988, which Hani described as the stormiest of his career, the ANC condemned attacks in which civilians were targeted and vowed to take steps to prevent further civilian deaths.

But Hani insists that MK has been instrumental in building the ANC into the force it is today. "MK became the inspirer and the organiser of the people in terms of resistance and I think it carried out its role very well," he said.

"We exploded bombs that acted as a stimulus to our people in terms of resistance. We used bombs and ambushes and raids to popularise the ANC," said Hani. "Had it not been for MK the younger generation would not have known of the ANC," he said. He said MK had also played a pivotal role in building up the ANC underground inside the country.

"Now we have units inside the country able to organise and train people," he said. "If there is a breakdown in the talks and we see that there is no seriousness on the part of the government — and it is resorting to its old ways of violence — then those units will be given instructions to fight back."

Until six weeks ago, Hani was still calling for an escalation of the armed struggle. No longer:

"The times have changed," said Hani. "That was the time of PW Botha ... the enemy was sending its forces across the border and killing our people. It was a very difficult period so my language had to reflect that sort of climate.

"But now there is a climate in South Africa which demands responsible statements from the ANC — including myself. We are calling for unity and reconciliation. We want to defuse the emotions," he said.

Hani acknowledges the contribution whites have made to the economy. "We have one of the best economies in Africa thanks to their skills," he said. "We don't want to destroy that economy."

But he says whites will have to stop crowing about the failure of socialism and work out an equitable system in which social justice prevails.

"The whites would sleep better if they tackled this problem of the impoverishment of blacks," he said. "Private enterprise has got a social obligation. 'Industry has a duty to contribute to proper housing and medical facilities for employees.'

"We face a challenge to work out a system that will ensure social justice for all our people," he said. "How it comes about, I don't know."

The most immediate reason for Hani's transformation appears to be the influence of Nelson Mandela, who presided over his first ANC executive meeting last week.

"Here is a man who has been incarcerated for 28 years and there is not a trace of bitterness," he said. "For us this is an important lesson. We tend to be very angry and yet we have not been exposed to the harshness Nelson has been exposed to.

"I think we are going to learn from him the need to be better South Africans — to forgive and forget and to look forward to building a new South Africa."

• John Battersby is S Africa correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

ANC chiefs in SA next month

w/ Mant 16/3 - 22/3/90

By ANTON HARBER
and THANDEKA QUBULE

THE African National Congress's national executive committee is planning to travel to South Africa for a meeting with the United Democratic Front within the next month.

And next week the ANC will be opening an office in Johannesburg, its first internal headquarters since its banning in 1960.

The meeting with the UDF comes at the request of the internal organisation, which wants to meet the 35-member ANC leadership body before its April national conference. The UDF had suggested that its executive travel to Lusaka.

The ANC responded by agreeing to meet, but suggested that its leaders come to South Africa.

"The meeting is now scheduled to take place inside the country. It is at last on the cards that we will have the opportunity of hearing their thoughts

and views on the matter," the UDF publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, said this week.

An ANC delegation is expected in the country in the next few weeks to meet President FW de Klerk. However, the meeting with the UDF suggests that many more NEC members may be planning a visit.

It is believed the ANC wants to force the government's hand on allowing them to return, rather than waiting for a formal amnesty.

The major point of discussion is likely to be how the two bodies relate to each other now that the ANC has been unbanned.

The UDF conference has been called to review the organisation's

position. "We have to look at our operations and see how we intend to restructure ourselves to suit the demands of the moment.

"We also have to determine the relationship between the UDF and the ANC. And then of course we have to set out a programme of action for the road ahead," Lekota said.

ANC spokesperson Tom Sebina said yesterday the ANC in Lusaka had been notified by its internal committee in Johannesburg that the organisation's offices there would be formally opened next week. He said they would then coordinate the development of offices throughout the country.

Sources close to the ANC say that the organisation has divided the country into 12 different regions, in each of which there will be a central office and a number of smaller ones.

A woman's place is in the struggle for equality

W/Mant 16/5-22/3/90
 Women are not only denied their due rights in society, they are also under-represented in the organisations fighting for democracy, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE photograph of the National Reception...

With the celebration of International Women's Day last week, the point has been stressed that the resistance movement has committed itself to fighting discrimination and has a responsibility to guard against sexism in its own ranks as well as in the broader society.

But despite acknowledgement of female oppression in society, women are not featuring in high-powered extra-parliamentary politics, says Barret.

All the same, "despite slow progress, a consciousness to overcome sexism is present among men in the movement that was not there before".

Barret says that since resolutions calling for a greater female role in the leadership of the trade union movement were tabled at the Cosatu congress in July last year, some progress has been made. Women's committees were meeting more often, and men were becoming more aware of the issue.

Barret says women in any leadership position sitting in on a meeting are conscious of being an absolute minority — "one can't imagine a meeting of 60 people with only two men.

"The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front executive level ratio of women to men is probably 1:20 or 1:30.

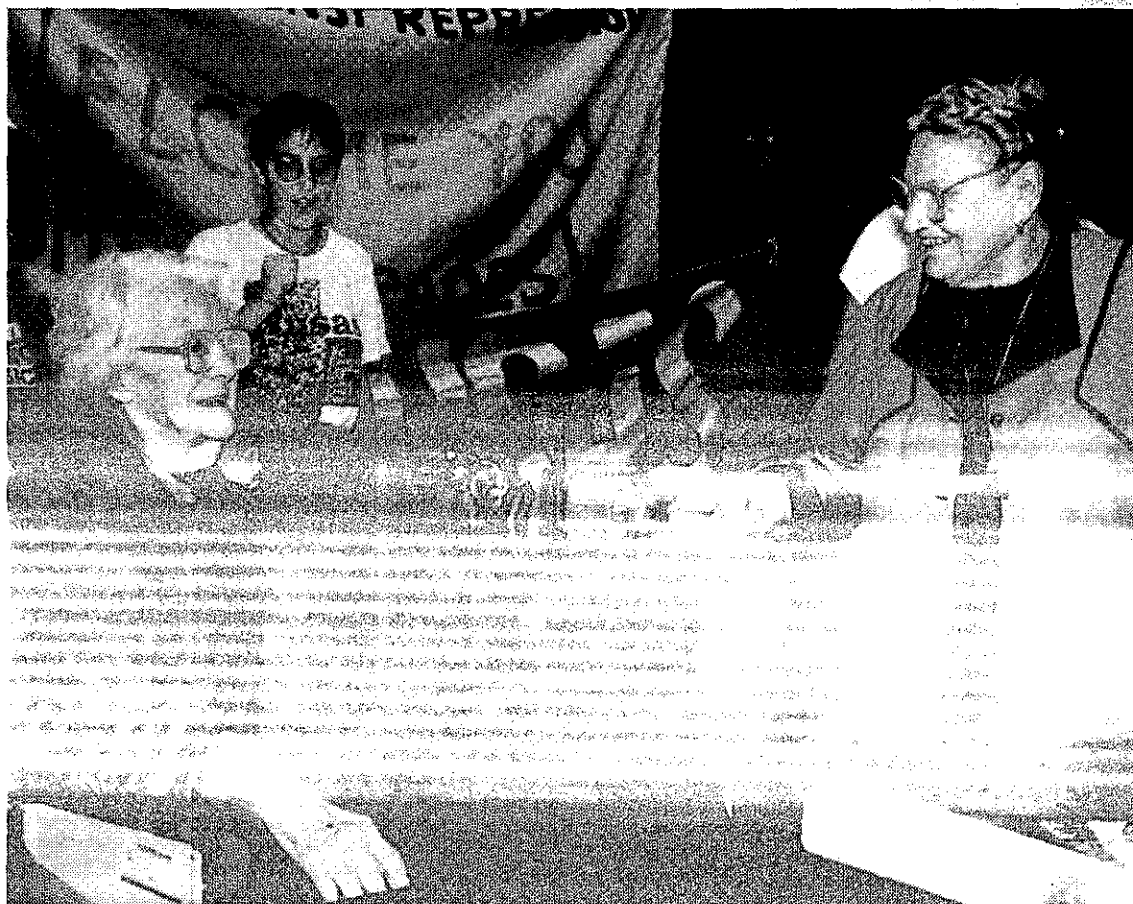
"In the current political climate, then, women are considered to be part of the negotiation process. In reality they are absent from that process."

Imbeleko women's organisation representative Nomonde Jafta says that even before the negotiating table is reached, "liberation movements need to address the question of unity". Women can contribute to this initiative.

On female leadership, she says that although in principle male activists preach the need for women's involvement, in practice they are not doing much to effect that change.

This is seen by how few men attend women's meetings. "It is important that we have men participating in our meetings. And men don't even encourage their own wives to attend these meetings."

Jafta stresses, however, that men are not the enemies of women. The fight is one against racism, capitalism and sexism.



United ... Helen Joseph and Ray Alexander mark International Women's Day at Wits University

But what do male activists think of the lack of women among the leadership in the political struggle?

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick Lekota says major advances have been made in male activists' sensitivity to women.

"The fact is that the number of women participating in organisations is less. Most male comrades vote men into positions of leadership.

"And men with higher levels of education are more conscious of this principle of non-sexism than mineworkers, for example — the black community normally relegates women to lower positions which they have occupied through history."

Moreover, he says, given the present conditions, men fear that if they vote women into positions of power they expose them to detention, arrests and undue risks.

He adds that there is a strong voice in the Mass Democratic Movement calling for an end to oppression within the movement and society: "When men in the movement are caught using a sexist term they are apologetic and shrinking in their attitude."

Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley says: "Some male activists still harbour superior attitudes to women which is an indication of a failure to grasp the full context in which any struggle is conducted."

He admits a degree of sexism may exist among Azapo members in their everyday life. However, when it comes to interacting organisationally such sexism is barred because it is contrary to the constitution. "They are forced to treat women equally."

Family law specialist June Sinclair says although to a large extent there is very little institutionalised discrimination against women, there is a hangover of discrimination from the past.

The legal system used actively to discriminate against women but this tenden-

cy has gradually been removed.

But the cultural ethos of sex inequality is still deeply ingrained in society and there is no protection against this inbuilt discrimination against women.

For example, "unlike Britain and some states in America and Europe, it is not illegal in South Africa for an employer to discriminate against female applicants," Sinclair says.

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa representative Adrienne Bird says that although there is no legislation setting different minimum wage levels for men and women, men are normally paid higher.

Two mechanisms make this possible

— job grading and informal pressure to increase a man's wage, for example promotion of the view that a man has a family to support and a woman does not.

Although there is barely any legislated discrimination in the workplace, exploitation is widespread and some women even have to "give sex for jobs" — a practice which is rife, although a culture of silence shrouds it, says Bird.

Sinclair says that although in other countries gender discrimination is criminal, it has not changed society's thinking overnight. But it has symbolic value in that it will nurture a culture of equal rights on a racial and sexual basis.

13 - 2213/90 w/Man

11/17

ANC chiefs in SA next month

w/Man 16/3 - 22/3/90

By ANTON HARBER
and THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE African National Congress's national executive committee is planning to travel to South Africa for a meeting with the United Democratic Front within the next month.

And next week the ANC will be opening an office in Johannesburg, its first internal headquarters since its banning in 1960.

The meeting with the UDF comes at the request of the internal organisation, which wants to meet the 35-member ANC leadership body before its April national conference. The UDF had suggested that its executive travel to Lusaka.

The ANC responded by agreeing to meet, but suggested that its leaders come to South Africa.

"The meeting is now scheduled to take place inside the country. It is at last on the cards that we will have the opportunity of hearing their thoughts

and views on the matter," the UDF publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, said this week.

An ANC delegation is expected in the country in the next few weeks to meet President FW de Klerk. However, the meeting with the UDF suggests that many more NEC members may be planning a visit.

It is believed the ANC wants to force the government's hand on allowing them to return, rather than waiting for a formal amnesty.

The major point of discussion is likely to be how the two bodies relate to each other now that the ANC has been unbanned.

The UDF conference has been called to review the organisation's

position. "We have to look at our operations and see how we intend to restructure ourselves to suit the demands of the moment.

"We also have to determine the relationship between the UDF and the ANC. And then of course we have to set out a programme of action for the road ahead," Lekota said.

ANC spokesperson Tom Sebina said yesterday the ANC in Lusaka had been notified by its internal committee in Johannesburg that the organisation's offices there would be formally opened next week. He said they would then coordinate the development of offices throughout the country.

Sources close to the ANC say that the organisation has divided the country into 12 different regions, in each of which there will be a central office and a number of smaller ones.



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WEEKLY MAIL: The government has blamed the ANC and PAC for the recent wave of unrest. What do you think the causes are?

TERROR LEKOTA: It is a natural result when people have been for years denied the right to publicly express themselves.

Secondly, the fact that the government has at last expressed itself as willing to negotiate a future with the movement has raised hopes. And now it appears the government is dragging its feet. Frustrations set in. A sense of betrayal encompasses these communities.

Thirdly, the history of our country has taught our people that the government will move forward only if it is obliged to. Our history does create the impression that it is only when pressure is applied to the government that we will advance.

I think it is crucial to mention also that a key element is the corrupt administrations which have controlled the areas our communities live in, such as town councils and some of the homeland administrations.

WM: You say the government is dragging its feet. What do you mean?

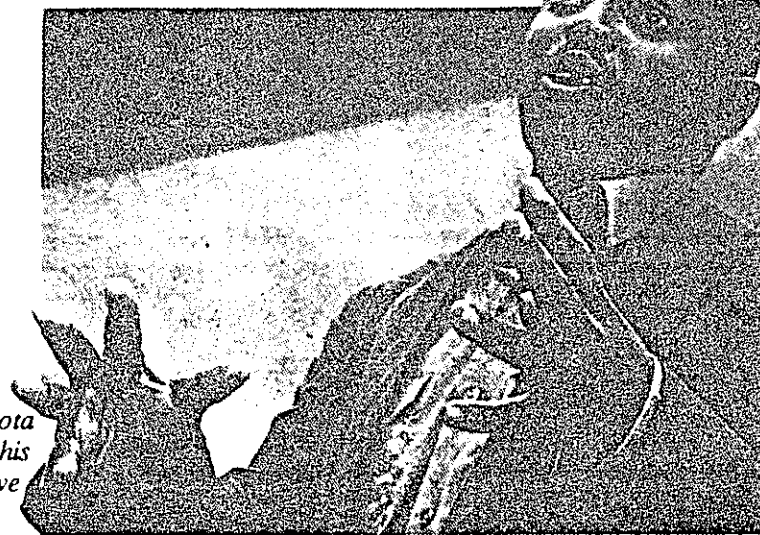
TL: The government has met some of the demands set out in the Harare Declaration. It has not met others. It has refused or is still reluctant to consider the release of political prisoners, it retains the State of Emergency. It has not granted a general amnesty to exiles. The movement will not approach the conference table unless these things are met.

So what happens to people who are basing their hopes on the beginning of that process? They can only be frustrated.

WM: Are you worried that the unrest, and the detentions that have followed it, could derail progress towards negotiations?

Lekota speaks on the wave of unrest

UDF leader Patrick 'Terror' Lekota talks to ANTON HARBER about his organisation's attitude to the wave of unrest around the country



'Terror' Lekota ... 'It appears the government is dragging its feet'

TL: Up until last week, I did not expect that the government could use the Emergency regulations and the security laws to suppress those who opposed them. But I have counted 179 leading activists and comrades detained in the Free State. I begin to have apprehensions as to whether the government may not be reverting to their old style of repression.

If the government is taking that line, the optimism and confidence that was beginning to emerge may well flounder.

WM: What is UDF saying to those involved in the unrest? Are you calling on them to keep up the pressure on the government, or to cool down?

TL: We have said that pressure must be kept up on the government. But we have underlined that this has to be done in a disciplined and non-violent manner. The rioting, the beating, the loss of life, which is taking place in our areas is something we deplore.

WM: What do you mean by disciplined action?

TL: We mean controlled marches, protest marches with the intention of making demands of the government; and a refusal to co-operate with structures which maintain those practices not in the interests of our community.

What is taking place now is more or less outside and beyond what was anticipated by the movement.

WM: Many of the problems you say lie behind the unrest are not going to disappear overnight, even if there are negotiations. Are you not worried about a continual process of unrest that will threaten talks?

TL: I believe there are steps which can be taken by the government in the present set-up which can help undercut this kind of restlessness. Some of the local issues, such as corruption in town councils, can be addressed.

Secondly, it appears that they have

released Mandela and Sisulu and others, but the government has not engaged with them. At the beginning the process of negotiations will focus the interest of the people; but they have to act to keep it there or it will wander.

And that is dangerous, because we have to retain the attention of the people for a long, long time.

WM: Are you concerned about the rightwing?

TL: A lot is said about how (State President FW) De Klerk is under pressure from the rightwing. Hardly anything is said about the pressure our movement has to contend with from its constituency, which is deprived, has no political rights, no hopes, no education, etc. The pressure from them is much heavier than the pressure from the rightwing.

WM: Do you think you have a duty to help De Klerk withstand the rightwing pressure?

TL: When the administration of white South Africans begins for the first time to respond sensibly and reasonably to the mass of the people, it is important that everything should be done to encourage it and keep it in place. We would be failing our people and our country if we took action that allowed for the displacement of the government's initiative.

But in all fairness, we don't believe the CP has got the capacity to stop the process of negotiation. We don't think the demands of the vast majority should be neglected or delayed because of such a small minority.

WM: Are there now a substantial number of homeland leaders on your side? What is your relationship with them?

TL: A number of homeland leaders realise that the only relief for the difficulties of our people is the one offered by the liberation movement.

We sense that when the crucial moment comes, they will make common cause and occupy the same side of the conference table as the movement.

WM: Are you saying there is a place at the table for homeland leaders?

TL: There ought to be a place for them, that's if it's on the basis of an electoral process to get regional leaders or constituency leaders and they win majority support.

WM: Is the movement changing its view on nationalisation?

TL: There are no immediate indications that the movement will change from the position Mandela outlined (in his message from prison last month). I think the most important thing is the manner in which the movement intends to carry out this programme. The question of nationalisation must be seen against the background of the commitment of the movement to leaving a sector of the economy absolutely free.

ANC sanctions call 'part of the poker game'

Star 17/3/90

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BY calling for intensified sanctions against South Africa, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is "upping the ante" in a bid to strengthen his hand at the negotiating table, says sociologist Mr Mark Orkin.

"His call for intensified sanctions is also consonant with the Harare Declaration," adds Mr Orkin, director of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case).

The Harare Declaration sets out the ANC's position on negotiations. While approving a negotiated settlement in principle, it states: "We shall continue to do everything in our power to intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid until (it) is ended."

Mr Orkin is the editor of, and a contributor to, "Sanctions Against Apartheid". The book is published by David Phillip, and argues the case for sanctions.

Approached for comment on Mr Mandela's call for intensified sanctions, made during his visit to Sweden, Mr Orkin compares the ANC leader to a poker player at a critical point in the game. "You don't throw away your cards until you win," he says.

He doubts whether Mr Mandela's call will be heeded in Western capitals because the Western powers had been pressured to impose sanctions in the first place.

PATRICK LAURENCE

But, he adds, it is reassuring to note the European Community, the US Congress and the Commonwealth have all committed themselves to maintaining present levels until the process of dismantling apartheid is irreversible.

Mr Orkin goes on to quote from a comprehensive study of sanctions by Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador in SA.

Mr Orkin, quoting from the Ambassador's book "Economic Sanctions", argues that the maintenance of sanctions is as important for the "end-game" in South Africa as Sir Robin found it to be in Rhodesia.

Key reasons

Sir Robin, according to Mr Orkin, cites three key reasons for sustaining sanctions against the Rhodesian government during the last phase of the struggle for majority government in Rhodesia. Mr Orkin contends that all apply to South Africa today.

Sir Robin's conclusions, as summarised by Mr Orkin, are presented first. Mr Orkin's deductions and comments are juxtaposed.

Sir Robin: Selective sanctions are complex and difficult to operate and give rise to serious difficulties of interpretation both within and between governments.

Mr Orkin: Hence the importance of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as a regulative goal ... the less the evasion the quicker the change.

Sir Robin: Diplomatic initiatives are not a substitute for sanctions but depend on them for success. Persuasive action will only be successful to the extent that "sufficient real pressure is exerted to give the regime a serious incentive to negotiate".

Mr Orkin: "Hence the importance for that pressure to be real." He talks of the need to set political requirements to Pretoria's negotiations for repayment of its foreign debt and to tighten trade boycotts on coal, steel and agricultural goods.

Sir Robin: No premature lifting of sanctions; in Rhodesia it would have "encouraged resistance to wider settlement".

Mr Orkin: Sanctions must be maintained in South Africa until the Government makes the "requisite concessions of genuinely unfettering the political process and dismantling apartheid".

Mr Orkin concedes that the costs of sanctions are real, particularly in the form of black unemployment but adds, they are "decisively outweighed by their essential contribution ... to the end of systematic repression and chronic economic decline engineered by the apartheid regime".

FW sets date for ANC talks

w/le ARG 4/17/3/90 (11A) (SAB)

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS to change the face of South Africa have come a step nearer with the announcement that President De Klerk and other Cabinet ministers will sit down to talks with Mr Nelson Mandela and other senior African National Congress (ANC) members in Cape Town on April 11.

This first engagement — it has taken weeks of consultations to prepare — will be vital to the process to follow.

Lusaka-based ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina indicated that the movement was approaching the first formal contact with hope and "a sense of patience".

"We hope that after these initial talks we will be able to see movement towards full-scale negotiations."

Hailed by DP

He added: "We are dealing with a very serious matter and it is not necessary to rush into things ... I think F W understands that."

The meeting has been hailed by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer as "a major step in an historic process".

Mr De Klerk said yesterday the talks would focus on "those things perceived to be stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations".

The meeting had been "structured to address" this issue and the parties would "stick to the agenda".

He made a distinction between matters of specific interest to the ANC and the government and "other issues in which everybody has an interest".

High on the list was resolving the uncertainty among ANC exiles as to whether they could return without being arrested.

The ANC has condemned the view that its members who have committed acts of violence — or any other actions which could lead to prosecution — would, in the case of prisoners, be kept in jail or, in the case of exiles, be arrested if they returned.

In the meantime, the composition of the ANC delegation for next month's meeting is not being dictated by the government.

Mr De Klerk said the government was not "prescribing how their delegation for meetings with the government should be constituted".

State of emergency

Mr De Klerk also has insisted that the state of emergency should not be a feature of the negotiation bargaining process.

It was simply the law and order "situation on the ground" that would determine when the emergency was lifted.

Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports from Stockholm that the ANC expects "immediate results" from the April 11 meeting.

Mr Mandela said on Swedish radio that a long, protracted negotiated settlement would be "unacceptable" to the ANC, but he promised "rich rewards" for a unified South Africa.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking," he told listeners. "We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years."

A delegation of ANC officials, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, secretary for international affairs, is to meet UDF representatives at the end of March in Johannesburg.

A meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu Inkatha movement, is due to be held next week after the Mandela delegation's return home.

Mandela: Musicians' vital role

W/ ARGUS 17/3/90 11A
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela told members of about 30 pop groups that "the involvement of top artists in politics was the turning point in the struggle for independence".

Addressing the disappointingly small crowd of about 7 000 people at the Human Rainbow concert at Ellis Park today, Mr Mandela said: "Artists can reach people beyond the reach of politicians. They can serve as our ambassadors and they are already known everywhere in the world. That's why we felt we could not miss being here today."

Mr Mandela, accompanied on stage by his wife Winnie and Mr Walter Sisulu, flew from Stockholm to Geneva on Friday to make his South African connection to be at the concert.

But doubts that he would be there, the huge funeral at Kattlehong, a major match at Soccer City and the unsettled situation in the townships all contributed to the poor attendance, despite the attraction of most of the country's top groups.

It was hoped that "the concert of the decade" would attract about 100 000 people but by 4 pm when Mr Mandela, with a police escort, arrived on stage only a fraction of that number were present.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was to have opened the concert at 10 am, eventually made a brief three-minute appearance just after 3 pm.

Despite the turnout, the mood was friendly. Although there was a strong police presence outside the stadium before the start of the concert, there was only a token police presence inside during the show and policemen kept a low profile.

Cape Times
17/3/90

Mandela returns home to peace talks

From IAN HOBBS

STOCKHOLM. — Mr Nelson Mandela will be back in Johannesburg today to arrange an urgent meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other black leaders in a bid to end escalating township and homelands violence.

Mr Mandela slipped quietly out of Stockholm in a race against time to make connecting flights to Johannesburg after making a brief but emotional appearance at a massive pop concert in his honour.

Mr Mandela, who will also be finalising terms for a meeting with President F W De Klerk, abandoned plans for a last day of fêting and banqueting in Sweden to get to grips with the crisis in South Africa.

While he has been treated like royalty during his Swedish visit and has made an enormous personal impact, his call for intensified sanctions and South Africa's diplomatic isolation has been completely rejected.

Mr Mandela also faced some embarrassment from a group of ANC students who have been given sanctuary in Sweden after claiming they were abused and in some cases tortured by their own movement and their lives would be in danger if they returned to exile camps in Africa.

It is understood that Mr Mandela promised to look into their allegations but he said on Swedish television that he felt some of their statements were "destructive rather than constructive".

Horrifying scars

The issue of the ANC students became extremely serious and embarrassing for the Swedish government last week when one of them, Mr Mkuseli Goxo, 24, from the Eastern Cape, died in southern Sweden, allegedly as a result of torture in a detention camp in Tanzania.

The official cause of death has not yet been made public but Mr Goxo had shown journalists horrifying scars on his body which he said were the result of whippings and beatings administered by ANC officials in Tanzania.

Mr Goxo had been in Sweden since mid-1989.

The remaining students are protesting that the Swedish government is helping the ANC cover up evidence of substantial brutality, and they say it is vital for the movement's good that the full truth must come out.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports that Mr De Klerk said yesterday that he would meet ANC representatives, including Mr Mandela, on April 11 in Cape Town, for the government's first official contact with the ANC.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, says attempts by politicians to sow division between Mr Mandela and the township youth were "short-sighted and extremely dangerous".

Speaking at a meeting in Claremont, Mr Van Eck said the success of the negotiation process would in part depend on Mr Mandela's success in mobilising the youth.

The frightful upsurge of unrest in many parts of the country appears to have black leaders as deeply perturbed as their white counterparts. With reports coming in daily of new incidents of violence, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE, spoke to some leading political figures to find out how they see the causes of the violence and how they believe it might be ended.

A test for Mandela

GOVERNMENT suspicions that the widespread unrest might in part be a political ploy to delay talks are not supported by what black leaders have to say.

All those spoken to this week were united in their condemnation of the violence, insisting it had to be stopped and insisting, too, that they and their organisations were taking an active role in trying to restore peace.

But they see it as a complex problem and one that will be a severe test also for Mr Nelson Mandela when he returns home from his triumphant tour of Africa and Europe. The violence has erupted in his absence in spite of his earlier call for peace and for "knives and pangas to be thrown into the sea".

The black leaders spoken to had varying theories about the causes of the unrest, ranging from that of frustration due to poverty and unemployment to political factors such as a spirit of revolt against the continuing grip of the apartheid system.

CONTRARY to the government view, their belief is that the state of emergency is an obstacle to peace rather than a help. They believe its lifting would be an important step towards ending the unrest as well as towards preparing the climate for negotiations.

A central issue causing concern on all sides is the youth factor. A militant youth element is said to have become virtually uncontrollable in its defiance of the authority of the older generation. But just how the black leadership, including that of the ANC and its allies, propose handling the situation remains unclear.

The Rev Stanley Mogoeba, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, said the emergency should be lifted as "a signal that we are returning to a normal condition". This should be accompanied by a nation-wide appeal from leaders of all churches, all organisations



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of the democratic movement, and all political organisations for an end to violence.

Such appeals should be made by "all concerned, particularly the leadership of Inkatha and the UDF, and all church leaders". The peace message needed to be put across at public meetings all over the country.

THE United Democratic Front's Mr Murphy Morobe said his organisation's leadership had visited various unrest-stricken areas to appeal for peace. Among those in the forefront was UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molele who told a peace rally in troubled Kaitshong on the East Rand that the brutality of recent violence had left black people "scarred and bleeding" and that it was a tragedy when people started butchering one another, no matter for what reason.

However, it was a situation riddled with problems, said Mr Morobe. Leaders on peace missions in various areas came up against immense difficulties. One was that while peace calls were heeded by communities at large, groups like vigilante elements remained beyond the control of the leaders.

He too believed that the lifting of the emergency would improve the situation by removing some of the tensions leading to confrontation. Leaders would be encouraged in their efforts to exercise discipline in a responsible way and the atmosphere of oppression created by the emergency regulations would diminish.

THE Pan-Africanist Congress, regarded in some political circles as one of the most militant and radical of the black anti-apartheid movements, claims to be backing calls for peace and for an end to violence by blacks against blacks in the townships.

Its president Mr Zephania Mokoapeng said: "I can promise you that sooner or later unrest will be a thing of the past."

Calling the state of emergency "a major form of oppression", he, too, called for it to be lifted. "What we need is that the people must be free to express themselves."

He declined to say more, but PAC sources said steps were being taken by the movement to bring an end to violence in areas on the Witwatersrand and around Pretoria. The measures taken there would be extended to other regions.

Dr Itumeleng Mosala, national president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), said there was a need for people to understand the nature of the violence. He distinguished between "ghetto violence", bred by conditions of extreme poverty, and violence resulting from political intolerance.

AT present under the state of emergency, he said, criminal elements in society mingled with political elements. The situation became more complicated as a result of the repressive form in which the state of emergency had been enforced in the past. State violence itself became a factor in both "ghetto violence" and political violence.

Although the emergency had, in effect, now virtually been lifted with police keeping a low profile at protest demonstrations and other events, the psychological effect of the emergency remained. People had not been told it had been lifted.

The immediate lifting of the emergency would have a calming effect and would enable police to deal more effectively with criminal elements now disturbing the peace under the cloak of political violence.

Dr Mosala, a theologian in the University of Cape Town's department of religious studies, suggests all opposition organisations should develop a political culture based on strong principles and discipline. They ought to have authority over their members to stop any violence. Should they fail to do this their image would be tarnished.

He sees as one of the top priorities of opposition organisations the issue of unity. This does not mean they should merge, but they should seek common ground on the kind of future they want. Alliances should be formed and a programme worked out for transition to a new society. This should be done even before talks are held with President De Klerk.

'LITTLE SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE'

By DALE KNEEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

THERE is little support for the current wave of violence around the country and it may be short-lived.

This is the view of police, residents of strife-torn townships and government officials who believe township dwellers are "tired of bloodshed" for no apparent reason.

Scores of people have died in violence around the country since March 5 and over 400 have been injured.

Police spokesman Major Reg Crewe said that most of the people who died in unrest-related incidents recently were policemen, town councillors and mayors.

This indicated that the unrest was of a political nature and fell within the ambit of the revolutionary struggle.

"However, those seeking violence also throw petrol bombs at private houses, shops and buses without any apparent motive," said Major Crewe.

TOWNSHIP residents said the reasons for the violence appeared to be obscure and that it would not continue much longer.

Pamphlets distributed on the East Rand and Soweto over the past four weeks have called for the resignation of Department of Education and Training officials.

Residents are confused by these demands as they say Mr Nelson Mandela called for their children to return to school at the first rally he addressed in Soweto.

Others said the violence was a result of UDF-
Inkatha friction.

olence by "politically charged" youths who are "out of control".

POLICE said violence in Kaitshong appeared to be sparked by a taxi war, but commuters said this was also an ethnic clash.

"Most of the taxi drivers who transport people outside the township are Zulu and they seem to be the victims of young and violent youths who mainly use taxis inside the township," said a reporter with close links to Sabita. Zulu speaking people living in the hostel in Kaitshong were also victimised and provoked for no apparent reason, he added.

Major Crewe said unrest near Withank appeared to be the result of friction between ANC supporters and their opposition.

Sources in the Bureau for Information said in other townships the same demands were being made now as in 1984 with the exception of the call for the release of Nelson Mandela.

The demands included the resignation of councillors and town council officials.

IT was felt, however, that the unrest would be short lived as the violence did not have the support of the community.

"People have seen enough bloodshed. There is a general feeling that peace in South Africa can be achieved and therefore I don't believe there is mass support for the current unrest," a black government official who works on the East Rand said.

"The youths think people will join in with their struggle, but people are confused because they do not know what the reason for the violence is and are therefore reluctant to participate," said a reporter.

Political Staff

THE first direct talks between government and ANC delegations are to take place in Cape Town on April 11 — and the ANC will be free to include anyone it likes in its delegation.

The meeting was announced simultaneously yesterday in a statement by State President Mr F W de Klerk in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka, Sapa-Reuter reported.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's delegation. He did not name the other members.

At a press conference held after his statement was released, Mr De Klerk was asked whether the ANC would be free to include anyone in its delegation.

He replied: "We are not prescribing to other organisations how their delegations must be compiled and constituted."

This means that the ANC will be able to include people like the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive, and Mr Chris Hani, the commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Mr De Klerk made it clear that the April 11 discussions would be aimed at removing obstacles in the way of negotiation.

"I think we must draw a distinction between the problems experienced by the ANC and the issues in which all people have an interest."

In his statement he said: "At the meeting, the State President, assisted by members of the cabinet, will discuss with Mr (Nelson) Mandela and ANC leaders from outside and from within the country the obstacles perceived to obstruct the process towards negotiations."

He explained at the press conference that

Date set for FW to meet the ANC

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he had seen various lists of what could be discussed at the meeting, and while he agreed some of items should be discussed, others should be the subject of negotiations.

For instance, it was reasonable that the question of people living outside South Africa and who wanted to return to the country but were concerned about whether they would be arrested, should be discussed.

He stressed that the April 11 meeting would discuss items that were perceived to be obstacles in the way of negotiation and he felt it would be orderly if this agenda was adhered to.

Mr De Klerk denied there was any connection between the announcement on the ANC talks and the announcement of the R3 000-million fund aimed at removing backlogs.

He also reiterated that the test for the lifting of the state of emergency would be the security situation in the country and was not a matter for negotiation.

"It is not a card we are keeping up our sleeves to play in the negotiating process."

He hoped that government actions and the influence of the total leadership in South Africa, including the ANC, would make it possible to end the state of emergency.

The state of emergency was not aimed at any organisation and was the same for the National Party, the ANC and any other organisation.

Mr De Klerk added that he hoped that these initiatives would make it possible to achieve a practical solution.

Mr Mandela, 71-year-old ANC deputy president, told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

"Our strategy is going to be that the very first meeting between the ANC and the government must produce a result if we are going to continue talking," he said.

Yesterday's announcement quelled fears that the encounter had been torpedoed by political violence which has claimed more than 220 lives since Mr Mandela was freed from jail on February 11.

The violence spread to the prison service for the first time yesterday, with police firing tear gas at more than 260 black prison warders striking in protest at racial discrimination.

In Natal, police said a black policeman being held for the murder this week of the area's most senior riot squad officer, was shot and killed while trying to escape.

● Mandela returns to peace talks — Page 2

'Don't forget our black unsung heroes'

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By FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A CALL for the "unsung heroes" of the black consciousness movement to be remembered has been made by community leader and UDF member Mr Johnny Issel.

Speaking at the graduation ceremony of the University of the Western Cape last night, he said the contribution of black consciousness activists during a time when all resistance was "trampled under foot" could never be denied.

"We must never forget the many unsung heroes the movement produced.

"Never must we forget Ongopotse Tiro who was killed by a parcel-bomb while executing his responsibilities as student leader of SASO. Or Mntulika Shezi who was pushed under a train while trying to protect a group of black women against the abuse of some white railway workers."

Charges withdrawn

Also not to be forgotten was Mapetla Mohapi, a student leader "whose life was mercilessly ended in the Kei police cells."

Mr Issel, who had charges against him relating to the furthering of the aims of the African National Congress withdrawn last month, said the crimes of apartheid were endless.

"Its policies were conceived in violence and are maintained through naked violence. It is therefore not surprising that many past students from this institution, as well as from those in the Bantustans, decided to fight for its destruction with arms in hand."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, above left, caps BA student Judith Sibaca at a UWC graduation ceremony last night while the Rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel, looks on. Mr Johnny Issel, below right, addresses graduates at the ceremony.

Mandela returns for historic talks

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela flew home yesterday from a reunion with exiled colleagues to prepare for the first talks between the ANC and the South African government.

The April 11 meeting, announced on Friday, represents a major political breakthrough.

It holds the key to future negotiations on a new deal for the country's voteless black majority.

But the way forward is rocky. A wave of unrest has swept the country since President F W de Klerk released Mr Mandela from 27 years in jail last month and lifted a 30-year ban on the ANC.

More than 220 people have been killed in fighting between rival black factions and clashes between police and demonstrators whose expectations have been raised by official promises to end apartheid.

Violence

Mr De Klerk said on Friday the state of emergency could not be lifted while the violence continued.

Before leaving for South Africa, Mr Mandela told Swedish radio that unless the state of emergency was lifted and political prisoners released, the ANC's first meeting with the government would be its last.

"The very first meeting must produce a result if we are going to continue talking," he said.

SI Times 18/3/90

(11)

Miriam and Nelson keep 12 000 fans on their feet

5/1 Tues 18/3/90

NELSON Mandela was given a lengthy standing ovation at the concert held in his honour in Stockholm on Friday, but it was exiled South African singer Miriam Makeba who kept them on their feet.

About 12 000 enthusiastic Swedish supporters of the ANC and anti-apartheid groups, who had paid good money to fill the massive Globen indoor stadium, stomped and screamed for more.

They had come to see and hear Mandela in person, and responded to his speech with thunderous applause before it was Makeba's turn to take the spotlight.



Miriam Makeba

Her powerful, haunting melodies expressing a longing for freedom in South Africa held them in a trance of solidarity with "The Cause".

Then, with the consummate skill born of years behind an international microphone, she swept them along in a joyously rhythmic rendition of a number that evoked for many of her fellow black exiles in the audience vivid images of saucy Saturday night township courting games.

Mischievous

Miriam's mischievous facial expressions and her stately derriere swaying seductively under a glittering caftan — carried close-up to all on giant liquid crystal screens dangling from the 10-storey ceiling — completed the picture delightfully.

The cries for more were satisfied with a fist-raising 300-strong choir — undeniably blond and Nordically whiter than white, but dressed in the ANC's black, green and gold — backing Miriam and her band in a moving version of the "national anthem", Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika.

Mandela, 71 years old and with a lot of catching up to

do on more practical matters back home after only a month out from behind bars, missed it all.

Soon after receiving the thundering tribute from his fans, he was whisked away by stony-faced security men in his cavalcade of limousines for the long flight back to South Africa's violent reality and his humble Soweto home.

During his speech, he had again voiced the ANC's call for increased international sanctions to ensure apartheid was totally destroyed.

He thanked the Swedish public for "its unflagging support during the darkest years of the anti-apartheid struggle".

Only 10 000 at Mandela pop flop



GROOVING ... Banza Kgasane, Claire Johnston, George Lewis and Marilyn Nokwe of Mango Groove Pictures: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN and HERMANN PAINCZYK



SALUTING ... Nelson Mandela shows his approval

BUT HE TELLS CHEERING THROUGH: WE LOVE YOU!

By CHARIS PERKINS

NELSON MANDELA rocked 'em at Ellis Park yesterday but only 10 000 people turned up to see the ANC deputy leader and hear South Africa's top bands.

"We love you," he told the wildly cheering fans who massed on the famous rugby ground.

But all around them were almost empty grandstands. Previous pop festivals at the famous Johannesburg rugby stadium have drawn 100 000.

But this seemed to be a case of the fewer the merrier as fans rocked and raved their way through the 12-hour Human Rainbow Concert for Unity and Prosperity.

The crowd went wild when Mr Mandela appeared on stage with his wife Winnie, ANC leader Wal-

ter Sisulu and his wife Albertina.

"I want to tell you we respect, admire and, most of all, LOVE you," he told the crowd.

"We are here to listen to our artists because they can reach people far beyond the reach of politicians. They can serve as South African ambassadors in our world."

Cheering 11A

Mr Mandela was visibly moved as top musicians banded together and, for the first time, performed a special tribute to him.

The song, The People Want Mandela, was jointly composed by several artists and was performed by Jennifer Ferguson, Brenda Fassie, P J Powers, Marc Alex, Ray Phiri, Stimela, Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse, Bakithi Khumalo and others.

Mr Sisulu told the cheering throng: "A new era has dawned in South Africa and we depend on you in whatever we do."

The ANC party then retired to a box for the rest of the concert.

It was Mr Mandela's second pop concert in two days.

On Friday night he was the star attraction at a concert in Stockholm where exiled South African singer Miriam Makeba had the audience on their feet, screaming for more.

Ovation

Then the 12 000 supporters gave Mr Mandela a lengthy standing ovation.

Organisers of the Ellis Park concert described it as a big treat for musical expression.

Only a year ago, the first Human Rainbow Concert was banned and the go-ahead for yesterday's concert followed a 12-month legal battle in the Supreme and Appeal courts to overthrow that ban.

Bishop Desmond Tutu welcomed the crowd saying: "We are here to celebrate the beginning of our freedom."

The doors of the prisons are open, but we say open them wider. Half the proceeds went to the Nelson Mandela Reception Committee, the other half to getting the South African Musicians' Alliance on its feet.

COP'S FAMILY TO SUE VLOK

c/press 18/3/90

1191

Family reject police version of son's death

By S'BU MNGADI

THE family of the policeman who allegedly gunned down Pietermaritzburg Riot Unit commandar Major Deon Terblanche plans to sue the police for what they perceive as "instant justice".

Interviewed by *City Press* yesterday, the mother of Constable Mandla Roy Ngcobo, Mary-Jane Ngcobo, said her husband and local community leaders were consulting lawyers. It could lead to a lawsuit against Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

First, she said, they wanted to appoint a pathologist to be present during a post-mortem on Ngcobo. The family would initiate a lawsuit immediately after the constable's burial, probably on Saturday.

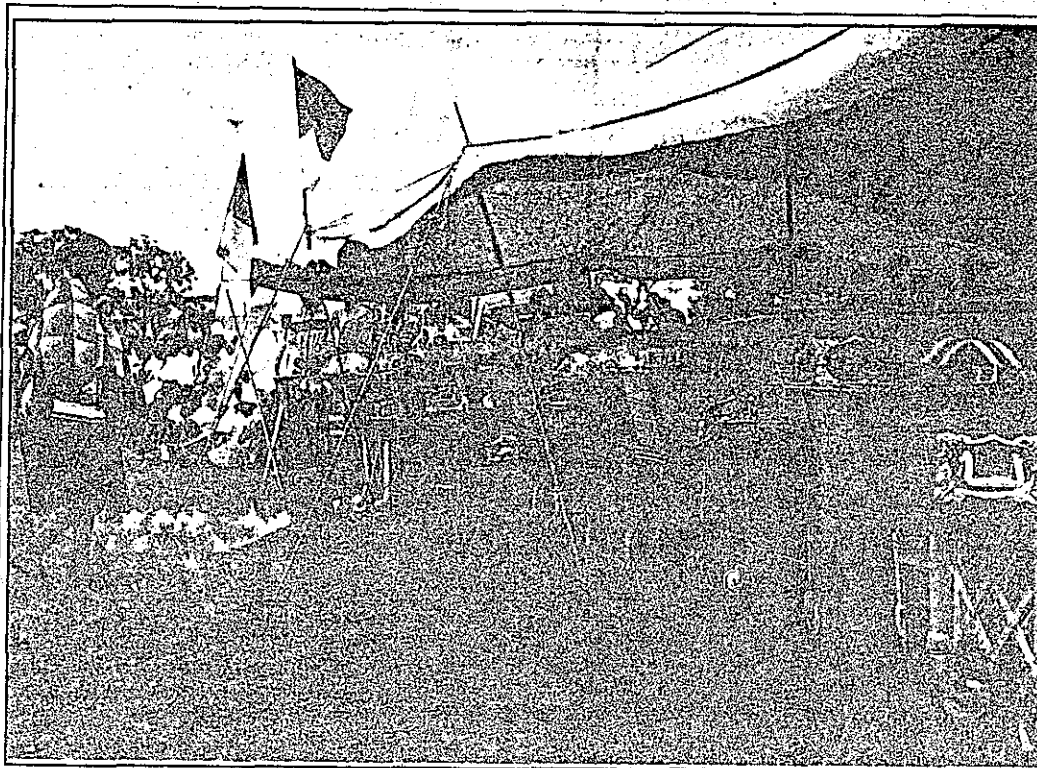
Lt-Col Charl du Toit, senior SAP liaison officer in Natal, said on Friday Ngcobo was shot by an unnamed police officer when he "tried to escape from custody while being transported in a motor vehicle".

Du Toit said "the detainee" disarmed one of the police officers in the vehicle. "In the ensuing events, the detainee was fatally wounded. He died instantly."

It has been alleged that Ngcobo, who was sitting at the back of the car gained control of the service pistol of the officer in the passenger seat.

The policeman who was also armed with a shotgun, lifted the barrel of the firearm over his shoulder and fired two shots.

It is understood an internal board of inquiry will be convened to investigate the constable's death.



Mass funeral... 14 of the 45 victims of Katlehong's bloody taxi war were given a mass burial yesterday. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Fear grips Bop as cops swoop

By CHARLES MGALE

A Mmakau resident said police had confiscated vast amounts of goods belonging to wholesalers.

FEAR has gripped the Odi townships of Bophuthatswana following the disappearance of several activists.

It is believed as many as 50 people have been detained by Bophuthatswana police.

There have also been reports of house to house raids. This follows last week's massive march by the residents.

The Pretoria Council of Churches (PCC) has called on Bop residents to be calm and restrained "in spite of many forms of provocation".

In Itsoeng, near Lichtenburg, 14 youths were allegedly shot by Bophuthatswana police.

See page 12

c/press 18/3/90

City Scene Inside Today

INSIDE today is our new supplement called City Scene for hot entertainment news and interviews with the stars and sporting celebrities, among them new world champ Welcome Ncita and contemporary dancer Lucky Diale.

...from Terblanche plans to sue the police for what they perceive as "instant justice".

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The shooting occurred about lunch time while Ngcobo and two members of Pietermaritzburg's Murder and Robbery Squad were driving near Geordedale. The two detectives were taking Ngcobo to the scene of Terblanche's death to reconstruct events.

Ngcobo was hit twice - once above the eye and once under the chin.

But the Ngcobo family do not believe the police's version of the death. They claim it was a case of "instant justice".

Bongani Ngcobo, brother of the dead cop asked: "Do they seriously hope we are going to believe them?"

He said: "They (the police) feared Mandla would reveal the truth about the activities of his Riot Unit when he was brought before a court of law. We knew he had sensitive information that could have serious consequences for the police."

He alleged this week special constables had in the past attempted to kill his brother.

He said his brother, a UDF activist, had recently contemplated resigning from the police force, but feared he would be "eliminated" if he did so.

Ngcobo said their house had been attacked by vigilantes last year. Only windows were broken by gunshots.

He denied knowledge of any links between his brother and the ANC after police investigators claimed Ngcobo had revealed that Terblanche's name was on the ANC hit list.

Happy M as artist pay tribi

A SMILING Nelson Mandela at the Human Rainbow yesterday as top South African formed a special song composed by imprisoned ANC leader.

Mandela watched the performance by Winnie, and fellow ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

As the song was performed and sang towards him.

The song, *The People We* composed by several artists and by such well-known artists as da Fassie, PJ Powers, Marci Mohatella Queens, Ray Phiso "stix" Mabusa, Bakithi Khumalo.

In a speech to the crowd, Mandela made the ANC's demand that the Declaration be met before the ANC could sit down to talk.

Six years in jail who could

By BASIL MTIMKULU

FOR THE love of cheese, Cleobus Ntima of Tembisa is serving six years in jail. He was convicted by the Johannesburg Regional Court on a charge - his sixth - of stealing a chunk of it.

Ntima was found guilty of stealing cheese in district court earlier this month. His case was transferred for sentencing to a higher court because of his previous convictions.

On January 4, 1985 Ntima was found guilty of stealing cheese worth R13,92. He was given a 12-month sentence. On March 17 this year he was found guilty of stealing cheese valued at R9,82.

April meeting for ANC and FW

c/press 18/3/90

(11A)

THE ANC and President FW de Klerk will meet in Cape Town on April 11 for pioneering talks about formal negotiations on political reform in South Africa.

The meeting, possibly the most important breakthrough in 30 years of armed conflict, was announced simultaneously on Friday in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's del-

egation. He did not name the other members but De Klerk said it would include ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk told a Cape Town news conference the sole purpose of the discussions was to "address those facets which are perceived to be stumbling blocks on the way to negotiations".

De Klerk said the ANC would be free to send anyone to Cape

Town, including military commanders who might be sought by South African police on terrorism charges.

Mandela, told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

Political comment and newbills by K Siblyn, headlines and sub-editing by K Naldeo, both of 204 Eloff Street Ext., Johannesburg.

Concern over insincerity in peace talks

THE government was concerned that some organisations continued to adhere to the armed struggle while still preaching a peaceful solution for South Africa, President FW de Klerk said on Friday.

He also told a Press conference in Cape Town that the issue of the safe return of exiles might be one of the "stumbling blocks" to be discussed at his April 11 meeting with an ANC delegation.

He hoped that the "armed struggle" terminology would drop away so a stage could be reached where all the leaders of this country would commit themselves to peaceful solutions and reject violence.

De Klerk said the meeting with the ANC flowed from his earlier announcement that he was prepared to meet the organisation to discuss stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation.

Asked if he thought that agreement between the government and the ANC on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners had been made more difficult by the recent unrest, he said he was on record as saying the test for the lifting of the emergency was whether the security situation in the country made it possible to do so.

Asked whether any preconditions had been set about the makeup of the ANC delegation, and whether they would be able to enter SA without fear of prosecution, De Klerk said the government was not prescribing to other organisations how their delegations to meetings with the government should be compiled. - Sapa.

2 C/Press 18/3/90 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

POLITICIANS, I was told many moons ago, are masters of double-speak.

When they say something they actually mean the opposite.

The indigenous American Indians stretched it further. They said all white people speak with a forked tongue. They base this assertion on their first encounter with whites who robbed them of their land while assuring them of co-existence.

Today the American Indians are placed in reserves – what we call re-settlement areas – far away from the cities and highly developed areas.

We are told this is how they prefer to live. However, this was disputed by many Indians I spoke to during my stay in the United States four years ago.

A parallel between our situation and that of the American Indians has been drawn by many people. In short, it is said when Jan van Riebeeck landed in the Cape in 1652 he was warmly welcomed by the indigenous people who extended a hand of friendship only to be displaced in their rich, God-given land.

It is also said the missionaries who later arrived in South Africa spoke about the Bible when in fact they were referring to the land. Whether this is true or false, I leave to your judgement.

Internationally acclaimed musician Hugh Masekela who went into self-exile almost 30 years ago

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

c/press
18/3/90

The fine art of double-speak



composed a hit album about Vasco Da Gama “the sailor man” who, he said, set off on his mission to India “searching for curry and pepper but instead ‘invented’ discovery around our shores”.

What Masekela meant was that Vasco Da Gama was sent to India but on his way he discovered a land that was already occupied by people.

So the history of double-speak dates back many moons – the politicians have merely perfected it to suit modern times.

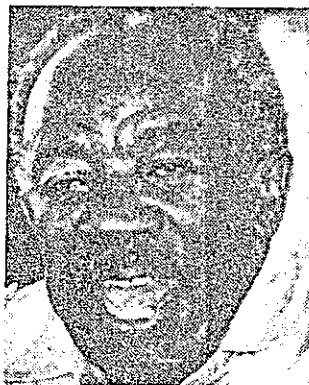
Recently, ANC secretary general, Alfred Nzo said the ANC had to review the question of the armed struggle. But a few days later, when he addressed a Press conference in Lusaka, Nzo said the armed struggle would continue until the South African government complied with the Harare Declaration.

President FW de Klerk

said his government was flexible on the question of group protection and that negotiations would not be bogged down by this concept.

But in an interview with a morning newspaper this week he rejected the one-person one-vote concept because it would not protect the rights of minorities.

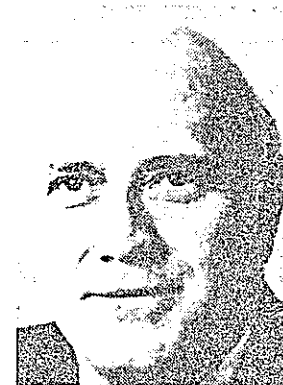
Last week I was invited to a radio talk show by the Voice of America. Also on the panel were representatives of the ANC in



Washington, a representative of the South African ambassador in Washington and an expert on international foreign relations.

The discussion was about a post-apartheid South Africa. Without getting into details, those who had the opportunity to tune in to this station will tell you the government representative came out tops.

He spoke the language of the oppressed people. He said one-person one-vote was what the South African



ANC's Alfred Nzo and President FW de Klerk ... guilty of double-speak?

government wanted; that one vote, one nation is the goal and it was non-negotiable.

He said the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act should go as soon as possible because that's what the government wants. The listeners must have wondered what blacks in South Africa were actually fighting for.

Was the representative speaking on behalf of the South African government or was it double-speak?

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will have to learn this art very fast if they hope to survive as politicians.

Let us take Mandela's speech on nationalisation. It drove many white people including some middle class blacks up the wall. But if Mandela had spoken about a fair and equal distribution of wealth instead of nationalisation, I'm sure the Gavin Rellys of this world would still be smiling today.

On the question of intensification of sanctions and the cutting of diplomatic ties with South Africa, if Mandela had said De Klerk and his government were on the right track and should be given a chance while everything was put on hold, I'm sure the United States and other countries including South Africa would have smiled and given him a pat on the back as a true politician.

Yes, perfecting the art of double-speak seems to be the best answer to appease people.

Two vital obstacles need discussing

IT APPEARS at present as if the most important obstacles that need to be addressed are the release of political prisoners, as the ANC refers to them, or security prisoners, as the government refers to them, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The government has made its view clear on the state of emergency: as long as unrest and violence continue, the state of emergency will remain intact.

The drawn-out conflict in Natal and the recent incidents of violence in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and townships like Katlehong strengthens the government's stand on keeping the state of emergency intact.

Support for maintaining the state of emergency has even come from those who previously strongly criticised the government for maintaining it.

State President F.W. de Klerk recently clearly stated that it was not a given in the negotiating process.

In other words, the state of emergency will remain in place – as stated in the ANC's Harare Declaration – form part of the steps which the government has to take to create the correct climate for negotiations.

It can be safely predicted that the government will not yield to the ANC's demand on this issue.

It would instead expect the ANC and other black organisations to help in eliminating the violence and unrest so as to cause the state of emergency to become redundant, allowing the government to lift it.

The ANC's argument is that the violence will stop

The South African government and the ANC are both ready to start talking about negotiations for a new constitution. A number of obstacles that still exist will probably be discussed at the first meeting, which will take place on April 11. At this stage it appears as if there are two important issues on the agenda which need immediate attention. A Special Correspondent reports.

after the state of emergency has been lifted, cannot be validated as far as the government is concerned.

No informed Western government will support the ANC's stand on this, either.

The issue of the release of "political prisoners" is, however, much more complicated. The difference of opinion between the ANC and the government on this would be more difficult to bridge.

From discussions during the last months between ANC National Executive Committee members, senior government officials and "go-betweens" it has become apparent that this aspect has the more facets than meets the eye.

In the Harare Declaration

the ANC puts the condition that "all political prisoners and detainees" must be released unconditionally and that no limitations should be put on them. It has not been spelt out who should qualify as political prisoners.

Generally, the ANC refers to five categories of political prisoners:

- Long-term prisoners who are members of the ANC and the SACP;
- Those who are being tried and who serve sentences for advancing the aims of the ANC and the SACP;
- Those detained under the state of emergency and restricted under the Internal Security Act;
- People awaiting trial or serving prison sentences for offences such

as arson, violence, sabotage and terrorism and; ■ Exiles who want to return to South Africa but who can be prosecuted on their return.

The problems in respect of the first three categories have already been solved by the government when ANC members – of whom Nelson Mandela was the last – were released unconditionally; the ban on the ANC, the SACP, PAC



These ANC leaders were released last year, starting a new phase in political negotiations, but those still detained remain stumbling block.

and other organisations was lifted; restrictions on people were lifted; certain trials were stopped and a moratorium was placed on executions.

So it seems as if the ANC and the government will only have to discuss the last two categories.

There are still about 400 political prisoners in the country, of whom most are being held on Robben Island.

The ANC says they are

political prisoners and must therefore be unconditionally released, because they acted with a political motive.

From the approach followed in Namibia, it is clear that defining a political prisoner is not simple.

In Namibia, use was made with great success – and to the satisfaction of all parties – of an independent, internationally respected jurist to give a

final verdict on the status and release of what were deemed to be political prisoners.

A similar approach could be followed in South Africa for the roughly 400 security prisoners.

Opponents to this approach say, however, that the situation in Namibia had justified the use of an independent jurist from abroad, but that South Africa is a sovereign state

apply to prisoners in general. This means that they could be considered for parole or for reduction of sentences.

Another argument which has been brought forward within ANC ranks is that political prisoners must be deemed to be prisoners of war and that they should therefore be released or exchanged as part of the ceasefire.

South African agents held in prisons abroad, like Odile Harrington in Zimbabwe, could then be released in such an exchange.

Although the ANC is a signatory to the Geneva Convention, in respect of prisoners of war, government circles allege it never adhered to the stipulations of the convention during its armed struggle.

This therefore disqualifies the ANC from insisting on prisoner-of-war status for its members.

Another option which could be considered – and which seems to be favoured in government circles – is the extension of amnesty to prisoners or the granting of indemnity against prosecution.

In such an instance the release of prisoners can be discussed.

Advocates of this option argue that legislation can immediately be processed through Parliament, which would enable

the State President to render amnesty to such prisoners. They can then be unconditionally released.

The same option could apply to exiles who wish to return to South Africa.

This could solve the problem of leaders within the ANC who would run the risk of being prosecuted the moment when they arrive in South Africa to negotiate with the government.

When progress has been made with negotiations, other exiles – like Heinrich Grosskopf, for whose arrest a large reward has been announced – could also be indemnified against prosecution.

In certain government circles this option is even being perceived as a possible solution to the dilemma of the alleged political murders in which

members of the SADF's special task forces, among which the Civil Co-operation Bureau and the so-called SAP hit-squads have allegedly been involved.

People who have been involved in such covert operations could also be given amnesty or indemnity against prosecution.

It could even mean that the investigations of the Harms Commission into most of the roughly 70 political murders might be terminated.

Housing could improve vastly

City Press 18/3/90

11A

Steyn to steer new trust

By DESMOND BLOW

R2 BILLION of the R3 billion of a new trust fund set up by State President FW de Klerk could vastly improve housing for South Africa's poor.

The money could among others be used to fund deposits for houses for the poor - which would then be paid off by themselves.

R20 million donated by the United States could be used to provide housing loans for up to R200 million, said former Judge Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundation, who is to head the trust.

The other R1 billion will be administered directly by the government and will be used to eliminate backlogs of a capital nature in education, such as for schools and equipment.

A portion of this money would be spent to acquire land for black urbanisation.

State President FW de Klerk said when funds were used for a new residential area, provision would have to be made for clinics and schools.

However, none of the funds would be used for the normal running of services such as education and health. The budget had made provision for the administration of these services.

Steyn told *City Press*: "I have spoken

to many people during the past 24 hours, including Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe of the UDF and Eric Molobe of the NECC and they are as excited as I am."

He said he would not like to speculate about how the issues of poverty and deprivation should be addressed through the trust until he had first canvassed "priorities, strategies and opportunities" with leadership groups of all sectors of the communities involved as well as the private sector.

These groups would include political parties such as the ANC.

"Without their involvement our task will be even more onerous than it already is."

He said the trust would seek to ensure the involvement of the private sector and especially financial institutions.

Steyn said Walter Sisulu had said in an address to the Business School at Wits University last week "let's do it together" and he hoped that the trust would be a bridge to do so.

He had a real concern that racially discriminatory legislation still on the statute books could inhibit the initiative, so he had obtained an assurance from the government that all discriminatory legislation would be removed with "deliberate speed", he said.



Jan Steyn, who has already spoken to the UDF

CAPTURED AND CONDEMNED

C/PRESS 18/3/90

11A

I do not believe in miracles, but a strange thing happened on April 6, 1968. I was sleeping alone in the bush and dreamed that I was trying to shoot the boers, but my gun (an AK-47) was not working. When I woke up, I saw them some 80m from me. I had hidden my gun in a tree before sleeping because I feared baboons could shoot me — yes, they can shoot you. I just looked at the enemy, and they did not see me. My camouflage was very good.

They were with Sonny Mavhizela, a comrade of mine. They had captured him. I slept again and this time dreamed that I was trying to cross the Zambezi, but a man called George kept dragging me behind and kicking me, so I could not swim properly.

I woke up with a strong feeling that I was going to be captured. I was in a place called Feira. At about 7pm I went to a river and washed. That night I went to a village where I usually went for food. My gun was still in the tree.

When I arrived, I found the people sitting in one part of the house and they said I should go inside. There was a language problem as they were speaking fanagalo and I am not good at it.

Just as I entered the house there was a lot of noise. I thought they wanted to capture me, but they were drunk. I thought so because there was a strong smell of beer. There was loud, repeated shooting outside and I told myself I would show them a thing or two. I thought it was the locals and they had been paid to capture me.

I had a Three Star knife. I told myself I would die with at least three of them. In a few seconds I heard many voices shouting at me to "come out".

There was dust all over the house as the bullets hit the walls, and much of it came into my eyes. I screamed out to them to stop shooting. Then someone

COMRADE Ginger (not his real name) fought in the guerrilla war in Rhodesia that preceded its transformation into Zimbabwe.

He left his home near Pretoria in 1961 to join the ANC, later becoming a chief of logistics and a highly respected war commander. Ginger was captured by the allied forces of Rhodesia and South Africa, tried and sentenced to death. He spent 12 years in jail, but lived to tell the story. This is the second and final episode of his diary story as told to CHARLES MOGALE, right, in Harare.



called me by my name and said they were looking for me. They ordered me to come out with my hands in the air and I did — with the knife in my one hand.

They asked if I was alone, and I said "yes". I asked them who was the commander and a chap called Jones said he was. I asked him to tell his men not to kick me.

I said: "You have captured me. I am going to face my trial alone and I know I am going to be hanged. I know I came here with the intention of overthrowing your government and in guerrilla warfare you either win or you die."

I told them I had lost the battle, but not the war. After telling the commander that, he said to one of his excited soldiers: "George, get away from here. What are you trying to do?"

That reminded me of the George who was kicking and dragging me in my dream.

The commander told me I was wanted alive by his

government. I asked him how they knew me and he produced a form drafted and signed by me, which meant they had got it from our office. It made it difficult for me to deny my identity.

A helicopter came and I was taken to a camp. When we arrived I demanded to be introduced to the commander. One tall chap said he was the one. I told him I did not want to be touched, and he repeated that I was wanted alive.

I asked for food and they gave it to me. I was about 10pm now. The commander and I got into a discussion about politics, because that war was a political war. He was impressed.

The following day, on a Saturday, the chaps from the Special Branch and CID arrived. They took me to a helicopter under which there was one of their guys — dying. I realised he had been shot by our chaps. I got into the helicopter and was taken to another camp near Winyanya River.

Diary of an MK guerrilla

There they told the general that I was a captured South African "terrorist". The general asked me where I came from and I told him I was from Pretoria. He said there were no communists in Pretoria.

I looked up and recognised the man as Gen Vuurman from Valhalla in Pretoria. I told him I knew him and he was very surprised. I told him in times of war commanders are not beaten and I was the chief of logistics in my squad.

He agreed with me and gave strong orders that I was never to be beaten. I was never touched, even in prison. I was taken to a police station at a place called Karoi, on the way to Lusaka. We arrived at about 2pm or 3pm. They started questioning me.

They had been told a lot of stories about me by the chaps who were captured before me. As a result, I was changed from being an accused number 31 to accused number 18.

The South African Police had also given them my record from home. When I arrived in Karoi, there was one guerrilla who had been killed by a policeman. He had died two days ago. His name was Phillip Koshu. The other chaps had slept with his corpse for two nights. We had to sleep with this boy another night.

During their interrogation I told them that in MK many comrades did not know each other. It was our policy. If they wanted more information, they were welcome to get it themselves because they had access to telephones, radios, motorcars etc. We had nothing, and it was not our business to help them in that regard.

A director of the Special Branch, a Mr Chalk, said they should leave me alone because he would get information from Lusaka before dealing with me. I told him it was stupid for him to expect to be told anything by Lusaka which he could not get from a captured man in his hands. He said he was paying "those guys in Lusaka" — an obvious attempt to make me feel betrayed.

They got nothing from me. On Monday they came back with a long list of what I had done, even in the bush. All of it was true. It was evident that they had got their information from someone inside the ANC.

They described everything in detail, even the inside of our camp. Everything about it was true. I said: "Alright, you've got what you want, so leave me alone."

They left me with the reminder that I was going to be hanged.

I was put in a police cell and I was shocked to find people whom I knew to be very big and fat, being so thin you could lock them away in a suitcase. I was told that torture was their daily fare.

I remember one day when a former South African policeman came. He was moving outside the cage and we were inside, but everybody was staring.

That chap was cruel. He kicked one guy called George Mofusi from outside the cage, while George was inside. George had serious problems with his ribs until he died in prison 10 years later.

When the South African toyed with his gun, not even the police were amused. Those guys had gone there on the orders of (former Prime Minister Hen-

drik) Verwoerd. That is why we fought them. The enemy started increasing their torture, but stopped that. I got the people to be allowed to wash, right they were refused. As a commander of a group, I managed to get them some rights.

They used to give us very bad food, and I complained to the prison commander, a man called Chris. We started getting the best food from the police mess. The police even started stealing our food.

At one stage they called civilians to come and see "terrorists", but the people were shocked to see such dignified and educated men as ourselves.

I was my people's leader in prison until I left. On April 29 we appeared in court. There were 32 of us. We were remanded to the High Court for the treason trial in this country.

On July 7 we went to the High Court and I was accused number 18. The trial lasted for one month until August 9 when we were all sentenced to death.

On the day we were sentenced to death our commander, Moffat Radebe, was captured in Mocimboa do Que. They were so afraid of Radebe that they had to send a very big army to capture him. Before then, he had already told the public that they had killed him. They had pictures of a person who had been killed and buried by the government.

Radebe had escaped from police custody in Bulawayo at 9 in the evening. The following morning at 9 he was in Francistown, Botswana.

After his recapture, he was brought to court and refused a lawyer.

These comrades I was with were brave. They would challenge the judge and tell him he was lying. They would also chant slogans in court. We realised that when you come from the bush you are a little abnormal, you become too brave.

When we were sentenced, we even told the friends and relatives in the packed gallery not to cry. This war and we were soldiers. We were not about to die in vain.

Just before sentence, I stood up, turned to the gallery and said: "No tears." It was tense and terrible.

We went to Death Row.

There was a time when they decided to hang us. They often weighed us, but this one time they brought coffins and lined them outside our cells. The people who were doing lighter sentences saw them and came to tell us. They cried: "Comrades, kuyahaniwa (Comrades, you're on your way)".

Then the whole prison would fall quiet and we would talk to them and tell them not to cry.

A decision had apparently been taken that we should be hanged at night — 18 a day. That time they looked after us very well.

I remember one of the pastors who used to minister to us in prison being asked why we were to be killed because the Bible prohibited that. He said Christians were the only people who had the God-given right to kill. He was beaten up by one of our guys. He was talking nonsense.

On December 22, 1969, we were reprieved and taken from Death Row to the Maximum Security Prison the same day.

Daveyton's young activists terrified of assassination

press 18/3/90

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By LULAMA LUTI

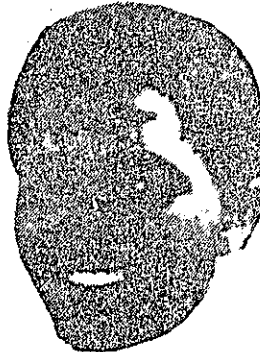
THE cold-blooded shooting of a young activist in the East Rand has sent members of the Daveyton Youth Congress (DYC) fleeing for cover.

Fears have been expressed in political circles in the township that a concerted campaign has been launched to eliminate youth activists who are regarded as trouble-makers and instigators.

Nceba Mthogoane narrowly escaped death when he sustained a bullet wound in the stomach after being fired at on Tuesday by an unknown man.

The man escaped in a car parked near Mthogoane's friend's home in Daveyton.

Dayco members believe the attack was politically motivated and added they could not rule out



Nceba Mthogoane

the possibility of a resurgence of harassment by security police.

A Dayco spokesman said: "Last year we received threats from unknown white people and one of our comrades was beaten and left for dead while on his way to Johannesburg. And since then it had been difficult to sleep at our homes."

A hospital spokesman described Mthogoane's condition as stable al-

though he had not been eating according to doctors' instructions.

Speaking from his hospital bed Mthogoane said he heard a car stop near the house. On investigation he saw a man approaching from the direction in which the car had passed.

"When he was a few paces from me he produced a small shotgun and the next thing I went down while he ran away," he said.

One of his friends, who was in the house at the time, heard the shot. He found Mthogoane bleeding profusely and rushed him to hospital.

The unemployed 26-year-old Mthogoane, an activist who helped organise a march by Daveyton residents two weeks ago, said he did not know the motive behind the attack.

C/Press 18/3/90

11A

UDF calls for gradual change

By SANDILE MEMELA

UNITED Democratic Front publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota has called for selected leaders in ANC-aligned homelands, like KaNgwane, to be allowed to run their areas while the struggle continues for democratically elected leaders

This, he said, would avoid chaos that could destroy the infrastructure needed to build the foundations of a new South Africa.

There is no doubt that the structures that exist in homelands will be needed to build a new society that will enhance the interests of the people," he said.

As a result, the UDF holds the view that the dismantling of the homelands has to be a guided process and we cannot allow the situation in the homelands to deteriorate into anarchy and chaos.

That definitely does not serve the aims of the struggle but brings into existence a lot of problems that will need to be addressed by the new governments in the period of reconstruction," said Lekota.

He said no blueprint existed, but there were a number of people in com-

HOMELANDS IN TURMOIL

munities who could help run the areas along democratic lines.

"We do have responsible people in our communities who have the capacity to translate our ideals into programmes of action. We believe they should be incorporated into local structures to serve the best interests of their people."

Lekota said it was fruitless and self-defeating for the people to destabilise some homelands and plunge them into chaos, such as that prevailing in Venda, Gazankulu and Bophutatswana.

"We should guard against calls for the dissolution of homelands as this could create space for the government to instal its own stooges.

"The result of that could be a serious setback for some of the areas that the people have already captured in the advance to the new society," said Lekota.

He stressed, however, that the liberation movement had always been opposed to the homeland system "which has been used as a main pillar of apartheid".

"But their dissolution

Existing structures will be needed to build new society for the people

should be gradual to help transform the country into what we want it to be.

"Homeland governments like that of KaNgwane, which has been sympathetic to the liberation movement, should not be pressured to abdicate their positions of responsibility to create space for stooges," said Lekota.

This was echoed by KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza at Inyandza National Movement's 10th annual congress in KaNyamazane last weekend. He appealed for a peaceful transfer of the national state to a new South Africa.

Recently, a top delegation of Inyandza met the UDF national executive committee in Johannesburg to dispel rumours that Mabuza was poised to dissolve the KaNgwane government.

The meeting also explored possibilities on preventing violence and anarchy in other homelands from spreading into KaNgwane.

Mabuza warned against the rampant destruction of property in the homelands.

"We realise how worn our people's patience is with so-called leaders whose main concern has been to further their self-interest at the expense of their constituency.

"A scorched earth policy will rebound on them and detrimentally affect the perpetrators.

"Freedom entails responsibility and it is no excuse to run amok and cut a swathe of destruction through the fabric of society.

"Where do the angry people think the money will come from to replace what they have destroyed?" asked Mabuza.

He also warned against the absence of swift and orderly action towards a constitutionally based transition government which, he said, posed the risk of perpetuating instability and created conditions for the establishment of an authoritarian State.

"We have a choice

now. Either reject the attitude and behaviour that inevitably will lead to a system of oppression and domination or insist that the democratic values and principles which we espouse and respect be implemented," said Mabuza.

Meanwhile, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha this week said the



KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.

initiative for any reincorporation of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and the Ciskei (the TBVC states) into South Africa lay with those territories and it was for them to start negotiating on the issue with the South African government, Sapa reports.

Speaking in a parliamentary interpolation debate introduced by Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point), he said the government had made it clear that reincorporation was an option open to them.

It realised they had had difficulties in getting international economic recognition.

They would have to look at the matter carefully and then start negotiating with the South African government.

Eglin said the government should, in the interests of a new South Africa, state that it had a positive attitude towards reunification.

The trend towards unification was going to be inevitable and the Democratic Party was asking

the government to give a lead in the interests of South Africa.

Botha said reincorporation could not take place unilaterally - the matter would have to be thoroughly studied and legislation would have to be passed by the South African Parliament.

Questions which would have to be addressed included the position of loans those States may have taken out with banks of foreign countries.

Eglin said he was not arguing about the details - but it had to be borne in mind that for years the South African government had not been neutral.

The choice given to the TBVC states had not been a neutral one, but a Hobson's choice.

"We believe the time has come for the government to bring down the curtain on Verwoerdian apartheid."

The "disaster of partition" should be left to the Conservative Party, and the government should state its policy and work for a new South Africa.

Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said Botha had not answered Eglin's question as to whether the government was prepared



UDF publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota - 'We cannot allow anarchy and chaos.'

to take steps to make it possible for the TBVC states to be reincorporated into South Africa.

Botha said he did not agree that the States had been forced to accept independence.

Andre de Wet (DP, Nominated) said it was common knowledge that the people of Transkei and Ciskei wanted to be

reincorporated. "The whole area is calling out for help."

This was essential for there to be any hope of employment being created for the unemployed.

"It is vital that the South African government states its interests as soon as possible," said De Wet.

Masses march to get him out,

RAVE FOR MANDELA!

Fear of violence keeps 90 000 from rainbow concert

By SANDILE MEMELA

ABOUT 10 000 people attended the Human Rainbow Concert to mark the release of Nelson Mandela at Ellis Park yesterday.

Over 100 000 people were expected to turn up. "We regard the few who have turned up to be some of the bravest in the country. Thousands of others stayed away out of unfounded fears of violence," said Radio 5 deejay Alex Jay.

Hundreds of fans milled outside the stadium because they found the entrance fee too expensive at R15 a head.

Tembisa fan Elizabeth Mabuza said: "I would have loved to catch a glimpse of Mandela whom I have only seen on TV, but I find the tickets too expensive."

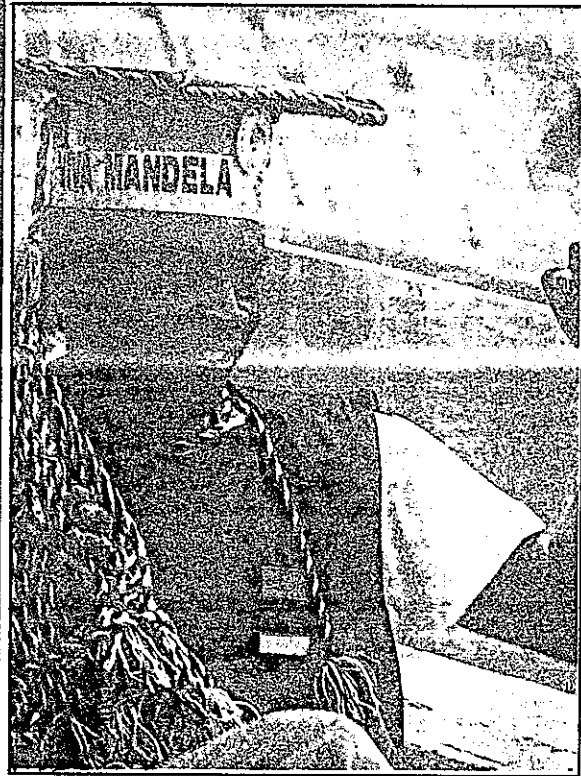
But inside, the 10 000-strong crowd pioneered a new chapter in race relations as they jived to music from South Africa's top artists.

Artists played songs with a political message and the concert became an ANC rally as youths chanted ANC songs and slogans.

There were roars of approval as the African Youth Band leader Blondie Makhene chanted ANC slogans before introducing his group's new album *Woza Moya*.

Makhene appealed for peace in strife-torn areas of the country.

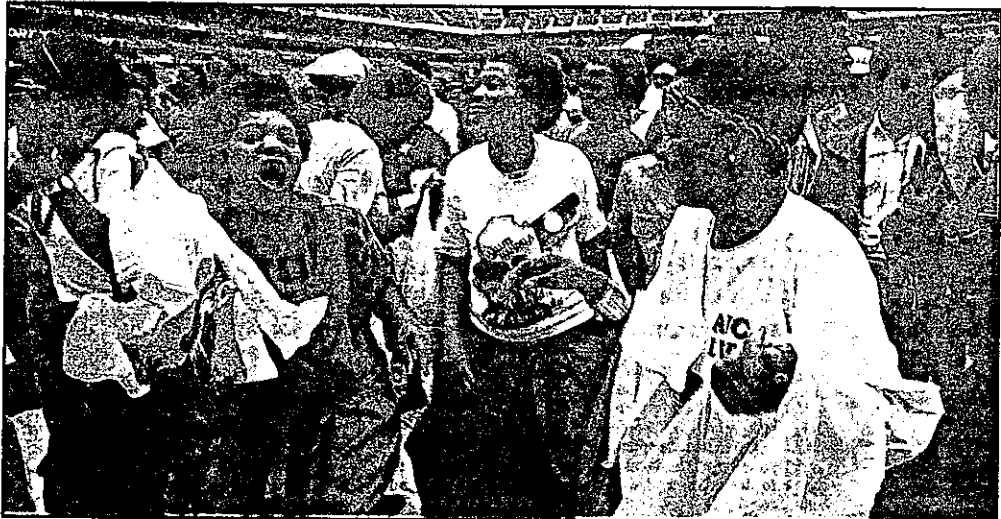
The peaceful concert saw SAP in uniform mingle with the crowd but security was largely left to 1 000 guards.



Whoever roped him in, he seems happy to be there.



A singer gives it all she's got.



Happy - and letting everyone know it.

Pictures: Tledi Khuse



Part of the happy human rainbow at the Mandela concert.



Some people will always make a buck - like this flagseller.

Happy Mandela as artists pay tribute

press
18/3/90

11A



Nelson Mandela... given a musical tribute

A SMILING Nelson Mandela watched in appreciation at the Human Rainbow concert in Johannesburg yesterday as top South African musicians jointly performed a special song composed as a tribute to the long-imprisoned ANC leader.

Mandela watched the performance with his wife, Winnie, and fellow ANC leaders Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu.

As the song was performed, people nearby turned and sang towards him.

The song, *The People Want Mandela*, was jointly composed by several artists and was performed jointly by such well-known artists as Jennifer Ferguson, Brenda Fassie, PJ Powers, MarcAlex, Makathini and the Mohatella Queens, Ray Phiri, Stimela, Siphon "Hotstix" Mabusa, Bakithi Khumalo and others.

In a speech to the crowd, Mandela reiterated his movement's demand that the four points of the Harare Declaration be met before the government and the ANC could sit down to talk.

Addressing a press conference on his return from Sweden, where he met ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, Mandela said the Harare Declaration had stated what preconditions still needed to be met by the government.

Having unbanned the ANC, there were still other preconditions which needed to be met before negotiation could begin.

Six years in prison for thief who could not resist cheese

By BASIL MTIMKULU

FOR THE love of cheese, 31-year-old Cleobus Ntima of Tembisa is to spend six years in jail. He was convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court this week on a charge - his sixth - of stealing a chunk of it.

Ntima was found guilty of theft at a district court earlier this month and his case was transferred for sentence to a higher court because of his previous convictions.

On January 4, 1985 Ntima was found guilty of stealing cheese valued at R13,92. He was given a suspended sentence. On March 17 the same year he was found guilty of stealing cheese valued at R9,82.

Four months later he was again found guilty of stealing cheese - valued at R21,24. A little more than a year later, on September 29, 1987, he was convicted of stealing cheese worth R9,89. Last year, on March 30, he was again found guilty of stealing cheese and sentenced by a Kroonstad magistrate.

Taking into account his previous convictions magistrate JW Niekerk told Ntima he had no alternative but to give him a stiff sentence that would help rehabilitate him.

Although he had stolen a small amount of cheese, valued at less than R30, the court found that a sentence of six years' imprisonment would serve as a deterrent.

These were the unconditional return of exiles, the release of all political prisoners, a total lifting of the state of emergency and an end to political prosecutions.

"These are the minimum conditions we require the government to meet before we can sit down to talk," said Mandela.

He confirmed however that an ANC delegation, led by himself, would be holding talks with State President FW de Klerk on April 11. - Sapa
See page 3

Back to roots for Azapo

AZAPO has entered the decade of the 1990s by electing strong leaders who include four doctors and five ex-Robben Islanders.

The president is theologian Dr Itumeleng Mosala, assisted by three medicos, doctors Gomolemo Moka, Victor Dlamini and Nchaube Mokoape, who are all members of the National Executive Committee.

The major shake-up of the organisation has placed it firmly in the history of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and brings forward men who were part of its inauguration in the late 1960s.

These include founder members like Strini Moodley and Dr Nchaube Mokoape. Both have been with the BCM since the launch of the South African Student Organisation (Saso) in 1968.

The change to qualitative leadership has also seen former ex-Robben Islanders sentenced for BC activities re-emerge at the head of the organisation: Moodley, Mokoape, Muntu Myeza, Lusiba Ntloko and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

All served at least five years for BC activities in the 1970s.

Publicity secretary Moodley – a labour and political journalist – was banned for five years in 1973 and later sentenced to five years on Robben Island in the Saso trial of 1974.

Moodley said there was no deliberate move to appoint a number of highly qualified men – especially doctors – and members of the black intelligentsia to leadership positions.

“This was incidental and merely shows the people’s choice of high-calibre leaders who will be in a position to provide the much needed impetus to the black nation at this crucial time in the nation’s struggle,” he said.

The ninth Azapo annual congress, attended by more than 5 000 supporters and about 200 delegates, saw activists with a strong commitment to scientific socialism chosen as leaders.

Founder members of the BCM in the late 60s and former colleagues of the late Steve Biko returned to the forefront of the movement more than a decade after his death.

“It is wrong to describe the consolidation of our leadership as the revival of Black Consciousness as the philosophy has never died. But there is a desire to put in place leaders who are connected to the origins of the movement,” Moodley said.

“We are proud of the fact that today when the country is poised for radical transformations we have in leadership positions men who can talk and argue authoritatively on the future direction of the country.

“There is no doubt that they are part of the cream of leadership in the black



Dr Itumeleng Mosala after his recent election as president of Azapo.

BCM founders among high calibre leaders

AZAPO recently held its annual conference at Shareworld where a number of issues were discussed. It was their first conference since State President FW De Klerk lifted curbs on political organisations including Azapo. SANDILE MEMELA, who attended, takes a look at the new faces who form the leadership of Azapo.

community today,” Moodley said.

Mosala said the crop of educated men in Azapo’s leadership came from an era when overcoming obstacles posed by apartheid was emphasised in BC circles.

“There has been talk in the organisation about the need for leaders who are part of the movement’s history.”

He said the present struggle required men who were committed to human dignity for blacks and had the will to fight for total liberation.

■ Mosala completed his PhD at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in

1987 where he lectures today.

He was closely involved with BC in the region. He set up an Azapo branch in Gugulethu and was elected local chairman.

He also became the regional chairman of the Western Cape.

As a priest in the 1970s he approached his ministry from the perspective of black theology which politicised the black church.

He did his masters degree at Manchester University in England, and his doctorate at UCT.

■ Natalspruit Hospital’s Dr Victor Dlamini is vice-president for political

education.

He graduated from Medunsa in 1985 where he played a leading role in student politics.

■ Dr Nchaube Mokoape, a former colleague of Biko, was convicted for PAC activities in the 1960s.

He has strong ties with the BCM and was a founder member of Saso. He was sentenced to six years on Robben Island in the marathon “Saso 12” trial.

The Natal University graduate resumed political activity soon after his release and helped launch Azapo’s health secretariat where he served on the committee with the late Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

■ Dr Gomolemo Moka, an ardent exponent of the BC in the Transvaal, is a Natal University graduate. He runs a private practice in Ga-Rankuwa.

■ Monde Ntwasa, 31, is the Cape vice-president of Azapo.

He has a long association with Azapo’s student wing.

■ Azapo national organiser Lusiba Ntloko welcomed the appointment of highly qualified men to lead the organisation today.

Ntloko was arrested under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in 1976 and was later jailed for six years on Robben Island.

Soon after his release in 1983, he helped organise an Azapo branch in Queenstown and was later elected the co-ordinator of the National Federation.

He is currently arts administrator of the Afrika Cultural Centre in Fordsburg.

■ Another executive member is veteran trade unionist Pandelani Nefolovhodwe whose involvement in the BC movement stretches back to the days of Abraham Tiro in the early 70s.

Three activists 11A in head-on crash

press 18/3/90

THREE members of the Mass Democratic Movement were injured in head-on collision in Cape Town's city centre on Friday afternoon.

They are Pina Ncita, 32, wife of Robben Island lifer Lizo Ngqungwana; Colleen Kruser, 31, sister of Gary Kruser, one of the accused in the Yengeni trial; and Elaine Jesias, 22, a Belgravia youth leader.

Yesterday Ncita was still unconscious, Jesias had been discharged and Kruser was responding well to treatment, a Groote Schuur Hospital spokesman said.

The three are believed to have been involved in the campaign for the release of political prisoners.

Their Datsun sedan collided with an airfreight truck on the corner of Sir Lowry and Tennant roads near the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town about 3pm.

Metro, fire department and ambulance men rescued the women from the wreck.

The driver of the other vehicle, P Peters, was slightly injured. — Sapa.

Sisulu's stand praised

press 18/3/90 (119)

"WHILE so much destructive is happening in the black community nowadays, Walter Sisulu's remarks at the University of the Western Cape are to be welcomed: one could not wait for liberation before the building process in South Africa starts; changes must be made now; own development projects must be tackled," *Beeld* says in an editorial this week.

"That Sisulu appeared at what is even today called one of the Government's 'tribal colleges', is already a bonus. It confirms the UWC, despite certain defects, as an institution that not only makes an important contribution to higher education but has also produced independent thinkers.

"In Sisulu's audience there had to be independent thinkers who were deeply conscious of the problems that lie ahead before freedom promises could be fulfilled.

Even if liberation took place tomorrow, there will still be illiteracy, poverty, bad health conditions, a housing

shortage and a lack of government expertise the day after tomorrow.

"The warring black masses must be encouraged to rather seize the opportunities which are now offered to erase such handicaps.

"Schools and universities are available. Altogether R2 billion has been put aside to remove handicaps due to apartheid. Abroad large helping hands are available. Everything must just be used. And nothing prevents a self-help plan.

"Although his positive approach must be welcomed, people like Sisulu apparently don't realise how destructive

for the economy radical statements like those about nationalisation are. He and the masses must realise that joint government also brings joint responsibility."

In another editorial *Beeld* says it would appear that a significant change has taken place about the unrest and violence in black townships.

"How else could one explain the fact that thousands of inhabitants of Katlehong held a demonstration to ask for police protection in their township? Can you imagine, black people who demonstrate for police protection!

"Why else would black people in GaRankuwa now help police to identify those who were responsible for last week's violence?

"This increasing realisation among ordinary black people that they need the help of whites, is a sign of hope. How long have they been asked not to allow themselves to be intimidated by a handful of radicals?" *Beeld* asks.



ANC's Walter Sisulu

Buthelezi gets place at table

3 Times 18/3/90
11A Sunday Times Reporters

IN a dramatic development, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has won the endorsement of Dr Kenneth Kaunda as an important player in the South African peace initiative.

The boost from the Zambian President — who also feted ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela a fortnight ago and sees himself as a mediator in the South African conflict — will strengthen Chief Buthelezi's claims to a place at the table when the country's future is negotiated.

In an unannounced move the man whom many feared would be left out in the cold flew to Lusaka in a private jet on Friday to attend a formal state banquet in his honour at State House.

It was his first official reception in Zambia since 1974.

Last night he met privately over dinner with Dr Kaunda.

The Zambian president called him a "key player" with a "major" role to play in South Africa's future.

"We in Zambia hold you in high esteem as a fellow freedom fighter.

Overwhelmed

"Now we have our brother Nelson Mandela out of prison, now we have President De Klerk... I believe we now have three men in South Africa who should be able to do something for us and hence your coming here makes us very proud indeed," Dr Kaunda said.

And Mr Mandela, who flew home yesterday after two weeks abroad, welcomed the news that Chief Buthelezi had been to Lusaka, saying President Kaunda was "a senior statesman".

Mr Mandela said it was "urgent" for him to meet Chief Buthelezi, but this would not be possible before Namibian independence on Wednesday.

Chief Buthelezi was accompanied by three Kwa-Zulu officials — Interior Minister Denis Madide, Health Minister Frank Mdhloso and Education Minister Oscar Dhlomo.

He said he had been overwhelmed by the invitation to visit Zambia.

"For us it symbolises something I cannot express in words as far as the liberation of all the people of South Africa are concerned."

11A



Mr Nelson Mandela received a standing ovation at Ellis Park after he praised the artists for their contribution to the struggle.



Rain sent people scurrying in all directions. Some used these canvas sheets as shelter.

Rain dampens Mandela fest



Brenda Fassle and Chicco were part of a large group of musicians who sang The People Want Mandela in honour of the ANC deputy president, who observed the presentation from a posh box.

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Words: Victor Metsoamere. Pictures: Robert Magwaza.

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S 4431

This music fan sat on a pal's shoulders to get a better view of Mr Nelson Mandela. The portrait was not enough, it seems.

MORE than 10 000 music enthusiasts were treated to different music genres when 26 South African musical acts performed at Ellis Park Stadium on Saturday.

The 12-hour festival, organised by the South African Music Association (Sama) in honour of African National deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was a damp squib in terms of attendance.

Few turn up for the big

Sowetan
19/3/90

11A



Nelson Mandela

Mandela show

THE cream of South African musicians gave ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela a rousing welcome at Ellis Park on Saturday.

But only a paltry crowd of 10 000 turned up to share the moment.

The poor attendance was attributed to various factors: recent disturbances, uncertainty over Mr Mandela's return, the R15 entrance money, the mass funeral at Kattlehong and the clash with the Chiefs match at Soccer City.

Radio 5 disc jockey Alex Jay, said: "Those who turned up are the bravest in the country. Thousands stayed away because of unfounded fears of violence."

By SY MAKARINGE
and VICTOR
METSOAMERE

A group of singers, including Brenda Fassie, Stimela, Sankomota, Condry Ziqubu, Mercy Pakela and PJ Powers, unveiled a new song, "The People Want Mandela".

It was composed in honour of Mandela and performed to a cheering and jubilant crowd.

But it was the globe-trotting "Roaring Lion of Africa", Mahlathini and his Mahotella Queens, who stole the show with their own song composed in Mandela's honour.

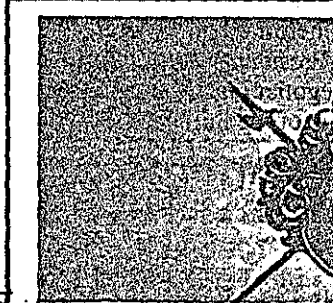
Mandela, who had just arrived from Sweden, told the musicians they were our ambassadors.

Mr Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC, said a new era had dawned. Their entourage left shortly afterwards.

Sankomota, Stimela, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Siphso Mabuse and his choir, Brenda Fassie were at their best.

The crowd sang revolutionary songs between acts.

It was called the Human Rainbow Concert, but the colours that dominated were black, green and gold.



THE ANC is gradually coming into focus and as the myths fade they become less fearsome. Nelson Mandela's vain appeal for calm has exposed the limits of the ANC's authority in the townships, just as his appeal in Stockholm for sanctions has exposed the limits of the ANC's power.

Until February 2, the ANC edifice seemed as monolithic and impervious as Afrikaner power had seemed under John Vorster; since then, cracks have begun to spread in all directions. By stripping away the veil of its banning, President de Klerk has reduced the ANC and its leaders to human scale.

While the banning orders lasted, internal organisations like the UDF, Cosatu and the MDM were happy enough to be perceived as surrogates for the banned leaders abroad; hardly a move was made without a pilgrimage to Lusaka to get the ANC's blessing. Now they cling to independent life.

Not long ago, every political group that wanted to certify its credentials, including the Black Sash and Wynand Malan's new-born Afrikaner democrats, paid homage in Lusaka. When the bans were lifted, ecstatic leaders of the Transvaal Indian Congress, going overboard with enthusiasm, talked of merging with the ANC, and going out of existence.

Since Mandela has been free, the tune has changed. UDF leaders show no desperate impatience to merge their identities in the greater liberation movement, Wynand Malan is disenchanted, the unions have discerned that their power base lies in their own membership rather than the ANC's membership, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the splinter Pan Africanist Movement are consolidating their own support, and the TIC wondrously clings to life.

As a liberation myth, the ANC has been unchallenged; even Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom the ANC once tried to kill and whom ANC groupies still regularly slander, felt

As the myths fall away, the ANC is cut down to size

KEN OWEN

B/Daw 19/3/90

it necessary to pay homage to the imprisoned Nelson Mandela, if not to the organisation itself.

But the ANC's strength has always been unknown, and sometimes suspect. The only scientific estimate of its strength as an organisation, so far as I am aware, was made by Edward Feit before he emigrated, from the documents submitted in the great treason trial of the Fifties.

He concluded that membership at its height was 100 000 (yes, one hundred thousand), although tacit support was of course much greater, and sympathy probably encompassed most of the black population.

Even in those days, however, the ANC was subject to factionalism, leadership struggles, and actual splits, the greatest of which resulted in the formation of the PAC and which sprang from the domination of the ANC by white and Indian communists. Black nationalism has never been an easy horse for the SA Communist Party to ride.

Since then, though the PAC waned in exile, the Biko-led Black Consciousness Movement sprang up independently of the ANC and to its consternation (I have in my possession documents attesting to the attacks launched abroad by the ANC on exiled BC leaders, among them

the famous young Tsietsi Mashinini who came to prominence in the 1976 Soweto revolt).

More important, while the ANC smuggled small quantities of weapons and explosives for what it called, with more faith than precision, "the armed struggle", a new breed of internal leaders was fighting apartheid in its own way, with growing skill and political shrewdness.

Leaders like Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Mineworkers' Union, or Jay Naidoo of Cosatu, or Patrick Lekota and Moses Mayekiso — to name only a few figures now familiar to white South Africans — may or may not be devoted to the ANC, but they rose by their own efforts.

No outsider (and certainly no white outsider) can trace the complex network of relationships and fissures in black politics, nor do I wish to try. But already it is plain even to outsiders that Nelson Mandela does not control the black people of South Africa; his authority is tenuous and limited.

He calls on school children to go back to school — and the teachers

walk out. He says, "Throw your weapons in the sea," and his plea is instantly followed by an orgy of mayhem and killing. He calls for discipline, and everywhere there ensue displays of self-indulgent violence.

Not that many people actually challenge the ANC myths. On the contrary, everybody invokes them; the ANC name is a kind of magic. In darkest Gazankulu, bloodthirsty pamphlets circulate, calling youngsters to battle in the name of the ANC, but nobody knows who produced them. The ANC repudiates them.

As the organisation goes into negotiations with President de Klerk next month, it carries three political weapons. The first is the threat of "armed struggle", based on a reputed 7 000 unhappy young people in camps halfway across Africa, whose East Bloc supplies of arms are drying up.

A close reading of the ANC's statements on armed struggle, including Chris Hani's fanciful thoughts on integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SADF, invites the suspicion that even the fiercest ANC members see it as a bargaining chip. They really have no hope of dislodging the whites by force.

The second weapon is sanctions, perceived as the instrument that brought the Nationalists to the bargaining table and therefore as the instrument to break their intransigence in the coming negotiations. Every time the Nationalists balk at a further concession, sanctions will be invoked.

The third weapon, a dangerous one, is mass support within the country. To use it the ANC must establish organisational structures, mobilise workers and students for strikes and stayaways, and generally bring the country to a halt.

The consequences, if mass action continues for long, are daunting not only for the Nationalists and white moderates, but for the black middle classes who must be caught in the middle, and for the ageing leadership of the ANC. If mass action gets out of hand — and who can control it? — South Africa may well be embarked on that terminal struggle that even Granite John Vorster dared not contemplate, and which President de Klerk calls an Eighty Years' War.

The horror of a fullscale power struggle is, I believe, the main impetus behind negotiations, both in the NP and in the ANC. Sane leaders cannot do otherwise. But in those negotiations, President de Klerk holds the aces.

He has an army, a police force, a government, a Budget of R73bn, literate and skilled supporters, and so much, much more; Nelson Mandela has a phantom army, and a suspect power base, and sanctions. We should not be surprised, nor unduly alarmed, if he cries desperately to the outside world to keep sanctions in place while he bargains. The ANC has the love of the Swedes.

Until the ANC shows that it is in command of the people who cry "Viva ANC" and "Viva Mandela", and that it is as beloved of the masses in Soweto as in Stockholm, sanctions constitute the only credible pressure that moderate leaders like Mandela can invoke. The alternative is to follow the township youth.

ANC, Govt talks to be held on April 11

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THE African National Congress (ANC) and President F W de Klerk will meet in Cape Town on April 11 for pioneering talks about formal negotiations on political reform in South Africa.

The meeting, possibly the most important breakthrough in 30 years of armed conflict, was announced simultaneously on Friday in Cape Town and at the ANC's exile headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said he would head the movement's delegation. He did not name the other members.

De Klerk said the group would include Mr Nelson Mandela, whom he

freed last month after 27 years in prison for plotting to overthrow white rule.

"The sole purpose of these discussions is...to address those facets which are perceived to be stumbling blocks on the way to negotiations," he told a news conference in Cape Town.

De Klerk said the ANC would be free to send anyone to Cape Town, including military commanders who might be sought by South African police on terrorism charges.

Mandela told Swedish radio in Stockholm, where he has been visiting ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo, that future negotiations would depend on the outcome of the initial talks.

Sawefan 17/3/90

Businessmen, MDM plan joint ventures

CHARLENE SMITH

A GROUP of leading businessmen and mass democratic movement (MDM) regional leaders met at Broederstroom at the weekend to discuss ways of working toward "the complete elimination of apartheid" and the equitable distribution of wealth in SA. They said afterwards they had decided on certain joint ventures.

The conference was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), which tries to stimulate discussion between business and community leaders toward finding economic solutions for SA. *MDM 19/3/90*

It has held similar meetings in Natal and the Cape, and two weeks ago a business

group met the ANC in Harare.

The 22 businessmen at the discussions this weekend included JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem, Tiger Oats MD Johnny Frankel and the Urban Foundation director Jeff McCarthy.

The 23 MDM delegates included top members of the UDF and Cosatu, among them UDF officials Jackson Methembu and Jeff Mokoena and SA Youth Congress southern Transvaal vice-president Nathaniel Kekana.

CBM spokesman Theuns Eloff said certain joint ventures had been decided on,

but would not say what they were as both sides needed final approval from their constituencies.

The 18 hours of intensive discussion included debate on the need for development and the right climate to attract capital investment, said a CBM statement.

The delegates discussed the problem of homelessness and its implications for employment and productivity. They debated "the critical issue of education and the need to introduce a more equitable and career orientated system to match the country's economic and employment opportunities", Eloff said. They also explored the causes of the recent violence.

Black artists have gone through an internal exile

AT one stage last week I thought wearily that there was no point in going on.

The urge to give up the struggle, for this is becoming a classic struggle, was powerful. I have since come to my senses as there seems no choice: the struggle must continue.

Instead of burdening you with the nightmare spread of problems, of things seemingly falling apart, let me indulge myself by writing about things somewhat remotely related to this feeling of depression.

The first is about a group of chaps who used to be my colleagues in the good old days. They are from the fraternity of artists, a superb group of talented chaps who have seemingly faded from my immediate experience or from the scene generally.

Fikile, a young painter whose ex-

traordinary and rather mystifying painting hangs in my office, called me from Piero's home. Piero, humorously given the surname Khuzwayo because of his unpronounceable Latinate one, was and I dare say still is, the professional and private *eminence grise* of a colony of local black painters.

Affinity

They are professionals treading somewhat shakily in the footsteps of some of their fraternal colleagues who have died poor, unrecognised and often very bitter men.

I have a close affinity and great tenderness for most of these painters, especially Fikile, whose artistic and intellectual insights are plainly superior to mine. I respect his love for the arts in general and painting in particular. He opened my understanding to some jazz works that I

had believed had a deliberate avant garde tenor simply to confuse music lovers.

As would happen he made the call late this particular night when another young poet and artist, one Tshidi, was in their company. I spoke to Tshidi and relived the old days with him. Piero is getting on in years and I fear he might decide to call it a day before I reconnect with his group.

I lately seem to have a problem in managing time but I must rekindle this warm, often furiously stimulating, relationship before the inevitable happens and Piero joins the colony of artists above.

I have a particular empathy for the terrible sorrow experienced by our folk in exile, I have an immediate rapport with the internal exile experienced by our local artists.

There is a sadness, particularly with people like Fikile, that

echoes in the very depths of my soul. When the shadows of apartheid at last recede into history these young artists will have to get to work. They have suffered under terrible travail both professionally and privately.

Ravages

The ravages of the apartheid situation forced them to articulate their experiences in ramshackle fashion many a time. This has happened in poetry, in literature, in our music and in the plastic arts.

Very few people in the arts have been able to get to the heart of this darkness. I am not saying there is total failure. There has though been the temptation to protest too much. There has been an attempt to be indigenous or authentically African.

The influence from the dominant culture bastardised most of these attempts. The

politics, nay the darkness of apartheid destroyed the authenticity of such feelings, particularly in protest poetry.

Fikile, Tshidi and old Piero have experienced all of this, like most of us. If they survive, there is an urgent imperative to record these matters.

My sons will be proud one day to know I was associated with this colony of struggling, sometimes desperately deprived group of artists.

By the time you read this I would have had the meeting with



ON THE LINE

Aggrey
Klaaste

the State President. It is important, not necessarily for the *Sowetan*, that I and my senior executives make these connections. We are not presumptuous to believe that we have a particular influence on matters affecting the country and its future.

We are however, even if I have to say so myself, sons of this soil. This Africa. We must endeavour to the

best of our powers to leave something for our sons and daughters.

Like most South Africans we are tired of being the focus of the world, positively of negatively. We are in fact idealistic enough to believe that our African-ness can shape South Africa into taking its rightful place on the African continent. That is the least we can achieve.

ANC to ask OAU to talk to SA govt

CAF - Times 19/3/90 114

LUSAKA. — The ANC will today ask the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to open direct contacts with the South African government in search of a negotiated end to apartheid.

The proposal is contained in an ANC report to be presented to an OAU ad hoc committee on Southern Africa. The committee is to hold a one-day summit here today.

The plan, expected to be accepted by the summit, aims to co-ordinate Africa's contacts with SA and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by Pretoria to moderate African states.

In the past, Pretoria's diplomatic initiatives have tended to throw Africa's policy on SA into disarray.

The report says the OAU committee — composed of Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Cape Verde — should form

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a group to monitor the situation in Southern Africa and report to the United Nations. *CAF - Times 19/3/90*

The proposed monitoring group would be the first OAU body to have direct contact with the SA government.

Its formation would reflect Africa's changing attitude towards Pretoria following political reforms announced by President F W de Klerk.

"The ANC is of the view, and suggests, that the OAU ad hoc committee, assisted by the frontline states' Namibia monitoring group, reinforced by the inclusion of Nigeria, should carry out this task," said the report.

The ANC acknowledges current SA reforms in its document, but says a complete climate for negotiations has yet to be created by Pretoria.

The ANC wants the proposed OAU monitoring group to ensure that Pretoria does not reduce its isolation by breaking into the African continent through bilateral contacts.

The OAU ad hoc committee last met in Zimbabwe last August and adopted the Harare Declaration, which has become a blueprint for a negotiated solution to apartheid.

The declaration was endorsed by the 101-member Non-aligned Movement, and it formed the basis for a UN statement on SA adopted late last year.

Most leaders, including the OAU chairman, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, arrived in Lusaka yesterday, but President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola are expected today. — Sapa-Reuter

Damage to homeland economies comes at a time when homeland leaders have been warned Pretoria will trim its expenditure this year.

Chk Times 19/3/90

People 'reject homelands'

JOHANNESBURG. — The recent spate of unrest in South Africa illustrated an emphatic rejection of apartheid, Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday.

Mr Mandela said the violence was very unfortunate, "but it indicates the rejection by the masses of the people of the bantustan policy.

"If it came to the test where the views of the people were consulted, there would be an emphatic rejection."

Mr Mandela was speaking after his return from a whirlwind tour during which he met the leaders of four African countries as well as ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is in a Swedish hospital. — Sapa

● Small crowd at Mandela concert — Page 5

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S 55

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Mandela concert draws small crowd

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela came back to a South African-style welcome, with the cream of the nation's musical talent entertaining him — but with a far smaller than anticipated audience to greet him.

The day was billed as The Human Rainbow Concert for Unity and Prosperity. There was plenty of unity and the vendors, in the spirit of the day, were selling their wares for a new South Africa.

Of all the acts, Mr Mandela received the loudest applause.

He paid credit to the artists of South Africa who spread the message of the evils of apartheid to audiences beyond the reach of politicians.

He apologised to the enthusiastic crowd for his lateness, but from the crowd's reponse he was amply forgiven for his tardiness.

Every act had a kind word for the special guest, who had just arrived back from a gruelling 18-day tour of Southern Africa and Sweden.

A song written especially for Mr Mandela on his return, "The people want Mandela", brought a broad smile to his face as he watched the debut performance in the company of his wife Winnie, internal ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina and Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Almost the whole spectrum of the SA musical scene participated in the marathon 12-hour concert. Bright Blue, Mango Groove, Lucky Dube, Marcalex, PJ Powers, Jennifer Fergusson, the sassy Brenda Fassie, The Gereformede Blues Band to name but a few, entertained the festive audience.

The concert, which was organised at short notice, was expected to draw about 100 000 people but at the most perhaps 15 000 came. — Sapa

April congress will decide UDF's future

Own Correspondent

NEXT MONTH'S UDF national congress will mark a watershed in the organisation's history — it is to decide whether or not to become part of the ANC.

The congress, to be held from April 6 to 9 in Cape Town, is the first since 1985. Detentions, arrests and bannings of the organisation and its members have since then prevented a meeting on a national scale.

The congress will be held at the University of the Western Cape and will be attended by about 1 000 delegates. It is expected to be the biggest UDF national congress since its founding in August, 1983.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said the congress would be preceded by a National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Johannesburg on March 24 and 25.



MANDELA CONCERT ... Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges the applause from a crowd of about only 10 000 at a concert in Ellis Park on Saturday which was held to mark his freedom. More than 100 000 people had been expected.

Picture: REUTERS

Cape Times
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UDF plea

choppers simply because that person is white, undermine and weaken the movement."

The ANC's internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said the concept of individual rights proposed by the ANC would guarantee to each cultural group the right to its own culture, language and art forms.

The state would not propagate any particular religious outlook. "Freedom of worship would be an established principle."

The ANC's policy of nationalisation was not as irrational as it was made out to be by representatives of powerful capitalist enterprises, he said.

It was not the ANC's intention or its policy to bring every small business, commercial holding or industry under state control.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who accompanied ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela on his foreign trip, received a big cheer when he reiterated that PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat had presented a jewelled sword to the ANC leader who had received it on behalf of the South African people.

Mr Kathrada noted that white people and the white media had been upset by Mr Mandela's call for the nationalisation of mines, financial institutions and monopoly industries.

He said in reply that white people had benefited through the nationalisation of industries and institutions and questioned why blacks could not benefit from this if whites had already done so. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Cape Times 19/3/90 (11A)

Lekota slams attacks on whites

LENASIA. — The publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, yesterday condemned "undisciplined violence" in black townships and attacks on white motorists.

Addressing nearly 20 000 people of all races at the ANC's first rally in Lenasia, he said: "There is no way in which a riot, the looting of shops ... can be understood to advance our struggle."

"There is no way in which the killing of an ordinary white traveller passing the townships of the Vaal can advance our struggle."

"If anything," he added, "it frightens white South Africans away from the ANC."

"It makes them lose confidence in our capacity to behave in a reasonable way even if we take control."

The strength of the ANC did not consist of those who already supported it, but "in its capacity to attract to its ranks increasing numbers of men and women, particularly whites".

"Those of our comrades who throw stones and

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Political Staff

The first meeting between the government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for legislation to be tabled allowing for the early return of exiles.

It is also expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving South African spies like Odile Harington, imprisoned in frontline states and key ANC political prisoners. But, according to senior officials in Cape Town, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can be expected only at the end of the negotiation process rather than, at the outset, it emerged at the weekend that the govern-

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ANC talks

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the one thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics.

In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

The government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment publicly on Mr Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of South Africa and stepped-up sanctions, believing that every such statement contributes to exploding the myth that built up about him while he was imprisoned.

However, there is deep concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is a pointer to how much the hardliners in the ANC, one of whom they identify as being NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns, ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both the government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Ministers realise that, if they are to prevent a drift towards the Conservative Party they need to produce something tangible soon.

Mr Mandela, speaking on Swedish radio, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

ment decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday — thereby overshadowing its highly publicised press conference to release details of its R3-bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid — because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately. While it had been thought that the composition of the APNC delegation was the matter delaying the talks, President W. de Klerk said on Friday that the government had not tried to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation. Contact with the ANC is taking place directly with officials inside South Africa, over the telephone to the organisation's head office in Lusaka and through intermediaries.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Breyenbach has been mentioned in this regard.

At this stage it seems that one issue which could emerge as a serious stumbling block in the initial talks is the continuing state of emergency.

While the ANC still insists that the emergency should be lifted as a pre-condition for negotiations, President De Klerk insisted on Friday that it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

The government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law-and-order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating violence.

In Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

An area where this co-operation between government and the ANC has gone even further is in attempts to end the teachers' strike. The government is understood to have been in regular contact with people like Mr Walter Sisulu.

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ANC plan for OAU to deal with Pretoria

ANC 2
19/3/90

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Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress will today ask the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to open direct contacts with the South African government in search of a negotiated end to apartheid.

The proposal is contained in an ANC report to be presented to an OAU ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa due to hold a one-day summit in the Zambian capital today.

The plan, expected to be accepted by the summit, aims to co-ordinate black Africa's contacts with South Africa and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by Pretoria to moderate African states.

In the past Pretoria's diplomatic initiatives have tended to throw black Africa's policy on South Africa into disarray.

Heads of state

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is expected to brief the other heads of state attending today's meeting on his talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

Representatives of Algeria, Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Mali, Nigeria, Cape Verde and the six frontline states will attend today's talks which will be chaired by the current OAU chairman and Egypt's President Mr Hosni Mubarak.

The leaders of the frontline states (Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Zimbabwe) yesterday met in Lusaka to discuss today's talks. No details were released.

Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze will arrive in Zambia today and is expected to be briefed by President Kaunda on today's OAU meeting.

Mr Shevardnadze, who tomorrow travels to Namibia, is also expected to hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka today.

Last week President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique was in the United States and Britain for talks on the current situation in Southern Africa.

● Garner Thomson of the Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Mr Nelson Mandela has again warned that the ANC "will become impatient" if progress towards solving South Africa's problems is not apparent soon after discussions with the South African government begin on April 11.

He told BBC TV interviewer Joan Bakewell in *Heart of the Matter*, a documentary screened here yesterday, that patience would run out "if a solution is not likely within five years".

Speaking in Stockholm shortly before returning to South Africa on Friday, he added: "We are not prepared to risk the same dangers which faced us as far as Namibia was con-

cerned, where it took 12 years to reach a settlement."

● The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria writes that ANC leaders yesterday repeated a call for discipline during South Africa's political transformation.

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and UDF's Mr Patrick Lekota addressed an ANC rally in Lenasia.

Call for unity

Mr Sisulu called for unity among all South Africans, saying this goal could be achieved by joining the ANC's ranks.

He said: "We have to ensure that the transition to a new South Africa will be a disciplined and an orderly process. We must unite to build one nation in one South Africa. We in the ANC call on all communities to become actively involved in shaping a new nationhood."

Mr Lekota meted out harsh criticism against people who tried to make political gain out of the freedom struggle, claiming that much violence was committed in the name of the ANC by people who wanted to portray the organisation as a threat.

He warned that senseless killings would scare off white people, who were needed to build a non-racial South Africa and who could best encourage the government to move forward on the road to reform.

Govt must meet several preconditions

Remove barriers to talks - Mandela

Star 19/3/90 (11A)

Nelson Mandela demanded at the weekend that Pretoria quickly remove obstacles to talks on power-sharing between blacks and whites.

"The Government knows very well it has met only one of our major preconditions," the ANC leader said on Saturday after returning to South Africa from a five-nation trip.

"The Government has to move very fast with the remaining ones: the return of the exiles, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and that it should

stop political prosecutions," Mr Mandela told reporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

"These are the minimum conditions we require the Government to meet before we can sit down to talk," he said.

He confirmed, however, that an ANC delegation, led by himself, would be sitting down with President de Klerk on April 11.

Mr Mandela said it would be improper for him to disclose now what would be discussed, but it seems that these preconditions will be at the top of the ANC delegation's agenda.

President de Klerk and exiled ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo announced on Friday that talks would take place in Cape Town on April 11.

Mr Mandela did not say who would join Mr Nzo and himself in the ANC team for their first talks with the SA Government.

Mr de Klerk met a key ANC demand last month by unbanning the organisation and other black opposition groups. But the President said the state of emergency was not negotiable and could be lifted only when violence abated in the black townships.

Since Mr Mandela's release, more than 220 people have been killed in fighting between black factions and many more injured.

Mr Mandela said that as soon as he had been briefed by local black leaders about the recent wave of violence in black townships and tribal homelands, "we will go into action" to stop it.

But he said that the violence was clearly a rejection by blacks of the apartheid system and that the unrest was an upsurge of popular resentment.

"Those who are worried about violence must talk to the Government," he said, adding that the conflicts would end if the Government permitted "peaceful agitation".

Mr Mandela said the violence showed that the Government's policy of separating blacks into their own areas "has no popular support whatsoever". — Reuter.

● See Page 3.

Charter: plot or path?

SAC 19/3/90 (11A)

Understanding the Freedom Charter by David Styles (National Student Federation, Box 1247, Roosevelt Park 2129 R10,95) and **The Freedom Charter and the Future** (AD Donker R14,95)
Reviewed by JOHN PATTEN

Perceptions of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, could not be more different than as portrayed in these two recent publications which timeously focus on a document that has shaped and is likely to continue to have a substantial influence on South African politics.

It is regarded with the greatest suspicion by David Styles, who has gone to some lengths to trace the Charter's historical origins and to place it in the ideological context in which he believes it should be viewed.

His conclusion is that, no matter what claims are made for it as a representative document of South Africa's people, it is in fact the product of the South African Communist Party and a departure point for the revolutionary goals of both the SACP and the African National Congress.

Purpose undermined

In a sense, the purpose of Mr Styles's book has been undermined by President FW de Klerk's decision to unban the ANC and SACP and release and unban their leaders. The huge political upheavals in the Soviet bloc have also affected the assessment. The context in which the Charter must be viewed cannot go unaffected by the new circumstances. The unbanned ANC is much less a bogey than propaganda made it in the days when the Government portrayed it as the spearhead of "total onslaught" or when communist imperialism was in its heyday.

David Styles states, for instance, that the ANC "will certainly not participate in any genuine process of negotiation and compromise" obstructing its "strategic objective" — "seizure of political power". He still has to be proved wrong, but freed ANC leaders are leaving the impression that they are actually willing to negotiate and even to compromise.

The link between the ANC and the SACP is emphasised throughout, with the strong suggestion that the strategic objective is Marxist-Leninist. The idea that the ANC is Western-orientated is specifically rejected and put down to strategy to provide it with undeserved legitimacy.

Styles says: "Both the ANC and the SACP must be fully understood for what they are. What escapes many observers ... is that the Marxist-Leninist political organ-



Prominent SACP member Mr Joe Slovo (left) is named as the Freedom Charter's drafter by David Styles, while Dr Alex Boraine (right) says it was an honest and successful attempt to involve as many people as possible.

isation and that the nature of the revolutionary alliance between the ANC and SACP is an organic one of integrated action towards the achievement of Marxist-Leninist political and strategic objectives."

Whether Styles's assessment of them is correct is possibly more easily put to the test now that they are able to speak up for themselves in public and are made answerable for their actions and statements.

More sympathetic

The Freedom Charter and the Future has a distinctly more sympathetic approach from that of Styles. Its contents are the speeches made at an Idasa conference held on the Charter in mid-1988, republished at a particularly appropriate time.

Where Styles claims popular consultation did not provide the basis for the drawing up of the Charter (in fact he produces testimony that it was drafted by prominent SACP member Mr Joe Slovo and approved by the Communist Party's Central Committee), Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine opened the conference by reminding his audience:

"Discussions and debates concerning the formulation of such a Charter took place far and wide ... Here was an honest and successful attempt to involve as many people as possible." And he used that claimed wide involvement as a contrast to the Government's approach, which he characterised as "trying to impose solutions on the majority of South Africans".

Cape Town academic Dr Hermann Giliomee highlighted the grounds on which the Charter is often dismissed — a "hopeless compromise" between irreconcilable elements of the congress, economically dated, and referring to goals but not means. But he concludes nevertheless that it is a stepping-stone to a peaceful future because it represents blacks' anguish under apartheid, is a powerful symbol,

and stressed negotiation rather than being a blueprint.

Dr Giliomee warned, however, against the Charter being seen as the sole authentic statement of all the peoples and classes, because South Africans were too diverse a nation to be bound by one Charter.

Mark Swilling referred to differing perceptions of the Charter's economic demands. He said conservatives saw it as full-blown prescription for a communist order, whereas Charterists believed it would provide policies that would not result in true socialism, but rather measures to deprive the white minority of its total control of land, large-scale industry, the mines and the banks. Radical socialists, however, argued that it was at most a social democratic document and at worst a bourgeois capitalist programme.

The Charter will remain highly controversial in today's politics, and the publication of these two books will help greatly to throw light on its origins and how it is being interpreted.

Whatever conclusions are reached, Dr Boraine's point in introducing the debate at the Idasa conference has value — that the Charter should be seen as a "dynamic" document ... "should be seen as open-ended with no limits to new ideas and new demands." It is a launching pad for political activity, not a destination.

Struggle must go on, PAC exiles tell BBC

Star 19/3/90 (11A)

By Garner Thomson,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — PAC leaders in exile have pledged to continue the struggle against apartheid on all fronts, despite talk of negotiation and change.

They reiterated their position at the weekend in a BBC-2 documentary on the events surrounding the Sharpeville massacre 30 years ago.

More than a dozen South Africans, including the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and veteran politician Mrs Helen Suzman, contributed to the programme. All saw Sharpeville as a major turning point in the tide of South African affairs.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng told British viewers: "We have never recognised this government and therefore we continue to organise and intensify the struggle on all fronts."

Regional PAC leader Mr Japha Masemola added: "What De Klerk has done so far has satisfied so many people that they ask themselves what is the point in (pursuing) an armed struggle. But ... irrespective of the number and quality of concessions given, the Afrikaner government will never come to the stage where one of the concessions will be one man, one vote."

Other contributors, including Ms Barbara Masekela, secretary of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, outlined events leading up to Sharpeville, and viewers were shown footage and stills of the results of the police action, in which 69 people were killed and 180 injured.

A number of survivors testified to their personal experiences and injuries suffered during the massacre.

Both leading black organisations regard Sharpeville as occupying a special position in the history and politics of their struggle, though each with a slightly different perspective.

Mr Nyakane Tsolo, PAC branch secretary in Sharpeville in 1960, said: "It was a peaceful march and we were killed. From that day forward we said we will never again go marching peacefully to these institutions. There won't be a march like that again."

Ms Masekela, who believes the massacre could have occurred in one of any number of other areas where conditions were the same, added: "Sharpeville is something which will always remind us, even if we become complacent in the future, of the importance of freedom, the importance of equality and the sacredness of human life."

Kaunda is honest broker — Buthelezi

STOR 19/3/90
The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday returned from what he described as a "high-level reception" in Zambia where President Kenneth Kaunda has set himself up as a mediator between Inkatha and the ANC.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return, Chief Buthelezi said that although he had not asked President Kaunda to act as mediator between the two groups, he was seen as an honest broker and the only person with the necessary credentials to act as mediator.

"He has the confidence of the ANC leadership and I have always had confidence in him, and he has had no problem with me over the years," Chief Buthelezi said.

HUMBLE

He would not elaborate on what role Dr Kaunda saw for him in South Africa's future, saying the president was "a humble man". But his invitation to Chief Buthelezi was a "measure of the high esteem" in which the Zulu leader was held and signified that he was considered a "player" in the future.

As far as talks on the violence in Natal between himself and ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela were concerned, he said no date had been set and such a date would be a "matter for negotiation" between Mr Mandela and the Zulus' King Goodwill Zwelethini.

Mr Mandela had last contacted him on February 17 when he telephoned to inform Mr Buthelezi that he had been released from jail.

Mr Mandela had told him he would again contact him once

he had returned from Stockholm.

In his speech to Dr Kaunda Chief Buthelezi addressed economic rather than political issues, saying that the South African economy should be linked to the economies of the entire sub-continent.

He spoke of "free market forces" and the stimulation of economic development and said the highest possible degree of industrialisation in South Africa was vital for the whole of southern Africa.

"Africans must do to this southern African region what the Japanese did to Japan and what the Germans did to Germany after World War 2," he said.

He added that every African could become a cog in the "productive machine" and that he was adamant that the final victory against apartheid should not destroy the economy of the country.

DANGER

As a priority, there had to be a redistribution of wealth after political victories.

"Anyone who pretends that this simply means taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots is a danger to man and society."

He also made conciliatory statements aimed at whites, saying racism should be "scrubbed out of our souls".

He warned against "political adventurism" and said he was heartened by Dr Kaunda's call for a cessation of violence in SA.

"It is now time to lay down arms. It is now time to stop war talk." — Sapa.

Two ANC men defend nationalisation policy

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The aim of nationalisation was to improve the economy and raise the standard of living of the exploited people, African National Congress stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu said in Lenasia yesterday.

Mr Sisulu said it would be unproductive and impractical to put every little business or industry under State control. However, major monopolies, financial institutions and mines would be nationalised to obtain capital to cater for the most basic needs of impoverished working people.

Both Mr Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada devoted time to the issue of nationalisation, one of the recently unbanned organisation's most controversial policies.

Mr Sisulu said nationalisation was not as irrational as was made out by spokesmen of powerful capitalist enterprises. Nationalisation would allow for a planned redistribution of wealth to develop education, housing, health and social services, he said.

Mr Kathrada said the National Party government had successfully solved the problem of white impoverishment by nationalising key sectors of the economy.

"I ask our oppressors why they are opposed to us doing exactly the same for our people? If you don't agree with our policy of nationalisation, please tell us how can we uplift our people," Mr Kathrada said.

Violence: ANC blames apartheid

19/3/90 Political Reporter

African National Congress leaders yesterday reiterated a call for discipline during South Africa's political transformation, citing apartheid as one of the main reasons for the recent spate of violence which has left hundreds dead.

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota addressed an ANC rally in the Lenasia Stadium.

They received an enthusiastic welcome from a crowd estimated by marshals at about 15 000. However, most people left before the end of the rally.

Mr Sisulu repeatedly called for unity. He said: "We have to ensure that the transition to a new South Africa will be a disciplined and an orderly process."

Mr Kathrada said the upsurge in violence was a direct result of apartheid, through which the Nationalist Government had tried to sow racial hatred.

Mr Lekota claimed that much violence was committed in the name of the ANC by people who wanted to portray the organisation as a threat.

"The looting of a shop, the senseless killing of an ordinary white man in a Vaal township, cannot advance our struggle. If you throw a stone at a white man simply because he is white, you undermine the capacity of our organisation to attract support."

Early return of SA exiles on the cards

B1 Day 1913/90

2/2/83

11A

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting between government and the ANC on April 11 is expected to pave the way for the tabling of legislation allowing the early return of exiles.

It can also be expected to lead to a series of prisoner swaps involving SA agents like Odile Harrington imprisoned in Frontline states and key ANC political prisoners.

But, according to senior officials here, a general amnesty for all political prisoners can only be expected at the end of the negotiation process rather than at the outset.

ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela arrived back in SA on Saturday after his trip overseas. However, it emerged at the weekend that government decided to announce the date of the meeting on Friday, thereby overshadowing its highly publicised Press conference to release details of its R3bn plan to eradicate backlogs brought about by apartheid, because it had been struggling for more than 10 days to pin the ANC down on a date.

Once agreement was reached, it wanted the date of the meeting made public immediately.

While it had been expected that the composition of the ANC delegation was a matter delaying the talks, President F W de Klerk said on Friday government had not attempted to prescribe to the ANC whom it could include in its delegation.

At this stage it seems one issue which could emerge as a stum-

MIKE ROBERTSON

bling block in the initial talks is the continued state of emergency.

While the ANC continues to insist that the emergency be lifted as a pre-condition to negotiations, De Klerk said on Friday it could not be a feature of the negotiating process.

Government, he said, had committed itself to lifting the emergency but that decision would be determined by the law and order situation.

Whereas in the past government spokesmen have been quick to finger the ANC as being behind unrest, they now perceive regional variations.

Violence

The Natal situation, they believe, has deteriorated to a point where warlords are operating independently of any organisation.

In Gazankulu, however, they insist that the ANC is both behind and actively instigating outbursts of violence.

In the Ciskei, on the other hand, they acknowledge that UDF officials have played a prominent role in preventing continued looting and violence.

While acknowledging that the ANC has had barely six weeks to organise itself since being unbanned, ministers say the thing that has surprised them most since February 2 is the remarkable fluidity in black politics. In the Eastern Cape, in particular, they detect a strong swing to the PAC.

They also find it surprising that organisations like the UDF, in particular the Western Cape branch, have chosen to remain independent of the ANC.

Government spokesmen have been reluctant to comment on Nelson Mandela's call in Sweden for total isolation of SA and stepped up sanctions. They feel every such statement contributes to exploding the myth built up around him while he was in prison.

There is, nevertheless, concern that the fact that he felt it necessary to make such statements is an indication that hardliners in the ANC, among whom they include NUM general secretary Cyril Rampahosa, continue to hold considerable sway in the movement.

Despite these concerns ministers are on the whole satisfied that developments since February 2 have gone as well as could be expected.

A factor which bodes well for the success of negotiations is the realisation by both government and the ANC that results have to be achieved quickly.

Mandela, talking on Swedish radio last week, echoed these sentiments when he said he expected immediate results from the April 11 meeting.

"Our strategy is that the very first meeting must produce a result if we are to continue talking. We have no intention of allowing the existing situation to be as it was in Namibia for 12 years," he said.

By SHAFIA'ATH-AHMED
KHAN

A SOCIETY riddled with apartheid laws such as ours is bound, from time to time, to throw up heroes.

This was the case thirty years ago on March 21 because of the dreaded pass laws to which the Government subjected black people.

Since that day - when police shot in the back and killed 69 and wounded 189 members of a massive crowd in Sharpeville - March 21 came to be marked as "Heroes Day". And, up to this day, the Sharpeville community cleans the graves of the victims on each anniversary of that fateful day. Throughout the country, too, commemoration services for those who died have long been held.

The anti-pass campaign of March 21 1960 was organised by the Pan Africanist Congress, then only about a year in existence. For many political analysts - and, indeed, politicians alike - what happened on that day was a turning point in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Commitment

With the struggle intensifying despite stringent State control, the second state of emergency - itself an indication of the height of the struggle in South Africa against unjust laws - was promulgated and then, the last one only partially lifted recently at the same time as the unbanning of liberation movements both inside and outside the country.

It is interesting to note that, during the build-up - particularly in the second half of the '80s - of what was seen to be an unshakeable commitment both by workers and students to ending the system of apartheid, the Government appeared to be moving more to the right in spite of its reformist language.

However, whatever one takes up from the mass-based resistance to apartheid from time to time since 1960, the scars are still firmly rooted in the memory of most people: Detentions (including those of children), deaths in detention, torture and the mysterious disappearance of activists and bannings.

Essentially, the anti-pass campaign on March 21 1960 was a novel notion and, no doubt, one that went quite against the grain of a draconian law, thereby infusing in the authorities the kind of emotion caused by the impending danger to the dominant structure

Marking an historic day

Savetaw
20/3/90

11A



Sharpeville residents traditionally clean the graves of victims of the March 21 1960 shootings

as a whole. That is why, in the opinion of many astute observers, police turned for aid to reactionary violence

But, tragically, those on whom police opened with a hail of lethal bullets were defenceless people. And this bewildered the world.

Non-compliance

The anti-pass campaign was not a mere operation of dissent. Underlined by the determination of "No Bail, No Fine and No Defence", the manoeuvre was a clear statement of non-compliance with the existing discriminatory state of affairs in South Africa in term of its laws.

In the final analysis, it was a fresh, new dimension in anti-Government politics.

And this is how it all came about: A meeting of Africanists was held in December 1959. At this meeting, it was resolved that an absolute campaign against the pass laws be put on course, and the first president of the Pan Africanist Congress, the late Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, was committed by the meeting to proclaim the launching date of the campaign.

Sobukwe named March 21 1960 as the day when the pass laws had to be publicly flouted.

Today, most protest campaigns and marches - relatively milder than the anti-pass campaign - are accorded the permission of the authorities. But they do assert strongly somewhat, even in the moderate approach of negotiation politics in South Africa, that

people have been effectively mobilised to seek the total extermination of the apartheid heresy.

Solidarity

For most people, however, the sheer bravery of the thousands who protested in 1960 remains a peerless expostulation of solidarity by black people against their oppression and control by white people - in many quarters deigned to be an example for individuals aiming to be freed from political bondage.

That, in the end, may be the reason why March 21 has been called "Heroes Day".

When, in the years to come, the South African calendar is revised, no doubt, "Heroes Day" will be a paid holiday.

In memory of 69 killed at Sharpeville

11A

Sowetan
20/3/90

THE world is joining the people of South Africa in remembering the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21, 1960, when 69 people were killed by the police.

Services are scheduled for Germany (Hamburg and Essen), London, Cairo, Harare, Gaborone and Dar es Salaam. The United Nations Committee Against Apartheid has also arranged a special commemoration for tomorrow's 30th anniversary of the incident.

Locally, the main service will be held at George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville and is scheduled for 11am.

Ceremony

The event will be preceded by a grave-cleaning ceremony at 8am after which the march which led to the shootings will be re-enacted.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will be the guest speaker and music will be provided by Carlos Djedje.

Another service will be held at Vosloorus Stadium from 10am. The general secretary of the internal wing of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, will address the gathering.

At the Ramosa Hall in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, a service will start at 11am and at the Ledibeng Centre, Jouberton, in Klerksdorp, another is scheduled for 2pm.

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

There will be other services in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Umtata and Uitenhage.

On university and high school campuses around the country students will host further meetings. Rhodes, Turfloop, Durban-Westville and Unitra have arranged services, so has St Barnabas in Bosmont, Johannesburg.

MZIKAYISE EDOM writes that permission has been granted for the main rally at George Thabe Stadium.


World remembers shootings

People will be bused from different parts of the country to the rally.

This year's Sharpeville Day will have a special significance as it will coincide with Namibian independence.

Another factor is that all black political groups, including the PAC, ANC, Azapo and the UDF have united to commemorate the day.

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CAPE TOWN 20/3/90 (11A) ~~20/3/90~~

Sisulu to talk to Inkatha

DURBAN. — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu has agreed to peace talks with Inkatha, which will be held in Nongoma, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, announced at Ulundi yesterday.

In a letter to King Goodwill Zwelithini, head of the Zulu royal family, Mr Sisulu said he would like to have a meeting as soon as possible.

He said the meeting should be held in Nongoma — the residence of the king — and not in Ulundi, which is the seat of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi told the Assembly yesterday that he had strong reservations about the venue. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 20/3/90 (11A) ~~20/3/90~~

Strike: Magistrates detained

JOHANNESBURG. — Two magistrates and a prosecutor have been detained as a strike over salary increases and political freedom escalated at the Garankuwa's Odi Magistrate's Court, Bophuthatswana.

Chief magistrate Mr A C Greyling said by telephone yesterday that the strike by legal staff and cleaners had entered its seventh day.

However, a few employees trickled back to work yesterday, he said.

Five burnt to death in shack

POTGIETERSRUS. — Five people — four of them children — died early on Sunday at Mahwelereng township near here when their shack was burnt to the ground. Residents were later shocked to discover that the door of the shack had been locked from the outside.

The victims were Mr Lesiba Molomo, 55, Thandi Maleka, 9, Franz Maleka, 13, Maleho Maleka, 5, and Barry Maleka, 3. A survivor, Lisbeth Maleka, is being treated for serious burns.

Police are investigating. — Sapa

11A

20/3/90.

Detention costs: 'No figures'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE costs of Mr Nelson Mandela's 15-month stay in a house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl were not readily available, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

But, he said, Mr Mandela had paid all the costs relating to the entertainment of visitors, who visited him at their own expense.

Mr Coetsee, who was replying to a question tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr A P Oosthuizen (CP, Smithfield), said Mr Mandela was detained "in a comfortably equipped and properly secured home" at Victor Verster between December 7, 1988, and February 11 this year.

The daily cost involved, as well as the daily cost of an ordinary prisoner, was "not readily available" as the per capita cost per prisoner per day differed from institution to institution.

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African National Congress vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would "get impatient" if it appeared a political solution would not be achieved within five years.

He said the ANC was "not prepared to risk the same danger of Namibia where it took 12 years (after the implementation of UN Resolution 435) to reach a settlement".

Speaking on BBC television, Mr Mandela also emphasised that the ANC would not accept any delaying tactics during the negotiation process.

"We will only sit and talk if we are assured each meeting will produce concrete results."

The first test of this will be in "talks about talks" on April 11 between an ANC delegation led

Solution in five years — Mandela

by Mr Mandela and a government negotiating team led by President F W de Klerk.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would sit down and talk to the government only once it had "normalised the political situation in the country".

The unbanning of the ANC was only one of the pre-conditions the ANC set for talks. Among other demands were the release of all political prisoners, the free return of exiles and the lifting of

the state of emergency.

For a settlement to be reached, the government would have to tackle fundamental issues from the outset. He declined to discuss ANC strategy.

Mr Mandela said that while in prison he had given legal advice to fellow black prisoners, many of whom as a result had their sentences reduced, and also to some white guards.

The former lawyer said the guards were often "youngsters with no alternative" but to work in the prisons service.

"Once they realised you were not hostile, they treated you as a human."

By fostering their friendship, prisoners could get concessions such as extra blankets, he said. In return, he had helped the guards with their legal problems.

'ANC goal to cut gap in wealth'

Political Staff

THE ANC regarded nationalisation as a means, not a goal, to remove or reduce the differences of wealth and development of less privileged people, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said it was agreed that the gap in wealth in the country was too wide and that the poor should be uplifted.

"Let us then ... first look at where the money can be found."

His experience with the ANC was it used only the pragmatic argument for nationalisation, not the purely ideological one, that it was necessary for the financial proceeds and dividends to go to the state and not individual shareholders for socio-economic purposes.

"We must not elevate means into ends, which is what I suspect the ANC is doing in relation to nationalisation," Dr De Beer said.

OAU to make contact with govt

LUSAKA — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) agreed yesterday to begin direct contacts with the South African government in an effort to find a peaceful end to apartheid.

Diplomats said the move aims to co-ordinate Africa's contacts with South Africa and prevent direct diplomatic approaches by the government to moderate African states.

The decision was taken by leaders of 13 OAU member states, constituting an ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa.

There was no immediate response from Pretoria. The OAU move followed a recommendation by the ANC to set up a group to maintain contact with all

parties to the South African political dispute.

"The ad-hoc committee has supported strongly the programme put forward by the ANC that includes talks with President F W de Klerk," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday.

The committee is to set up a monitoring group, composed of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Until now, the 51-member African grouping has shunned any official contact with Pretoria.

Yesterday's summit took note of political reforms introduced in South Africa but said more needed to be done to build a climate for full negotiations leading to democracy. — Sapa-Reuter

CP MP is 'coloured man'

THE Conservative Party had sent a coloured man to represent the Kuruman constituency, Mr Desmond Locky (CP, Northern Cape) said yesterday.

He said during the vote on the own affairs budget that it was impossible that Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman) could be white, as his ancestors had come from Madagascar. If the CP council were to enclose "Die Oog" — a Kuruman tourist attraction — Mr Hoon would not be allowed in. — Sapa

Sent home

Political Staff

THE government last year repatriated 38 758 Mozambicans who had been in South Africa illegally, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday.

He was replying to a question tabled in the House of Assembly.

NP: Natal violence 'illogical'

THE violence in Natal had become illogical and something had to be done to improve the basic qualities of life for blacks, Mr Johannes Maree (NP Klip River) said yesterday.

It was necessary for people to be socially uplifted. The youth were not attending school and more than 60 000 people were homeless as they were constantly fleeing danger.

The conflict in the region was due to many reasons, one of which was ideological differences, he said. — Sapa

NP 'buys time'

THE National Party had adopted a parking meter policy. It was hoping to buy time from blacks by placing coins in the "black parking meter" majority, Mr A P Oosthuizen (CP Smithfield), said yesterday.

It was now running out of time. — Sapa

RADIO

SOUTH AFRICA
5.00 Get Going, 5.30 News, 6.35 Calling All Farmers, 6.00 Radio Today, 6.01 News, 6.06 This New Day, Dr R Cookington, 6.45 Topspot, 6.55 Weather, 7.00 News, 7.35 Economic Report, 7.45 Special Report, 7.50 Parliament, 8.00 News
8.35 Landmarks, 8.45 Collision, 9.00 Paddy O'Drime, 10.00 Talking of Nature, 10.30 Devotion: Pass J Day, 10.45 Congratulations
11.00 News Headlines, 11.25 Woman's World, 11.45 Novel Reading: The Diary of the Vaughns, 12.00 Midday Concert
1.00 News, 1.15 Weather, Business, Market Trends, 1.30 Talkabout, 2.30 The Place of the Lion, 2.40 King of the Cabinet, 3.30 Short Story repeat, 3.45 Soundbox, 4.00 News Headlines, 4.05 The PM Show, cricket, 5.00 Update: news headlines, cricket, Special Report repeat
6.00 The World at Six, Economic Report, 6.14 The Stock Exchange Today, 6.30 Topspot, 6.53 Weather, 6.58 Reflection
7.00 News Headlines, Economic News, 7.10 Collision, 7.25 An Evening With Allegro, 7.27 Letter From America, 7.35 Music 7/8 Eight: music in miniature, 8.00 Lineight, 8.31 My Word
9.00 News, Weather, 9.10 Landmarks, 9.25 Bonedon: the Rev H Lee, 9.30 Join Radio Allegro.

ALLEGRO:
8.30 Music and Musicians, 10.20 Solina Intermontale, 11.00 News, 11.10 Die Dorn en die Melrose, 12.00 Symphony 2000, 1.00 Eine Kleine Nachtmusik, 1.30

Curtis



King Tut

By Ray Billingsley

By Geoff Watson

THE ANC's internal chief, Mr Walter Sisulu, has called on the Indian community to join the ranks of the ANC and to share in formulating the organisation's policies and political direction.

Addressing thousands of residents at a Lenasia stadium, Sisulu said: "We are one people living in one country with one common future".

Citing the passive resistance campaigns

Indians urged to join ANC ranks

and formations of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, Sisulu said: "I can assure you that you need not be afraid.

"I ask you not to become paralysed by your ungrounded fears and sense of insecurity."

Sisulu lashed out at

the notion of minority rights which he said prevented full democratisation of the society.

He said the main objective of the concept of separate development was the preservation of white power and privilege at the expense of the majority.

11A

Ministers

Fire-arm licences

*1. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (a) How many fire-arm licences were issued in 1989 and (b) how many of them were issued to Whites?

B417E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) 123 413 licences were issued to persons of all races.
- (b) In considering applications for licences, the same criteria are applied in respect of all race groups. However, specific records of the different race groups of licence-holders are not readily available.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, do sufficient particulars that have to be filled in on the application forms for fire-arm licences to determine to which race or population group a specific applicant belongs?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the application form does contain that information, but 123 000 licences were issued and many applications were also not accepted. In order to get the desired information we will have to go and count them all. The SA Police are interested in who applies and that person's circumstances are investigated. The same criteria are applied to everyone, and if we grant a licence we are not interested in whether he is White or a person of another race.

†Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does he not think, in the light of the tremendous unrest that has been going on for years especially in the Black townships, it is in the interest of the country and of law and order that the police know how many lawful fire-arm holders there are in these areas?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, as I have already said, we look at each applicant, irrespective of the colour of his skin. We investigate every applicant's circumstances and then the licence is granted in terms of the same set of criteria.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does he intend scrapping the race conno-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

tation of the form concerned, or not? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we have not considered it thus far, but the hon member has now given me an idea. One can surely look at it. [Interjections.]

Umkhonto we Sizwe members: SAP

*2. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether members of Umkhonto we Sizwe may become members of the South African Police Force:
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 20/3/90

B420E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2) No, but I refer the hon member to my speech in the House of Assembly on Tuesday 13 March 1990.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can ordinary members of the ANC or the PAC, that have now been legalised, become members of the SA Police?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, in the address that I referred to in my reply, I indicated that former members of the ANC who have forsworn the ideals and aims of that organization are already members of the SA Police. We are now considering this situation very carefully and looking into whether we should allow members of the SA Police to become members of political parties at all. I should like to say to the hon member that it is a sensitive issue, and that we are considering it with caution. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can an ordinary committed ANC member who does not now belong to the ANC as political party, but is a supporter of the ANC and who identifies himself with its aims, become a member of the SA Police?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Speaker.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can a member of the SA Communist Party now become a member of the SA Police?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Speaker.

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, did Nofemela forswear violence when he became a member of the SA Police? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, Nofemela was a member of the SA Police like any other member of the SA Police. [Interjections.]

†Mr P H P GASTROW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he give us an indication why a person who pursues the aims of the ANC cannot become a member of the SA Police Hansard 20/3/90

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I said to hon members that we are considering whether any member of the SA Police can become a member of any political party or not. [Interjections.]

†An HON MEMBER: Also not of the NP?

†The MINISTER: Yes, also not of the NP. [Interjections.] The hon member is terribly surprised now but it also applies to the CP and any other political party. [Interjections.]

Military residential areas/free settlement areas

*3. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether the conversion of military residential areas into free settlement areas is being (a) investigated and (b) considered; if so,
- (2) whether Defence Force personnel living in the areas concerned will be consulted; if not, why not;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 20/3/90

B421E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The personnel policy of the SA Defence Force which has been valid since 1978, is based on the principle that no differentiation between race, creed, language or sex exists. The management policy is subject to continual investigation to ensure that the SA Defence Force cannot be accused of racism. In the handling of the policy, state policy, military customs and local condition are valid.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is it therefore the SA Defence Force's

policy that where there are houses which belong to the SA Defence Force and in which soldiers live, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds can all live there in the same houses in which the Whites live? Hansard 20/3/90

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Overvaal presumably has difficulty in understanding the English language, but in broad outline I tried to tell the hon member that there is absolutely no racism in the SA Defence Force. The successes of the SA Defence Force in the past year are attributable to the fact that we could mobilise the total potential of all the people of this land, regardless of race, colour or creed to win for South Africa. Racism does not exist in the SA Defence Force.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is it the policy of the Defence Force that in houses, for example in Voortrekkerhoogte or anywhere where the Defence Force has houses, Blacks, Indians, Coloureds and Whites may live there, yes or no?

†Ek kan die vraag in Engels herhaal, indien die agb die Adjunk-minister nie kan verstaan nie . . . [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order!

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I repeat what I said to the hon member that it is completely within the powers of the hon the Minister of Defence to decide in terms of the Defence Act on matters concerning the personnel policy as I have just explained it to him.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to ask him for the third time, and I will put it as straightforwardly as possible so that he can understand it . . .

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! I can just warn the hon member that if he repeats the question in English, it will count as a further question. [Interjections.]

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, if Black families who are members of the Defence Force apply for a house among the Whites in Voortrekkerhoogte, will the hon the Minister give it to them, yes or no?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James Baker plans to tell Nelson Mandela that the ANC's nationalisation policies are unacceptable to the US administration, a senior State Department official said.

Rejecting Mandela's call for intensified economic pressure on Pretoria, Baker will also say that while sanctions have played a "positive role" hitherto, "we think now" is not the time to think of more sanctions, but to think in terms of negotiations.

However, he does not wish to talk about sanctions at all in his meetings with President F W de Klerk.

Briefing reporters before Baker left for Windhoek on Saturday, the official outlined in unusual detail the "talking points" the

Baker to tackle ANC on economy

Secretary will take with him.

High on the list of points to be made to Mandela is that "we do not agree with his economic model for a future SA".

Baker does not propose to dwell on the ANC's stance on violence, because "we believe that the ANC is prepared to renounce violence as part of the pre-negotiation process which is going to take place starting April 11".

Baker will arrive in Cape Town on Thursday for talks with De Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and unspecified "black opposition leaders".

11A
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Star 20/3/90

All eyes on Mandela and FW at celebrations

JON QWELANE of The Star's Africa News Service reports on South Africa's key personalities at tonight's Namibian independence celebrations.

WINDHOEK — The presence of two men at Namibia's independence celebrations could eclipse the combined significance of all the heads of state and foreign senior government officials expected to attend.

It could also have a positive spin-off in ensuring the first tentative steps by all concerned to thaw the regional and continental ice which has enveloped relations for so long.

It will be their first meeting since Mr Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years in prison. They last met when President de Klerk told the prisoner his day of release.

Excitement after Mr de Klerk's milestone address of February 2, when he lifted prohibitions on more than 35 organisations, including the ANC and the PAC, and promised Mr Mandela's release, saw some members of the Constituent Assembly hinting at inviting both men to the festivities.

New stature

Mr de Klerk's presence at the celebrations will certainly enhance his new stature as a pragmatic politician whose contribution is vital to the overall well-being of the sub-continent in particular and Africa in general. That he will be presiding over his country's last colonial rites in a territory whose freedom was won not without a small spillage of blood on both sides will not be lost on many people.

His presence among representatives of various states, some of them members of the Frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity and almost all of them openly hostile to his government's racist policies, will give Mr de Klerk a rare opportunity to put his case to them.

But his dramatic acceleration of change in South Africa has not gone unnoticed by even his loudest critics, though many still insist he has a long way to go before he can claim a clean bill of health.

Mr Mandela's presence at Namibia's independence celebrations will mean many things to many people.

His ordeal at the hands of the South African Government was mainly through the same ideal for which Swapo and, for that matter, Mr Mandela's organisation, went to war with the same government. Namibia's attainment of independence will, in many ways, certainly lend credence to his cause and perhaps even, in the eyes of many, vindicate it.

Swapo and the ANC have a long history of co-operation and collaboration against Pretoria, their forces often fighting side by side in combat with South African forces.

To the majority party in Namibia's parliament, Mr Mandela's presence will cement even more the common bonds between the two organisations.

Sharing a platform with Mr de Klerk and heads of state will, in the minds of some, be a likely indicator which direction Mr Mandela, otherwise an ordinary member of a political organisation holding no elected office, could be heading.

After all, there on the stage with the recently released political prisoner will most likely be other former political prisoners jailed for precisely the same cause — possibly men like President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

It could well turn out that the path for Mr de Klerk to hold private talks, if any, with African heads of state attending the celebrations could be smoothed out by Mr Mandela. It was the ANC leader himself who heaped unprecedented praise on the National Party leader, calling him "a man of integrity and courage".

In his own right, of course, Mr Mandela will be the major attraction of the celebrations.

His lengthy incarceration bestowed on him a stature to which few in the world could ever aspire, and the adulation his release received at home and internationally established him firmly as a man most people and nations would like to deal with.

It all depends on the men coming to the celebrations.

SAC 2013/90

11A

'Talks must include all parties'

Political Reporter

It would be a mistake by the Government and the African National Congress to determine an agenda for negotiation without the participation of all other political parties, Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting in Pietersburg, Mr Malan said the April 11 meeting between the Government and the ANC should be aimed at creating a climate for negotiations.

Topics which should be addressed included the release of all political prisoners, the state of emergency, amnesty to exiles and sanctions.

One issue which could already be placed on the table was the names of people alleged to have been involved in hit squad hierarchies, he said.

Most of them probably believed their actions were legitimate. They were victims of the "total onslaught" propaganda.

He added: "And to (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan I want to ask whether there is not enough evidence on the existence of unacceptable secret projects to demand his apology and disappearance from politics."

'ANC, NP like centralised govt'

Staff Reporter

The African National Congress and the National Party were allied in their support for strong, central government and hatred of capitalism, author Don Caldwell said at Wits University yesterday.

He predicted the ANC's demands would be similar to the NP's when the two sat down to negotiations. These would include nationalised education, transport, social services and media.

"You should try to build a democratic, capitalist alternative to the failed collectivism of left and right," he said.

AGT 20/3/90 11A

Row brewing over warrant of arrest for Winnie

By Craig Kotze

A legal battle is looming over a warrant issued for the arrest of Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, for allegedly failing to pay unemployment insurance fees for her workers.

The Mandela family denies that a summons to appear in court was received by Mrs Mandela.

But Johannesburg's chief magistrate, Mr O A de Meyer, said today that a warrant for Mrs Mandela's arrest would never have been issued unless a summons had been duly served in terms of the law. He said it was served at a business owned by Mrs Mandela.

Mr de Meyer said there was still time for Mrs Mandela to approach the court prosecutor to have the warrant rescinded.

FISH AND CHIPS

The warrant was issued on Friday after Mrs Mandela failed to appear in court.

According to documents before the court, Mrs Mandela has failed to pay Unemployment Insurance Fund contributions for employees at a business owned by her, Richmond Fish and Chips.

A spokesman for the Mandela family, Mr Dali Mpofu, said no warrant, summons or any other form of legal notice whatsoever informing her of any court appearance was received.

"Clearly there is more to this than meets the eye. Lawyers have been instructed to attend to this matter and rectify the situation," said Mr Mpofu.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Colonel Frans Malherbe said police would become involved in the matter only if the court authorities sought help.

ANC, Inkatha for talks at king's residence

Spec 25/3/90
Own Correspondent

(MA)
DURBAN — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu has agreed to hold peace talks with Inkatha in Nongoma, kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced in Ulundi yesterday.

In a letter to King Goodwill Zwelithini, head of the royal Zulu family, Mr Sisulu pointed out he would like to have a meeting as soon as possible.

However a meeting should be held in Nongoma — residence of the king — and not in Ulundi, seat of the Legisla-

tive Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday told the assembly he had strong reservations about Mr Sisulu's having the "temerity" to request a meeting in Nongoma.

"In what way is he contributing to peace if he talks this way to our people?" he asked.

Mr Sisulu also said in his letter that Mr Harry Gwala, the only ANC executive living in Natal, should be invited to the peace talks. Chief Buthelezi said this was acceptable.

Mandela's isolation call 'a no-go'

Stock 20/3/90 Political Staff (11A)

CAPE TOWN — The call to isolate South Africa diplomatically was as outdated as apartheid itself, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

He based this, he said, on discussions he had with diplomatic representatives while in South America recently, and on trips to five African countries since President de Klerk's February 2 speech.

Mr Wessels attended the inaugurations of President Patricio Aylwin in Chile and President Fernando Collor de Mello in Brazil.

He represented the South African Government at both ceremonies and was one of 125 special missions at the Brazilian ceremony. This presented several opportunities for talks.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had called on world leaders to isolate South Africa but, Mr Wessels said, from his experience this call was "absolutely a no-go" and was as outdated as apartheid itself. It had no chance of success whatsoever.

There were still people who doubted

the sincerity or integrity of Pretoria, but their hostility had made way for a feeling of anticipation.

Mr Wessels said that when he met President Collor de Mello, the Brazilian leader had congratulated him on what was being done in South Africa.

American Vice-President Dan Quayle had asked about the personal relationship between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk and said he hoped that if the two of them could strike up a personal understanding that could give the country a lead.

Mr Wessels said one Scandinavian representative had told him his government would soon announce the establishment of an embassy in South Africa.

And African leaders were asking South Africa to make it possible for them to help Pretoria and to work openly with South Africa.

"African countries really want us to be successful," Mr Wessels said.

"They wanted to move closer to South Africa in view of the closer European unity from 1992 and were looking to Pretoria to offer some sort of lead."

Birth of new people's groups 11A

Southern 20/3/90

THE Pietersburg area was a hive of activity at the weekend, with several meetings held to form worker organisations and other structures.

Lebowakgomo saw the formation on Saturday of the Northern Transvaal Public Servants' Union, which is to look after the interests of government employees.

The launch was attended by about 1 000 people. An 11-member steering committee was

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

elected to draft a constitution.

The meeting ended in uproar when the stay-away call by the Lebowakgomo Civic Association was discussed.

Many of those attending felt that the call, which only affects Lebowakgomo residents employed by the Lebowa government, should in-

clude other areas.

Those elected into the steering committee are Ms Tsidi Maja, Mr Patso Chuene, Mr Adolph Maphuta, Mr Mpho Mogale, Mr Solly Makabule, Mr Cebile Khanya, Mr Solly Mogale, Mr Ray Maleka, Mr Frans Masekwameng, Mr Godfrey Selepe and Mr William Moeng.

At a nearby school the Black Educationists' Convention held its meeting

to introduce the organisation to teachers. The meeting, addressed by former Pietersburg attorney Mr Don Nkadi-meng, elected a steering committee.

Those elected are Mr Salthiel Mokaba (chairperson), Mr Select Mphahlele (vice chairman), Mr George Moraswi (secretary), Mr Pat Moyaha (projects co-ordinator), Mr Frans Kwakwa (treasurer), and two additional members.

Imbeleko launched their Seshego branch on Sunday. The meeting was addressed by Imbeleko's national co-ordinator, Ms Nomonde Jafta, who spoke on the importance of unity among women.

A seven-person steering committee was elected.

Talks about talks not for PAC, Desai says

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

AS the African National Congress and the government prepare for their first face-to-face meeting to talk about talks, the Pan Africanist Congress has ruled out similar discussions with the government.

Former PAC central committee member, Mr Barney Desai, said there were only two discussions the organisation would have with the government. These would be "on the mechanism for the creation of a constituent assembly" and the return of exiles.

"If our position on a constituent assembly leads to our exclusion from the negotiating table then so be it. As far as we

are concerned the struggle continues."

He said a constituent assembly had "made the constitution of the United States".

"De Klerk (President FW De Klerk) says a constituent assembly is out because he and some part of the liberation movement wants to make a deal in a smoke-filled room.

"We say: 'Let the people decide.' This is our land, hence our slogan Eswilethu i'Africa (Africa must be returned to its people)."

Possible exclusion from the negotiating table will not marginalise support for the PAC among oppressed people, he said.

"We are more concerned

with the rights of oppressed people than the so-called security of the white man. If he wants security he's got to be just," said the former London barrister.

Mr Desai said the internal wing of the movement would have to arrange a meeting with the government to discuss the return of exiles.

"I would like every South African who has been declared a refugee in any part of the world to be restored his status of a free person. I want to appeal to all those talented people of our communities who went abroad to return and help us rebuild our country."

The organisation plans to open its South African office in

Johannesburg. Regional offices are in the pipeline.

In Cape Town, the PAC has branches in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, and Khayelithsa.

PAC president and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Zeph Mothopeng will open a Mitchell's Plain branch on April 6.

Is there any chance of the ANC and PAC joining forces?

"Our policy is to achieve the maximum unity of oppressed people and we'll make every move in that direction," said Mr Desai.

Unity was imperative because the entire white structure such as the economy and military was still intact.

Sisulu to address London Anti-Apartheid rally

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mr Walter Sisulu is to fly to Britain next week to address the Anti-Apartheid Movement's pro-sanctions rally in London on Sunday.

He will interrupt a busy schedule in South Africa where he has been given the responsibility by the ANC of re-establishing the organisation following its unbanning in February.

The rally in Trafalgar Square is aimed at marshalling opinion to tell Mrs Thatcher to

stop supporting apartheid. The movement cites in its support the Harris opinion poll in February which showed that only 13 percent of the British population and 19 percent of Tory voters supported the lifting of sanctions.

Almost half of those with an opinion believed sanctions should remain until there was one person one vote in South Africa.

The London demonstration will be Mr Sisulu's first major

public address outside South Africa since his release from prison last year.

Meanwhile Mr Nelson Mandela has confirmed he will definitely attend a Wembley rally on Easter Monday, despite earlier reports that his talks with President F W de Klerk, which begin on Thursday, April 11, would delay his visit to Britain.

A spokesman for Laister Dickson, organisers of the event, said that the ANC leader had informed them that his

plans to visit Britain over the Easter weekend were unchanged.

But Downing Street said there still had been no formal contact with Mr Mandela despite Mrs Thatcher's earlier invitation to a meeting at Chequers as soon as possible after his release.

This weekend there was speculation in some quarters that she was embarrassed by the alleged "snub" from the ANC.

Kobie explains Mandela talks

Star 21/3/90

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Government Ministers had held talks on a variety of subjects with Mr Nelson Mandela while he was in prison, but had most definitely not taken part in negotiations with the imprisoned ANC leader about country's future, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) during an interpellation debate, he said he and another Cabinet Minister had met Mr Mandela on several occasions to discuss ways in which a peaceful political climate could be created.

Mr Mandela had emphasised his loyalty to the ANC and that he was not negotiating on behalf of the organisation. However, it was the ANC and not he that should negotiate with the Government, Mr Mandela had said.

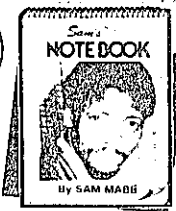
Mr Jacobs said Mr Coetsee was making a fine distinction between talks and what amounted to negotiations. What was clear was that Government Ministers had talked to Mr Mandela about the South Africa's constitutional future even though the NP had told voters in the September 1989 elections that it would not talk to ANC. — Sapa.

WITH the kind of changes that have been taking place in South Africa/Azania in the past few weeks, it might not be too long before we have greater access to literature, music and the people of Africa.

More people from African countries will be coming down here and we might know for the first time that culturally, spiritually and in many other ways, we are not as African as we may have thought we were.

We will realise that being an African means a lot more than having

Reviving our African roots



an ebony skin. Some of the African artists who will visit us will show us what it is to be proud of your language, your traditional dance and many other things. We will realise that music in Africa is not only for entertainment purposes. It tells people who they are and through it, they express their joys and sorrows and promote their own cultural values.

There are many whites who insist that

they are Africans, but their cultural, religious and other lifestyles seem geared towards projecting South Africa as an extension of Europe or America.

Shebeens

What is most pathetic is that there are many blacks who are trying their damndest to be as un-African as they possibly can.

You only have to listen to some of our

radio stations, or to conversations at some shebeens or night clubs to know that we have brothers who wish they were anything other than African. This problem needs urgent attention.

The first clause of the Nation Building Manifesto says Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in our communities.

These are both physical structures and struc-

tures of consciousness, those that remind us of our heritage, those that give us a spiritual and religious foundation or those that decolonise us psychologically and free us from our cultural blinkers.

Rebuild

It has however, been quite interesting to watch some changing cultural trends in this country over the past few months. On Monday night I attended the

launch of Music of Africa, a competition sponsored by Gilbeys Gin to promote what they call The Sound of the Nation.

Music of Africa is aimed at promoting African sounds or - to use Mthobi Muloatse's words - home brewed black South African music. No doubt, the sponsors are in this competition for commercial reasons, but the competition will help us rebuild some structures

that have collapsed in our communities.

Remember, similar competitions were used to entrench colonial values and if we can use the same methods to reverse the process, we might get somewhere.

And much as I appreciate the role of business in such ventures, I would like to see blacks themselves initiating such ventures and determining what they want and how to go about getting it.

Matsemela Manaka's Blues Afrika Cafe is another commendable effort aimed at restoring our pride in African dishes. I was pleased to be invited by Afsure, a partly black-owned company, to watch the show tomorrow. On Saturday I was at Yvonne Chaka Chaka's birthday party and it was pleasing to eat *mogodu* in one of Johannesburg's posh northern suburbs.

There are a few up-market shebeens in Soweto which from time to time treat their patrons to some African dishes and I have seen such occasions being treated with the seriousness they deserve.

Perming

In Blues Afrika Cafe Matsemela's wife, Nomsa, shows that she has kept her eyes wide open while travelling in Africa. As she did with *Goree*, she is importing African dances which, on this continent, are used for their cultural and therapeutic value, as well as for entertainment.

Still on the rebuilding of structures of consciousness, I have been told that a few of the popular hair products such as Silky Touch, Nu-Attitude, Black Like Me and Principal, are produced by black-owned companies.

Capitals

One thing that struck me about the containers of these products is that they do not flaunt names like Paris, London and New York which have come to be accepted as the capitals of international beauty.

Silky Touch is manufactured in Soweto, Black like me in Garankuwa and Nu-Attitude in Alrode.

To me this was really exciting. If we are preparing ourselves for a new social order, we have to start showing pride in our own efforts.

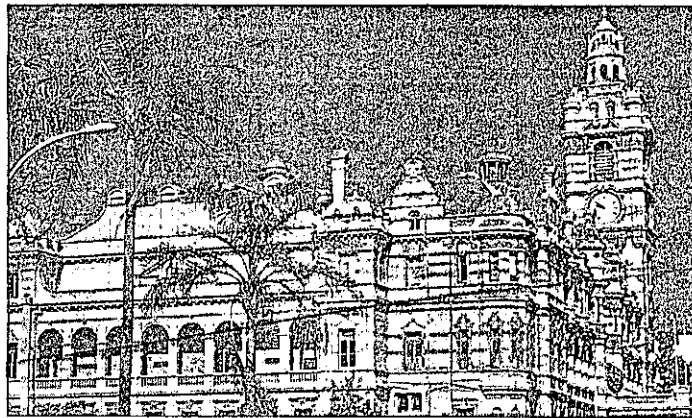
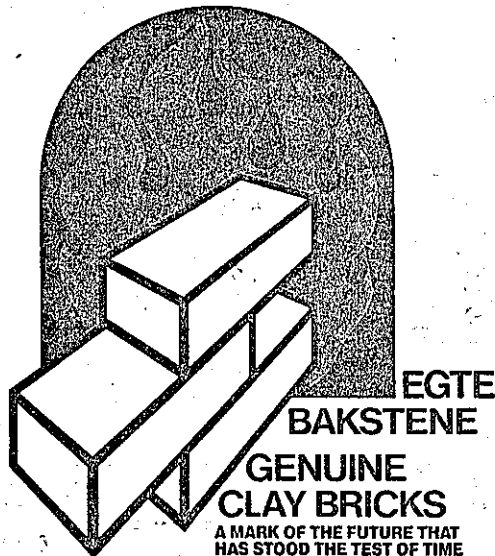
In our homes, one seldom finds African art on our walls or in our display cabinets. We all want to go for art that has no relationship whatsoever with who we are.

The Clay Brick mark* guarantees Better built with clay bricks

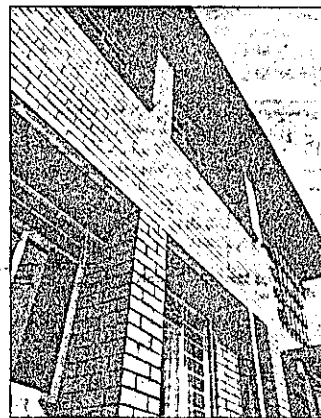
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Photograph of Pietermaritzburg Town Hall by courtesy of Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association.



*The Clay Brick Mark is a "distinguishing symbol" owned and controlled by the Clay Brick Association Limited. It has been created to promote the use of Clay Bricks by making the public aware of their unique properties and to differentiate Genuine Clay Bricks from all other types of building materials. The Clay Brick Mark may only be used with the prior authority of the Clay Brick Association Limited, P.O. Box 1284, Halfway House 1685.

... three white wardrobe. The policemen
policemen burst into Mr Jonas Poto's house.
Two policemen armed into the house.

... and inside a by a policeman. His face
and clothes were full of blood," said Pule.
She was told later the person was Godfrey

No warrant, says Mandela family

THE Mandela family reacted late on Monday night to earlier reports that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

She allegedly failed to appear in court on Monday on charges of failure to pay and render statements in connection with Unemployment Insurance Fund contributions on behalf of employees at her fish and chips business. *Sowetan 21/3/90*

A spokesman for the family, Mr Dali Mpfu, said no warrant, summons or any other form of legal notice was received by Mrs Mandela informing her of any court appearance.

"Clearly there is more to this than meets the eye. Lawyers have been instructed to attend to this matter and rectify the situation," Mpfu said. - Sapa.



WINNIE MANDELA

ATTENTION ALL

... the ...

Cry Freedom - due for release shortly

Cry Freedom, the controversial film about Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's life and death in detention, is back on circuit and will be released nationwide on April 27, a spokesman for Nu-Metro Theatres said.

The film was due for release in South Africa in November 1988 when it was passed with cuts by the Censor Board.

However, police confiscated all copies of the

Sowetan Reporter

film from cinemas in terms of the State of Emergency on the day its run was due to begin.

Copies of the film were returned to Nu-Metro, the company distributing *Cry Freedom* in South Africa, in February this year after State President F W de Klerk announced the dramatic changes in Parliament and unbanned Donald Woods, the author of the books upon which the script was

based.

The film contains moving scenes of the bulldozing at dawn of Crossroads shacktown in Cape Town while there are people in the shacks, Biko's torture and death in detention and the June 16 1976 shootings which sparked off countrywide unrest.

During the making of the movie, the film makers wanted to use Biko's name in the title, but this was opposed by the Black Consciousness

movement in South Africa and abroad because the script was based on two of Woods' books about a personal relationship between the East London Daily Dispatch editor and Biko.

The books reflected Biko and the Black Consciousness movement from Woods' personal perspective and not as would necessarily be seen from an organisational perspective, Black Consciousness activists said at the time.



STEVE BIKO

NU METRO
THEATRES

Cape traders hold meeting with ANC

Cape Times Staff Reporter 21/3/80 (11A)

A DELEGATION of the Western Cape Traders' Association (WCTA) has held two days of "fruitful and informative talks" with members of the ANC national executive in Lusaka, the WCTA said this week.

Issues that were discussed included the return of exiles, the restructuring of the ANC in South Africa, economic policies of the organisation and the present and future role of independent traders and businesses.

The NEC members present at the talks were general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, political military council member Mr Steve Tswethe, information officer Mr Pallo Jordan, treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi and the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani.

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21

21

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Azapo members freed

By JOE MDHLELA

TWO Azapo members are among the six political prisoners who were released from Robben Island on Monday.

They are Mr Sello Motse, a Vaal branch official, and Nkwenkwe Madela of Uitenhage.

Other prisoners released are Ronnie Mabhena of Pretoria, Lucky Twala of Seanaone in Soweto, Christopher Dlayiya of Nyanga East and John Ganya of Soweto.

They are members of the ANC.

Motse (25) served five years on the island after being convicted of charges relating to subversion.

Madela (34) served a term since 1978 when he was convicted of terrorism.

Release

Motse, commenting on his release, said there was nothing to be excited about as scores of political prisoners are still not released.

The decision to release political prisoners is being accelerated by the Government of Mr FW de Klerk in order to meet ANC preconditions for negotiations.

The move has seen a host of ANC and PAC leaders, including Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni (ANC) and Jeff Masemola (PAC) being released.

Soweto 2/13/90

11A

FW doing a good job, say blacks

CM-
TLP
21/3/90
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REMARKABLE levels of support for President F W de Klerk among black men have been found in a new public opinion survey, which was released yesterday — and 85% believe he is doing a good job.

Although 67% of the blacks opted for the ANC's deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, as their first choice as leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was second with 16%.

Mr De Klerk received more support as first choice for leader than many other leading anti-apartheid figures, including the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who got 4%, the ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, with 2%, the ANC foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, with 4%, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with 2%, the president of the PAC, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, with 2%, and the head of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with 1%.

As second choice for leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was third (20%), after Mr Mandela (23%) and Mr Tambo (21%).

As third choice for leader of South Africa, Mr De Klerk was fourth (9%), after Mr Sisulu (28%), Mr Tambo (21%)

and Mr Mbeki (15%).

The results of the opinion poll, which was conducted door-to-door among 500 adult black men in the major urban areas of South Africa in the two weeks from February 22, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

It showed that among all categories and in all areas, more than 80% thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, with the highest level, 94%, being found among men who were over the age of 50.

The survey found that 60% were more optimistic than they were six months ago, 14% less optimistic and 15% about the same.

Higher levels of optimism were found among those aged between 35 and 49 (66%), North and South Sotho (76%), Xhosa (66%), those earning more than R2 000 a month (77%), those in East London (70%) and the PWV area (66%), but were lowest in Durban (39%) and those earning less than R500 a month (43%).

It also shows that Mr Mandela has consolidated his position of leadership among black men: In a similar survey in 1988, it was found that 38% accepted him as leader.

Sharpeville Day services 11A

VARIOUS political and labour organisations will today mark the 29th anniversary of the 1960 shootings across the nation. *Sowetan 21/3/90*

The Cosatu and the UDF will hold a joint service in Sebokeng Zone 7 at the Evaton stadium at 9am.

The PAC will hold a rally at George Thabe stadium in Sharpeville starting at 11am.

The Azanian People's Organisation hosts a meeting at the Ikageng stadium, Potchefstroom, at 5pm.

The National Union of Mineworkers will mark the day at the Kwa-Thema Civic Centre at 9am.

Other PAC services will be held at

the Vosloorus stadium at 10am, Ramosa Hall in Mohlakeng, Randfontein from 11am and at the Ledibeng Centre, Klerksdorp, at 2pm.

Azapo said services would be held at Orlando YMCA in Soweto at 12pm; Presbyterian Church, Mareka Street, Atteridgeville; Maboloka Apostolic Presbyterian Church, Kroonstad at 12pm; Roman Catholic Church, Lebowakgomo, at 7pm; Pietersburg Workers' Centre at 1pm; Sibasa's Roman Catholic Church at 10am and in Mahwelereng at the local community hall at 7pm.

The organisation further announced that other services would be held in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Kuruman, Kwandebele and Cape Town.

No warrant, says Mandela family

THE Mandela family reacted late on Monday night to earlier reports that a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

(11A)
She allegedly failed to appear in court on Monday on charges of failure to pay and render statements in connection with Unemployment Insurance Fund contributions on behalf of employees at her fish and chips business. Sowetan 21/3/90

A spokesman for the family, Mr Dali Mpofu, said no warrant, summons or any other form of legal notice was received by Mrs Mandela informing her of any court appearance.

"Clearly there is more to this than meets the eye. Lawyers have been instructed to attend to this matter and rectify the situation," Mpofu said. - Sapa.



WINNIE MANDELA

Concern over ANC talks with Govt Unity conference is planned outside SA

11A
Sowetan
21/3/90

THE head of the Lutheran Church in the Northern Diocese, Bishop S E Serote, has been mandated to call an immediate consultative conference involving central committees of the ANC, PAC and the BCMA outside South Africa to discuss joint strategies for negotiations.

The call was made by a youth consultative conference of the Diocese which was held at the Lobethal centre, outside

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

Pietersburg, at the weekend.

The conference was attended by over 100 representatives from all circuits of the Diocese, stretching from Hammanskraal and Witbank in the south to Messina in the north.

In the main resolution of the conference, the youths said after being addressed by representatives from the Azanian People's Organisation

(Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF), they noted with concern the April 11 meeting between the ANC and the South African white Government which will not involve other organisations.

"It is on this note that we call for the prophetic voice of the church to echo as we strongly feel that the removal of obstacles on the path to negotiations ought to involve all liberation movement if it has to be of any significance.

"As a matter of urgency, we urge you and the Diocesan council (ND) to mandate Elcsa to convene a consultative conference of central committees of PAC, ANC and BCMA before April 11.

The resolution added that the consultative conference which should preferably be held in Harare, Zimbabwe, was an urgent matter that would avert conflict among our people.

Other churches, including the all African Lutheran Churches, could be invited.

Representatives of the youth should also be allowed into such a confer-

ence.

The resolution comes as the ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, has said his organisation will hold preliminary talks with the government.

He has also called on the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to open direct dealings with the De Klerk government.

Four BC *Sowetan* members *21/3/90* detained in Vaal

By SOWETAN
REPORTER

FOUR members of the Black Consciousness Movement in the Vaal Triangle have been detained and the homes of other BC activists were searched by security police, publicity secretary of Azapo, Strini Moodley, said.

He added that Azanian Youth Organisation member Jacob Potsane was taken from his home in Zamdela on Thursday afternoon.

Sowetan
21/3/90
No reason

His mother, who witnessed the detention of her son, said the police did not tell her why they were taking him away.

Another Azayo member, Mahomed Letlatsa, was taken off the street in Zamdela on Monday.

Azanian Student Movement members Lerwana Sebilane (22) and Sabata Maboe, who are also of Zamdela, were taken away on Friday last week. Maboe represents students in the Parents Teachers Students Association at Nkgopoleng High School in Dikgutsaneng, Zamdela.

Their families have not been told of the reasons for their detention.

Activists

However, Lieutenant R N Merton, of the SAP, said he did not have any information about the arrests and searches.

Moodley said activists in the area suspect they were detained in connection with the schools boycott at Nkgopoleng High School.

"The boycott entered its third week this week over dissatisfaction with the principal. He was rejected, but the meeting resolved that he should be taken back and resume work on Monday. Now that a compromise has been reached, we do not understand why they are still detaining people."

attempt to smuggle it into the kingdom.

Copy Twp 21/3/90
MDM talks to business *11A*

JOHANNESBURG. — Twenty-five businessmen and 25 MDM representatives are to meet near Pretoria this weekend for talks on a range of economic and political issues. The gathering, convened by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), was described yesterday by CBM spokesman Mr Theunis Eloff as "part of an ongoing process of consultations between the CBM and different constituencies to determine what the role of business in a post-apartheid SA should be".

SA's future not discussed with jailed Mandela

Sowetan 21/3/90
Government ministers had held talks on a variety of subjects with Mr Nelson Mandela while he was in prison, but had most definitely not taken part in negotiations with the imprisoned ANC leader about country's future, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (DP Losberg) during an interpellation

debate, he said he and another cabinet minister had met Mandela on several occasions to discuss ways in which a peaceful political climate could be created.

Mandela had emphasised his loyalty to the ANC and that he was not negotiating on behalf of the organisation.

He had seen his role as that of facilitator in bringing the ANC and the Government to the negotiating table. However it was the ANC and not him that should negotiate with the Government.

Subjects

The subjects covered in the talks were the release of other prisoners, the movement towards negotiations between the main political groupings and aspects of political history including that of the Afrikaner in which Mandela had expressed great interest.

Coetsee said the talks had touched on political and constitutional matters but there had been no question of negotiation.

Jacobs said Coetsee was making a fine distinction between talks and what amounted to negotiations.

What was clear was that government ministers had talked to Mandela about South Africa's constitutional future even though the NP had told voters in the September 1989 elections that it would

not talk to the ANC as long as it remained committed to violence.

Misled

He said Mandela had misled Coetsee and the rest of the Cabinet. The ANC leader was still committed to the principles of the ANC, such as nationalisation and violence.

Mr Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said Coetsee should be congratulated for his initiative in talking to Mandela even though members of the DP had been castigated and branded as "useful idiots" when they had talked to the ANC.

The Government had now finally realised that it should talk to the ANC and he believed that people such as businessmen and city councillors should do the same. Sapa

A skilful Mandela in talks with US, Soviets

11A
Sometime
22/3/90

WINDHOEK - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday showed international diplomatic skills when he led discussions with the Soviet Union and the United States on a host of subjects ranging from world peace to apartheid.

After a 45-minute meeting with US Secretary of State Mr James Baker, the ANC leader said the discussions were held in a friendly spirit, but he did not reveal the contents of the talks.

However, there were several issues between the two that were poles apart.

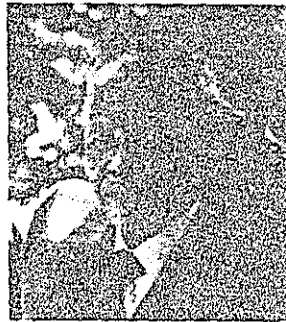
"We do not think there has been any fundamental change in South Africa. That is why we did not want to create the impression that all was moving smoothly by meeting Mr Baker on South African soil," the ANC leader said.

Such a meeting would have created the "image" that President FW de Klerk had moved forward, but he had merely responded to pressure.

But Baker disagreed, saying there had been efforts to have the process of moving away from apartheid escalated further.

Democracy

"It is important that we encourage this process. We did not agree on everything, but we did agree on the need for a non-racial democracy in South Africa," he said.



NELSON MANDELA

After his meeting with Mandela, Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze said the discussions had dealt with the proposed negotiations between the ANC and De Klerk's government.

"I understand very important negotiations will begin between the ANC and the Pretoria government and that these negotiations will bring very important results. And we want it to happen like this (Namibia)," Shevardnadze said.

Mandela told Baker that in his talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, he had emphasised his appreciation for the efforts of the two superpowers to ease international tensions and to establish an atmosphere of real peace.

This matter was in the interests of all humanity, he told Baker.

Mandela added he looked forward to a future visit to the United States.

The meetings with the US and USSR officials were held in Mandela's Windhoek residence after the ANC leader said his schedule was too tight. - Sapa.



IN UNISON: Cultural diversity featuring under one banner was demonstrated by these two dancers at the first ANC rally to be held in Lenasia, Johannesburg. The rally, attended by about 10 000 people, was addressed by Walter Sisulu *South* 22/3-28/3/90

Case-Transp 22/3/90

Stayaways, rallies mark anniversary

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JOHANNESBURG. — Sharpeville Day was commemorated across the country yesterday with stayaways and rallies. Most workers in Durban and on the East Rand failed to turn up for work, while absenteeism varied in Port Elizabeth and the Western Cape.

Violence erupted in several Natal townships with arson, barricades and stonings across the province. Crowds were dispersed by police. (See unrest map).

Stayaway figures ranged from between 30% to 100% in the Transvaal, 75% to 100% in Durban and 20% to 70% in Port Elizabeth.

Sapa reported a total stayaway of most black townships around Pretoria.

Residents in Kwamashu, Lamontville and Inanda — all near Durban — said many spontaneous rallies and marches were being held in all the townships in an attempt to keep them small and controlled.

Groups of toyi-toying youths allegedly intimidated people and prevented them from going to work.

In Johannesburg, Azapo was snubbed by the PAC at the main com-

memoration service for the Sharpeville shootings.

Earlier in Soweto, the UDF's Dr Cassim Saloojee told a gathering of several thousand, predominantly ANC-supporting schoolchildren, that there must be peace among political organisations so that those left dead after the Sharpeville and Uitenhage shootings would not have died in vain.

In Uitenhage the MDM called for a complete stayaway, with residents urged to attend a commemoration rally at the Jabavu Stadium in KwaNobuhle.

The rally started with a service at the spot in Langa township where 29 people were shot dead and dozens injured when police opened fire on a crowd on March 21, 1985.

Most employers across the county adopted a policy of no work, no pay and no discipline.

The stayaway in Durban was estimated at between 75% to 80% in industry and some businesses reported 100% absenteeism in the Durban/Pinetown area.

Natal Chamber of Industry executive director Mr John Pohl said most major industrial firms were at a standstill.

Thursday, March 22 1990


3

B/Dan 22/3/90
**No resolution yet on
the 'Mandela Benz'**

 **Business Day Reporter** 

UNION shop stewards and management at the East London Mercedes Benz factory will continue discussions today as rival unions argue over a proposal to build a luxury car for ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

Mercedes Benz public relations manager Wendy Hoffman gave no details of discussions yesterday, but said management was continuing to negotiate with all staff at the factory.

White workers in the SA Iron and Steel and Allied Industries Union (SAISAIU) union are angered at the black National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) proposal to build the car for Mandela in their overtime. 

SAISAIU, representing 2 000 workers at the factory, has expressed its opposition to the project to management.

SAISAIU felt if a special car was going to be built, it should be built for President F W de Klerk.

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11A

BIDAM 22/3/90

It's 'get in line' to see Mandela

WINDHOEK — Nelson Mandela's schedule yesterday was a hectic one.

The ANC deputy president met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze here.

While the two were still deep in discussions, US Secretary of State James Baker arrived at the ANC residence to see Mandela. He had to wait.

It was reported that Baker cancelled a meeting at the US embassy in Windhoek at the last minute to go to see Mandela. Originally Mandela was to have visited Baker.

Mandela also met several other leading figures from Africa and Europe.

Among these was West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Genscher said after the meeting the European community and West Germany were steadfast in their commitment to persuade SA to fulfil all the pre-conditions laid down by the ANC.

"Our aim has never changed, and that is the complete abolition of apartheid."

He said his country would continue to support the liberation of SA blacks.

He invited Mandela to visit West Germany as soon as his schedule permitted.

Mandela said representatives of the SA black community at the negotiation table should be elected.

The ANC was keen that all obstacles to

negotiations be removed so the process of negotiation could begin.

He said he had briefed Genscher on how representatives would be elected — and it was essential that they be democratically elected.

"We would like the West to support the process of a democratic elections."

Mandela said it was vital that all liberation groups unite.

"We should present a united front of anti-apartheid forces."

He reiterated the importance of removing all restrictions that prevented the more than 20 000 exiles from returning to SA.

"Unfortunately, because of the lack of economic resources in the African states where most of our exiles are living, it was not possible for these countries to provide homes and create suitable living conditions for the ANC exiles.

"Neither can the ANC, because it lacks funds."

On Tuesday night Mandela hugged Sam Nujoma as he congratulated him on his inauguration as president.

Winnie Mandela accompanied him, wearing a brilliantly coloured traditional costume depicting the face of Nujoma. — Sapa.

ANC demand on political prisoners needs urgent attention

Where talks could founder

The question of an amnesty and pardon for ANC prisoners currently serving sentences in jails in South Africa is a sensitive, but urgent, topic.

Sensitive because it involves the burning issue of releasing some 400 persons who are currently in jail serving often long sentences after convictions for common law crimes, including murder, arson and assault, which are politically motivated.

It is urgent because this issue stands as an obstacle in the way of the negotiating process which is now in danger of foundering.

The ANC insists on the unconditional release of such prisoners, while the Government, for its own reasons, opposes it.

I wish to propose guidelines for disposing of all difficult and inter-related problems attached to this topic: the recognition of political prisoners and prisoners of war; reciprocity by the ANC; the definition of a "political prisoner"; and the mechanics for the release of such prisoners.

The Government has over the years said it was involved in a war against the ANC/SACP. The ANC has equally viewed itself as being involved in an armed struggle against the "South African regime".

The Government now proposes to initiate discussions with ANC leaders. It has said there would be no limitations or restrictions placed on the entrance of such people into South Africa for negotiations about a new constitution.

The question rises how the Government can expect such people to enter South Africa while operatives

Sec 22/3/90
NPA
30/2/90

Excerpts from a speech by Mr **TONY LEON**, MP (right), in Parliament this week on the difficult question of ANC demands for the release of political prisoners. The question needs to be addressed urgently because it is an issue standing in the way of the negotiations.



and insurgents who entered South Africa under the specific instruction of such ANC leaders to commit acts of violence and sabotage as part of the ANC's struggle have been convicted by South African courts and remain in jail. This is the crux of the issue.

Equally, if the ANC believes all the persons who are ANC prisoners in jail serving sentences for various crimes related to the armed struggle should be released, then there must on their side be a cessation of hostilities.

Ceasefire

To this extent there will then be a truce or a ceasefire within South Africa. As a further measure to consolidate the process, some 15 South Africans who are currently captive in neighbouring states and who are serving sentences related to their activities on behalf of the South African Government for offences such as spying and treason should also be released.

For over 100 years, courts of

many countries have grappled with a test for determining whether or not an offence is a political one.

There are very few precedents in South African case law. Anglo-American decisions have refused to lay down an exclusive test of a political offence. However, various decisions have set a number of guidelines:

There must be some political disturbance. A criminal act aimed at effecting an escape from an oppressive regime may qualify. It is not necessary that the act should be part of an attempt to overthrow a government.

It is sufficient that the act be aimed at making the government concede some measure of freedom. The fugitive must be "at odds" with the requesting state on some issue connected with political control or government or country. The act must not take the form of "indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population".

These tests would probably, not on their own, secure the release of all persons who have committed politically motivated offences in South Africa. However, if accepted, they would cover the cases of persons convicted of treason, terrorism, sabotage and any offence under the Internal Security Act.

They would also cover persons convicted of any crime of violence committed in the furtherance of a political disturbance, including crimes such as murder, arson and assault. Probably most persons convicted of township violence would qualify here.

They would not cover the case of persons found guilty of "indiscriminate bombing of the civilian population" such as Robert MacBride who was convicted of the Magoo Bar bombing.

However, it is possible these persons could be covered in the multi-lateral exchange of political prisoners with neighbouring states. The case of ANC soldiers could also be strengthened by the argument that they are entitled to prisoner of war status.

Although neither the South African Government nor the South African courts accept this argument, there is a substantial body of international opinion in support of the view that ANC soldiers qualify for prisoner of war status.

Using the above formulation, the widely accepted test of political crimes in extradition cases found in the jurisprudence of the courts throughout the world could secure the release of most persons in South African jails convicted of politically motivated crimes.

Namibian example

If Government believes the above tests are too wide, then the mechanism for the release of such prisoners could be through a bi-partisan panel consisting of an international jurist.

I believe we could use the Namibian example as a satisfactory formula to distinguish between offences that have been committed with political motives and those that amounted to indiscriminate violence against civilians or crimes for personal gains.

It might even come to light that members of the CCB, who if convicted of committing crimes in furtherance of the South African Government's counter-insurgency against the ANC, would also qualify for an indemnity or pardon in terms of this new approach.

If we are to make any progress in the achievement of new constitutional dispensation then both the Government and the ANC need to take a generous and long-term view of this extremely vexing question.

History in The Star

100, 50, 25 years ago
1890. During the past six months, a total of 5 416 people of British origin emigrated to South Africa. The number of other foreigners was 833 persons.

1940. A 1st SA Irish Regiment statement says that should the

Government allow any regiment to fight outside the Union, it claims the right to be first.

1965. The Stirling Castle makes her last mail voyage to Southampton next month. Then she will go to Gin Drinkers' Bay in Hong Kong for dismantling.

ANC wrong to negotiate with NP govt, says PAC

star 22/3/90 (11A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Stan Hlope

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday criticised the African National Congress for its willingness to negotiate a new dispensation with the Nationalist Government.

Speaking at a rally in Sharpeville, where thousands of residents gathered in honour of the 69 people killed and 189 injured in the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander also attacked the ANC for trying to address white fears and acknowledging white demands for minority right protection.

Mr Alexander said white fear was nothing but "a fear that we are going to take away your wealth".

Referring to calls for discipline and peace by ANC leaders, he said: "If the oppressor stands with his foot on your neck and you're peaceful, you must have yourself examined because then there's something wrong with you."

VIOLENCE

He said township violence should be resolved "by settling our differences through constructive criticism and self-criticism".

Criticising the press for portraying the PAC as a racist organisation, he said the PAC stood for non-racialism, the return of the land to the indigenous African people and African majority rule.

The struggle for liberation, self-determination and socialism had to be intensified because the Government had resorted to negotiation simply because it was "staring defeat in the face".

Earlier in the day, after a visit to the graveyard where the dead were buried 30 years ago, a huge crowd converged at the police station where the Sharpeville victims were shot.

From there, the crowd marched to

the George Thabe Stadium for a day of remembrance, music, poetry and speeches.

Police patrolled the township, outside Vereeniging, which has become a landmark in the liberation struggle.

A large group of ANC supporters, who could not find transport to an ANC rally in the nearby township of Sebokeng, toyi-toyid through Sharpeville's streets for most of the day. No clashes were reported.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng did not attend the PAC rally because he is in hospital for a minor operation.

About 50 000 people attended the ANC-organised Sharpeville commemoration service at Sebokeng Stadium.

Police kept a close watch outside the stadium but there were no incidents.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu told the crowd that they were gathered to honour "our heroes who paid a heavy price in their fight for freedom".

Mr Sisulu, who was accompanied by fellow Rivonia accused Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said: "It is exactly 30 years ago today that many people were massacred for demonstrating peacefully against pass laws.

"This is the day we will never forget; when people were killed in cold blood, of course not forgetting the Langa massacre, where 43 people were killed and countless numbers injured.

"The massacre of our people, in Soweto, Gugulethu, Kwazakhele ... the list is endless and will never be forgotten.

"We should ensure that this massacre is not repeated."

He told perpetrators of violent crime "in the name of the struggle" and those who instigated racism against Indians and other communities to refrain from their actions.

The struggle, he said, was directed against apartheid.

Key Cabinet bushveld indaba

Political Correspondent

Star 22/3/90

30000
NA

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is to hold a crucial bushveld indaba in April to try to resolve several major issues facing the Government as it goes into pre-negotiations with the African National Congress.

These questions which have been hotly debated in the National Party lately are expected to be on agenda:

- Whether the NP should broaden its power base by opening its membership to other races or forming alliances with other parties.
- What is the best constitutional model to fight for in negotiations.
- How to define groups.
- The future of the Group Areas Act.
- The future of the 1913/1936 Land Acts.
- The future of the homelands.

Senior government sources confirmed today that Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers would probably meet during the first week of April and the National Party caucus would gather for a one-day meeting in May to continue the discussion.

The special Cabinet indaba is expected to be crucial for setting the NP's direction as it enters the maelstrom of negotiations.

At the last bushveld indaba which the Cabinet held in December in the Transvaal, the vital decisions to unban the ANC and release Mr Nelson Mandela were taken.

Government sources said today that on all the issues under discussion there was still great fluidity in the NP.

On the question of the NP broadening its power base, some felt that the NP should form a moderate alliance with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties — especially black ones such as Inkatha — as soon as possible before other alliances were formed. Others felt that black politics was so fluid that it would be wiser to wait a while to avoid the danger of forming alliances with the wrong partners.

Several Cabinet Ministers have recently raised the possibility of the NP opening its membership to other races for the first time.

The suggestion has been that membership should be based on common values, not on race. This is related to the debate in the NP on a new group definition.

On group areas there is a school of thought in the NP that the Free Settlement Areas Act should be summarily scrapped as it has only complicated the issue.

Two Houses recall Sharpeville

The leader of the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, yesterday referred to Sharpeville as the record of the sins of apartheid.

It was an important day for people of colour and the Labour Party identified with blacks' hopes and aspirations.

"The memory of the late Robert Sobukwe is alive with us today, the day of Sharpeville, which is a record of the sins of apartheid," Mr Richards said.

"The events of Langa will eternally be created in our hearts and our minds. We can never forget the harshness and wickedness of the police action which

resulted in death and injury. However, although we do not forget, we will have to learn to forgive in preparation for the day of reconciliation."

Mr Richards said he wanted to assure the remaining people of Langa and McNaughton that in no way did the LP support their forced removals.

● The House of Delegates observed a minute's silence. Mr D K Padiachey (NPP Central Rand) moved that the House should pay tribute to all those who died in the fight against apartheid, and that it should honour and salute those shot at Sharpeville. — Sapa.



11A
Sax 22/3/90

Blacks must get jobs before vote, says Org Marais

Pretoria Correspondent

South Africa could not enter a system of one man, one vote, with the majority of its population impoverished, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said in Pretoria last night.

Addressing economists on the new Budget, Dr Marais said: "Yes, we are taking from the rich to give to the poor, the blacks."

Dr Marais said the Budget was aimed at generating wealth and using it to uplift the black population: "All blacks must be able to own their own homes in four to five year's time, their children must have decent schooling."

"That is the only way to fight the African National Congress and socialism."

Dr Marais said the new Budget was progressive, but simple: "We are looking at a Third World budget. We cannot enter the new South Africa with a rigid budget along the old lines."

"In four to five year's time personal tax could be as little as four percent."

ANC may rethink isolation

THE ANC could be expected to revise its stance on SA's international isolation once political negotiations had begun, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Speaking from Lusaka, ANC executive member Sindiso Mfenyana also said talks in Namibia between President F W de Klerk and leaders such as OAU chairman Hosni Mubarak and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida were not a contravention of the ANC's call for diplomatic isolation. *B/Dca 22/3/90*

The beginning of negotiations would mean obstacles had been eliminated.

"At that stage the process of change would become irreversible.

"All we would be discussing is how to dismantle apartheid," he said.

It was then likely the ANC would change its position on the isolation of the SA government and would advise the international

ALAN FINE

al community to adopt attitudes which would advance that process, he said.

Mfenyana, who works in the office of secretary-general Alfred Nzo, said De Klerk's contacts with African and other leaders in Namibia were occurring on an occasion where SA was relinquishing its hold over Namibia, and was accepting the need to do so.

In this context the contacts were not unacceptable.

Furthermore, the ANC encouraged all efforts to pressurise Pretoria into moving towards eliminating apartheid.

The ANC would not object if this included direct contact between foreign governments and "the SA regime".

Such international activities would not

To Page 2

ANC on isolation *B/Dca 22/3/90*

mean the establishing of diplomatic relations, to which the ANC would object, Mfenyana said.

The new climate in SA would make a greater international presence in SA necessary.

This could include visits by the OAU committee, established to monitor development related to the Harare Declaration, to gain first-hand information. This may require meetings with Cabinet Ministers.

Once agreement had been reached with

From Page 1
government on the return of exiles, the UN High Commission for Refugees would need to set up an office here to assist with the process.

Mfenyana said the ANC expected the SA Council of Churches and other church groups to play a major role in the integration of refugees back into their communities.

The churches were the only organisations with infrastructures that extended into all communities, he said.

CAP 116B 22/3/99 (12)

Silence for Sharpeville dead

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The House observed a minute's silence yesterday in honour of those who died in the Sharpeville shootings 30 years ago to the day.

Mr D K Padiachey (NPP, Central Rand) moved without notice that the House should pay tribute to all those who had lost their lives in the fight against apartheid, and that it should "honour and salute" those who had died at Sharpeville.

He moved a minute's silence and that the House should then adjourn until today, but the adjournment was not accepted. — Sapa

PAC slams ANC ^{MCC-3} over negotiations ^{22/3/90} ^{11A}

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.— The Pan Africanist Congress has slated the African National Congress for its willingness to negotiate a new dispensation with the government.

Speaking at a rally in Sharpeville where thousands of residents commemorated the 30th anniversary of Sharpeville Day, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander also slammed the ANC for trying to address white fears and for acknowledging white demands for minority right protection.

WHITE FEAR

He said white fear was nothing but "a fear that we are going to take away their wealth".

Referring to calls for discipline and peace by ANC leaders, he said: "If the oppressor stands with his foot on your neck and you're peaceful, you must have yourself examined, because then there's something wrong with you."

He said township violence should be resolved "by settling our differences through constructive criticism and self-criticism".

The PAC stood for non-ra-

cialism, the return of land to the indigenous African people and African majority rule.

The struggle for liberation, self-determination and socialism had to be intensified because the government had resorted to negotiation simply because it was "staring defeat in the face".

PAC veteran Mr Jafta Masemola, who spent 27 years on Robben Island, said it would be foolish to negotiate.

No imperialist had ever negotiated himself out of power.

Said Mr Masemola: "To negotiate with people who are stronger than yourself is not negotiation but collaboration. The question is, what remains after apartheid has been removed? The oppressor, of course. We say away with the oppressors."

Sactu decides to dissolve

THE exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) is to be phased out and Sactu members integrated into Cosatu. ~~1201~~ ~~3001~~

This decision was taken at a historic meeting held on Monday, March 19. Sactu's national executive committee was led by its general secretary, John Nkadameng, and the Cosatu delegation had representatives from 14 unions led by Cosatu's general secretary, Jay Naidoo, and vice-presidents, Chris Dlamini and John Gomomo.

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The meeting agreed to establish a "facilitating committee" of 5 delegates each from Cosatu and Sactu to oversee the phasing out of Sactu.

The committee is to assist with the return of Sactu cadres living in exile and the integration of Sactu members into Cosatu and its affiliates.

It will also organise a visit by the Sactu NEC to South Africa where Sactu will report on its activities since it went underground in the early 1960s. ~~11A~~ ~~300~~

A statement released after the meeting said that the Sactu-Cosatu leadership had noted that Sactu had played a "vanguard role in the trade union movement".

It said that both Sactu and Cosatu were committed to the concept of one country, one federation and that Sactu did not see itself re-emerging in South Africa.

REDISTRIBUTION of land is essential to redress the social, political and economic inequalities in South Africa.

This is the view of ANC researcher, Tessa Marcus, who delivered a paper on "Property Relations and the Land Question" at a recent conference about rural land hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

Marcus, like other ANC thinkers, sees the history of black dispossession of land as the starting point for examining the land question.

"The African majority has been dispossessed of their land. Only when we examine how to redress this history can we begin to resolve the problems," Marcus says.

The right to own and work the land was a white privilege.

"In a post-apartheid South Africa, we cannot continue to allow the land to be in the hands of a minority."

Rack-renting

Marcus says the first step is to get rid of all apartheid laws which restrict land ownership. These include the Land Act, the Group Areas Act and laws which restrict people to the homelands.

But she says removing these laws is not enough.

Their repeal would result in the spread of various forms of tenancy — allowing an opportunity for exploitation such as rack-renting.

This would mean resources would be invested in rent which would not circulate to the benefit of society as a whole.

Marcus believes that passively waiting for market forces to effect a change in land ownership is not sufficient, as few blacks would be able to afford to buy land: the price would become highly inflationary.

"Very few blacks will become

Land reform must give people power

The redistribution of land is central to the success of the national democratic revolution, says ANC researcher, Tessa Marcus. But redistribution alone is not enough, she says. CHIARA CARTER reports:

landowners if apartheid barriers were done away with tomorrow," she says.

"We need radical and affirmative action.

"There has to be state intervention to ensure that land reform addresses the needs of the majority who need to be empowered," she says.

Marcus emphasises that such reform is a "incredibly complex, long-term process".

It is also not just an economic question but involves national interests and socio-political factors.

"There is no one immediate solution. Many interests are involved in the issue. Agriculture is a political and national question. It is also not just a rural matter. The high unemployment rate, for example, is related to the land issue.

"We need an agrarian reform strategy which takes into account national concerns and rural social interests — women, workers and peasants."

While Marcus believes the state will have to nationalise land, she

22-28 | 3/90 South
D. Bennett



Tessa Marcus, ANC researcher

PICS: YUHS MOHAMED

points out that there are many different ways of redistributing land. The process does not have to disrupt the economy seriously, although "no-one anticipates that the changes will be smooth going".

A question which will have to be examined is whether land should be expropriated or owners compensated.

Most colonial states where independence was negotiated have compensation clauses written into the terms of the negotiated settlement. This has seriously retarded land reform in Zimbabwe, for instance.

This is especially true if owners must be compensated with money instead of government bonds.

Marcus rejects suggestions that nationalisation be confined to "unused land".

She points out that this is often being used by black squatters and is, in any event, not the best land.

In her discussion paper at the conference, she argued that, instead, the state must tackle the "heart of the problem — the rich land".

She believes nationalisation of the land does not mean that private enterprise cannot continue on that land, although this might suit some farmers who are deeply in debt.

In such a scenario, all land relations are changed to tenancy — with the state able to control the terms in the interests of the majority.

Marcus says, however, that as long as relations in the sector are dominated by white monopoly capital interests, small peasant farmers will — like those white farmers already

forced off the land — suffer because they have smaller units and less capital.

She totally rejects the argument that any nationalisation will undermine production "efficiency" that would lead to serious effects on domestic consumption and export industry.

"Of course, it is essential to ensure that production is not disrupted. Everyone must eat, and eat better than under apartheid. But how do we measure productivity?" she asks.

The key to her argument is that the present agriculture system is wasteful in terms of environmental and human resources.

"It is a myth that white farming is efficient in terms of production, labour or the environment," she says.

Because of mechanisation, the farm workforce has become increasingly exploited.

"The incredible investment in machinery has not been matched by a similar investment in labour.

Not enough

"Increasingly, workers have been pushed off farms which have been merged to form larger units of production. There has been a concomitant casualisation of labour, with farms using increasing numbers of "super-exploitable labour" — children, women, migrant workers and convicts.

"Not all white farmers are bad, but those who have enlightened policies are a drop in the ocean," says Marcus.

She emphasises that land redistribution alone is not enough.

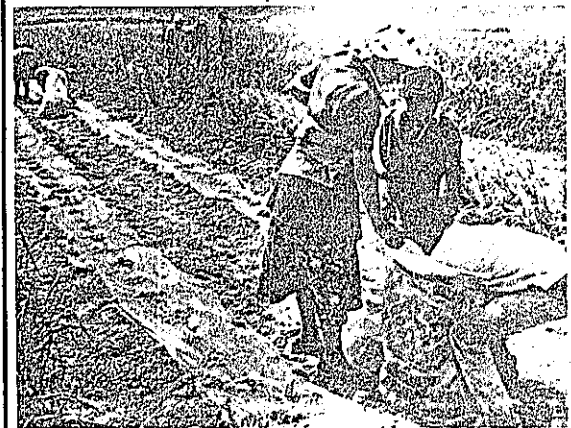
The redistribution must be part of a broader agrarian reform which encompasses issues such as the size of land units, tools, labour and skills.

She also believes that, if we are to avoid land reform falling victim to political expediency, it is essential to organise in the rural areas.

"Zimbabwe is a very different case, but what can be learnt from the failure of peasant interests to have a strong voice in the political process is the urgent need for rural people to organise," she says.

For Marcus, as the land issue was the base for white minority rule, so the success of the national democratic revolution hinges upon it being successfully resolved.

(Tessa Marcus is the author of the book, "Modernising Super-Exploitation", which examines the impact of mechanisation on farm-workers in South Africa.)



Child labourers on a farm in Klawer

Day of decision for UDF

A MITCHELLS PLAIN trader, not known for his progressive political views, proudly displays ANC and "Welcome Mandela" T-shirts in his shop window.

"They are my hottest sellers," he says.

Other local shopkeepers agree. The colourful T-shirts have become "must-have" items recently, especially after the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations on February 2.



Albertina Sisulu

Few of the T-shirts have been produced by progressive organisations — in some ways an indication of the apparent inability of ANC-supporting activists and organisations to respond adequately to something for which they had campaigned for almost 30 years.

Statements of joy, victory and support for the ANC have been followed by confusion among activists about the future of internal organisations and the real implications of the ANC's unbanning.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), long the unofficial "internal wing" of the ANC, will be expected

Should the United Democratic Front disband now that the African National Congress has been legalised? This question is being asked by many activists and is bound to cause a major debate at the UDF's national general council next month. A special writer reports:

to clear up some of the confusion when it holds its national general council (NGC) in the Western Cape next month.

The meeting is expected to deliver a definitive "internal" position on the unbannings, even though it comes more than two months after the event.

In many ways, the UDF's NGC — its first since the state of emergency was declared in 1985 — could be as significant as its historic launch in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, on August 20 1983.

The NGC will be held against a relatively "repression-free" background and, as was the case in 1983, the key debates will centre on how to exploit the "available political space".

But unlike the 1983 launch, next month's meeting will take place after a period of intense repression and resistance, which should be reflected in the number (and present state) of organisations at the NGC.

While there has been widespread mobilisation in several areas, including the Western Cape, it ap-

pears most organisations have not completely recovered after five years of emergency rule which saw thousands of activists detained for long periods, regular police action against demonstrators and a continuous army and police presence in most townships.

It needs to be determined whether the recent mass displays of support accurately reflect the state of grassroots organisation in the townships.

The recent violence in Katlehong and other townships, some activists believe, could have been avoided if there had been proper structures which could give direction, lend support and exert discipline in the township.

The UDF will have to give serious and honest attention to this problem.

Most of all, the UDF will be expected to give direction to its thousands of activists and millions of



Popo Molefe

supporters in a new period of struggle.

Some activists fear that, in a situation where people are uncertain about what to do, anarchy can easily creep in, people can become disgruntled with organisations, and the violent chaos which engulfed some parts of the country recently can become endemic.

Ultimately, only strong local organisations with a clear programme of action will ensure a victorious end to the struggle the ANC has led for the past 78 years.

Ironically, while the UDF's NGC will probably be its most important, some activists feel it should also be its last.

They feel there is no longer a need for the front which in recent years had acted as the internal political voice of the banned ANC. The unbanned ANC can now resume that role, they feel.

Others feel the UDF can still be effective as a front of organisations, not all of which would want to be part of the ANC or are primarily political.

The ANC has left it up to internal organisations to determine their own future.

"We didn't start the UDF, we can't disband it," said one ANC official.

It seems highly unlikely that the UDF's future will be decided by simply substituting three letters of the alphabet with three others.

ANC sources indicate that it hopes to recruit individuals and not organisations and that it will have no problems if some of its members also belong to other organisations with similar aims.

While the UDF appeared cautious about its relationship with the ANC in the beginning — it attacked as "a smear" fake pamphlets linking it to



Archie Gumede

the then-banned organisation in 1983 — the NGC should dispel all doubts about its position.

The entire internal leadership of the ANC, including deputy president Nelson Mandela, are expected to attend the meeting.

The UDF also hopes to meet the ANC's national executive committee, possibly inside South Africa, before the NGC.

While the UDF will be looking for guidance from the ANC, the reverse is also true.

Together they will have to come up with proposals that will stand the test of popular expectations and that will be able to break the present inertia in organisations and among activists.

UDF publicity secretary, "Terror" Lekota, will hope that the NGC will be less dramatic than the last one he attended, at Azaadville in the Transvaal in April 1985.

Lekota, who had been in hiding for several months at the time, made an unexpected appearance on the opening night but could not stay for the two-day NGC for fear of arrest.

His fear was proven well-founded when he was arrested shortly after that and convicted of treason because of his role in the UDF.

Lekota appealed successfully and was released late last year — after five years in jail.



REUNITED: Archbishop Trevor Huddleston with ANC president Oliver Tambo in Sweden

Smile says it all as Mandela, Tambo meet after 30 years

By TREVOR MANUEL

(UDF Western Cape secretary who accompanied Nelson Mandela on his recent trip to African states and Sweden)

THE smile on Nelson Mandela's face when he was reunited with ANC president Oliver Tambo after 27 years said it all.

But — despite the emotionally-charged atmosphere — like true statesmen, each man kept his feelings under control and greeted the other with a firm handshake, an embrace and a brief exchange of words.

It was only later that the legal firm of Tambo and Mandela was left alone in the state guest house and given time to catch up on almost

three decades of having been separated.

Together, Mandela and Tambo make a formidable team.

We were heartened to see how rapidly Tambo is recovering from the after-effects of his stroke.

The warmth with which people greeted Mandela made up for temperatures of -5°C — imagine hearing a beautiful rendition of Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika in a Swedish cathedral!

Wild enthusiasm for Mandela was a hallmark of our entire trip.

From packed rallies in Lusaka and Harare, to the renaming of a Tanzanian highway in Mandela's honour and a sold-out concert in Stockholm, hundreds of thousands of people flocked to see Mandela.

Wherever we went, Mandela had the freedom of the city conferred on him and was showered with gifts — including a ceremonial sword from Palestinian Liberation Army leader, Yassar Arafat, with whom Mandela developed an immediate empathy.

Platitudes

We arrived in Tanzania together with the rains — seen by the locals as a good omen.

As a tribute to Mandela, our arrival was celebrated in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania as a public holiday — Nelson Mandela Day.

From our first meeting with heads of state in Zambia, we were struck by the deep commitment of African leaders to the Harare Declaration.

In Tanzania, discussions with the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapindizi, moved away from the usual diplomatic platitudes to an in-depth examination of political issues.

It was clear that there is a tremendous amount of hope that liberation in South Africa will reverberate through the sub-continent with beneficial effects.

A highlight of the trip was the historic ANC national executive committee meeting in Lusaka, after which Mandela met with the broad ANC membership.

It was very touching to see the Young Pioneers, many of whom were born in exile, able to see Mandela for the first time.

While another group from our party flew to Addis Ababa to meet repre-

sentatives from the Organisation of African Unity, we travelled through Tanzania to the ANC settlement at Mazimbu, where the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College is situated.

We were very impressed with the advanced state of agriculture and education at the settlement — which boasts a creche, a primary and a high school, a hospital and farms.



Slovo meets the WCTA delegation in Lusaka
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traders told

cratic organisations begin to change gear and see themselves as part of the forces for the democratic transformation of South Africa and they therefore need to be strong and unified," ANC head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, told the 20-person WCTA delegation.

The weekend talks centred on the present political developments in the Western Cape and the scheduled April 11 meeting between the ANC delegation and State President F W de Klerk.

**Daki
free
after
twelve
months**



FREE AT LAST: Madoda Daki, 31 of week after spending more than a months in solitary confinement and to Pollsmoor Prison. He appeared in week on three charges of terrorism placing a limpet mine at the Cape T postponed to April 2

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South

SIDE



Ray Alexander, Dorothy Zihlangu and Amy Thornton at the FEDSAW festival

Womandla! 11A

By Krisen Pather

A SPLURGE of "struggle culture" awaited the more than 1000 people who attended the Federation of South African Women's

(FEDSAW) Festival at St Francis Hall in Langa last weekend. They were treated to cultural events spanning a period of two days with over 17 hours of plays, musicals and poetry.

The festival, which took place against the powerful backdrop of the FEDSAW banner, attracted the participation of some 15 United Women's Congress (Uwco) branches from as far afield as Stellenbosch, Worcester and George.

It marked the third of its kind in the region. "The women's festival started two years ago to encourage greater participation in cultural and organisational activity," said Andrea Fine, one of the organisers.

A highlight of the event was the Uwco Secret Group. Dorothy Zihlangu and three of her fellow comrades hit the stage, backed by Mapp music students and recently-released Robben Islander — soprano saxophonist, Siphso Madonda.

The jivey, jazzy, mbube numbers with excellent harmonies, got those — numbed by too many struggle sagas — off their butts and on to their soles.

Mavis Smallberg's poem, "Feelings and Feet," was refreshingly original and contrasted with the abundance of those hooked on imitating Mzwakhe and the overused "Mother Africa" symbolism.

The Mascindane Uwco play and Edi Nederlander, as well as the entire audience, almost had their eardrums blasted out due to technical problems.

But Saturday's programme ran with fewer hitches. A CAYCO women's play focussed on impi's and a father who eagerly sends his only two children to Lucaka to join Umkhonto We Sizwe.

The Sue Lubner — Nignon Lee-Warden duet seemed to sum up the feeling of the festival, as they sang, "...we wear out our T-shirts with the colours of our land but the struggle still continues...."

This may explain why the festival represented no major break in form and content with its predecessors. Most of the acts with the exception of a few seemed to have the same formula: toyi-toyi, a song — and it's off to battle we go.



UCWO women perform their vibrant item at the festival

ANC sends team to set up structures

ADVANCE GUARD

From HENRY LUDSKI

LUSAKA. — A high-powered ANC advance party, including key National Executive Committee members, heads home this week to boost the organisation in South Africa.

It includes the setting up of about 15 regional structures, the opening of ANC offices throughout the country, and a major membership drive which will start "very soon".

Their return — two weeks before the crucial April 11 meeting between the ANC and State President F W de Klerk — coincides with the opening in Johannesburg this week of the organisation's first office in the country in 30 years.

Among the NEC members said to be either part of advance party or the April 11 delegation are Reggie September, James Stuart, Jacob Zuma, Steve Tswethe, Aziz Pahad, Henry Mkgothi, Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki and possibly Joe Slovo.

Nzo, the ANC's general-secretary, said in Lusaka this week that the "most urgent challenge" facing the organisation now was to build a "massive above-board ANC".

The ANC regions are:

Cape: Western Cape, South Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border; **Transvaal:** Pretoria-Witwatersrand, Southern Tvl, Eastern Tvl, Northern Tvl; **Natal:** Northern Ntl, Southern Ntl, Midlands and Orange Free State; **Southern OFS and Northern OFS.**

It is reported that veteran trade unionist and ANC NEC member, Reggie September, will head the Western Cape region.

● Unconfirmed reports stated that Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief, and Jordan, head of information, arrived in the country on Wednesday for consultations.

11A

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Lusaka ANC delegates 'already in SA'

Political Staff

Dec 23/31/90 (117)

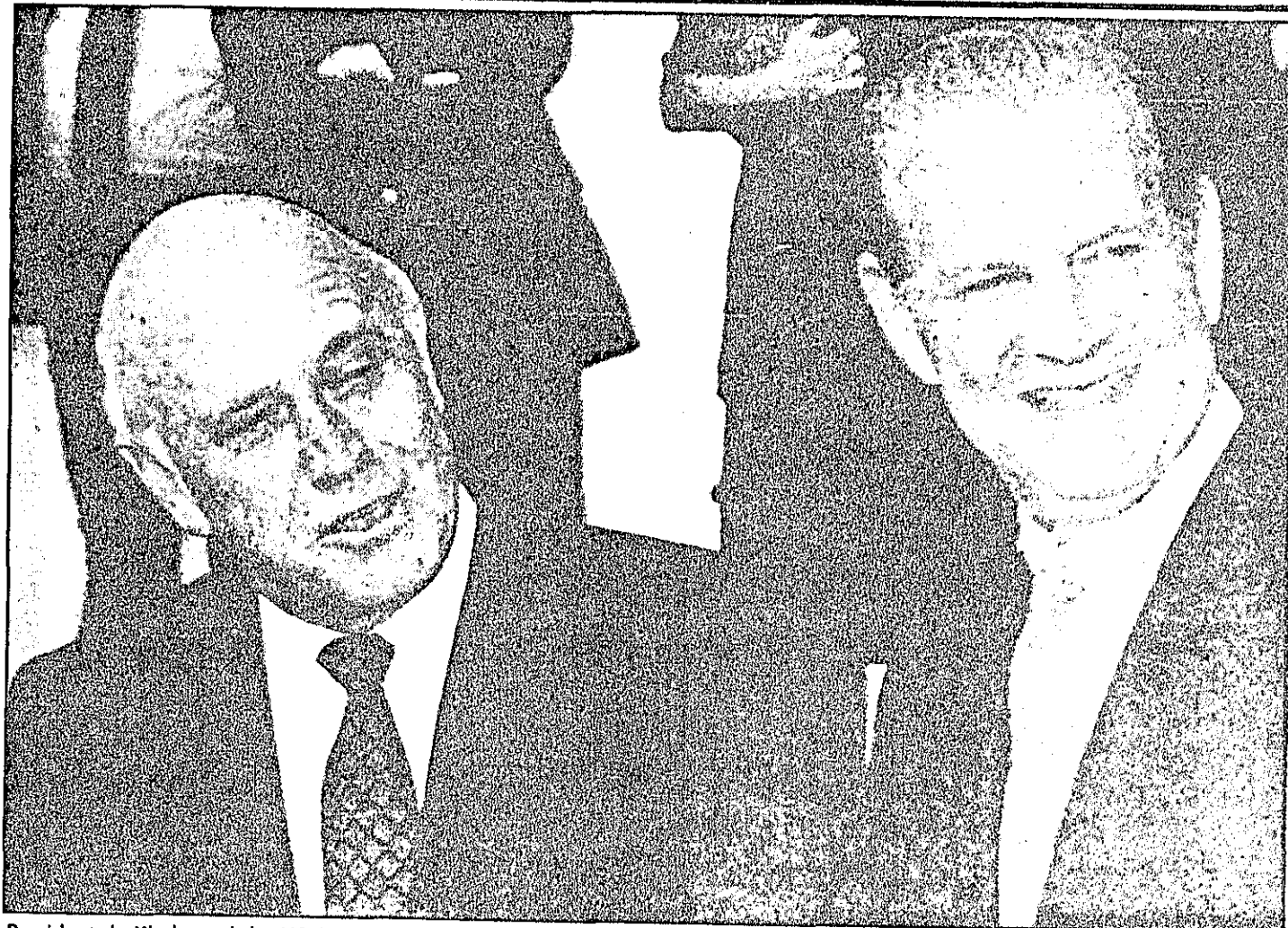
An advance party of senior ANC officials led by national executive committee member Mr Jacob Zuma is said to have arrived in South Africa this week to prepare for talks with President F W de Klerk.

Mr Zuma is understood to have arrived with two other party officials on Wednesday from Lusaka.

In an interview yesterday, internal ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu said he was in constant contact with the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka, and had

been told that the officials were to arrive in South Africa today.

Led by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, the delegation will hold talks with Mr de Klerk on April 11 in an attempt to pave the way for constitutional negotiations.



President de Klerk, and the US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, talk to reporters after the highest level meeting between the two countries in 12 years. Mr Baker said his visit was to show that America approved of the direction in which South Africa was moving.

Baker shrugs off ANC's opposition to visit

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — United States Secretary of State Mr James Baker said after meeting President de Klerk here yesterday that he had come to South Africa "to show we approve of the direction in which South Africa is moving".

Shrugging off opposition from the ANC to his visit, he gave little indication that he had put pressure on South Africa.

He had not pressed for a timetable for the lifting of the state of emergency.

He believed the Government wanted to lift it and hoped the circumstances would arise which would allow it to be lifted while ensuring safety.

Mr de Klerk also had meetings at Tuynhuys with the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr Mohamed Ali Samanter, and the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk said these were spill-overs from the round of contacts with international leaders in Namibia earlier this week.

Mr Baker had a day of meetings with ANC and UDF leaders under Mr Govan Mbeki, a lunch with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and other Ministers, and a meeting with Mr de Klerk.

Mr Baker had a meeting in the former Prime Minister's residence, Groote Schuur, with Mr Botha, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Earlier, Mr Baker came under fire from the ANC/UDF

delegation during a meeting at the residence of the US ambassador.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC national executive committee, said the ANC was not happy with Mr Baker's visit to the Government.

By staying away, Mr Baker would have kept up the pressure on South Africa which the ANC was demanding.

The ANC told Mr Baker that America should not relax pressure until it was clear that SA had no way of going back.

NP seeks

Site 23/3/90
direction

via indaba

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is to hold a crucial bush indaba in April to try to resolve several major issues facing the Government as it goes into pre-negotiations with the African National Congress.

These questions, which have been hotly debated in the National Party lately, are expected to be on the agenda:

- Whether the NP should broaden its power base by opening its membership to other races or form alliances with other parties.
- What is the best constitutional model to fight for in negotiations.
- How to define groups.
- The future of the Group Areas Act.
- The future of the 1913/1936 Land Acts and
- The future of the homelands.

DIRECTION

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers would probably meet during the first week of April and that the National Party caucus would gather for a one-day meeting in May to continue the discussion.

The special Cabinet indaba is expected to be crucial for setting the NP's direction.

At the last bushveld indaba, which the Cabinet held in the Transvaal in December, the vital decisions to unban the ANC and release Mr Nelson Mandela were taken.

Government sources said yesterday that on all the issues under discussion there was still great fluidity in the NP.

First top ANC official returns

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11A

THE first prominent African National Congress official to return from exile since the organisation was legalised has arrived in South Africa, ANC activist Albertina Sisulu said yesterday.

She confirmed that senior ANC political and military council member Jacob Zuma had arrived from Zambia on Wednesday to prepare for preliminary negotiations with the De Klerk Government.

Control

The council exercises control over the black nationalist movement's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

The Government lifted a 30-year-

old ban on the movement on February 2 in one of a series of sweeping political changes aimed at creating the climate for talks on ending apartheid and giving political rights to the voteless black majority.

Officials

Zuma, who is in his late '40s and spent 10 years on Robben Island for sabotage, flew to South Africa on a South African Airways plane with two other ANC officials.

ANC sources in Lusaka said he would be followed at the weekend by senior members of the movement, including national executive committee official Steve Tshwete (52). - Sapa-Reuter.



ALBERTINA SISULU

*The exciting new way
to say "CHEERS"*

**HUNTER'S
GOLD**

Queue FW



MORE TALKS ...
President De Klerk's hectic schedule continued yesterday with his most important visitor of the day, US Secretary of State Mr James Baker.
Picture: REUTER

First 'external' ANC man here

Own Correspondent *Cyt Tink* *23/3/90*
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC national executive member Mr Jacob Zuma, who flew into South Africa on Wednesday, is set to join internal leaders of the organisation in preparatory talks with government officials in the lead-up to the April 11 meeting between the ANC and the government.
Mr Zuma is, as far as is known, the first "external" ANC executive member to enter the country since the ANC was unbanned seven weeks ago.
Another group of several senior leaders is scheduled to arrive on Sunday. The main purpose of their visit is to consult with MDM leaders to ensure that MDM views are fully

represented at the April 11 meeting.
A government spokesman commented yesterday that, for the purpose of arranging the April 11 meeting and the logistical planning it involved, "it is necessary for ANC officials to meet with government officials inside South Africa from time to time".
Mr Zuma is said to be the organisation's intelligence chief and has been one of the senior co-ordinators of ANC activities inside South Africa.
Among members of the ANC's external wing due to arrive in the first week of April are secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of international affairs, and army commander Mr Joe Modise.

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Many queue to meet FW

CAF TALKS 23/3/90
11A

BAKER MEETS MBEKI ...
The United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker with veteran ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki at the US ambassador's residence in Bishopscourt yesterday. Mr Baker met representatives from the ANC, UDF, academics and theologians at the embassy.



By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S diplomatic isolation is crumbling as leaders from the West, the East and Africa queue to meet President FW de Klerk.

At Tuynhuys yesterday Mr De Klerk met US Secretary of State Mr James Baker, President Said Barre of Somalia and Mauritian Prime Minister Mr Anerood Jugnauth.

And despite an ANC campaign to isolate Pretoria, it is understood that Mr De Klerk's trip to meet Mrs Margaret Thatcher in May is likely to be expanded to several European countries.

The government has moved swiftly to capitalise on the series of significant diplomatic contacts during the Namibian independence celebrations, including meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and a string of African leaders.

The escalation of South Africa's diplomatic involvement will start with Pretoria playing an increasingly prominent role in attempts to resolve regional conflicts, beginning with the Angolan war.

It is understood that the war — and fresh ways to end it — formed a major focus of yesterday's talks between Mr Baker and Mr De Klerk. Mr Pik Botha and senior government ministers.

Mr Botha yesterday was cautious about describing the flurry of meetings of the past few days as a breakthrough.

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking on behalf of the ANC-UDF delegation, said Mr Baker's visit to SA had not been helpful.

By "keeping away". Mr Baker and the US could



MORE TALKS ...
President De Klerk's hectic schedule continued yesterday with his most important visitor of the day, US Secretary of State Mr James Baker.
Picture: REUTERS

First 'external' ANC man here

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**BAKER
MBEKI ...**
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Picture:
ANNIE LAING



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Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's diplomatic isolation is crumbling as leaders from the West, the East and Africa queue to meet President FW de Klerk.

At Tuynhuys yesterday Mr De Klerk met US Secretary of State Mr James Baker, President Said Barre of Somalia and Mauritian Prime Minister Mr Anerood Jugnauth.

And despite an ANC campaign to isolate Pretoria, it is understood that Mr De Klerk's trip to meet Mrs Margaret Thatcher in May is likely to be expanded to several European countries.

The government has moved swiftly to capitalise on the series of significant diplomatic contacts during the Namibian independence celebrations, including meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and a string of African leaders.

The escalation of South Africa's diplomatic involvement will start with Pretoria playing an increasingly prominent role in attempts to resolve regional conflicts, beginning with the Angolan war.

It is understood that the war — and fresh ways to end it — formed a major focus of yesterday's talks between Mr Baker and Mr De Klerk, Mr Pik Botha and senior government ministers.

Mr Botha yesterday was cautious about describing the flurry of meetings of the past few days as a breakthrough.

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking on behalf of the ANC-UDF delegation, said Mr Baker's visit to SA had not been helpful.

By "keeping away", Mr Baker and the US could have helped put international pressure on SA, Mr Mbeki said.

"They must not relax until such time as it is quite clear that the SA government has no way of going back."

Mr Baker responded that "many people" had argued that a visit by the US Secretary of State was "the appropriate course for us to follow because we should encourage a continuation of the types of steps the SA government has taken".

Prisoner release

"The issue — as I indicated to Mr Mbeki and his associates here — is not really one of reward but one of using whatever influence we might have to encourage the SA government to continue to move forward in the dismantling of apartheid and towards the establishment of a non-racial, multi-party democracy."

Mr Baker added that the issue at the moment was not one of "suspending or modifying or increasing sanctions" but rather of how the US could "encourage good faith negotiations by the SA government".

Following a lunch-hour meeting between Mr Baker and senior government ministers, Mr Pik Botha said calls by Mr Mbeki and Mr Nelson Mandela for South Africa's isolation were "really, with respect, a non-starter".

Mr Baker and British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd "were not the only ones trespassing in coming to SA".

He said Mr De Klerk could not manage the number of requests for discussions from leaders from all parts of the world in Windhoek this week.

After the Tuynhuys talks, which were described as "very constructive" by Mr De Klerk and "very interesting, candid and constructive" by Mr Baker, the US Foreign Secretary told journalists: "Mr De Klerk told me at the conclusion of our meeting that we (the government) are engaged here in SA in an irreversible process and we will follow it to its logical conclusion."

Mr Baker also noted that Mr Pik Botha had told him during lunch yesterday that "it is the desire of the SA government to lift the state of emergency and to release political prisoners".

When asked when these steps might be taken, Mr De Klerk said they would be discussed on April 11 in the meeting between his government and the ANC.

Asked whether he envisioned a South Africa in which all citizens would have an equal vote and in which a black could become president, Mr De Klerk responded: "I have just won an election asking for a mandate to attain exactly that and we are working towards that, yes."

"All South Africans will have a vote where that vote is of equal value, where we will have a situation of participation of all, by all levels of government, and we will also have a situation of proper protection of minority right built into the system. ... not minority domination but also not just simple majoritarianism."

Questioned about whether Mr Baker's visit would help him in achieving his goals and help achieve a new understanding between the two governments, Mr De Klerk said: "I would hope so, yes."

● Today Mr Baker will meet Mr Walter Sisulu in Johannesburg before flying to Zaire.

POWERS

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■ Bloemfontein (051) 42 1255 ■ Johannesburg (011) 21 1444 ■ Solweby (021) 142 1231

I see Johannesburg city councillors are surprised to discover a municipal spy-law they didn't even know existed.

WINNER!

MRS Jenny Heydenrych of Welgemoed yesterday won R1 800 in the Syfrets/Cape Times Share Challenge competition.

Mrs Heydenrych has been doing the Share Challenge game since it began and this was her first win.

Asked what she would do with her windfall, Mrs Heydenrych said: "I have two children and it's the start of the school holidays, so we'll treat ourselves."

Syfrets Cape Times Share Challenge

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DAILY LISTING — Page 5
STOCK PRICES — Page 10

Cop quits: wants to join ANC

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A POLICE bodyguard has resigned from the SAP and has offered his services to the African National Congress.

Mr George Johnson, formerly sergeant Johnson, is a founder member of the Police and Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

He was suspended last November when he participated in a demonstration with 11 other policemen.

While in the SAP, he served as a bodyguard for senior policemen.

Since then he has acted as a bodyguard for Popcru president, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

He said he resigned because of the racism in the police force. White policemen expected blacks "to jump at their command".

"As a bodyguard I used to travel a lot. In some of the places we visited I had to sleep in a tent while the white policemen lived it up in hotels.

"If there is a list circulating for bodyguards for ANC leaders or policemen to serve under an ANC government, I want to put my name on it," he said.

South 22/3-28/3/90
"I am a free man for the first time in 17 years.

"I intend raising an ANC flag outside my house so that people can see who I support."



George Johnson

CAP Tuis 23/3/80

Feud flares ¹¹⁴

between UDF
and Azapo ²⁸⁸

JOHANNESBURG. — An escalating feud between members of Black Consciousness groups and those of pro-African National Congress organisations erupted into violence at Ikageng near Potchefstroom on Wednesday.

Azapo official Dr Golemo Mokae said yesterday that a mob of 200 people wearing ANC and UDF T-shirts violently disrupted a Sharpeville commemoration meeting at Ikageng by throwing stones

Heavy fighting between the two groups at Bekkersdal on the West Rand on Sunday left at least four people dead and one blinded. — Sapa

ANC executive member Jacob Zuma set to meet govt while in SA

B1 Day 23/3/90
ANC national executive member Jacob Zuma, who flew into SA on Wednesday, is set to join internal leaders of the organisation in confidential preparatory talks with SA government officials in the lead-up to the April 11 meeting between the ANC and government.

Zuma is, as far as is known, the first "external" ANC executive member to enter the country since the organisation was unbanned seven weeks ago.

Another group of several senior leaders is scheduled to arrive on Sunday. The main purpose of their visit will be to consult MDM leaders to ensure MDM views are

fully represented at the April 11 meeting.

The date for the meeting — which is to focus on obstacles to the start of proper negotiations — was announced a week ago by President F W de Klerk and the ANC.

ANC sources indicated the organisation was unhappy at the publicity given to Zuma's visit, which had been planned as a low-profile one. Business Day was unable to get access to him.

Zuma was reportedly accompanied by lawyer Penwell Maduna and security officer Gibson Macanda. The news of their arrival was leaked in Lusaka early yesterday morning to a news agency reporter.

Internal ANC leaders were not even prepared to confirm his arrival.

Zuma is said to be the organisation's intelligence chief and has been a senior coordinator of ANC activities inside SA.

A Constitutional Development Services Department spokesman commented yesterday that, for the purpose of arranging the April 11 meeting and the logistical planning it involved, it was necessary for ANC officials to meet government officials inside SA "from time to time".

He said it was important to both sides

that confidentiality be observed regarding these discussions.

Sources said it would not be incorrect to assume Zuma would participate in them.

ANC sources said the final definition of Zuma's responsibilities in SA would be determined by the internal leadership. It was unclear whether he was here on a temporary visit or had arrived to settle in SA.

Steve Tshwete, Chris Hani, Aziz Pahad and Reg September are among those said to be arriving on Sunday.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that Zuma, born in Zululand in 1942, joined the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions in

1959, while working as a labourer. When the ANC was banned he became part of the organisation's underground operations and later joined the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After he left Robben Island he worked at restructuring the ANC underground in Natal. He was forced into exile on December 5 1975.

He operated from Swaziland until 1976 then went to Mozambique until January 9 1987, when he was sent to Lusaka, by the ANC. Zuma was co-opted onto the ANC National Executive Committee in 1977.

● Comment: Page 8

ALAN FINE

stituency last year; and President's Council member James Selfe, a security expert.

Unconfirmed reports this week state that, while no government, military nor security spokesmen will accompany the group, some members have close contacts with the security establishment.

The role of Umkhonto in a post-apartheid society has been under discussion. In an interview with *Vrye Weekblad* Umkhonto commander Chris Hani said his organisation had played a major role in the struggle to establish the ANC locally. "We now have units inside SA which are able to train and organise people."

Hani says negotiations between SADF senior officers and Umkhonto should take place before a suspension of the armed struggle by his forces.

In the latest issue of *Insig*, columnist Willie Kuhn says the ANC's claim that Umkhonto should be responsible for the safety of its internal leadership could result in "an interesting unofficial situation in which two law enforcement organisations are established." He warns, however, this could lead to a further rightwing backlash.

Kuhn also says the conflict between security forces and the ANC strengthened the activities of so-called murder squads. Those underwriting two law enforcement organisa-

Early patrol ~~SECRET~~

Democratic Party MPs, officials and security experts (including a former Chief of the Air Force) are to meet members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, in Lusaka next month. It is understood that the Idasa-sponsored group will leave for Zambia on April 4. Members will discuss the prospects for amalgamation of Umkhonto and the SA Defence Force in a post-apartheid society.

Idasa also sent an invitation to SADF Chief Jannie Geldenhuys but he declined. However, sources say Geldenhuys welcomes the meeting. A senior Foreign Affairs official tells the *FM* that Geldenhuys played a very conciliatory role during the Angola-SA peace talks before implementation of UN Resolution 435, which led to Namibian independence.

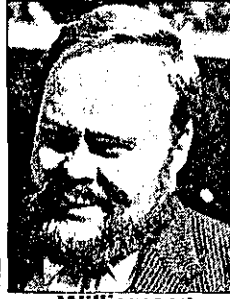
Meanwhile, National Party President's Council member Craig Williamson, a former security police spy, says there definitely will have to be talks between Umkhonto and the SADF. "But," he adds, "we don't need Idasa or the DP to organise it for us."

Williamson recently wrote an open letter to three ANC members — Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad and Ronnie Kasrils — whom he betrayed during his close association with the organisation when he was a spy. The letter pleaded with them to bury the bitterness of the 30-year conflict and work toward peaceful solutions.

The DP group will include party chairman Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point; Gen Bob Rogers, MP for Warmer and a former SAAF chief; Gen Wally Black, another retired SAAF officer who was unsuccessful for the DP in the South Coast con-



Hani



Williamson

tions should ensure these squads are disbanded, says Kuhn. Hani agrees: the alleged existence of murder squads in the security forces must be part of pre-ceasefire talks.

Hani also warns: "If the talks fail, and we find that government is not serious and returns to its old ways of violence against us, those (internal) units will be instructed to continue with the armed struggle."

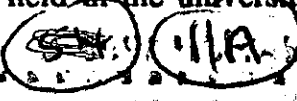
However, Hani admits there have been positive changes in SA which require responsible statements from the ANC and himself. "We appeal for unity and reconciliation." ■

Mandela set to speak at Turf

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela will address a rally at the University of the North on Sunday, SABC radio news reports. *Sowetan 23/3/90*

A spokesman for the National Reception Committee in the Northern Transvaal region said Mandela would be accompanied by several leaders of the organisation and that the function would be held in the university stadium from 10am.

No liquor will be sold. Sapa.



15710 UJOV 9/21-
Sowetan 27/3/90

Lybon Mabasa stoned

11A

FORMER deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation Mr Lybon Mabasa narrowly escaped death when a group of youths allegedly wearing ANC T-shirts stoned him and threatened to kill him in Potchefstroom.

He was rescued by Azapo members from Ikageng township.

The group objected to Mabasa speaking at the stadium.

He and members of the audience at the Sharpeville commemoration were stoned.

A senior United Democratic Front member at the scene told Mabasa the group of about 200 was acting as individuals and did not represent either the UDF or the ANC.

In the past two weeks, five members of Azapo's sister organisation, the Azanian Youth Organisation, have died in Bekkersdal following attacks.

Sowetan 23/3/90



Kaizer Matanzima

ANC ^{11A} principal is told ~~to~~ to quit

FORMER Transkei state president Chief Kaizer Matanzima, has allegedly expelled the principal of a Cofimvaba school on the grounds that he is an ANC activist.

The Cofimvaba Youth Organisation said in a statement that Matanzima had written to the principal of the Nomibe Junior Secondary School, Mr Gcinikaya Ndzawumbi, and advised him to leave the school, which is situated on his farm, with "immediate effect".

In the letter, Matanzima referred to the "undesirable appointment of an ANC activist".

When contacted Matanzima said he was not prepared to comment over the telephone.

The Transkei director general of the Department of Education could not be reached for comment.

Sharpeville: By the only reporter who was there

Three decades ago this week, police opened fire on an unarmed crowd in a small Vaal township. The incident changed our history, but there was only one reporter on the spot when the guns began to blaze. HUMPHREY TYLER, former assistant editor of *Drum* magazine, describes the scene 30 years ago



Sharpeville after the massacre, 30 years ago ... Giving momentum to a political process that continues to this day

IT'S ironic that the front page of the only publication to carry a full eyewitness report of the Sharpeville killings at the time, 30 years ago this week, had a banner headline saying: *Apartheid—the end approaches*. The paper was *Contact*, whose editor, Patrick Duncan, was later jailed.

Even more astonishing at the time was that, right until a few hours before the shooting at Sharpeville, and demonstrations elsewhere, the police and the government almost entirely dismissed the importance of the Pan Africanist Congress and boasted confidently that "nothing will happen", that "everything is under control".

A rather drunken senior reporter who had been touring the Johannesburg townships with the police early on Sharpeville Monday told me: "You can forget it."

The PAC was out of touch with reality also, but maybe not quite so much. They were right about the widespread, overwhelming hatred for the pass laws. But they underestimated the power of the government. Some of them thought the "revolution" would be over in a few days. They were driving around the townships waving their pipes out of the windows or pointing fingers and telling anybody with them that "we'll be living in Lower Houghton soon, man, and the whites can move to Orlando". Predictions like this were greeted with gales of laughter.

The role of the establishment newspapers was generally very dubious. No reporter who made any proper inquiries could fail to realise that Mangaliso Sobukwe and his chief lieutenant Potlako Leballo were stirring a hot, responsive pot in the townships. But the big commercial papers printed little or nothing about this, more or less deliberately keeping their readers uninformed.

When I asked a senior executive on the *Rand Daily Mail* why there was virtually no news about the PAC in the paper he said: "We don't want to

give them propaganda or publicity; that would only cause trouble."

Its readers must have been mighty surprised when, within days, there was a State of Emergency, thousands were arrested, the pass laws were suspended and a madman shot Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd twice in the face in front of thousands of people at the Rand Show. An Anglican bishop fled to Swaziland.

It was a "black" publication — *Drum* (quite a different thing in those days to the generally insignificant af-



Mangaliso Sobukwe. Momentous fair that carries the same name today) — that got it right. Benson Dyanji was the reporter who was on to the story and he took me Sunday after Sunday to township meetings in the veld where hundreds, sometimes a few thousand, would gather under the PAC flag to hear about the plan for a campaign against the pass laws. Sometimes a police car would stop for a few minutes, then drive away. But it was obvious something big was brewing. *Drum* advanced its publication day to coincide with March 21 and increased its print order by several thousand.

On the cover, printed days before publication because of peculiar press problems, was a full colour photograph of Sobukwe marching with supporters in the shadow of a huge

PAC flag. A yellow banner headline asked: *Who are the Africanists?* By nightfall on March 21, that was the question everyone in South Africa was asking and by the time the special branch police decided to raid *Drum* offices round the country, there were hardly any copies left for them to take away.

It's curious how people plot revolutions. A few nights before Sharpeville I went to Leballo's remote Soweto home. We drove over a typically rutted township track in one of *Drum's* decrepit cars. When we stopped and the driver pulled on the handbrake, the lever came off in his hand. Leballo came to the fence to greet us. He was smoking a pipe. He was always smoking a pipe. He puffed full blast like a steam locomotive. He apologised for his overgrown garden, waved at the weeds, said: "I'm too busy with politics."

Sobukwe was inside, a very tall and momentous figure. People kept coming and going after getting last-minute instructions. The "shadow minister of labour" wore thick rubber-soled shoes and heavy glasses.

Sobukwe's plan was devastatingly simple. All black men would march peacefully to their nearest police station and hand in their passes, and never carry them again.

The police would then (under existing legislation) arrest the men. Very soon, the jails would be full and the remaining blacks would burn their passes and "refrain from working". There would be a collapse of the economy. If the government held out, the strikers would start getting hungry and although the protest was planned to be at least initially peaceful "violence would then tend to be inevitable". The pressure on the government would be intense and Sobukwe believed it would be a matter only of a few weeks before negotiations would begin.

Some of his supporters translated this to mean sitting in Pretoria behind

fat desks in a few days. They were wrong, of course, but South Africa came perilously close to a full-scale revolution, nonetheless.

In the middle of the talk of revolution there was an incongruous interruption. Mrs Leballo came in from the kitchen, hushing people up. She brought in tea on a tray, with doilies

under the cups, and offered everybody biscuits. We said thank you and sipped our drinks.

Our driver battled to turn the car round in the narrow track and we headed back to town. Three days later the shots were fired that gave momentum to a political process that continues to this day.

GIYANI COLLEGE OF EDUCATION (GAZANKULU)

As the College will be expanding in 1991, applications for the following posts are invited from suitably experienced and qualified applicants, regardless of colour, sex, class, religion, or creed, for appointment from January 1991 (or sooner by negotiation):

HEAD OF DIVISION, COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGES (Post level 5)

An appropriate Master's degree and a professional teaching qualification are minimum requirements. Organisational experience and experience in the teaching of English as a second language will be recommendations.

HEAD OF DIVISION, EDUCATION (Post level 5)

A Master's degree in Education and a professional teaching qualification are minimum requirements. Organisational experience and experience at tertiary level will be recommendations.

SENIOR LECTURERS/LECTURERS Afrikaans

Biblical Studies & Religious Education
History
Microteaching & Media in Teaching
Physics & Chemistry
School Experience Organiser

Appropriate degrees and professional teaching qualifications are minimum requirements. Experience at secondary and tertiary levels will be recommendations.

THE SURGE OF VIOLENCE TAKES MANY FORMS, FACTIONAL AND CRIMINAL ...

Several killed in UDF vs Azapo violence

VIOLENT conflict between United Democratic Front and Black Consciousness Movement supporters has rocked townships in the Western Transvaal over recent weeks.

The Azanian People's Organisation says that three of its Bekkersdal members were killed at the weekend in clashes with supporters of the Bekkersdal Youth Congress (Beyco), which is aligned to the UDF.

UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota says one UDF supporter was killed in clashes in the past week and several were injured.

The Bekkersdal community is angry and fearful — youths are being hacked to death because they "believe in a different ideology".

One youth, who did not want to be named because he feared he was "on the rival group's hit list", said that when the violence erupted in late February he had to leave his house and

was too afraid to attend school.

"The most frightening thing is that your parents and brothers and sisters are also in danger of dying because of what you believe in."

Youths in the area who do not belong to either the UDF or Azapo said that fighting broke out a day before the launch of Beyco. A few afterwards, BCM supporter Douglas Chuma was "hacked to death".

"And after a week of calm, on Saturday night the fighting has started again," said youths in the area.

The UDF-Azapo clashes come in a changing political climate. Professor NC Manganyi of the African Studies Institute at Wits University says that after a long time a political space has been opened where the major extra-

Violence has erupted on the East Rand between UDF and Azapo supporters, recalling the conflict of 1984-85. What are the reasons? CASSANDRA MOODLEY investigates

parliamentary players are able to mobilise and develop their own constituencies.

"And whether we like it or not, it will be very competitive terrain. It is no longer adequate to assume hegemony or that one group is strongest."

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley points out such clashes have been "an ongoing problem in the black community for the past seven or eight years".

Moodley says the problem is not merely an ideological one but also a result of psychological oppression blacks suffer.

"They recognise they have no power to confront the real enemy, thus they react to the nearest person they consider to be responsible for their condition and blame Inkatha, the UDF, Pan Africanist Congress or Azapo."

Choro Setiloane, a researcher at the University of South Africa's Institute for Behavioural Science says the inter-organisational conflict has cathartic qualities.

"We live in a violent society — apartheid is violent — and we internalise this violence. We retaliate not against those responsible for our suf-

fering but those who are closest. Living in a violent society, violence is the form of communication many believe can solve their problems."

Lekota agrees that the country is passing through "a critical period where the old order is being replaced by new formations". New organisations, like Beyco, are being formed and they need to realise that they should not use violence to win community support, he says.

However, Lekota says he is not aware of a UDF campaign to "stamp out opposition to negotiations".

Lekota adds that the Bekkersdal incident is a "mere drop in the ocean and comes at a time when relations between the UDF and Azapo have never been so warm".

Lekota said the UDF in talks with Azapo would call for a joint committee to "intervene in these kinds of flare-ups".

They're here! ANC team jets in

**Intelligence chief
Zuma slips in
quietly ... with
more executives
due on Sunday**

W/Mail 23/3 - 29/3/90
AFRICAN National Congress intelligence chief Jacob Zuma slipped quietly into the country on Wednesday aboard an SAA flight from Lusaka.

Zuma is the first ANC National Executive Committee member to return to South Africa since the movement was banned 30 years ago.

He will be joined here on Sunday by Umkhonto weSizwe deputy leader Chris Hani and four other senior ANC members: NEC members Aziz Pahad and Reg September and senior

By GAVIN EVANS, THANDEKA QGUBULE and IVOR POWELL

members Phyllis Naidoo and Penwell Maduna. With Zuma and other ANC members who arrived this week with him, they will prepare for April 11 talks with President FW de Klerk.

National Reception Committee members yesterday were keeping the press away yesterday from Zuma, who was locked in meetings with the ANC's internal committee.

●To PAGE 2



11A
Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani ... Due in South Africa on Sunday

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

Zuma slips in and others jet in on Sunday

NRC member Zwelakhe Sisulu said Zuma was in the country to make arrangements for the return of the Hani group, and others who will arrive within the next two weeks.

Naidoo, a lawyer who left South Africa in 1977, told the *Weekly Mail* in a telephone interview the group would be preparing for discussions with the government on issues such as the State of Emergency, political prisoners and trials, the violence in Natal and the Internal Security Act.

She said she also planned to visit political prisoners.

ANC NEC member Josiah Jele said the advance party would be helping "build the legal presence of the movement within the country."

"We need to move quickly to build our infrastructure and establish a national secretariat."

He said there were also plans to set up premises for an ANC national organiser, as well as offices for the ANC departments of information and publicity, education and finance over the next fortnight.

He said one of the major concerns the movement planned to tackle was the violence in Natal and elsewhere in the country.

"We absolutely condemn the violence that is going on and we are calling on the people to carry on the struggle in a disciplined way and to end all acts of hooliganism."

"Those arriving over the next two weeks have a brief to help bring the violence to an end and to look into its causes."

Jele said the ANC planned to step up its campaign for an interim gov-

ernment to be established to organise elections for a constituent assembly.

"We will also be calling on the regime to give a precise time-frame for reaching a settlement because we fear they are going to drag out the process by offering piecemeal concessions."

He said the ANC had set up several commissions to look into the areas to be discussed with De Klerk and had been in contact with the government to inform it of who would be coming into the country.

Over the past month several ANC members have come into the country to attend conferences, and this pattern is expected to be stepped up over the next month.

Hundreds of other ANC members will return permanently to South Africa before the end of next month.

Commenting on her forthcoming visit to South Africa after 13 years away, Naidoo, who was seriously injured in a bomb attack in Lesotho, said it was "absolutely wonderful to be going home". Her son had been killed in exile in Lusaka — and, she said, it was "sad to be leaving some wonderful people behind".

The ANC set up its national office in Sauer Street, Johannesburg this week and is planning to establish 14 regional offices over the next month.

The offices that will be launched will be Western Cape (based in Cape Town), Southern Cape (Oudtshoorn), Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth), Border (East London); Transkei (Umtata), North Western Cape (Kimberly), Northern Free State (Welkom), Southern Free State (Bloemfontein), Southern Natal (Durban), Natal Midlands (Pietermaritzburg), Northern Natal (Empangeni), Southern Transvaal (Johannesburg), Eastern Transvaal (Nelspruit), Western Transvaal (Rustenberg) and Northern Transvaal (Pietersburg).

The arriving ANC members will work with the ANC's internal committee, headed by Walter Sisulu, in setting up regional structures.

Pursuing Albie Sachs's argument for culture

THE debate over whether art should be a "weapon of the struggle" will be discussed on British television next week by — among others — African National Congress constitutional expert Albie Sachs and author and academic Njabulo Ndebele.

It was Sachs who posed the question early this year in a paper entitled *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom*, delivered in an ANC seminar. And he answered it, in part, by saying that making art an instrument of struggle is not only "banal and devoid of real content" but results in an impoverishment of art itself.

Sachs's equally important and concurrent paper, *Judges and Gender*, an essay on the constitutional rights of women in a post-apartheid South Africa, will have to wait: the fight to create a non-racial culture is less difficult than the struggle for a non-sexist one.

In Cape Town, as elsewhere in the country, at exhibition openings, during seminars on campus, or in newspaper articles, the volatile voices of artists, activists and academics can be heard on this subject above all others.

Albie Sachs's recent reappraisal of culture's role in the struggle, which led to much debate about a post-apartheid future, also has a respectable past, writes NICOLAAS VERGUNST

It is rapidly becoming an academic pursuit to uncover the earliest "progressive" pronouncement against agit-prop uses of art in South Africa: critic Tyrone August in 1987, ANC President Oliver Tambo in 1985, Ndebele in 1984, poet Chris van Wyk in 1976 ... well, what about NP van Wyk Louw in 1939?

Half a century ago this distinguished poet and essayist warned fellow artists of the dangers inherent in official managerial control of culture to further political ends. In his short essay entitled *Kultuurleiers sonder Kultuur* (Cultural leaders without culture), Van Wyk Louw anxiously writes about the abuse of culture as a "mere tool" in the hands of political

leaders: "Will the effort to strengthen a culture by intensive organisation not lead to the decay of culture as a living force?"

"A people (or its leaders) can come to regard culture as something complete, a final achievement, a number of established traditions, truths and recognised art works — something that can be conveyed to and imposed on others, just like that. It's a mistake that's easily made, because it is exactly such a ready-made culture (*klaarkultuur*) that is organisable ... Cultural organisations can never shed their rigidity — and that is why they will always clash with growing and developing cultural life."

Perhaps we should examine the similarities — if not the differences — between the cultural agendas of the ANC and FAK (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings). We may learn a few lessons here.

Thus far, arguments have revolved around the legitimacy of political interventions in culture. But central to the debate on Sachs' paper is the issue of agency: who controls cultural organisations and how is artistic production de-

termined? Confusion exists around so-called Stalinism in the arts. There are those who question the manner and style of organised cultural structures, including the United Democratic Front's Cultural Desk. There are others who answer by asking for proof of alleged malpractices.

Two weeks ago the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town hosted a debate in which three panelists responded to Sachs's proposals.

Academic and literary critic Brenda Cooper said she believes that Sachs "opens up a new space for better art, and, inextricably, better politics". She suggested he is distancing himself from humourless, contrived, dictatorial, boring and predictable art and politics. For her, the paper calls for creative work which, broadening its parameters, will include the multidimensionality of life — defying oppression, not substituting for resistance.

Writer Rusdie Siers, chairperson of the Congress of South African Writers (Western Cape) spoke of Sachs's "hidden agenda of cultural confusion". To this end he questioned Sachs's role models for cultural excellence, namely artists who, living abroad, have been given the opportunity to test their skills and talents with the best in the world. Siers asks how the likes of Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwanga can be compared with cultural workers living in exile camps and in the ghettos of apartheid.

"Sad is the day," he said, "if there is but one cultural worker who followed (the) uncritical prescription (that culture is only a weapon of struggle). Sadder still if one could imagine regiments of ANC cultural workers following the misunderstandings of Albie and what culture is."

Buchu Press director Karen Press said she assumes Sachs' paper "was directed at an audience who did not need to be told about the political character of the liberation struggle, or of the cultural struggle". Press focused on the implications for practising artists to see their work within a broader liberatory framework wherein resources are made available for the independent development of an art of "quality". Artistic standards are as important as political commitment.

In another forum last week, UCT's Michaelis School of Art advanced the debate by inviting Sacey Stien and Gavin Young, both members of the Cultural Workers' Congress, to take up the issue of culture as a political weapon.

Cartoonist Stien claimed that the necessary adoption of fists and flags — as visual prototypes — demonstrates solidarity with international socialism. This, she added, does not mean artists should restrict themselves to using recognised signs or symbols of resistance repeatedly or indiscriminately.

For Young, a sculptor, the issue is not merely a matter of having the freedom to choose one's own subject matter, but more the freedom to act socially. The contention most positively advanced in Sachs's paper, he said, is the proposal for cultural autonomy, not oppression.

At a recent exhibition opening of "township art" at Gallery International, printmaker and writer Sue Williamson referred to Sachs's proposals as an exciting encouragement for artists to celebrate their skills and craft. A week earlier, at the CWC exhibition in the Umluto Community Centre, artist Garth Erasmus said he believed artists should prioritise cultural work above political work.

Now, some critics say Sachs has sold out the working-class cultural worker by de-politicising the art of protest. Resistance culture, they fear, is to become redundant as radicals are displaced by liberals. Who then will lead the struggle for freedom?

This interpretation of Sachs' paper propagates the view that culture is ultimately a weapon of struggle — a spear for advancing and a shield for defending organised political action.

Others say Sachs offers a space for "progressive and affirmative cultural initiatives" which embrace and embolden human experiences in all their subtlety and diversity.

Some say Sachs is too removed from the immediate situation in South Africa to comprehend the apparent problems facing political activists, cultural workers or artists.

There are many who say all or part of the above, while only a few would hesitate to say "Ag man, Albie, com'on home!"

The 1980s was a time when political activists wanted to be called cultural workers. Now, in 1990, cultural workers want to be artists.

As for the issue of women, we'll still wait and see.

A portrait of Jacob Zuma

Wj Mant 23/3 - 29/3/90

JACOB ZUMA, the African National Congress's chief of intelligence, never attended school. Instead, he says, "The struggle educated me."

He was born in 1942 in "the intestines of Zululand", the forests of Nkandla. When his father died at the end of World War II, his mother became a domestic worker and Zuma, spent his early years moving between Zululand and Cato Manor, where his mother worked.

Zuma remembers trying to visit her at her work, "the dogs barking, the madam not wanting anyone to come near the house".

By the age of 15, he was doing odd-jobs to supplement his mother's meagre wage. "My mother very much wanted to educate me and I very much wanted to be educated, but somehow it just couldn't happen."

"I realised the hardships of life at a very early age. I didn't have what other children had. I realised my mother was suffering."

Contact with ANC members, including an elder brother, led him to the realisation that "the suffering was not just with me but with the black man in the country".

By 1959 he was an ANC member: "That's when I got a systematic political education; (it) concretised things for me."

He joined Umkhonto weSizwe in 1962. "I remember my mother getting very worried: 'My son, these things belong to the big people, the (Albert) Lutfulis and the (Nelson) Mandelas.'

11A

By GAYE DAVIS

11B

"But I felt I just couldn't fail to be in the thick of things. My view was that (by working) to correct the wrongs and participate in liberating South Africa, I'd be working for all the oppressed, not just myself or my family."

On his way out of the country for military training, Zuma was arrested near Zeerust in the Western Transvaal. It was 1963. Later that year he was convicted of conspiring to overthrow the government violently and was sentenced to 10 years on Robben Island.

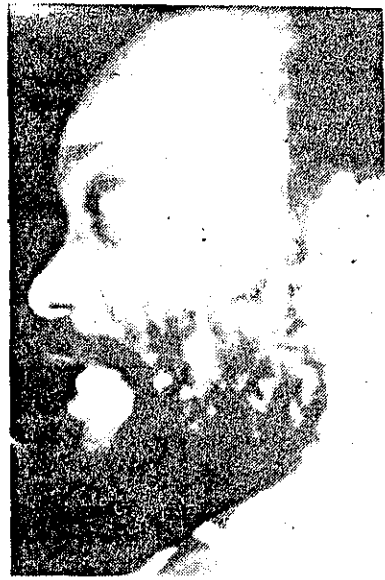
"We had to deal with warders who were thoroughly briefed on how to ill-treat us. It was tough, but we soldiered through."

During his Robben Island years, Zuma had not a single visitor. He next saw his mother two weeks before his release.

Back in Durban, he picked up where he'd left off — mobilising internal resistance. When ANC veteran Harry Gwala was arrested in 1975, Zuma left the country: "I was supposed to be on trial with him."

For the next 12 years, based first in Swaziland and then in Mozambique, he dealt with the thousands of young exiles who poured out of the country in the wake of the Soweto uprising, slipping back himself clandestinely.

"I was told later the security branch were very angry they couldn't get me;



Home once more ... the ANC's intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma

they just missed me by inches."

He rose rapidly within the ANC: in 1978 he joined the national executive, on which he has served ever since, and was appointed to its politico-military council when it was formed in the mid-1980s.

Zuma says he is now "more optimistic than ever about the situation" — but the way ahead is strewn "with landmines".

"There's no way back, the struggle at the political level has become so intense."

Songs for a change get SA première

By JAY SAVAGE

W/maand
23/3-29/3/90
11A

A BRITISH documentary investigating the emergence of a South African culture of liberation is likely to find healthy interest when it is screened for the first time in this country, at the Durban Film Festival.

Angus Gibson's *Singing the Changes* was commissioned by the independent Channel 4 network and is part of a documentary series entitled *Signals*.

Gibson is a thoughtful, thorough film-maker. He draws relaxed, forthright responses from his interview subjects; and, to present views on issues such as the evolution and effectiveness of the cultural boycott, the expanded role of culture and the cultural activist during the 1980s crackdown, and the propagation by the SABC of the idea of ethnic compartmentalisation, he has assembled a formidable array of personalities. Just some of these are writers Nadine Gordimer, Wally Serote and Achmat Dangor; poets Mzwakhe Mbuli and Don Mattera; academics Ian Steadman and Ruth Tomaselli; and theatre figures John Kani, Pieter-Dirk Uys, Mbongeni Ngema and Barney Simon.

There's a lot packed into *Singing the Changes* and some might bemoan the film's concentrated Johannesburg focus. Perhaps the film's least successful sequence is the one which features the Natal Sarmcol Workers' production of *Bambatha's Children*. The play grew out of the wage dispute at British-linked BTR Sarmcol; the way it's handled here, though, suggests a crude BBC-TV attempt to "bring the issue home" to the likely British viewer. The same can be said of the interviews with Glenda Jackson. Nonetheless, and despite the fact that it is aimed squarely at the European viewer, *Singing the Changes* is a comprehensive and accomplished taking of stock.

And, of course, its subject matter is intrinsically filmic: included here is exciting (but all too brief) footage of Sakhile in performance, Peter Ngwenya's Youth Theatre in rehearsal and Mzwakhe in full flight at the Cosatu Cultural Congress. The single strongest scenes are those occupied by the wonderfully eloquent Don Mattera. Talking of the *resorgimento* (resurrection) of South African culture, Mattera has a mystical presence and his beaming face is exquisitely photographed. His recitation of an eight-line poem, *The Final Song*, ends this distinguished film on a memorably high note.

Jurgen Schadeberg, whose *Have You Seen Drum Recently?* was featured at last year's festival, has a new documentary on show this year. Retaining much of the archive-y feel that audiences responded warmly to in the *Drum* movie, *In the Name of Mandela — War and Peace* constructs a linear presentation of the milestone political events of the century in order to trace the history of the African National Congress up to the end of the 1980s. It's an extraordinarily informative piece of work.

The ex-*Drum* photographer, Schadeberg, is a film-maker with a keen eye, and he presents his bulky material fluidly. In a film that manages — in 53 minutes flat — to take in Sol Plaatje, the turbulence of the 1920s, the Smuts-Malan conflict, pass laws and defiance campaigns, Sharpeville, Sophiatown, the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe and the armed

P.T.O. →

were not keen. This did not deter Williams, could complain. A big job was had by all.

Songs for change at film festival

W.M. 23/3 - 24/3/90
struggle, Soweto 1976, and a comprehensive run-through of the 1980s, there's bound to be meagre space for detail — and some might be uncomfortable at the film's packaging of history; yet its style and economy are to be greatly admired.

In the Name of Mandela tells its story broadly, swiftly and also critically — it treats the 1980s particularly unflinchingly. An indication of Schadeberg's stance is provided in the film's final section — which deals with the release of Sisulu and the welcoming rally at Soccer City — when the narrator (a sombre Sean Taylor) remarks that "in the nature of things few present (at the rally) witnessed FW de Klerk's inaugural speech, so hardly anyone notices that the words and sentiments of the

ANC leaders are remarkably close to De Klerk's".

There's a small point of criticism for this compelling film: an exceedingly busy soundtrack — both music and sound effects — is unnecessarily intrusive and distracting. There's only so much information you can receive in 53 minutes.

● *Singing the Changes* and *In the Name of Mandela* will be screened at the Durban Film Festival, which begins this Sunday at the Elizabeth Sneddon Theatre. They will also be screened in programmes still to be announced when the festival travels to Umlazi, Chatsworth and Lamontville.

From PAGE 25

To advertise in the Weekly Mail, please phone 3313321



High-energy ... Mahlatini, highlight of the concert with his Mahotella Queens

Picture: MARK GUTHRIE

A spacious jol for Nelson

W/Mail 23/3 - 29/3/90

11A



By SHAUN DE WAAL

ONE could be forgiven the presumption, based on last Saturday's Ellis Park concert, that the colours of the human rainbow are yellow, green and black.

Every conceivable form of African National Congress and Nelson Mandela merchandise was on sale — from a wide variety of T-shirts, posters, caps, visors, flags and umbrellas to plaited wool with tassles, to be used as a headband or just to drape over the shoulder.

Of course, there was a dash of red — the red of the South African Communist Party, and the red of empty seats.

There was a sizeable crowd in attendance at its peak, but nowhere near the 100 000 that were expected. Estimates of the numbers that did attend ranged from 7 000 to 30 000.

Why was attendance so far below expectations? Compère Alex Jay suggested that potential concertgoers were "scared"; presumably, he meant whites. Maybe the ANC is still the bogeyman in some minds, and they feared the

mysteries of a (semi-)political gathering. Another reason may be the comparatively little promotion the concert got (tiny compared to the Big Birthday Concert at Ellis Park); this was due to the date being pushed forward so that Mandela would be able to attend.

Others suggested that black music-lovers stayed away because it was mid-month and the R15 ticket-price was too high. One concertgoer told me that many people had arrived with booze and, when told alcohol would not be allowed in, went elsewhere to drink it.

Whatever the reason, the attendance was disappointing. But that is not to say the concert wasn't a jol. More of a jol, in fact, than many another mega-bash made uncomfortable by overcrowding and congestion.

A carnival atmosphere prevailed. The per-

● To PAGE 26

P.T.O. →

Ample space at Nelson's jol

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u/ Mail 23/3 - 29/3/90
formers seemed very happy to be able to pay tribute to Mandela, and many a long human chain jived its way round the stadium chanting and waving. Cries of "Amandla!" were frequent; a forest of fists was raised at every opportunity. Many vendors dropped their trays to join the jubilation, and circles of dancers, joined hands lifted above their heads, cheered each other on.

And the music was, generally, good. Friends First did an impassioned version of Bob Dylan's *I Shall Be Released*, and Jennifer Ferguson's tribute to Irene and Wilton Mkwayi, *Sweet Freedom*, was strong and moving. Sakhile and Sankomota turned in immaculate sets, and Ladysmith Black Mambazo had the crowd swaying from side to side.

The overall highlight was Mahlatini and the Mahotella Queens, who put on their usual high-energy show.

Playing just before Mandela's appearance, Condry Ziqubu engendered frenzy with his hit *Skorokoro*. This consummate showman even used the echo off the amplifiers to telling effect in his impersonation of a car that won't start.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was to have opened the concert at 10am, appeared at about 3pm, and made a cheerful but aggressive speech. Then DJ Lunga Williams took over to introduce Mandela to the crowd, and that's when things got embarrassing.

Killing time, Williams tried to get the crowd to count backwards with him from 15; they were not keen. This did not deter Williams,

● From PAGE 25

who kept blathering on, then threatened to start at 15 again — when the crowd, agonisingly, had just got down to zero.

Then he reeled off a long list of glowing titles to Mandela — not deficient in sentiment, of course, but more appropriate to a pop-star or prizefighter. The section of the crowd in which I stood was beginning to shout insults.

Perhaps Williams should offer his services to James Brown, who likes a long hyped-up intro of progressively grander and grander titles.

Eventually, Mandela, looking not a bit jet-lagged after his rushed overseas trip, came onto the stage, with other ANC leaders, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and Andrew Mlangeni, plus family-members, in tow.

He paid tribute to musicians who had thrown their weight behind the "struggle". Then he said, "We have not come to make speeches. We have come to entertain ourselves."

When it started to rain during a wonderful set by Sankomota, the crowd took shelter under canvas sheets that had been laid on the playing field to protect the grass. The entire field became an undulating series of white canvas hills.

Low attendance or no, rain or sun — the Human Rainbow Concert was definitely not a flop. The organisers may not have made as much money as they'd hoped, but no one there could complain. A big jol was had by all.

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SON SHOT . . . Mrs Ethelene Beja, 63, of Old Crossroads, whose son Sipoto, 28, was shot dead through his sister's front door during a campaign of intimidation against residents moving into newly built homes.



DANGER HOMES . . . Some of the 200 newly completed homes in Phase 2, Old Crossroads, whose occupants have been subjected to vicious attacks and shooting over the past three weeks.

Pictures: ANNE LAING

Three shot dead over new homes

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AT LEAST three people have been shot dead, two wounded and 23 homes attacked as a campaign of intimidation against Old Crossroads residents moving into newly built houses gathered momentum this week.

One murder victim, identified yesterday as Mr Sipoto Xati, 28, was shot twice at point-blank range through the front door of his sister's petrol-bombed new home.

Reliable official sources said that only 52 of 200 completed four-room homes in Phase 2, Old Crossroads, had been occupied since they were allocated and the keys handed to their prospective occupants three weeks ago.

The latest killings of two un-

identified men and the wounding of another unidentified man came on Thursday evening last week as they were walking from their new home.

Mr Xati, who worked as a gardener in Constantia, was gunned down and his sister, Ms Daki Beja, 48, wounded when men, allegedly armed with a shotgun and petrol bombs, attacked their Phase 2 home a fortnight ago.

Fraud inquiry

His mother, Mrs Ethelene Beja, 63, said her son and daughter had no involvement in ongoing factional violence between supporters of Old Crossroads mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and 14 of his headmen who broke away early last year.

The breakaway headmen, under the leadership of Mr Geoffrey

Nongwe, have been calling for the resignation of Mr Ngxobongwana and his six-man Old Crossroads committee, four of whom face charges ranging from murder to pointing a firearm. A five-month police fraud investigation into alleged misappropriation of "millions" of rands in tithes by Mr Ngxobongwana and his committee reached the attorney-general's office this week.

According to a well-placed official, the CPA were trying to place new occupants of the homes in a central block to avoid any of them being singled out on the project's outskirts.

Interviewed in their new homes yesterday, several residents said that while they were scared, they had waited several years to move out of tents or shacks and "nothing will budge us now".

Masekela bows out of UK Mandela concert

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Own Correspondent (114)

LONDON. — Legendary trumpeter Hugh Masekela, the doyen of exiled South African musicians, has withdrawn from next month's concert at Wembley Stadium to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

This was confirmed yesterday by the concert's public relations company and follows a protest this week by exiled black South African musicians at the short period allotted them in the Easter Monday concert.

Billed to perform alongside such greats as Tracy Chapman, Neil Young, Peter Gabriel and Simple Minds, Masekela's withdrawal reflects an apparent groundswell of disillusionment with the format of the concert among exiled black South African musicians.

While Masekela, touring in the British Midlands, could not be contacted

yesterday, he did spell out his reasons for not performing in an article in the New Statesman magazine.

Stating curtly that "we have other bookings", he said: "The last time we did this show at Wembley, it turned out to be more of a showcase for top British groups than it had to do with Mandela's birthday, or with the solidarity thing for all of us.

"The British people have a right to welcome Mandela's release but you have to realise that our obsessions and anxieties are not momentary. We have lived with this thing long before it became fashionable. I've lived with it for 51 years, so one day does not make the wound heal.

"It's very good for Mandela and his colleagues to get visibility, but I think we look forward to playing for them at home, under the right conditions in a free country."

Is ANC about to burst into print?

ONE of the subjects of intense bar-room gossip in Windhoek this week had to do with the future of the press down south in the relatively less-racist Republic.

The word is that the ANC is thinking seriously of launching its own newspaper at home soon. My, my, how quickly has the previously unthinkable become the distinctly possible.

There have been many newspapers over the years which reflected the viewpoints of the ANC, particularly since the birth of the "alternative" weeklies in the 1980s, but an official "party paper" is a different thing.


The ANC did once have an official organ, as aficionados will know, and a lively one it was too. But *Abantu-Batho* died a rather ignominious death long before the Nationalists came to power and its like was never seen again.

What would the ANC call the new one? How would it affect the circulations of other papers speaking to similar audiences? Would one-time journalist Andrew Mlangeni or, indeed, many of the other ANC/GACP veterans, who combined their lives as activists with spells as scribes, take up the old profession? I'll be sure to let you know.

Stg 24/3/87

The Left Stuff

SHAUN JOHNSON



● Speaking of the astonishingly rapid reintegration of the ANC into our national life, who would have believed that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani could be about to pass through Jan Smuts customs?

Hani it was who became a pet hate for whites after giving an uncompromising interview in Lusaka about the armed struggle. Now his arrival is imminent.

And it raises the question, as *New Nation* astutely points out, of how the Government can justify continuing to jail ANC guerillas while their boss moves about freely, with official sanction.

● *Vrye Weekblad* celebrates Namibian independence with a special supplement this week and, indeed, all the alternative weeklies go town on the birth of the world's newest republic.

The whole affair was, well, very Namibian, they conclude, but if there was chaos, it was amiable and benign. *Weekly Mail* cartoonist Abe Berry puts a controversial question: is FW planning to use the same sincere, impressive and optimistic speech for the inauguration of President Mandela?

● Shades of the past in a *New Nation* exposé this week: taking leaves out of *Drum* magazine and the *Rand Daily Mail* in their heydays, *New Nation* carried chilling pictures and revealed details of conditions "Inside Apartheid Dungeons". The response of the government will bear watching.

In the "old South Africa", reporters and publishers who ventured behind the bars found themselves in a lot of trouble indeed. Is this sort of investigation permissible in the "new SA"?

Perhaps the State President would be kind enough to let us know.

● I can't resist relating, courtesy of *Vrye Weekblad* columnist Brolloks en Bittergal, a joke doing the rounds in Windhoek this week. Q: "What's the difference between South Africa and Eastern Europe?" A: "South Africa has a Communist Party." It was told by an East German diplomat.

Ironically, the NP and ANC have become dependent on

Crossing the divide

PATRICK LAURENCE

"THE Pope!" Stalin once exclaimed. "How many divisions has he got?" His exclamation, made 55 years ago in response to advice that he should be more generous towards Catholics, is apposite to South Africa today.

As South Africa enters the phase of pre-negotiation manoeuvres, the two main adversaries, the ruling National Party and the recently unbanned African National Congress, are counting their divisions and, equally important, trying to count those of the opposition.

The outcome of the negotiations, which start with "talks about talks" on April 11, depends as much on the relative strength of the two parties as on their negotiating skills and stamina.

Thus, any appraisal of the negotiating strategies of the two sides must start with the assumption that each will try to deploy as many divisions as possible at or near the negotiating table.

A key aspect of the NP's strategy is to avoid a situation where it and the ANC were the only interlocutors at the table; it wants to ensure that South Africa's black people were represented by a variety of organisations and forces.

Judging from statements made by President de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the man he has mandated as his chief negotiator, they want "moderate" or "responsible" — or, more cynically, "pliable" — black leaders to be present at the table.

These men include the Chief Ministers of the six black "self-governing homelands" — or bantustans, as they are pejoratively called — and delegates drawn from the ranks of the black township councillors.

It is pertinent to recall that in his watershed February 2 speech, Mr de Klerk pointedly thanked political leaders who had "always resisted violence", meaning those who had neither joined nor applauded "armed resistance" against apartheid and minority rule.

He specifically mentioned the Chief Ministers, singling out the Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi by name, and the "urban community leaders".

Since then, an apparently small but not insignificant news item appears to have past almost unnoticed: after meeting representatives of the National Forum last month, Dr Viljoen pronounced that he was satisfied that it had proved that it was representative enough to be present at the negotiating table.

The National Forum consists mainly if not entirely of black town councillors. Its sudden appearance last year received prominent coverage from the



FAST WORKER: The speed of F W de Klerk's moves since he took office last September has caught many of his opponents off balance.



ON GUARD: Nelson Mandela has to protect the ANC the radicalism of the PAC which has distanced itself

state-controlled SABC.

The driving force behind the National Forum seemed to be Mr John Mvuso, a tough-talking former ANC man who is perceived as a defector in some quarters; he was the first black man to be appointed to the Transvaal Provincial executive committee.

The De Klerk-Viljoen hope is that these "moderate" leaders will provide an ideological bal-

ance to the radicalism of the ANC. In that sense — to change the metaphor — they are potential "divisions" on Mr de Klerk's side.

The ANC's counter-strategy has been simple: to put pressure on these men either to join the ANC or to

destroy or discredit them. The pressure has taken the form of massive demonstrations on the ground, of continual agitation through pro-ANC organisations against bantustans and bantustan policy.

Speaking of "bantustan leaders", Mr Aziz Pahad, an ANC executive member, sums up ANC strategy succinctly in an interview with The New African.

He anticipates that there will be only two camps at the negotiating table: the democratic camp (headed by the ANC) and the regime's camp. "We have to work towards ensuring that we pull them out of the enemy camp and into the democratic camp," he says.

The comments of Mr Titus Mafolo, of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front, about turmoil in Bophuthatswana apply

to all the "homelands" where the Chief Ministers have not yet crossed to the "democratic camp".

"The spirit of defiance must spread to all areas of Bop and must be such that (President Lucas) Mangope will not be able to stand against

the tide," he says.

Linked to the ANC bid to deprive Mr de Klerk of his black auxiliaries is a simultaneous campaign to woo whites in order to narrow his support base. One thinks here of meetings organised by the ANC and its ideological ally, the UDF, under the slogan "A call to whites". One thinks, too, of their assurances that the ANC is committed to non-racialism.

On the ground, however, there are tensions or contradictions between the two policies.

Pressure on the bantustan leaders in the present volatile situation often ignites violence; the violence, in turn, frightens whites and drives them back into the "regime's camp", particularly when whites are killed or injured by frenzied black mobs.

To some extent there is little the ANC leadership can do about it. Events in the townships and peri-urban areas have acquired a momentum of their own. From Mr Mandela down, however, the ANC leaders try to minimise the violence by appealing for disciplined pressure and condemning violent action as counter-productive.

But while the ANC is striving to foment defeatism in, and encourage desertion from, Mr de Klerk's battalions, it has, of course, to consolidate its own support.

It is in that context that Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of the ANC's policy of nationalisation and armed struggle must be seen.

It does not follow that Mr Mandela's public commitment to these causes is prompted merely by tactical considerations. His affirmation is more than rhetorical. There is no evidence of contradiction between his public and private stands on these issues.

Tactical concerns are, however, real. The ANC, with Mr

Mandela as its most prominent spokesman, has to guard its left flank against the radicalism of the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC has distanced itself from negotiations, sensing that they are a "trap" which Mr de Klerk, encouraged by Western leaders, is preparing to ensnare black leaders with.

If the PAC can persuade the people in the townships that the ANC is compromising their fun-

damental interests, that the ANC is sacrificing their hopes for equality in return for a share of power and privilege, it will gain popular support at the expense of its rival.

Thus the ANC dare not allow itself to be perceived as "soft", still less an organisation led by men with the contemptible ambitions and parochial vision of the petite bourgeoisie.

Linked to the ANC's determination to consolidate its own ranks is a related strategic objective: to establish or re-establish a deeply-rooted legal ANC presence. It goes far beyond the task of setting up offices and requires money, energy and time.

Mr Mandela's appeals for in-

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the divisions



ON GUARD: Nelson Mandela has to protect the ANC's left flank against the radicalism of the PAC which has distanced itself from negotiations.

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hat there will s at the nego- e democratic (the ANC) and). "We have to uring that we f the enemy ne democratic of Mr Titus o-ANC United it, about tswana apply to all the "homelands" where the Chief Ministers have not yet crossed to the "democratic camp". "The spirit of defiance must spread to all areas of Hop and must be such that (President Lucas) Mangope will not be able to stand against ANC bid to de- k of his black simultaneous oo whites in his support here of meet- the ANC and ily, the UDF, an "A call to ks, too, of their e ANC is com-ialism.

On the ground, however, there are tensions or contradictions between the two policies. Pressure on thebantustan leaders in the present volatile situation often ignites violence; the violence, in turn, frightens whites and drives them back into the "regime's camp", particularly when whites are killed or injured by frenzied black mobs. To some extent there is little the ANC leadership can do about it. Events in the townships and peri-urban areas have acquired a momentum of their own. From Mr Mandela down, however, the ANC leaders try to minimise the violence by appealing for disciplined pressure and condemning violent action as counter-productive. But while the ANC is striving to foment defeatism in, and encourage desertion from, Mr de Klerk's battalions, it has, of course, to consolidate its own support. It is in that context that Mr Mandela's reaffirmation of the ANC's policy of nationalisation and armed struggle must be seen. It does not follow that Mr Mandela's public commitment to these causes is prompted merely by tactical considerations. His affirmation is more than rhetorical. There is no evidence of contradiction between his public and private stands on these issues. Tactical concerns are, however, real. The ANC, with Mr

Mandela as its most prominent spokesman, has to guard its left flank against the radicalism of the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC has distanced itself from negotiations, sensing that they are a "trap" which Mr de Klerk, encouraged by Western leaders, is preparing to ensnare black leaders with. If the PAC can persuade the people in the townships that the ANC is compromising their fundamental interests, that the ANC is sacrificing their hopes for equality in return for a share of power and privilege, it will gain popular support at the expense of its rival. Thus the ANC dare not allow itself to be perceived as "soft", still less an organisation led by men with the contemptible ambitions and parochial vision of the petite bourgeoisie. Linked to the ANC's determination to consolidate its own ranks is a related strategic objective: to establish or re-establish a deeply-rooted legal ANC presence. It goes far beyond the task of setting up offices and requires money, energy and time. Mr Mandela's appeals for in-

ternational aid not to cease now that Mr de Klerk has unbanned the ANC, flows from his realisation that to mobilise support in a disciplined, concerted manner is a mammoth task. Mr Raymond Suttner, a member of the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement leadership corps, puts it clearly in a paper prepared for discussion in ANC circles on the task ahead. "When we speak of setting up ANC structures we mean organising the ANC as a living presence within the people. "We also mean locating the ANC as every level of the community. "Discipline does not mean ordering people around or meek obedience to se- niors. It means we act together in such a way that the enemy can be dealt with as effectively, single-mindedly and powerfully as possible. "A thousand blows mean nothing if they miss their target. Whatever blows we strike, from whatever sector, must reach their actual target." To achieve that level of organisation requires time. Mr de Klerk, however, does

'South Africa's fate now depends on a De Klerk-Mandela double act. By 1994, South Africa may have to choose one of the two as its President.'

Wrong road to tourism

Greenpiece

JAMES CLARKE



THE TOURIST industry is set to boom in southern Africa. After all, we have so much. Our cities are relatively clean and safe; our roads are magnificent, our game viewing fantastic, the exchange rate attractive... But lately I have begun to wonder if we are ready for a boom. Try getting into Kruger Park for a start. Try getting into any reserve. (Yet here we are about to devalue St Lucia.) Or imagine this: South Africa's top country inn — for the second year running — is almost impossible to find for the simple reason it is not allowed adequate road signs. Who says? The Provincial roads engineers! They're not paid to think about tourism, but they are in charge. The inn is the Coach House at Agatha, in the hills above Tzaneen. Foreign visitors approach it mostly from the east because the Coach House has a tie-up with a bushveld game lodge. But the roads engineers will not allow the hotel to have a sign east of Tzaneen. Visitors are forced to drive into the town and find their way from there. I had the devil's own job myself. When I got there I heard another disturbing story auguring badly for tourism. **Embarrassed** Some Swiss travel agents were invited by the proprietor to a rather sumptuous picnic to be prepared by the hotel's chef at Shingwedzi. The party entered the reserve early in the morning and the chef — a black man — followed later with the food. The person at the Kruger Park gate was loathe to let him through and embarrassed him deeply by demanding: "Where's your master?" The man is a noted chef, trained in Paris. I also experienced, when entering the park recently, a very sour face at reception. In this same region I recently searched, in vain, for the Hans Merensky Game Reserve. My map was woefully wrong, but the lack of road signs aggravated the situation. Not far away is the Woodbush Forest Reserve with South Africa's highest tree (an 82.4m eucalyptus which may also be the world's highest planted tree). There are no signs pointing to Woodbush. I was in Cape Town a month ago in a top ranking hotel (at R177 just for the bed) and found the bed had fleas in it, the main light did not work, there were no waiters to serve breakfast until 15 minutes had gone, there was lipstick on my cup... Until we shed our morose socialist republic style image we don't deserve visitors.

Escape the habit

Political Staff

THE government gave prior approval for five members of the ANC national executive committee — including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani — to come to South Africa in preparation for the April 11 talks in the city.

This was confirmed yesterday by senior government sources.

Officially, however, the government was tight-lipped about the pending visits and about reports that two senior ANC members — chief of security Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Phaniel Mandela — held exploratory discussions with government officials in Pretoria this week.

Mr Zuma is, as far as is known, the first external ANC executive member to enter South Africa since the organisation

Govt cleared top ANC men for talks

CAPE Times 24/3/90
NA

was unbanned seven weeks ago.

The Constitutional Development Services said in a statement yesterday that as had been already announced by the government and the ANC, a meeting would take place between President F W de Klerk and the ANC on April 11.

"The ANC delegation will consult with people within and outside South Africa.

"For the purpose of ar-

ranging the meeting and dealing with the logistics, it is necessary for ANC officials to meet with government officials inside South Africa from time to time.

"The Constitutional Development Service is responsible for this process.

"At this stage, confidentiality of the discussions regarding the arrangements for the meeting of the April 11 meeting is of importance

to both sides."

A spokesman said the service would make no further comment at this stage.

However, in view of the fact that Mr De Klerk has stated that the ANC was free to include whoever it liked in its delegation and that yesterday's statement accepted that ANC officials would have come to South Africa beforehand, it can safely be concluded that the five national executive committee members' visits were given official approval.

This was, in fact, confirmed yesterday by government sources, who asked not to be named.

New Nation reported that Mr Zuma, who was due to return to Lusaka yesterday, had visited South Africa twice in 10 days and will return again on Monday.

ANC to visit Lebowa

PIETERSBURG. — An ANC delegation would visit Lebowa tomorrow, Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodiike announced yesterday.

Mr Ramodiike said during a special session of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly the ANC delegation would be led by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said Mr Mandela would also address people at a meeting at the University of the North on the same day.

All members of the public as well as members of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly and all political organisations would be welcome, he said. — Sapa

Much is heard of the top men in the ANC and thousands of words have been written about Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and the like. But there are some women in the top hierarchy of the ANC too. BEVERLY ROOS met many senior members of the organisation in Lusaka last year, talks about some of the top women.

WOMEN IN THE ANC



Beverly Roos chats to Ruth Mompati, one of the top women on the NEC.

GERRRUE SHOPE, 64, is the most senior woman in the ANC, and ranks among the top dozen officials on the National Executive Committee (NEC).
Born in 1925 in Johannesburg, she completed her primary teacher's training in Zimbabwe. She taught for many years before joining the ANC in 1954. In 1966 she went into exile, following her husband, ANC activist Mark Shope. They have three children.
Mrs Shope has been on the NEC since 1981, and also heads their Women's Section.

This, she explained to me, "is an acknowledgement by the ANC that there is a need to especially address the emancipation of women."
She believes the experience of oppression should never be trivialised, even though black women suffer more widely under the sexist, apartheid-ridden system in South Africa than their white counterparts. But any attempt to sow division between women is typical of a "divide and rule" strategy.

"Maids and madams"

Her grave, still face belies a powerful and passionate opponent of apartheid. We, in the Five Freedoms delegation to Lusaka last year, seldom heard her speak yet, when she did, it was compelling stuff.
Domestic work is a special area of concern for her, partly because she vividly remembers her own family's encounters with their white employers. At present more than 42 percent of working black women are domestic workers, and the ANC recognises that many will continue to earn their livelihood this way.

She believes the relationships between "maids" and their "madams" need to be examined, and she wants white women to familiarise themselves with the working conditions recommended by the South African Domestic Workers' Union.



By BEVERLY ROOS

"WHO will rule" in the post-apartheid South Africa is a hotly debated issue right now.

But it takes on a new meaning and dimension when the question of "Who's The Boss" plunges it into the even more emotional field of sexism.

The hard truth is that many, if not the majority of South Africans, would rather be ruled by men of any colour than be ruled by women.

Yet this vital issue which is being pushed onto the political back-burner will have a profound effect on the way the new South Africa is perceived, and how it will function.

It is sad that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy, records a recent ANC document on gender and the constitutional rights of women.

In producing this working paper, listing problems and approaches to the gender question, the ANC is the first political movement to seriously address the gender issue in a coherent and systematic way.

It points out that patriarchy is so firmly rooted that it is frequently given a cultural "halo". Those who dare challenge this are seen as destroyers of African tradition, or Afrikaner ideals, or civilised British values.

Male-dominated

Every political movement or organisation in this country is male-dominated except for those women's-only groups such as Black Sash and Uweo. Accused of being sexist in turn, they point to the male domination of the other organisations, and declare their need to create their own political space.

In spite of the long political track-record of women such as Helen Joseph, Helen Suzman, Albertina Sisulu and Ellen Kuzwayo, and organisations like Fedswa, Sadow and Sash, and such actions as the 1959 anti-pass demonstrations, women are still treated as if they have little ability and no place in the formal political arena.

The National Party? In their long history they've produced only a handful of women MPs and only one woman in the cabinet, the recently-appointed Dr Rina Venter.

A glamorous woman MP from their ranks told me some years ago how discouraged she was at the sexism in her party, and how fed up she was with P W Botha's habit of lightly dismissing them as "onze rose" (our roses).

The Conservative Party has no women MPs. The only one they ever had, Mrs Bessie Scholtz, stepped into her dead husband's shoes.

The Democratic Party? It has only two women MPs, both talented but politically untried. Dr Ester-Lategan, in spite of her remarkable performance in Matieland in 1989 and Stellenbosch in 1987, was snubbed by the DP when nominating members to the House of Assembly and the President's Council.

WHO WILL RULE?

ANC FIRST TO LOOK AT ROLE OF SEXISM IN POLITICS

The ANC? Now careful to use non-sexist language like "chairperson" and "one-person-one-vote" (consistently misquoted in press headlines), it still has only three women on its national executive committee, and, impressive as Gertrude Shope, Jackie Molele and Ruth Mompati are, political groupings and the media regularly overlook them in favour of their junior male counterparts.

The UDF? The highly-respected Albertina Sisulu is a political figure in her own right. But her high office is due, at least in part, to the political symbolism of her husband's name, Walter Sisulu. Cosatu has a widely-condemned track record of sexist practice, as the experienced Emma Mashini and Myrtle Witbooi will testify. And who can name a powerful woman in Inkatha? Are there any?

Women are as intelligent, as talented and as determined as men. Why, then, are they missing from politics? The explanation is very complex, but, put in its most simplistic form, men for the past 5 000 years have controlled — and used — the three most important powers: physical power, economic power and socio-political power. And as everyone knows, including the blacks in this country, it's really difficult to break into a "closed shop."

Women not encouraged

Those who do are usually judged on how closely they stick to the established norms. The ultra-hawkish Mrs Margaret Thatcher is an excellent example of a woman who has absorbed and reinforced the behaviour patterns of a male-dominated society. She has not a single woman cabinet minister and has neither promoted nor encouraged women in politics.

Most South Africans have no difficulty in understanding why it is important to involve all "colour" and community groupings in the process of negotiation. Yet they have real difficulty in understanding why the same principle should be applied to women, not realising, perhaps, how destructive and inaccurate it is for both sexes to be ruled by a society which sees things only from one viewpoint.

Such tunnel-vision makes it possible for the Sunday Times to publish a photographic mock-up of "who might be at the negotiating table," showing black and white men, but no women. A more

useful question could have been asked: who's missing?

The ANC document on gender suggests that, "instead of taking a completely gender-neutral approach (to the Constitution), which in reality seeks to assimilate women into a world constructed around male interests and male ways of seeing things, the Constitution should permit and require the law to look at the actual lives that women lead and thereby enable women to define for themselves what their expectations and priorities are."

The startling point must always, it says, be the claims and perceptions of the persons most affected: in this case, women.

Moreover, the principle should not be that women are made equal to men, which requires the adoption of patriarchal norms, but that *men and women should be equal to each other*. That this is a radically different concept can be easily gauged by suggesting to South Africa men that, in the proposed new Constitution, men be made equal to women, with women deciding the terms... watch their reaction!

Shift towards non-sexism

The ANC's older document, the proposed "constitutional guidelines for a democratic South Africa" which has been doing the rounds for the past year, has a single clause in it relating specifically to women: "Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes."

If this more recent document on gender is an accurate reflection of the ANC's current position, then it seems that a further shift has taken place towards non-sexism, and that the issue will be more rigorously addressed at the negotiating table.

A word of caution to those who still play the broken old record of "man is a generic" extensive research and documentation in the past two decades in particular has proved beyond dispute that "man" is a false generic.

And futile references to the so-called authority of "dictionaries" conveniently ignores the findings of the large body of socio-linguistic research available here, not to mention historical efforts to colonise the language for men: as recently as 1859 an Act of Parliament in Britain forced through an edict that "he" stood for "she", in spite of vigorous opposition from pressure groups. As there were no women in Parliament, it's not surprising that the Act was smoothly passed.

If that's not a warning to women about the need to be properly represented... the Act was subsequently conveniently used to exclude women from membership of professional and other bodies, on the grounds that the "he" referred to in rules of inclusion, did not refer to "she".

The challenge now is for all political organisations, including the ANC, to devise a method of perfecting not only a non-racial, but also a non-sexist democracy. It is no longer a question of "whether"... for the gender issue is already on the negotiating table. It will be interesting to see how the various players respond.

ANC banner burst into flames

1/14 Own Correspondent *CAT 24/3/90*
EAST LONDON. — A taxi driver yesterday claimed he saw a man "catapulting" fishing-line attached to sinkers over the ANC banner in Oxford Street minutes before the banner burst into flame late on Tuesday night.

Mr John Schultz said he was approached by a man who had pulled a balaclava over his head and was fiddling with long strands of fishing-line and a sinker.

Mr Schultz said the man then used a catapult to shoot the nylon over the

banner, and tied one end to a small tree on a traffic island.

The man had asked Mr Schultz to go to the shop and as Mr Schultz drove off, he saw the banner burst into flame.

Mr Schultz said when he returned the man was gone, and the banner was in tatters.

He was later questioned by the CID about the incident, he said.

Police are investigating a charge of malicious damage to property after a complaint was laid with the police.

Businessmen to meet ANC

Finance Staff

A delegation of 25 businessmen meets the ANC in Harare this weekend in a prelude to wide-ranging talks between big business and the organisation over the next few months.

The delegation comprises the chief executives of 11 of South Africa's largest companies, a senior member of a major Government parastatal and 13 other businessmen and academics.

The meeting has been arranged by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), headed by executive director Mr Christo Nel, and will give the business leaders an opportunity to discuss with the ANC its plans for the South African economy.

The agenda will focus largely on the

organisation's plans to nationalise key assets in the economy — and also on economic restructuring and the role of business in achieving a greater distribution of wealth.

The ANC is sending a 16-man team, headed by SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, who is in charge of the ANC's international affairs department.

The business delegation includes Mr Peter Wrighton, chief executive of Premier, Mr Murray Hofmeyr, CE of JEL, and Gencor general manager Mr Roodt Senior. Anglo American is represented by Mr Michael Spicer, personal assistant to outgoing chairman Mr Gavin Relly.

● See Page 3.

Indaba with ANC armed wing put off

By CHARIS PERKINS

A HISTORIC meeting between high profile Umkhonto we Sizwe members and South African military experts has been postponed in the face of the coming talks between the ANC and the Government.

The meeting between the ANC's military wing, former SADF members, military academics and members of the End Conscription Campaign — originally scheduled for next month — will now take place in the second week of May.

Organised by Idasa, it will examine ways to defuse long-standing hostility — and promote reconciliation — between the SADF and the ANC's military wing.

Declined

Idasa Western Cape director Nic Borain said the ANC had asked for the postponement because many of the representatives due to meet President De Klerk on April 11 also wanted to be at the Idasa meeting.

He said he would meet MK leader Chris Hani in Johannesburg early next week to discuss final arrangements.

"The ANC remains very enthusiastic," he said.

The SADF has meanwhile declined an invitation to take part.

Idasa invited the SADF to send four representatives,



BOB ROGERS

He'll meet MK leaders

but this week Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said integration with Umkhonto we Sizwe was "not on the table".

Mr Borain said Idasa was "disappointed" by the SADF's response.

"Their presence would have been invaluable," he said. "We hope, however, they will take a close interest in the proceedings."

Set to attend this week were the former chief of the Air Force and Democratic Party spokesman on defence, General Bob Rogers, former Chief of Air Staff Operations General Wally Black and DP President's Council member James Selfe.

Said Mr Selfe: "A new South Africa will need a defence force which symbolises national unity. And that cannot happen unless different parties involved get together to discuss integration."

Where has unity gone?



Jeff Masemola (centre) of the PAC, flanked by two Robben Islanders at George Thabe stadium.

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE 30th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, the first since the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, was marred by a stress on ideological differences.

People countrywide and abroad were disappointed to learn that members of different political groups failed to use the significance of the day as a rallying point for unity.

Sharpeville residents expressed shock and disappointment that political bodies were fighting over the right to honour the dead and called on leaders to urgently address the problem.

Political divisions mar Sharpeville Day

In Sharpeville cemetery, where most of the 69 victims of the tragic shootings are buried, a confrontation nearly broke out between UDF members and the PAC over who had a right to clean the graves.

The confrontation was narrowly avoided when the political rivals resolved to divide the graveyard into two areas, each to be attended by one group.

Tension also mounted at the George Thabe stadium when representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation were told they were not allowed to address the gathering and its members were prevented from waving their flags.

When Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe planned the launch of the anti-pass campaign 30 years ago, he may have anticipated a clash between police and demonstrators.

But he would never have expected a clash between black organisations over who had the right to commemorate the day.

City Press discovered the tiff between different organisations over who would honour Sharpeville Day has left residents of Sharpeville astounded.

"One fails to understand why a national disaster should be declared the sole right of a particular organisation. When

the people were shot, the police did not single out members of a particular organisation," said resident Ernest Nkete.

"As a result, the day should be a rallying point for the whole nation and not be hijacked by a particular political body because it wants to use it for its propaganda campaign."

Nkete said what needed to be stressed was the common goal of all the people and not different strategies to pursue their own goals.

This was echoed by Peter Voko, 60, who was present at the march in 1961 when 69 people were killed.

Standing in the cemetery, Voko told *City Press* that he escaped death by running for dear life.

"I could easily have been one of the people lying here today. How could I have had peace when in my eternal rest I would have my own people squabbling over who should remember my death and how?"

"The people in the graves must be turning in anguish because of fighting over the right to host their commemoration."

He called on leaders of the different organisations to urgently address the division around Sharpeville Day.

Another resident,



This rally at Evaton looks calm, but fights broke out between rival political factions at the Sharpeville cemetery.

Thabo Mabunda, said he had stayed away from work to observe the significance of the day.

"But the whole meaning of the day in changing the history of our struggle is fast vanishing from our minds."

"Today the possibility exists that the day could plunge our struggle into a Mozambican type of war that will see blacks pitted against each other."

Machone Marumo, Azapo chairman in the Vaal Triangle, expressed despair that his organisation was prevented from taking part in the service at George Thabe stadium in Sharpeville.

"We featured in the programme and had been invited to take part. However, we were overlooked when our turn came to speak."

"We are indignant that this had to happen at an occasion when we should come together as black people to remember one of our great tragedies."

However, PAC member Oscar Malgas said his organisation would not compromise on the significance of the day.

"Sharpeville Day marks the change in South African politics as

retary, Lawrence Nqandela, who said it would be a lie to pretend relations between the PAC and ANC were cordial on Sharpeville Day.

"Throughout history the ANC has not recognised the day because they allege the PAC was too impatient."

"We shall not use the day to create an impression of unity between us and other organisations. Point-scoring and propaganda campaigns are out of the question and we have to continue with our own programme of action."

Chairman of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Youth Congress, Mpho Machedi, admitted ideological differences marred the observation of Sharpeville Day.



Unity gone?

By SANDILE MEMELA

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"We are indignant that this had to happen at an occasion when we should come together as black people to remember one of our great tragedies."

However, PAC member Oscar Malgas said his organisation would not compromise on the significance of the day.

"Sharpeville Day marks the change in South African politics as a result of a programme of action initiated by Sobukwe.

"It would not be fair for us to let other organisations ride on the crest wave of the day for their own propaganda purposes."

This was echoed by Pan Africanist Student Organisation general sec-

retary, Lawrence Nqandela, who said it would be a lie to pretend relations between the PAC and ANC were cordial on Sharpeville Day.

"Throughout history the ANC has not recognised the day because they allege the PAC was too impatient.

"We shall not use the day to create an impression of unity between us and other organisations. Point-scoring and propaganda campaigns are out of the question and we have to continue with our own programme of action."

Chairman of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Youth Congress, Mpho Machedi, admitted ideological differences marred the observation of Sharpeville Day.

"Little doubt exists that the day belongs to all the people of South Africa and it is right that they should pay respects to it irrespective of their differences.

"But to underplay our different ideologies would be to deny that we do not think the same or see the same event through the same spectacles."



Peter Voko . . . Our dead heroes must be turning in their graves.

Bekkersdal youth organisations clash

By HAPPY ZONDI

BEKKERSDAL remained tense last week as a result of fighting between two youth organisations. The Bekkersdal Environmental Awareness Campaign (Beac) said this week: "We are perturbed with the leadership of both parties. They make statements from their offices, yet they cannot come and address the situation. We cannot even get them on the phone."

The two fighting parties are the Bekkersdal Youth Congress (Beyco)

and the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) - affiliated to UDF and Azapo, respectively.

According to Beac, the violence is a result of ideological differences which started on February 23 - the eve of Beyco's launch - when a member of Azasm allegedly tore down a poster belonging to Beyco. She was assaulted by Beyco members. Following the assault Azasm members attacked a Beyco member.

The next day Azasm tried to disrupt a meeting to launch Beyco. They

were attacked and one of the Azasm members was seriously injured.

A day later a shack dwelling of an Azasm member was attacked and destroyed by Beyco. During the day another Azasm member was hacked by a panga at Khothalang High School.

Following these incidents, a working committee was elected with the hope of bringing peace. It consisted of the principal of the school, Mafore Maya, the mayor, Johnny Mokome, a member of Beac and delegates from both Beyco and Azasm.

After the two parties met, it was agreed that the demolished shack would be repaired by both organisations and the working committee.

On February 27 Father Thato Modipa, elected by the working committee as a neutral go-between, called for the end of violence. The call was how-

ever not heeded by Beyco.

The next day two Azasm members - Douglas Chuma and Themba Temane were attacked. Chuma died, while Temane survived. Two members of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) affiliated to Azapo, were hacked to death.

On March 2 pamphlets said to have been written by both parties, were issued calling for a peace rally.

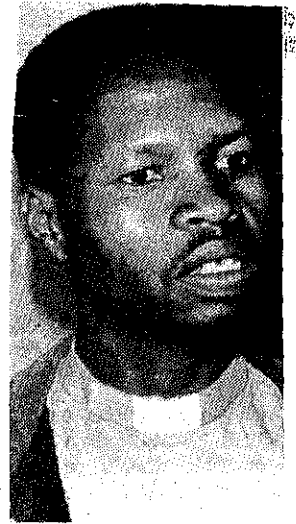
Azasm members said they could not attend as they were attending an Azapo conference the following day.

That day Beyco assembled at the local stadium for the peace rally. No Azasm members were present.

On March 10 violence victims were buried at a mass funeral.

The next week Beac wrote a letter to Azasm, Azapo, Beyco and Pan Africanist Students' Or-

Neutral mediator...
Father Thato Modipa.



ganisation (Paso), in an attempt to pursue the question of peace.

In reply to this, Beyco said it could not attend as their initiative to call for peace was also ignored.

Last Saturday Azasm members were attacked. Pule Molebatsi was killed. A petrol bomb was also hurled at the home of Azasm member Douglas Chuma, who was killed as a result of the ensuing violence. Next day another Azasm member, Barry Madingwa, was killed.

On Monday a meeting called by Beac for peace was not attended by Beyco. That night most of Beyco's members were arrested by the police.

Beac says it fears the unending friction between the two organisations will spread throughout the township. Already innocent people were have been caught in the crossfire.

ITS all systems go as the ANC prepares for an encounter with the NP government on April 11.

This time, however, we are not going to witness cross-border raids by the SADF or a military invasion of Umkhonto we Sizwe, or for that matter bitter political point scoring between old foes over who was right or wrong.

The meeting will focus on "talks about talks" to pave the way for future negotiations.

There will be no battle cries or offensive words like "terrorists, bandits and running dogs of war". This will be a battle of wits.

Government boasts seasoned negotiators like Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and others, while the ANC is proud to have Thabo Mbeki.

We are all anxious about the outcome of this meeting. We are crossing our fingers in the hope there are no obstacles, because should this happen black organisations who earlier had reservations about talking to government will say: "You see, we told you so."

On the other hand, rightwing elements will say to whites: "You see, the NP has sold you out."

At this stage all seems well. President de Klerk's government has been do-

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyá

High point in talk process



SABA IIA

C/Press 25/3/90

ing its homework. Their biggest coup was De Klerk's appearance at Namibia's independence on Wednesday.

Who would have dreamed a National Party leader would one day warmly greet the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Yasser Arafat? And what about De Klerk's talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and those African leaders who espouse communist ideology?

The ANC also seems geared up for talks. The first contingent of top ANC members led by Chris Hanu, deputy leader of the ANC military wing, is expected to arrive in Johannesburg today.

Already in the country, are ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and Penwell

Maduna of the ANC legal department in Lusaka. They arrived into the country on Wednesday.

The ANC, understandably, is playing its cards close to the chest and not revealing anything to the media. They know a wrong move on their part could throw the whole negotiation process into disarray.

However, certain names of those who will be arriving in South Africa today have been leaked.

The list of names shows the ANC is taking the whole matter seriously. They are not run-of-the-mill guys who left the country for nothing.

These are people who sacrificed cosy homes, good jobs, family life and education to venture into a world of the unknown.

Some of these people no longer have homes and their families were wiped out during unrest.

I remember talking to a leading ANC figure in Canada. He told me he left his East London home 30 years ago when he was only 16. He was forced to change his name to avoid South African intelligence forces abroad.

"It was really tough for a young man of my age to go through all this hell. Worst still to change the name given to you by your dear mother or father."

Today, Dr Francis Meli is a respectable figure, not only within ANC ranks but throughout Eastern and western Europe. He has a PhD in history from East Germany. For years he was editor of *Sechaba*, the ANC mouthpiece.

Some have horrifying stories to tell about life in exile. Chris Hanu had a close shave with death in 1981 during his seven-year stay in Lesotho when explosives were placed in his car.

Albie Sachs, who works in the ANC legal department, also had a close shave with death when his car was booby-trapped outside his home in Maputo. Sachs lost an arm and now walks with difficulty.

Other members of the ANC hierarchy were, however, not as lucky. Joe Gqabi, the first ANC representative in Harare and Dulcie September, ANC representative in Paris, were assassinated.

There are many other young men in ANC camps who will tell you about their brushes with death while fighting the enemy in the war zones.

It must have been a painful experience to see their comrades, with whom they fought against colonialists in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and later Namibia, return to their countries in victory.

I am confident it is not going to be too long before we too join the rest of Africa in celebrating our liberation. After all, we are the only ones left.

Now civic bodies are talking to the govt

C/PRESS 25/3/90

(11A)

By PATRICK MAFAFO

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's initiatives have brought about a new pragmatism among the most vocal of black civic associations - including the UDF.

For the benefit of local communities, previously unheard-of negotiations with government structures such as black councils are taking place.

First in this regard are various community groups affiliated to the UDF.

In Kagiso two UDF stalwarts, Lawrence Ntlokwa and Hector Moeketsi, are planning an estimated R30 million multi-purpose centre to cater for a community of close to 250 000 peo-

ple. This will include not only Kagiso, but Munsieville and Randfontein on the West Rand.

The centre will include conference, cinema and theatre facilities, a cricket pitch, a gym, a large swimming pool, an ice rink, resident medical and social workers and possibly a school of performing arts based on the TV series *Fame*.

Ntlokwa sees his concept as a much needed micro-level approach to address bread-and-butter issues in black communities. He said, however, this did not mean that civic associations were moving away from the UDF's stated goal of

addressing macro concerns brought about by the apartheid system.

"Ours is a micro approach which makes up the bits and pieces which add up to the UDF's stated aims."

Ntlokwa says the centre will also cater for maths and science classes, and include the required laboratories. Such is the enthusiasm for his scheme from the UDF leadership that he claims another UDF stalwart, Sister Bernard Ncube, has taken the initial sketches of the scheme to the United States to raise funding.

Ntlokwa says he will not rely only on Ncube, he plans to have the cen-

tre financed along the lines of the Market Theatre. The centre will be divided into various sections which will be adopted by various companies who buy naming rights.

A site of 10 000 square metres has been identified for the project next to a planned new shopping complex to be called Kagiso Plaza. Ntlokwa and his colleagues plan to hold discussions with Deon Meyer, chairman of the shopping centre development company Quantum, which is a major developer in black townships.

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busy

By ELIAS M

A CHURCH nurse has b factory" fr emerge aliv

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Soweto Civic Association leader Isaac Mogase addresses crowds before marching to Jabulani council chambers yesterday to demand councillors' resignations. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Scores injured during march

By LULAMA LUTI

C/PRESS 25/3/90

MORE than 100 people sustained injuries when police fired on marchers calling for the dissolution of Soweto City Council yesterday. But police denied knowledge of anyone being injured.

A girl in a South African Health Workers' Congress T-shirt and mayor Sam Mkhwanazi emerged as heroes as they helped defuse a potentially explosive situation.

With tears streaming down her face, the girl, who declined to be named, confronted a senior police officer and pleaded with him to stop policemen provoking the crowd as it became uncontrollable. Mkhwanazi intervened when police teargassed marchers who had gathered at the entrance to council chambers in Jabulani.

A doctor at the scene said three ambulances were called in to transport people who suffered fractures and asthma attacks to Baragwanath Hospital and Lesedi clinic.

The 10 000-strong march, organised by Soweto Civic Association (SCA), started at Elkah Stadium in Rockville an hour behind schedule and was to proceed to council offices in Jabulani. But police confronted the marchers over crowd control.

Later attempts to restrain the crowd drew a blank as most marchers surged forward, defying police warnings.

Police said permission had been granted for only 100 people to march.

Hoisting ANC flags and chanting slogans, the marchers took an alterna-

tive route along Vundla Drive, but were met by police who opened fire and teargassed them. Amid appeals from marshals to go back, the crowd decided to run up Mashiane Street in Molapo to the council chambers.

At noon a delegation led by SCA president Isaac Mogase was escorted to council chambers to present a memorandum to Mkhwanazi.

An obviously emotional Mkhwanazi

said he had no objections to resigning, as "I have done my work, but we want to discuss the matter with the people who elected us".

The memorandum raised dissatisfaction with the shortage of housing in Soweto and privatisation of certain township services. It also called for unification of the Johannesburg and Soweto councils.

ANC still under control

THE recent wave of violence and lawlessness had led people to say the ANC was unable to control its supporters, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said at a rally in Nelspruit yesterday.

"This is not true, but that remains to be demonstrated through our discipline.

"We must persuade people to join us by setting a good example. We have never supported coercion, nor will we tolerate it now, no matter who employs it," he said.

The uprisings were a tragic indication of the political reality that, although a process of change was beginning, as yet nothing truly fundamental had altered.

Equally disturbing were continuing reports of security forces' "destabilisation activities" in Mozambique.

He called on President FW de Klerk to institute a commission of inquiry into the activities of alleged secret Renamo bases inside South Africa as a matter of urgency.

The ANC would set up local offices in "every area" in the coming weeks to make sure that every assault, every rape, and every case of child labour was reported so that these "evil practices are stopped".

He condemned the exploitation and lack of legal protection for farm workers and demanded that they be allowed full trade union rights.

Mandela said he recognised that the homelands system lay at the root of exploitation of workers.

The homelands were "dying" and the ANC was ready to work with homeland leaders who identified with the ANC struggle, but would not take on discredited leaders against the people's wishes.

He called on all Transvaal municipal authorities to contribute towards creating a conflict-free South Africa by opening amenities to all without delay. - Sapa.

Youth in intensive care after attack

By HAPPY ZONDI

C/Press

25/3/90

11A

MBUYISELO Msiya, 22, lies in a coma in Leratong Hospital's intensive care unit with a damaged spine, gouged eyes, a slashed mouth and scarred face. He has been there nine days.

If Mbuyiselo lives, he will probably never walk again, he will be blinded for life and his scarred body will be a constant reminder of the night of Saturday March 17, when he was attacked by a group of youths wielding pangas, knives and sticks. Some were said to have had guns.

The youths are believed to be supporters of Bekkersdal Youth Congress (Beyco), a UDF affiliate, which is opposed by the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), an Azapo affiliate.

On the same day his brother Patrick was hacked on the head with a panga.

Patrick was on his way home with a friend, when they were ordered to stop by a group of Beyco members. He alleges the group was led by Thapelo Soke.

"They swore at us and ordered us to stop," said the friend. "Among the group were those who said we were Azasm members. We were afraid to obey the orders because we feared for our lives and decided to take off."

They were not Azasm members, and neither was Mbuyiselo.

"As we were running, Patrick's shoe came off and he tripped. As he was trying to get up, the Beyco members were already on top of him, kicking and assaulting him. I then ran to his home and reported what was happening," said the friend.

Mbuyiselo's father Cornelius Montshiwa, was in the house when he heard noises outside. "As I went out, I saw they were attacking Patrick. He was bleeding from his head.

"Without thinking, I went to them and told them to stop, which they did. As they went away, they told me they would come back for Mbuyiselo, who was not home at the time."

Not long after that, said Montshiwa, another group of youths stormed into the house. They told him Mbuyiselo had been killed.

"They took me to where he was lying. I found him in a pool of blood, but fortunately he was still alive. I rushed him to Leratong Hospital with Patrick."

Patrick was discharged the same night, while Mbuyiselo was admitted to the ICU.

Beyco sources told *City Press* the two organisations "don't see eye-to-eye since our launch on February 24".

Violence, which has already left two Azasm members dead and four seriously injured, was sparked when Azasm members allegedly tore down Beyco posters the day before the organisation's launch.

It is further alleged Azasm set fire to a Beyco flag and intimidated its members at the launch.

This, however, was denied by Azasm members, who claim their organisation is given a bad name by certain elements who are responsible for the violence.

No place to hide as violence spreads

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE rising tide of violence sweeping through townships and the homelands is now approaching the levels of the worst days of the "necklace era" in 1984/85, and the focus has intently turned on the role of black leadership.

Although concerns have been voiced by the political organisations on the deteriorating situation, the spiral of violence deepened last weekend when a new outbreak occurred in Bekkersdal, West Rand and Hammarsdale in Natal.

In Bekkersdal, five people were killed and five others seriously injured in renewed violence between factions of the UDF and the Azanian Student Movement.

This is reminiscent of the confrontation between members of the two organisations that saw the parties pitted against each other as township streets were turned into battlegrounds in 1985.

The web was so widespread that similar confrontations were acted out in Hammarsdale when 15 people were shot dead and then chopped with pangas

by a mob that attacked a house of a local chief. The dead were identified as Inkatha sympathisers.

Some people have said there was no longer a hiding place in the townships as the web of violence spreads throughout the country and disrupts family life.

The violence is a combination of both political and criminal factors.

"There is no place where one feels safe and life is guaranteed of security. The situation is now so bad that there is no place to hide," said Duma Mavimbela of Diepkloof.

He may have been speaking for anyone, anywhere in the townships that dot South Africa. This was echoed by Khutsong Civic Association leader Jack Mothikge who expressed concern at the spiral of violence in black townships.

"We cannot allow the situation in townships to continue this way. Undoubtedly, causes of the violence are rooted in apartheid, but black people themselves must do something to address the uncontrollable bloodletting in their communities," said Mothikge.

In Bloemfontein, mayor Caswell Koekoe said the troubles in his Maokeng township reflected the situation in the country.

"It is a sad fact that there is little that black leaders can do to address the situation. This is something that can only be dealt with by people who are in power. Obviously there are elements from outside whose mission is to plunge the whole country into ungovernability," said Koekoe.

But allegations and claims that the violent outbreak is the work of outside agitators has been denied by the UDF.

UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota has said the discontent and anger can be traced directly to apartheid.

"The reform programme has aroused the expectations of the masses. The government has pushed itself into a corner. Unless it moves fast to satisfy the aspiration of the people for an undivided nation, this spiral is likely to continue," said Lekota, who has denied that the UDF was behind the violence.

Recently UDF general secretary Popo Molefe

called on the people to stop looting, killing and burning and celebrate their gains in "a most disciplined manner".

However, the call for restraint and demand for direction in expression seems to have fallen on deaf ears. Official sources say there have been more than 2 000 unrest incidents since February 1, and more than 100 people have died since the beginning of March.

Since the eruptions in Katlehong, Khutsong, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu, Venda, Bekkersdal and Hammarsdale, black leadership carries a heavy burden and faces its stiffest challenge as discontent continues to punctuate the political atmosphere.

The destruction of life, wanton killing and the burning of houses in the township has reverted to proportions of the violence in 1984/85.

During a welcome home rally in Durban, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela called upon the warring factors to "throw your weapons into the sea", but his plea was followed by an orgy of violence.

Black leadership has attributed the violence to a variety of causes, including:

- Demands for homeland reincorporation into South Africa;
- Anger at illegitimacy of community councils;
- Dissatisfaction with the education system;
- The corruption and nepotism allegedly associ-

ated with councillors;

■ The divisions that exist within black communities; eg. political ideologies;

■ The high expectations raised by the release of Mandela; and

■ General discontent with the status quo.

Mass Democratic Movement leader Murphy Morobe has admitted the violence poses serious challenges to black leadership and the government.

"A challenge faces both government and the liberation movement. Government cannot make reform at top level and ignore the unacceptable structures of local government."

PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola condemned the spiral of violence and said it did not serve the struggle.

"There is a marked increase of incidents where people are forced to adopt the ideas of particular groups and forced to attend gatherings unwillingly. This does not serve the interest of our struggle. There is no way that practising oppression on black people can contribute to their liberation. The leadership should seriously do something to curb this wanton violence," said Masemola.

"We seem to be returning to the days of the necklace era. I do not see how throwing bombs into black homes and putting tyres around the necks of black people can help our cause. We must stop oppressing our own people in the name of liberation."

Holomisa in PAC talks (11A)

Sunday Times Reporter

TRANSKEI military leaders yesterday met with the exiled central committee of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa said senior officers took part in the talks.

A meeting with the ANC leadership will be held within a fortnight. (163)

Later, at a PAC rally, Gen Holomisa called for an end to "bloody clashes in various parts of southern Africa between black and black"

S/Times 2-5/3/90

Fury over Mandela pop show as ANC bars SA

By JEREMY BROOKS and DOUGLAS GORDON

THE HUGE Nelson Mandela concert planned for Easter Monday in London was at the centre of a storm of controversy this weekend.

- The ANC dropped a last-minute ban on the SABC screening it.
- A top black South African musician slammed the concert's pretensions as "bull-----".

The pop extravaganza, at which Mr Mandela will appear as guest of honour, will be watched by hundreds of millions of viewers across the world on April 16.

Negotiations to show the five-hour concert on South Africa's TV4 had reached an advanced stage.

The SABC had even agreed to pay a much higher fee for the concert than it would normally pay for a five-hour live telecast.

Only the satellite time remained to be booked when organisers dropped their bombshell and ordered the American TV agents, Radiovision, to drop the negotiations.

SABC general manager of TV2/3/4 services Hein Kern said yesterday he was baffled by the ban.

The concert would have replaced popular Monday shows like Family Ties, Dynasty, and the cop series Hunter.

'Mockery'

"I haven't had anything in writing yet, so I'll press on with negotiations," Mr Kern said.

"I want to bring this event to as many of our viewers as want to see it."

Other TV agents yesterday called the abrupt banning "an embarrassment" and "a mockery of professional business conduct".

One described it as "a classic ANC own goal".

Meanwhile, world-famous trumpeter and exile Hugh Masekela slated concert promoters for not including more South African musicians in the line-up.

They have been given just two "sets" — one of 15 minutes, the other of 25 minutes.

But publicists for the concert said the ANC had itself, during initial discussions, decided to restrict the South African content.

"We need to get Mr Mandela's message to as wide an audience as possible," said spokesman Wendy Lalster in London. "To do that, we need international stars to make the event attractive to broadcasters. Without them, we would be unable to sell TV rights."

"The decision over which artists to use was up to the ANC. At least 50 percent of those already appearing are black."

Masekela's remarks angered ANC officials in London. One privately questioned the musician's commitment to the "cultural boycott". In Press interviews given during his UK tour, Masekela told journalists that he had "other bookings" and would probably not appear at the concert.

Harmony

And he was quoted in the UK's Today newspaper as saying:

"It's all very well people like George Michael turning up at the Mandela Birthday Concert two years ago to promote their latest record and show how much they love darkies ... but it's all bull-----"

An up-to-date list of performers at the concert is to be announced tomorrow or on Tuesday.

The line-up will include such top names as the Eurythmics, UB40, George Michael, Tracy Chapman, Joan Armatrading and Neil Young.

W-up

... form the members of the Government's intentions. At a meeting held two weeks ago at Hartbeespoort Dam, he told senior Broederse and negotiations "could take years rather than months" to be concluded. He also gave them the assurance that "the government will not sell its interests down the river."

gassed protest

... a crowd of about 10 000 marched in Soweto yesterday. They had to have been taken to hospital for serious injuries, but police officers were injured. The council offices to demand a 10-minute battle with the police after the visit to Soweto of the mayor.

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PERSPECTIVES 3

Dear Nelson,

I am one of a number of Jews who claim you as a friend. Our friendship started some 35 years ago when I became founding editor of Post, South Africa's first mass-circulation tabloid Sunday newspaper for non-whites.

At a meeting at my home in Johannesburg (remember?) you arranged for me to get regular confidential briefings about African National Congress activities so that I could publish accurate news about the ANC without prejudice to its security. My whiteness was never an issue with you.

A few years later, when you were on the run with a price on your head, you came, disguised as a chauffeur, to see me at my home — and shortly before your arrest you got one of your aides to bring me to your hiding place. You did so, you told me, because you trusted me.

Complex

Since those days I have watched from afar with pride and affection.

But I have to tell you as an old friend Jewish hearts must have fallen when, in front of the world's cameras the other day you embraced the PLO's Yasser Arafat as a comrade in arms, saying: "Like us, he is fighting against a unique form of colonialism and we wish him success in his struggle."

You have a right to embrace whom you wish and to say that the enemies of Israel are not your enemies. I can understand this. But Arafat has been associated as a leader with a cold-blooded policy of murdering civilians, including

ST Times
2/23/90
11A

This is not the Nelson I remember

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DEPUTY LEADER OF THE ANC — FROM AN OLD FRIEND



children — and you and your closest colleagues have long expressed aversion to murder.

Your remark (after comparing Arafat's struggle with the struggle against injustice in South Africa) that "if the truth alienates the powerful Jewish community in South Africa, that's too bad" implied an uncharacteristic unconcern for people's feelings, a coldness totally alien from the image of you which I and others have long carried in our hearts.

I don't need to remind you that although the "powerful Jewish community" in South Africa is, because of skin colour, a beneficiary of apartheid, no other section of the white population has been

more meaningfully represented in the struggle against apartheid... that the Jewish Helen Suzman was for years the sole voice in Parliament to chastise the State for the many injustices of the apartheid system.

If your Jewish friends seem to over-react to certain areas of criticism, I want you to understand why. Not because hard words break any bones but because centuries of persecution have taught us the bitter lesson that hostile words encourage hostiles who call a grown man "boy" — will almost certainly acquiesce in denial of his human rights and the shooting down of him and his

children if they rise in protest against the denial. I know you as a man of principle. I would want to defend you against any charge of anti-Semitism just as, through the years, I have defended you against charges that you are a communist or a terrorist. A gentleman cannot be an anti-Semite.

But what you said off the cuff at and after your encounter with Arafat has caused much heart-burning. I would not ask or expect you to let friendships influence your judgment. I do ask you to examine all sides of the issue. As an urgent first step, won't you give Jewish friends like Helen Suzman an opportunity to present

the complex issues relating to Israel from their perspective for your consideration?

It comes naturally to you to champion the underdog, and your sympathy for the suffering of Palestinian refugees comes as no surprise. But before putting all the blame for that suffering on Israel, won't you, in fairness, at least examine what part the cynical policies of Arab states over the years has played in the equation?

Peace in Israel is as tricky a problem and as much in need of good offices as peace in South Africa. On the one hand, a not insubstantial body of Jewish opinion in-

side and outside Israel favours sitting down at the table with any Palestinian representatives, including the PLO, for the reason stated by one of Israel's most distinguished statesmen, Abba Eban, a former South African, that to make peace one has to talk to one's enemies.

On the other hand, nearly all Jews feel there are overwhelming reasons to fear and mistrust the PLO.

You have spoken of the need for South African Jews to face up to the truth. Are you certain you have acquainted yourself with the whole truth about Arafat? Are you satisfied, Nelson, that you have personally and exhaustively

examined and been able to dismiss the heavy charges world Jewry lays against the PLO activists whom you have embraced as fellow freedom fighters?

Israeli fear and mistrust extend to Arab neighbours who, for more than 40 years have vowed to obliterate the Jewish homeland in Israel, the world's only non-negotiable assurance of the physical survival of that endangered species, the Jew.

The Nelson Mandela who has expressed his understanding of the fears of South African whites of being dominated by the black majority should surely be able to take Israeli fears into account. Your attestation that in work-

ing out a democratic political process in South Africa the interests of white South Africans must not be overlooked was as encouraging as it was remarkable. I appeal to you to follow it up with a specific assurance to South Africa's Jews that you care about their feelings and their rights.

I earnestly hope that when you make such an overture, South African Jews will respond in the same spirit. It is with that hope in view that I am addressing this letter to you in public rather than private.

But there is little time to lose. Resentment when untreated festers. ANC-Jewish relationships are an acid test for South Africa's future.

Dream

If your brothers and mine should be diverted from the path of mutual goodwill to the byways of mutual recriminations, the Promised Land of a peaceful, prosperous, equitable and non-racist South Africa to which you have dedicated your life and for which you have sacrificed your personal liberty will remain an unfulfilled dream.

I am addressing the Nelson Mandela who was a big enough man to see good even in his captors.

Please let me keep my image of you as a healer of wounds and a beacon of hope in a world in convulsive change.

Shalom.

*Cecil Eprile,
Del Mar,
California.*

Cop kept Mandela letters a secret

By DOMINIC JONES

BOOKS of Nelson Mandela's early letters written on Robben Island have reappeared 19 years after they were seized and thought lost for ever.

Breaking nearly 20 years of stony silence, former ace security cop Donald Card of East London this week showed the Sunday Times copies of 79 handwritten letters contained in two worn, hard-covered exercise books.

He told how he secretly stashed them on top of his wardrobe.

Blunder

He hoped to return them to the ANC leader one day.

Gathering dust and cobwebs and surviving the odd fishmoth attack, the treasured letters fell into Mr Card's possession through a bureaucratic blunder best described as a lucky twist of fate.

The books were confiscated by prison warders and inadvertently found their way into Mr Card's possession. "In the hands of one of



DONALD CARD
Dangerous move

the other security blokes they would probably have been destroyed," Mr Card said.

One day in 1971, a year after he left the force, a parcel arrived in his special post box. It contained the two books of letters written by Mr Mandela.

"I didn't know what to do with them."

Through the years Mr Card kept the letters a closely guarded secret. Not even his wife Hettie knew of the manuscripts.

"They were quite dangerous to have. But if I had been

asked about them I would have handed them over."

Even though he could make a lot of money by selling the letters, Mr Card is determined to return them to the ANC deputy president.

"I wrote to Winnie a week before Nelson was released to say I had something her husband should have. Then I wrote to him a week after his release, but I couldn't say what it was that I had.

"My children think I'm mad just handing these things over. My son even said: 'Give them to me, dad, and I'll go over to Sotheby's in London and nobody will know where they come from because it's a public auction.'

"But I said no ways. I couldn't be involved in a thing like that. I've never had any part in crime in my life."

News that the letters had re-emerged was greeted with excitement by close Mandela family friend Professor Fatima Meer.

Historical

"You can tell Mr Card from me that he did a good thing," she said.

A letter written to Professor Meer in March 1971 marked the beginning of an idea that was ultimately to lead to Mr Mandela suggesting she write his biography.

"That letter is historical in terms of the biography," she said.

Mr Mandela had told her he had kept copies of all the letters he sent from prison.

This was how prisoners kept a record of what they had written, said Professor Meer. They were limited to a couple of letters a month and sometimes they were lost in the post.

The letters give a rare behind-the-scenes look at the life of the man who was once the most famous prisoner in the world.

Moving

They vividly document Mr Mandela's anguish at hearing of his son's death in a car crash and his wife Winnie's third detention in 1969.

Mr Card said he has read the letters on three occasions and was moved by the warmth, peace, sincerity and humility expressed.

"There is no animosity and nothing to indicate that he was militant. Even the letters to his children after Winnie was detained contain no bitterness," he said.

"It is understood that Mr Mandela was given details about the re-emergence of his lost prison letters on Friday when Professor Meer took him a photostat copy of the letter he sent her in 1971.

"I am sure he will be very pleased," she said before visiting Mr Mandela at his home.

It is likely that Mr Card, who testified against Mr Mandela in the famous Rivonia treason trial, will give the books back to his former foe next Saturday.

Mr Mandela is expected to visit East London to address an ANC rally on that day.

ANC opens SA office

Star Times 25/3/90

11A

Sunday Times Reporter

THE ANC's new office is being set up a block away from South Africa's financial nerve centre — the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

It will be situated on the third floor of the Munich Re Centre at 54 Sauer Street — directly opposite the offices of the Star newspaper.

At present, the building houses the offices of the National Reception Committee, which was specifically set up to co-ordinate the return of the "Sisulu 7" from prison last October and for last month's release of Nelson Mandela.

It is understood the NRC will be phased out while the ANC's internal infrastructure — under the command



The building housing the ANC's first SA office

of Walter Sisulu — is put in place.

Visitors to the Sauer Street building this week were first vetted by a receptionist on the ground floor, who initially referred them to the NRC's sixth-floor office, which was closed.

Then visitors were referred to the third floor, where a receptionist wearing

an ANC badge and tie handled inquiries from behind a counter with thick glass partitions. He would not confirm it was an ANC office.

The office shares the floor with an insurance company and the Chilean embassy.

The ANC is in the process of setting up a system of media departments and is expected to appoint a Press liaison team soon.

Nobel Prize dilemma

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

NELSON MANDELA is among the front-runners for this year's Nobel Peace Prize and could be the third South African to win the award in its 89-year history.

The Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway, broke a tradition of secrecy by disclosing the ANC leader's name was among 88 nominations submitted before the deadline on February 1.

But insiders say the five-person committee is faced with its biggest dilemma ever as events in South Africa and Eastern Europe threaten to overtake them. *S/Times 25/3/90*

Tipped to win the R1,18-million prize are Mandela, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev or Czechoslovakian president and playwright

Václav Havel. The winner will be announced in November. Said Scandinavian political analyst Morten Syhn: "The committee cannot ignore events in Eastern Europe, where a revolution has taken place for the first time without widespread bloodshed.

"Gorbachev was ultimately responsible and Havel is closely connected with it.

"But Mandela has contributed enormously to the prospects of peaceful change in South Africa, at great personal sacrifice.

"Some argue that an award for Mandela would be both 'too early' and 'too late'.

"They say it should have gone to him last year and now is not the time, while South Africa is in a state of flux."

ANC to establish 'grievance centres'

SI Times 25/3/90

11A

THE ANC will set up offices throughout South Africa in the coming weeks to serve as "grievance centres" for victims of racial discrimination.

Deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela announced at an ANC rally in Nelspruit yesterday that the organisation would "make sure that every assault, every rape and every case of child labour is reported, so that these evil practices are stopped".

He called on all municipal authorities in the Transvaal to contribute toward the creation of a conflict-free South Africa.

"White towns in areas such as this are deeply racist and black people continue to suffer the indignity of exclusion from recreational centres and other public facilities.

Sunday Times Reporter

"Little has changed since the ANC launched its potato boycott in the Fifties in protest against horrific labour conditions on Bethal farms.

"Conditions of slave labour remain and the murder and assaults of farm workers are increasing.

"No white farmer has yet gone to prison for the murder of a worker and, indeed, none will as long as farmers continue to enjoy the protection of the local police and magistrates," Mr Mandela said.

Calling for the reunification of South Africa, he said the ANC was ready to work with homeland leaders who identified with the ANC

struggle.

"Recent events demonstrate a massive rejection of the homeland policy and not, as has been suggested, that the ANC is unable to control its supporters.

"The inability of the police to stop the carnage that continues in many areas, along with their direct implication in the violence in places like Driefontein, raises enormous doubt about their neutrality and professionalism."

Mr Mandela called on President De Klerk to institute a commission of inquiry into the activities of alleged secret Renamo bases inside SA as a matter of urgency, saying the unit was disturbingly similar to the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

The scholars and gentlemen who will shape the new SA

IT'S the Robben Island Old Boys versus the Green Bench veterans.

From Lusaka, home of the African National Congress for the past quarter of a century, comes a heavyweight negotiating team.

Inside South Africa, it will be supplemented by some more weighty political players. A British-trained

By DRIES van HEERDEN

economist, a former health inspector, a lawyer from a period when black faces at the side-bar were a rarity, a veteran bushfighter with a degree in Latin and a charismatic operator who never went to school.

Facing them across the table: a skilful lawyer with a black belt in negotiations, a former Greek professor, a political scientist and a

strong back-up of attorneys and advocates.

A combined experience of more than 30 years in establishment parliamentary politics on the one side; a century of service behind bars, doing hard labour or in exile on the other.

Next month's talks-about-talks in Cape Town will be the first face-to-face encounter between the Government and the ANC since Mr J G

Strijdom turned delegations away with empty hands when they wanted to present him with petitions in the Fifties.

Already inside South Africa is the ANC's advance team consisting of intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, legal adviser Mr Pennell Maduna and Mr Gibson Macunda of its security department.

They could hardly have chosen a better man for the job than 48-year-old Mr Zuma. Strongly built with a

booming laugh, he is one of the rising stars in the ANC hierarchy.

Born in Natal, he is the most senior Zulu on the ANC executive. He never went to school. His father died in World War 2 and his mother was a domestic servant whose meagre wages he had to supplement by doing odd jobs at a very early age.

ANC politics came to him naturally. By 1963 he was already active in the military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe

when he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years on Robben Island.

He left the country soon after his release and joined the ANC in exile, where he quickly rose to the top — as representative in Mozambique, member of the influential political-military council and of late as chief of intelligence and security.

Mr Maduna is one of the ANC's foremost backroom men. Said to be "a brilliant lawyer" he has spent some

time in recent months drafting the ANC's response to the Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights.

Today, three more senior ANC members will arrive. Mr Chris Han, chief of staff of Umkhonto, Mr Aziz Pahad, the ANC's London representative and Mr Reg September, 66, head of political education, a veteran trade unionist and a long-time confidante of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Han, 47, is an enigmatic character. Until two months ago he was South Africa's most wanted man — the man responsible for the day-to-day planning of Umkhonto's military and sabotage activities.

Skilful

Three days before Christmas 1985, South African forces staged a massive cross-border raid into Lesotho. Their target, it later became known, was a house in Maseru where Mr Han was suspected of staying. He escaped through the back door while the soldiers were coming in the front.

Nine other people were not so lucky. They were killed by gunfire.

Mr Pahad, one of two Indian members of the ANC executive, hails from Swart-ruggens in the Western Transvaal where he was born into a very active political family. His brother, Essop, is also one of the senior ANC members in exile.

Said to be returning soon is Dr Pallo Jordan, head of information, publicity and research, and Mr Steve Tshwete, responsible for liaison with internal political organisations.

Interest

The rest of the team is expected on April 8 — three days before the Cape meeting is due to start. It will include secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, 64, a former Alexandra health inspector, chief diplo-

mat Mr Thabo Mbeki, 47, a University of Essex economics graduate, and possibly Umkhonto commander-in-chief Mr Joe Modise, a former Johannesburg truck driver.

President F W De Klerk will lead an equally experienced team to the negotiating table.

He is a well versed lawyer himself, having turned down an offer as professor of law at Potchefstroom to enter politics.

In Parliament, he made a name as a skilful negotiator at his best in one-on-one encounters.

Supporting him will be the highly regarded Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a former rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and at present the Government's constitutional negotiator-in-chief.

Experience

A former professor in Greek, Dr Viljoen may find a common interest with an unlikely candidate — the ANC's Mr Han, who majored in Latin at Fort Hare University.

Four other government heavyweights are all qualified lawyers — Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Pik Botha are advocates and Mr Hermus Kriel and Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer are attorneys.

Mr Botha brings with him a wealth of experience as South Africa's longest-serving Foreign Minister, which recently culminated in the successful conclusion of the lengthy negotiations over Namibian independence.

The last member of the Government's "seven wise men" is Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, a former political science professor at RAU.

Star 26/3/90

11A

King angry after telephone call

Mandela to meet kwaZulu leaders

DURBAN — African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will lay wreaths at the graves of Zulu kings Chaka and Ceteswayo before he meets Inkatha president Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelethini for talks, probably this month.

Chief Buthelezi said the meeting, which he and Mr Mandela had discussed by telephone on Saturday, would involve the king as well.

Addressing a rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela had telephoned the king on Saturday. King Zwelethini had been called out of his meeting with the AmaKhosi (chiefs) at Ulundi to answer the call.

Chief Buthelezi said it had been a lengthy conversation, during which Mr Mandela had tried to persuade the king to agree to meet at Nongoma (site of the king's palace) and not at Ulundi, the capital of kwaZulu. The king had refused. Chief Buthelezi, who was also at the meeting of AmaKhosi, had then been told that Mr Mandela wanted to speak to him.

"His first words to me were 'The king is very angry with me'," Chief Buthelezi said.

In trying to co-ordinate a date for the talks, Mr Mandela had explained that he first wanted to lay wreaths at the graves of Chaka and Ceteswayo.

"I always think that, judging from his speech here last time, he likes to pay tribute to the Zulu kings, the past heroes, and so on. I think it's a positive move. I find nothing wrong with it," Chief Buthelezi said.

A date for the meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and the king had yet to be decided upon, the chief said.

"It should be this month. I don't see why it shouldn't be this month," Chief Buthelezi said.

Although attempts to contact Mr Mandela from Durban yesterday were unsuccessful, it would seem from this and earlier reports that the ANC has agreed to compromise on the venue issue, and talks will take place at Ulundi.

At yesterday's rally, Chief Buthelezi urged black leaders to act together to condemn violence wherever it occurred, and said countrywide violence was a barrier to black liberation.

He called on blacks to place South Africa first by putting an end to delaying tactics and immediately proceeding with negotiations for a new constitution. — Sapa.



"Return to school" . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with his wife, Winnie, at the University of the North yesterday.

'Thousands homeless in Natal's killing fields'

Staff Reporter

Between 50 000 and 70 000 people have been rendered homeless by intense fighting in kwaZulu-Natal, Operation Hunger executive director Mrs Ina Perlman estimates.

Speaking as the relief feeding organisation approaches its 10th anniversary, Mrs Perlman cited "the killing fields of Natal" as just one of the critical hunger points in South Africa.

Her organisation had responded to appeals from 10 000 people urgently in need of food and blankets in the area, and expected the number to double by the end of this month.

Other problem areas were:

- Northern and north-western Transvaal, blighted by severe drought, massive layoffs from farms and retrenchments from mines.
- Parts of the OFS and north-western Cape, where seasonal labour had been reduced after poor spring rains.
- The Eastern Cape, where the townships were overflowing and the small agricultural towns were severely depressed.

Mrs Perlman warned that retrenchments, hunger and despair would continue even if South Africa's economy lived up to optimistic predictions.

"First and foremost, new urban jobs will be few and far between; there will still be retrenchment, there will still be job loss."

Despite a proud record over the past decade in which time the child death rate had been cut, children had become more educable following the introduction of proper feeding schemes, and thousands had been employed in self-help projects, the road ahead looked bleak for Operation Hunger.

"The need for feeding remains and will continue for many years. We need maximum support if 1990 is to be the beginning of the end to hunger, deprivation and want in our land," Mrs Perlman said.

Security fears delay ANC exiles' return

Star 26/3/90 (328) (11A)

Political Staff and The Star's
Africa
News Service

An expected visit by a top-level delegation of African National Congress leaders was postponed at the last moment yesterday after an "unfavourable" security report by national executive member Mr Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma visited Johannesburg last week to "test the waters" ahead of the arrival of the main delegation preparing for preliminary talks with the Government on April 11.

According to an official of the National Reception Committee, the delegation did not arrive yesterday due to "security problems".

The non-arrival of the delegation yesterday caused consternation among a crowd of about 300 people, some in ANC colours, who gathered at Jan Smuts Airport to welcome them.

The delegation from Lusaka was expected to include Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and MK commander Mr Joe Modise.

The Government is expected this week to clarify the position of exiled ANC leaders wishing to return to South Africa to take part in exploratory talks. A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said that no ANC member entering the country to take part in the April 11 talks or preliminary discussions would be arrested.

"Temporary exemption has already been granted to exiles specifically with the April 11 meeting in mind," he said.

This is only a temporary grant, he stressed. But no line would be drawn between those who could return and those who could not.

At Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekotha was present to meet the delegation.

About 45 minutes after the SAA plane had touched down at Jan Smuts Airport, he entered the customs hall accompanied by police. A few minutes later, he informed the disbelieving crowd that he had satisfied himself that the men had not arrived.

According to ANC sources the timing of yesterday's visit was never officially confirmed and always depended on what Mr Zuma found "on the ground".

It has been suggested here that some of the ANC delegation members may stay on inside the country when the visit finally materialises.

They would be the first legal "returnees" from exile in almost two decades. The aim might be to improve communication between the internal ANC and its long exiled leadership.

UDF assistant publicity secretary and National Reception Committee member Mr Murphy Morobe today told The Star he did not know anything about the men's rumoured arrival, and said Mr Lekota had probably gone to the airport because of intense media speculation last week that the ANC leaders were due yesterday.

The chairman of the ANC's Internal Leadership Corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, told The Star this morning that the men's arrival had been postponed. He would not say when they were expected to arrive.

"Their arrival has been postponed. The only man who did arrive yesterday was ... no, even that one I won't tell you," said Mr Sisulu.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada blamed it all on the media which, he said, circulated unfounded rumours.

"Only the media expected them," he said. "We certainly did not."

Thatcher slammed at London rally

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday slammed British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher for her role in South Africa.

In a message to a mass rally in London organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM),

Sisulu said: "The time has come for Mrs Thatcher to stop siding with De Klerk. Her policy can only do harm to the negotiation process."

The rally followed a mass march through London.

According to the AAM the procession would call at 10 Downing

Street where Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and other personalities would deliver over 16 000 personal letters to Thatcher, urging her to "stop supporting apartheid". - Sapa.

**Butelezi calls
for peace**

7B

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11A

Soweto 26/3/90

11A



United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker (centre) escorted here by Mrs Albertina Sisulu (left) and her husband, Walter, yesterday visited Ipelegeng Community Centre, Funda Centre and the Sisulu home - all in Soweto.

Buthelezi and Mandela to meet within weeks

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, is to meet the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Ulundi within the next few weeks to try to thrash out problems impeding peace talks between the leaders.

Addressing thousands of Inkatha supporters at a prayer rally at King's Park Stadium yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela had phoned both him and the king late last week, and they had agreed to meet.

Confirming this, Mr Mandela told the daily newspaper Figaro in Paris that he planned to hold joint rallies with Chief Buthelezi to halt violence in Natal.

Identical views

They would be preceded by a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting before ANC-government talks on April 11.

He said he and Chief Buthelezi had identical views on how to halt the violence in Natal "by calming down the situation together".

"The ANC plans to hold two series of meetings, with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Dr Buthelezi."

Asked what was on the April 11 agenda, he replied: "We will be discussing the lifting of the state of emergency."

"Firstly, those in exile must be allowed to return and there must be a general amnesty of all political prisoners. By that I mean those whose crimes — whether murders, theft or whatever — have been caused for political reasons."

"Then the state of emergency must go. I am confident about this, because the government has no valid reason to refuse to grant these three requests."

"There can be no doubt that when this happens, the situation in the country will greatly improve."

Asked if he supported the appeal by ANC leaders for an intensification of the armed struggle, Mr Mandela replied: "Yes. Nothing has happened so far to justify a change in our strategy."

● Mr Mandela told about 80 000 people at the University of the North in Pietersburg yesterday that the disruption of schooling was not ANC policy, and urged pupils to resume attendance of classes without delay.

"Education is a major factor in the liberation struggle. Without education you can forget about liberation", he said.

Returned ANC exile awaits official nod

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — An African National Congress exile, Mrs Norma Kitson, 56, who returned home to Durban from Harare yesterday, will know by noon tomorrow whether she will be allowed to settle in South Africa.

Mrs Kitson and her ex-husband, David, 70, who holds the record for serving the longest prison term by a white political prisoner, arrived at Louis Botha Airport on a direct flight from Harare.

Both entered on British passports, and while there were no hitches involving Mr Kitson, who served 19 years and eight months in prison after being convicted for activities as a member of the high command of Umkonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, Mrs Kitson was asked to wait.

48-HOUR VISA

Mr Kitson said immigration authorities had had to check with Pretoria on "what procedure to adopt." When they could not reach anyone there, Mrs Kitson was granted a 48-hour visa and told to call immigration authorities today.

The couple were divorced in 1968, but reunited after Mr Kitson's release.

Both were surprised at changes to the city of Durban, which Mrs Kitson last saw in 1972, and Mr Kitson in 1964. Mr Kitson described it as bigger, brighter, brasher and cleaner.

"We accepted the offer made by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, for exiles to return. We have been living in Harare, and now we want to settle here, but we will just have to wait and see what happens," said Mr Kitson.

Mr Kitson said neither he nor his wife had any bitterness, and he accepted he was a casualty in the "battle for liberation".

Police 'get to know' top PAC man 'better'

Staff Reporter

ARGUS 26/3/90 (11A) (21)

SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress member Mr Barney Desai has had a "getting to know you better" meeting with the security police.

Mr Desai said today security police sent a vehicle to his Retreat home to take him to Cape Town for a meeting with a Warrant Officer Steenkamp and a colleague known as Spyker van Wyk.

"They said it was a 'getting to know you better' meeting. We spent about an hour talking and that was that," Mr Desai said.

Mr Desai recently returned from exile in London, where he co-authored a book, *The Killing of the Imam*, with another exile, Mr Cardiff Marney, on the life and death in detention of Muslim leader Imam Abdul Haroun. The book has been banned in South Africa.

Free pass for ANC peace party

ARGUS
26/3/90

TOS WENTZEL on
the Presidency

STEPS to give temporary exemption from prosecution to exiled African National Congress leaders to enable them to take part in exploratory talks with the government will be announced this week.

Confirming this today, a top government source said that administrative as well as legislative steps may be necessary.

This follows a recent assurance by President De Klerk that the government would not prescribe to the ANC who should be the members of its delegation to start talks with the government on April 11.

The government's attitude up to now has been to draw a distinction between ANC members who were merely members of the movement and those who had been involved in violence.

RELEASED

In the case of political prisoners only those who were sentenced merely for being members of the movement are being released.

The government source emphasised that at this stage temporary exemption from prosecution would be given only to those coming to South Africa for the talks.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said today that the reason that a group of six ANC exiled leaders, expected in Johannesburg yesterday, did not arrive had nothing to do with the amnesty issue.

They could not all get bookings on an SAA flight from Lusaka and were now expected to arrive on Wednesday.

However another ANC source told Sapa-Reuter today that worries about security, not a failure to secure flight bookings, had forced the exiles to postpone their flight.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that about 300 people, some in ANC colours, gathered at the airport yesterday to welcome the delegation from Lusaka, which was expected to include Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Other people rumoured to be in the group were MK commander Mr Joe Modise, ANC assistant secretary Mr Henry Mahgothi, political commissar Mr Steve Tshwete and political education head Mr Reg September.

About 45 minutes after the SAA plane had touched down UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota, accompanied by a police officer, entered the customs hall. A few minutes later he informed the disbelieving crowd that he had satisfied himself that the men had not arrived.

PREMATURE

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher was asked during an interview whether she would visit South Africa.

She replied: "I think it is a little premature. There would still be too many people who would try to say that I was pro-apartheid - totally wrong."

"We have probably done more than any other country to ensure that a non-racial government will inherit a highly prosperous South Africa."

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday slammed Mrs Thatcher for her role in South Africa.

In a message to a mass rally in London organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement Mr Sisulu said: "The time has come for Mrs Thatcher to stop siding with De Klerk."

CMT Time 26/3/90 (119) (12) (13)

Sisulu: Thatcher 'on FW's side'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday slammed Mrs Margaret Thatcher for her role in South Africa.

In a message to a mass rally in London organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Mr Sisulu said: "The time has come for Mrs Thatcher to stop siding with De Klerk. Her policy can only do harm to the negotiation process."

Mr Sisulu was scheduled to address the rally in person, but on Saturday night he informed the AAM he could not attend due to developments inside South Africa.

Mr Sisulu said sanctions must be maintained and intensified until freedom was guaranteed.

"Britain cannot make a successful contribution to ending apartheid as long as its government refuses to recognise the important role of sanctions."

Mr Sisulu's place was taken by veteran ANC member Mr Andrew Mlangeni, also one of the Rivonia treason trialists released last year.

Mr Mlangeni said the vast majority of British people rejected Mrs Thatcher's stand on South Africa.

"(Her) decision to relax sanctions is a slap in the face not only for the South African people, but blatantly ignores the wishes of her own people," Mr Mlangeni said to cheers from the crowd.

In a statement to the rally, Labour Party

leader Mr Neil Kinnock said those who argued that pressure on South Africa should be relaxed and sanctions lifted did not understand that "in dealing with Pretoria, pressure pays, patience doesn't".

The rally, in Trafalgar Square, drew tens of thousands of anti-apartheid supporters from all corners of England.

Officials estimated between 15 000 and 20 000 supporters marched to the rally from Hyde Park.

Scores of police ringed the square and the area in front of the South African embassy was well cordoned off for the rally's duration. — Sapa

● Labour's record lead — Page 9

amp tent 26/3/90 (11)

Inkatha adds new colours to its flag

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha colours have been changed following the unbanning of the ANC.

Previously the Inkatha colours and those of the ANC were the same — green, yellow and black.

Now red and white have been added to the Inkatha colours to avoid confusion.

According to an Inkatha source, the white represents peace and the red the blood of those who have been killed in the struggle for liberation.

The new colours were seen for the first time at Inkatha's thanksgiving service at King's Park yesterday.

Mandela talks at N Tvl rally

Sowetan 26/3/90

11A

RAIN yesterday stopped ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in mid-stride when the heavens opened and drenched more than 60 000 people at a rally in Turfloop, near Pietersburg.

The rally was hampered by police roadblocks and scorching sun and a delay of more than six hours before the rains came down.

Mandela stopped speaking as people ran for cover. However he continued his speech later in the rain, calling for an end to school boycotts. - Sapa, Sowetan Reporter.

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

ANC is urged to meet Zwelithini

ANC leaders, particularly those who were recently released from prison, have been called on by KwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to uphold the dignity of the Zulu king and accept his invitation for a meeting.

A lengthy statement issued by Buthelezi after a special meeting of KwaZulu chiefs at Ulundi on Friday night, dealt largely with "lifting Zulu dignity up out of the political gutters" and said no invitation by King Goodwill Zwelithini should be declined for party political reasons. *Sowetan 26/3/90*

The king had addressed the meeting on Friday night.

The resolution called on the ANC's national executive to afford Zwelithini the status he deserved as a king.

Passed by the chiefs at the meeting, the resolution noted their "deep commitment to further black unity in SA by using Zulu unity as an anvil" on which to beat their South Africanism "for the sake of every race group in the country".



HOME . . . Mr David Kitson and his ex-wife Norma after their arrival in Durban yesterday.

ANC man Kitson back in SA

CAPE TOWN 26/3/90 (11A)
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former long-term political prisoner Mr David Kitson and his ex-wife, Mrs Norma Kitson, arrived here yesterday from exile in Zimbabwe — but Mrs Kitson has only been given a two-day visa.

Mr Kitson, a member of the ANC, was convicted in 1964 at the "little Rivonia trial" for sabotage, preparing for guerilla warfare and furthering the interests of communism.

An ANC activist, Mrs Kitson campaigned for the release of political prisoners after leaving South Africa in 1966.

Both come from Durban. They flew in from Harare, where they have been living for 16 months after moving from London.

Mr Kitson said last night that they intended to see how conditions had changed in South Africa and whether they would find it acceptable to stay.

After serving his 20-year sentence, he was released unconditionally in 1984 and left for London. He moved to Zimbabwe in 1988.

The couple were divorced in 1968 but Mrs Kitson retained the name. They were reunited after

his release and are now "inseparable".

● An advance group of ANC officials due to return to South Africa from exile yesterday failed to arrive in Johannesburg after a hitch in travel arrangements.

ANC sources in Lusaka said the 19-strong group heading for exploratory talks with Pretoria could not get seats on South African Airways' Lusaka-Johannesburg flight and had to postpone the trip until mid-week.

One of the 19 is Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Top ANC men fail to arrive

Sowetan 26/3/90

11A

SIX ANC executive members, expected in South Africa yesterday to prepare for the April 11 talks with the Government, failed to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport.

About 300 people, some in ANC colours, gathered at the airport yesterday afternoon to welcome the exiled delegation from Lusaka, which was expected to include Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Other people rumoured to be in the group were MK commander Mr Joe Modise, ANC assistant secretary Mr Henry Mahgothi, political commissar Mr Steve Tshwete and head of political education Mr Reg September.

About 45 minutes after the SAA plane had touched down at Jan Smuts Airport, United

Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, accompanied by a police officer, went inside the customs hall.

A few minutes later, he told the disbelieving crowd that he had satisfied himself that the men had not arrived.

Lekota said he had been expecting six officials, but refused to confirm names because "we have to keep security fairly tight".



Mrs Pinky Phosa, wife of Mr Matthew Phosa, son Mayahabo (right) and a family friend's daughter, Jennifer Ndlovu, waited in vain for Mr Phosa to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Pic: LEN KHUMALO

Reef victims buried

MORE than 2000 mourners gathered at the Huntersfield stadium, Katlehong, at the weekend for a mass funeral of nine victims who died in violence in the East Rand township earlier this month. *Sowetan 26/3/90*

Speakers from the Katlehong Civic Association, Cosatu and UDF pleaded for peace in the township.

"Let us not allow ourselves to be divided by the enemy into tribal groups in the black townships," said a speaker from UDF.

Fourteen other victims were buried together on Sunday last week. *(scribble)* *IIA*

Activist slams ^{CAF- 7/15} 'absurd' ^{27/3/90} curbs on return ⁱⁱⁱ

Own Correspondent 

DURBAN. — ANC activist Mrs Norma Kitson yesterday described restrictions governing her return to South Africa as "absurd".

Mrs Kitson, 56, who returned to South Africa from Harare on Sunday with her husband, Mr David Kitson, 70, was told yesterday she could remain in South Africa for another 10 days — but she still does not know whether she will be allowed to settle here permanently.

Although immigration officials at Louis Botha Airport cleared Mr Kitson's entry, his wife was told she could stay only for two days unless the Department of Home Affairs extended her visa.

"The whole thing is absurd. My husband and I returned because of the State President's invitation for exiles to return. I was born here and I don't understand how my citizenship can be taken away."

Mr Dries Coetzee, regional representative here for the department, said he had been told that Mrs Kitson had requested a temporary visa, as she intended to stay in the country for only a short period before returning permanently.

Mrs Kitson said that her passport was withdrawn in 1966.

Return to school, says ANC leader

Court Times
26/3/90
iif

PIETERSBURG. — Deputy ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday addressed the largest political rally ever held in the Northern Transvaal, receiving a tumultuous welcome from a crowd estimated at about 80 000 people.

Some of those at the rally, held at the University of the North's Turfloop Stadium, had camped near the venue since Friday to make sure of a seat.

Mr Mandela devoted a large part of his address to educational matters, saying it was not ANC policy to disrupt schooling.

He urged students to return to schools, colleges and universities, reminding them: "Without education you can forget about liberation."

He also praised traditional chiefs who had been in the forefront of the fight against apartheid and the homeland system.

Mr Mandela said he had told Mr Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa, who had expressed a desire to attend the rally, that he would first need to release detainees and apologise to the people for his participation in the apartheid system.

However, homeland leaders who genuinely "repented" should be accepted by the people because the government could use such leaders to divide the people.

Mr Mandela shared a platform with Mr Walter Sisulu, Northern Transvaal UDF leader Mr Louis Mnguni, SA Youth Congress president Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Elias Motsoaledi, a former Robben Island detainee.

Police kept a low profile during the rally and there were no incidents.

● At a rally in Nelspruit on Saturday Mr Mandela called for an urgent inquiry into reports that Mozambican guerillas have bases inside South Africa.

He also said the South African government and the United States, where the guerillas have an office, should make it a crime to give aid to Renamo.

— Sapa-AP

Buthelezi will meet Mandela

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday confirmed that he and Mr Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the African National Congress, would be meeting at Ulundi.

The object of the meeting would be to resolve the issue of a venue for direct peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC to try and resolve the ongoing Natal violence.

Addressing a crowd of

about 8 000 in the pouring rain at an Inkatha rally at King's Park here, Chief Buthelezi called for black hostilities to stop. He said he held out the hand of friendship to all black political organisations.

He asked the crowd whether they gave him a mandate to negotiate with President F W de Klerk. They responded with a loud "yes".

Last week hopes of a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on the one hand and

an ANC delegation led by Mr Walter Sisulu on the other were dashed when the Inkatha president said Mr Sisulu had "insulted" the Zulu monarch by requesting that the talks be held at Nongoma instead of Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu.

Later Mr Mandela confirmed to a Sunday newspaper that he had spoken to both King Goodwill and Chief Buthelezi and that a meeting would be held at Ulundi to resolve the question of a venue for direct ANC/Inkatha peace talks.

CAP TITLES 27/3/90 11A

New red Mandela Benz

EAST LONDON. — Production began on a new car for Mr Nelson Mandela at the Mercedes-Benz plant here yesterday. The car is a R211 530 top-of-the-range red Mercedes-Benz 500 SE. A majority of hourly-paid workers will work without pay one hour daily for four days to pay for the car.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI



Moments before the drama . . . armed police block the path of thousands of marchers between Sebokeng and Vereeniging yesterday morning, minutes before opening fire.

Rioting
as police
open
fire on
township
marchers



Marchers poised . . . marshals attempt to quieten the large crowd outside Sebokeng. People in the crowd repeatedly shouted 'We want to march! We want to march!'

Eight killed in Vaal clash

Stor 27/1/90 ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ 11A





Hospital 'like a war zone' as casualties pour in

Staff Reporters

Eight people died and more than 350 were injured when police clashed with residents of Vaal Triangle townships yesterday.

Sebokeng Hospital superintendent Dr A Spuy said four of the victims were certified dead on arrival and four died a short while after being admitted.

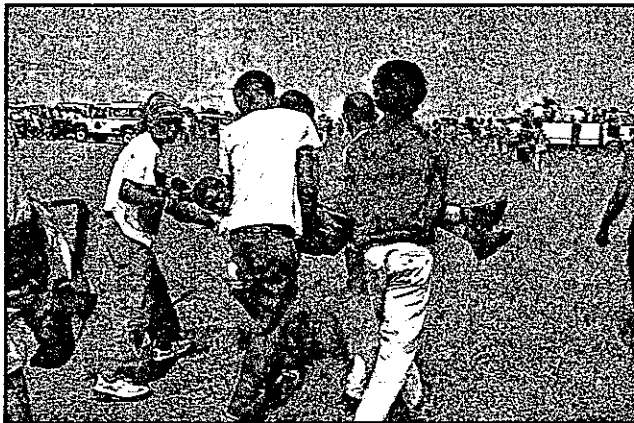
At least 30 people, three in a critical condition, were admitted for treatment.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, urged people to control their emotions. He said police reinforcements would be sent to violence-ridden areas.

Mr Vlok was speaking in the Vaal Triangle, where police were accused of opening fire without warning on protesters defying a ban on marching from Sebokeng to Vereeniging.

Police opened fire after stopping the marchers on the main road to Vereeniging at about 11 am. A man was seen to fall after being hit in the head and the hip. A teenaged girl fell after being wounded in the mouth.

The crowd fled into the streets of Sebokeng. Witnesses said four



The aftermath ... a wounded man is carried off by his friends to a waiting truck while police keep watch.

bodies were left on the ground and several people were wounded.

Melody McDougall of The Star's Vereeniging Bureau reports that widespread rioting broke out, spreading into neighbouring Evaton, Bophelong and Boipatong.

Clashes throughout the day and evening swelled the injury toll, with hospital officials saying more than

300 people had been treated.

After the Sebokeng shootings, council buildings in both Sebokeng and Lekoa were set alight, a nearby garage and the Evaton Traffic Department building were set alight and police vehicles stoned.

Roads were blocked with flaming barricades as police patrolled in armoured vehicles.

Looting and violence were widespread.

Teargas was repeatedly fired by police at gathering crowds.

An unconfirmed rumour said about 80 people were injured after rampaging mobs broke into an arsenal at the Lekoa Town Council building and stole firearms and ammunition before setting the building alight.

Unconfirmed reports say police retaliated by opening fire on the mobs and using teargas.

Trouble first flared yesterday morning after residents had been refused permission to stage a march in protest against local councils and house rentals.

Residents in all townships in the area stayed away from work, schools were closed and transport services ground to a halt.

Small clashes between groups of protesters and police escalated into a number of major incidents.

Last night the western Transvaal region of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which organised yesterday's march, condemned police action and called on police to withdraw.

The MDM said police presence in Sebokeng excited the situation. It called for calm and discipline from

● To Page 2

Frantic dive for life ... protesters sprint and stumble for cover when police opened fire. The Star's photographer, positioned beside the road between police and crowd, fell to the ground but still managed to take this dramatic photograph. ● Pictures by Herbert Mabuza.

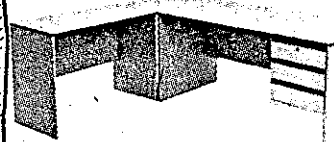


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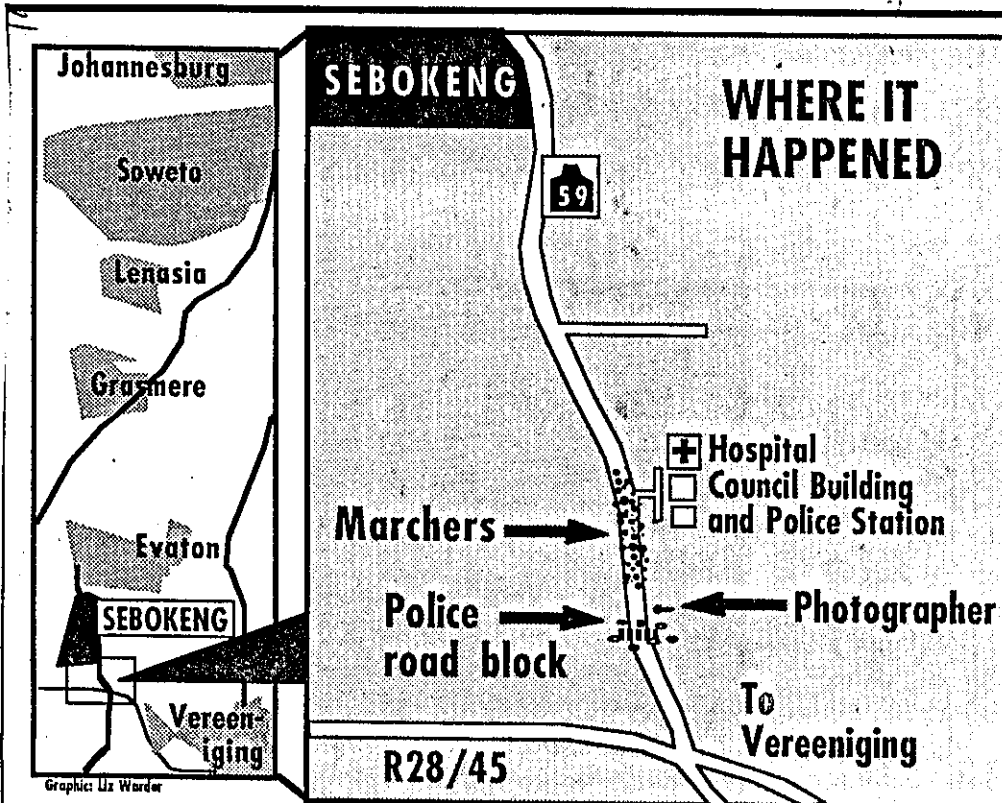
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value — **R500**

continued



Violence: Vlok issues a warning

• From Page 1.

its affiliates.

Mr Vlok, speaking in Vanderbijlpark, assured the public the situation was under control and urged people to curb their emotions.

Referring to incidents in Welkom, where racial tensions have soared, he said people who took the law into their own hands would be severely punished.

Sapa reports Mr Vlok said police would use volunteers and called on people to join the reservists.

He said every member of the public had a right to protect himself, but warned against excessive violence.

Mr Vlok was speaking after talks, organised by Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, with the mayors, deputy mayors and members of the management committees of Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging.

Later yesterday he held similar talks in Bloemfontein and Welkom.

Mr van der Merwe said he had invited Mr Vlok to the Vaal Triangle because he was concerned about the safety of white residents. After the talks, Mr van der Merwe said he was satisfied, but he still called on the Government not to allow black marches and demonstrations in white areas.

Shooting of demos unnecessary - UDF

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The United Democratic Front (UDF) today condemned the police's handling of the Mass Democratic Movement protest march in Vereeniging yesterday, saying the violent police action was "absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for".

At least eight people died and more than 350 were injured when police clashed with residents of Vaal Triangle townships yesterday. Four people were declared dead on arrival at the Sebokeng Hospital while four others died shortly after being admitted.

In his response today, UDF assistant publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said it appeared there were some elements in the police force who

were trigger-happy and were bent on engineering clashes and confrontations with the people taking part in protest marches.

"The point of the matter is that in any situation where marchers end up injured or even killed, the police violence was totally unnecessary.

"In most of the marches our people have been conscious of the need to keep order and discipline, and there is never any need for the police to take the kind of violent action they took in Vereeniging yesterday," said Mr Morobe.

An African National Congress spokesman, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said the ANC was still waiting for a full statement from its people in Sebokeng before it could comment.



The scene at Sebokeng Hospital where more than 300 people were treated after a day of violence.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

No warning — Sebokeng victims

By Thabo Leshilo

Victims of the police shootings in Sebokeng yesterday told The Star that they there had been no provocation — or warning.

They said they were shot while waiting to be addressed by march leaders after a memorandum of demands — which included reductions in rent and an end to racially segregated schools — to police.

The memorandum was to be handed in to the National Party's offices in Vereeniging, but was given instead to the station commander of Sebokeng Police Station, Colonel O T Mazibuko, after police stopped the march.

Oupa Tsotetsi (17) a Std 7 pupil at E D Mashabane Secondary School, said he was among the first to be shot.

"I was part of a human chain formed by marshals to stop the crowd surging forward after the leaders had given Colonel Mazibuko the memorandum, when the police started firing."

He was hit in both thighs.

David Raditsela (18) said that when he heard the first shot he

thought it was teargas. People started screaming and running.

"I saw a girl bleeding profusely and offered to help her. I suddenly felt something hit me in the forehead and saw blood oozing. Only then did I realise I had been shot."

Miss Ursula Mdiniso (19), a pupil at Esokwazi Secondary, said she was standing opposite Sebokeng Hospital about 500 m from the marchers when she was hit. Birdshot pierced her shoulder.

INTENSIVE CARE

March leader Mr Isaac Rantsatsi was admitted to the hospital intensive care unit.

Marchers from Boipatong in Vanderbijlpark, who were to join the Sebokeng protesters, claimed they were shot at by two white policemen en route. Tears, smoke and birdshot were fired at the crowd of about 7 000.

Mr Johannes Mohlakoane (38), a father of two, was shot in the foot.

He told The Star that a short while after the shooting another

four policemen arrived and asked the crowd what had happened, offering the injured bandages. Ambulances were called.

A 17-year-old, Bongani Buthelezi, was hit by a bullet which came through the window at his home. A family friend said he was hit in the spine and taken to Baragwanath Hospital. This could not be confirmed.

A nursing sister at Sebokeng Hospital said a 25-year-old woman, Ms Palesa Lekoaleto, had to have surgery to remove birdshot from her abdomen.

Eight people died during the shooting. The superintendent at Sebokeng Hospital, Dr A Spuy, said more than 350 outpatients were treated for birdshot wounds, and about 30 admitted.

Until late last night, scores of people were still streaming into the hospital in search of relatives and friends.

The township looked like a war zone with barricades strewn along the Golden Highway. Smoke still billowed from the ruins of the local council offices, set alight by marchers after the shooting.

To nationalise would be fatal error, says Pik

Stc 27/3/90 (9) (11)

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC's policy of nationalisation, at a time when socialism was crumbling in Eastern Europe, was a fatal mistake, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Opening an international conference on "Eastern Europe: Implications for Southern Africa" at a Johannesburg hotel, Mr Botha said centrally planned economies had failed dismally in Eastern Europe and elsewhere in Africa, and there was no reason to believe things would be different in this country.

"To think that nationalisation will redress the historical economic imbalances is a fatal mistake which Eastern Europe, with the help of a superpower, has now come to realise."

Mr Botha said recent events in Eastern Europe would have, and had already begun to have, a marked effect on events in southern Africa, and he hoped the trend would not now be reversed. Markets in these countries had opened up, and there were opportunities aplenty for South African businessmen.

There was a great demand for Western-style goods and services in Eastern Europe, as could be seen from the phenomenal success of the American fast food chain MacDonalds in the Soviet Union.

BARRIERS BROKEN DOWN

Local businessmen could not go to Eastern Europe assuming these countries were familiar with the language and practices of a free-enterprise system, and they would have to be prepared to share information with their counterparts in those countries.

"South Africa is very well-placed to trade with Eastern Europe ... because we have both a First World and a Third World component," said Mr Botha.

Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had broken down ideological barriers that had largely determined these countries' trading partners. This meant countries that could not trade with SA because of ideological differences would now be able to do so.

"Events in Eastern Europe will have, and have already had, a direct effect on South Africa, southern Africa and Africa as a whole. I hope the necessity of not having to reintroduce ideological barriers will dawn on South Africa and southern Africa. As we have said so often, the season for violence is over, and so is the season for politics and apartheid.

"Significantly, however, the season of one-party states, centralised government systems, nationalisation and political posturing is over. There rests a heavy responsibility on us to forget the past, but also to share the future," Mr Botha said.

Responding to a question, Mr Botha said the Government was determined to bring skilled Eastern European immigrants to SA. This move would not disadvantage black South Africans in the job market.

Inkatha leader takes tough stance against ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the ANC, calling it and other black political organisations "the worst things in the black struggle for liberation".

In a paper read for him yesterday by Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose at a conference in Johannesburg on "Eastern Europe: Implications for Southern Africa", the chief said the single most important spin-off of developments in East Europe was that international economic support for the ANC and other "radical" black organisations would be drastically cut.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister further dismissed the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as a myth which had now been exploded.

NEXT GOVERNMENT

He said there were people in SA and abroad who saw the ANC as the only anti-apartheid monolithic force which would inevitably become the country's next government.

Some even visualised negotiations in which the National Party would be talking only to the ANC "while the rest of the parties present applaud or support one of the two".

Chief Buthelezi warned: "It is just not going to be like that and I believe that this myth that the ANC is the alternative ruling party in South Africa is still going to prove very costly."

He appealed to Mr Nelson Mandela to "join me in the heightened faith that negotiations can succeed because it will be only negotiations that can establish justice."

Events in Eastern Europe encouraged negotiations and enhanced President de Klerk's credibility tenfold. Mr de Klerk still needed a lot of black support to continue with reform, and it was critical that he received this backing, the chief said.

The ANC's insistence on winner-takes-all politics and its refusal to guarantee white minority protection meant the beginning of an end for the organisation.

Tutu calls on ANC to end armed struggle

NAIROBI. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called for an end to armed struggle against the South African government.

The prelate told a news conference here that the African National Congress, recently unbanned as a political organisation, should renounce its policy of armed resistance.

"Anybody who says he wants to continue to fight when there is a possibility to talk will find he has very few supporters in South Africa and internationally," Archbishop Tutu said.

The archbishop described the freeing of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC by President F W de Klerk last month as "an extraordinary thing".

But he reiterated that sanctions against South Africa should not be lifted until apartheid was fully dismantled. — Sapa-AP

Indemnity for ANC delegation?

Political Staff

MINISTER of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday that if necessary, legislation would be produced to provide indemnity for ANC negotiators who may still be liable to prosecution in South Africa.

He was responding to reports that return plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members headed by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani were cancelled because there was no certainty they would not be arrested.

The reports said ANC chief of intelligence Mr Jacob Zuma, who spent three days in South Africa last week, advised them not to do so.

A senior government spokesman was quoted in the reports as saying there was no temporary indemnity in terms of South African law and the logical solution appeared to be the introduction of legislation by the Justice Department.

Government negotiators indicated recently they favoured the introduc-

tion of such legislation. Although it would take time for the legislation to pass through Parliament, administrative arrangements could meanwhile be made to allow the ANC negotiators to return.

Sunday's delegation was also to have included Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar Mr Steve Tshwete.

Others in the group, which may travel later in the week, are deputy secretary-general Mr Henry Makgoti, chief of security Mr Joe Nhlanhla, head of political education Mr Reg September and lawyer Mr Aziz Pahad.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka that ANC information officer Mr Tom Sebina yesterday denounced as "pure media speculation" reports of the group's failure to arrive in Johannesburg.

"The composition of the delegation has not yet been decided on, let alone when they will leave for South Africa," Mr Sebina said.

He said the group's non-arrival was not directly related to problems concerning their possible prosecution for earlier activities.

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Special laws for exiles

Spoken 27/3/96

THE Government will take steps this week - possibly introducing special legislation - to make provision for a form of indemnity for ANC negotiators who may still be liable to prosecution in South Africa.

This follows the cancellation of return plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members under the leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, on Sunday.

Contrary to earlier reports the reason why the group did not return to South Africa from Lusaka had nothing to do with a lack of aircraft space.

They were advised by Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC chief of intelligence, who returned to Lusaka after three days in South Africa last week, to call off their planned return.

A senior Government spokesman said on Monday that plans were in the pipeline to rectify the situation. There was no legal provision for the granting of temporary indemnity, and the logical solution appeared to be the introduction of such legislation by the Department of Justice.

Once it was introduced not expected to be later than this week - administrative arrangements could follow which would cover the position of ANC negotiators until the new law was passed and gazetted. As with influx control and the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act transgressions, a moratorium could be put in place until the new law applied. - Sapa.

Sowetan 27/3/90

Security fears delayed arrival of ANC leaders

11A

LUSAKA - Worries about security, not failure to secure flight bookings, forced ANC leaders to postpone their flight to Johannesburg on Sunday, a highly placed ANC source said yesterday.

The source said the cancellation of the journey by the group of 19 followed a report to the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee by ANC chief of intelligence Jacob Zuma,

who returned to Lusaka on Friday from a three-day trip to South Africa.

"Jacob Zuma went to check on the security situation in the country and when he came back they sat and talked and decided against the trip being made on Sunday," the source said.

Earlier Press reports said the ANC members had been unable to get seats on a flight to South Africa.

Asked if the problem was one of securing immunity for all members of the delegation, the source said: "Yes, it has been a problem but that is something that will be settled within the next few days."

Sunday's delegation was to have included Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and its political commissar Steve Tshwete.

The presence of Hani, who last year vowed to step up guerrilla attacks on whites, is particularly thought likely to stir controversy in South Africa.

Others in the group, which it is now believed will travel later in the week, are deputy secretary-general Henry Makgoti, chief of security Joe Nhlanhla, head of political education Reg September and lawyer Aziz Pahad. - Sapa-Reuter.

Govt willing to facilitate ANC visit

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said yesterday that if necessary, legislation would be produced to provide indemnity for ANC negotiators who might still be liable for prosecution in SA.

He was responding to reports that return plans by a group of 19 senior ANC members headed by Ginkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani were cancelled because there was no certainty they would not be arrested.

The reports said that ANC chief of intelligence Jacob Zuma advised them not to do so.

A senior government spokesman was quoted as saying there was no temporary indemnity in terms of SA law and that the logical solution appeared to be the introduction of legislation by the Justice Department.

Government negotiators indicated recently in an interview with Business Day that they favoured the introduction of such legislation. Although it would take time for the legislation to pass through Parliament, administrative arrangements could in the meantime be made to allow the ANC negotiators to return.

The negotiators pointed out that a moratorium had taken place on prosecutions between the announcement of the scrapping of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts and their removal from the statute book.

Coetsee said in a statement last night: "All relevant issues are considered on an on-going basis. Should legislation be appropriate it will receive attention."

ALAN FINE reports that confusion over the non-arrival on Sunday of the ANC executive members grew

Blom
213190

MIKE ROBERTSON

119

yesterday, with the organisation's Lusaka spokesman contradicting reports of fears for their security.

Tom Sebina described the reports, attributed to the National Reception Committee, as "absolute nonsense".

He said there had never been arrangements for the officials to arrive on Sunday.

He did not know where the media had received the list of proposed visitors from, as this, too, had not been finalised.

Sebina said a visit by senior officials would take place soon, and the ANC would announce details in advance.

● Comment: Page 8

SOUWETAN

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Mandela mania

MORE than 3 000 youths and elderly people surrounded a four-roomed house in Silvertown, Wattville, yesterday to catch a glimpse of deputy leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, who was on a social visit.

Five leaders of the ANC, Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Wilton Mkwayi visited the house to sympathise with the family of Mrs Agnes Weyi, the sister of ANC president Oliver Tambo, who died on Tuesday last week. *Sowetan 28/3/90*

See page 2

Sacrifice was worth it say returned exiles

114

AKG 45
28/3/90

By TOS WENTZEL of the Political Staff

SACRIFICES and deprivations through the years, and political changes in Eastern Europe, have not changed the views of Professor Jack Simons and his wife, Ms Ray Alexander, who have been staunch supporters of the Communist Party since the 1930s and who recently were the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa.

INTERVIEW

cans they are ogres; to many blacks, judging by the enthusiastic reception they had on their return, they are heroes of the "struggle".

Both firmly say that the deprivation to themselves and their family, which was caused by political persecution under successive Nationalist governments from the 1960s, was worth it. Their political ideals, they maintain, are coming to fruition.

Privilege

They now foresee the development of a non-racial democracy without conflict, following the gradual demolition of privilege and prestige attached to white supremacy. As professor Simons points out, the membership of the ANC is non-racial.

They see the return of exiles from abroad as a priority, which should be brought about without fuss. But, they say, there is apprehension among the exiles and fear that a trap is being set for them.

While remaining a committed communist — he stresses

that he has never made a secret of this — Professor Simons describes recent events in Eastern Europe as "a disappointment, a disaster".

For the present, he says, socialism appears to have failed to fulfil expectations.

On the other hand he maintains that there are "eternal dimensions" to the idea of public ownership and equality and that the time will come when the working people will assert their belief in a society of equals without class distinction and with an advanced form of public ownership. This ideal had not disappeared.

At present it appeared as if capitalism had succeeded and that communism had failed, but eternal verities remained and what was happening now was a cycle in history.

Ms Alexander, too, firmly states her commitment to socialism. She is upset by the impression that events in Eastern Europe imply that socialism cannot work. What had happened there was that some people had misused their powers and this mistake should not be repeated in South Africa, as socialism could still work.

In capitalist societies on the other hand the problems of poverty and lack of housing were often not highlighted, she said.

Professor Simons dismisses allegations that communists have infiltrated the ANC.

"There was a close relationship between communists and ANC nationalists from the outset because we were working for the same

objectives, we faced the same problems, we had the same enemies. That is why the ANC people are so easy with us. They do not doubt our sincerity, they do not think we are trying to grab power from them."

For Ms Alexander the deprivations of recent years included the fact that even though she was elected to Parliament as a Native Representative in the then Western Cape seat in 1954, she was prevented from becoming a member of Parliament.

When she arrived at Parliament to be sworn in she was presented with a banning order which prohibited her from taking her seat.

Was it all worth it?

"Many comrades suffered. There was the mental suffering, the longing to come back, not seeing our children or always knowing how they were.

"On the other hand I would not change my life for anything. Through the trade union activities we managed to bring new life to thousands of people," she says.

Heartened

Now she is also heartened by what she sees as support for the Communist Party. At some of the meetings she has been to there were young people of all colours in SACP T-shirts.

Professor Simons was born in Riversdale in the Cape, where he worked as a lawyer's clerk for more than a year before joining the civil service in Pretoria, where he studied further.

He started going to ANC meetings in those days but his involvement with the Communist Party started in the 1930s when he was studying

at the London School of Economics.

He was expelled from the LSE and the fact that he was such a good rugby player led to his expulsion being lifted.

He returned to South Africa with, as he puts it, a doctorate and a Communist Party membership card, and he became Professor in the department of African Studies at UCT.

At one time he was on the central committee of the South African Communist Party.

He and Ms Alexander met soon after his return in 1937 and they got married in 1941.

Remarkable

Ms Alexander's trade union record is remarkable. In 1933 she helped to found the Commercial Employees' Union. In 1936 she organised the Oatmeal Workers' Union, the Non-European Railway Workers' Union, the Sweetworkers' Union, the Laundry Workers' Union, the Tin Workers' Union and the Shoe Repairers' Union.

In 1940 she founded the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), uniting white and black workers.

Born in Latvia in 1913 she became a communist there. She came to South Africa in 1929 and within days she had met some local communists and at the age of 16 she became involved in organising workers.

Both she and her husband were banned in the 1950s and she was later forced to give up her position in the FCWU.

She was also a founding member of the Federation of South African Women.

They left South Africa on exit visas in 1965 when they could not continue their work as a result of their bannings.

ANC leader
28/3/90
in court over

(11A) Plett killing

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — An ANC leader has appeared in the Knysna Magistrate's Court following the killing of a Plettenberg Bay community leader who was "hacked to death" outside his Bossiesgif home.

Mr Albert Sishuba, the ANC leader in Plettenberg Bay, was released on bail after an appearance in court yesterday.

The appearance was in connection with the death of Mr Nelson Maseko, a community leader who was stabbed several times after "comrades" allegedly set fire to his home and nine other houses in the Bossiesgif township outside Plettenberg Bay on Saturday.

Mr Maseko died before reaching the operating table at George Hospital after being transferred there for neurological treatment from Knysna Hospital.

According to a Plettenberg Bay doctor who examined Mr Maseko, he had been stabbed several times in the chest, abdomen and head. His skull had also been fractured in several places.

Many Bossiesgif residents went into hiding yesterday afternoon for fear of attacks from "comrades" who had apparently made a "hit list" of supporters of Mr Maseko.

Residents said friction between two left-wing groups began two weeks ago when "comrades" paraded a young woman naked around the streets of Bossiesgif after she had allegedly stabbed another woman.

An ANC meeting and another chaired by Mr Maseko had been held in the township last week to discuss the punishment of the young woman as many people felt it had been unjustified.

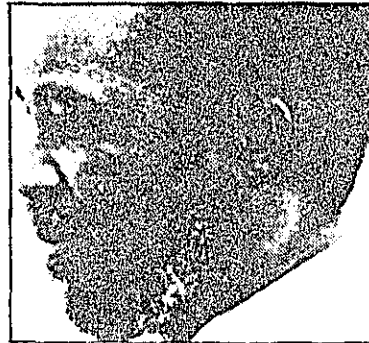
Mbeki to meet press

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will be the first executive member of the ANC to address the Cape Town Press Club on April 12.

Mr Mbeki agreed to address the club soon after President de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC on February 2.

Mr Mbeki is expected to speak to more than 300 journalists and opinion-makers on the day after the first meeting between the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and his delegation and Mr de Klerk.

It is unlikely that Mr Mbeki will be able to disclose any confidences in the discussions. But it is generally expected that Mr Mbeki, tipped as a prospective future leader of the organisation, will give important insights into black political thinking in general



Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, and ANC viewpoints in particular.

Mr Mbeki is the son of Mr Mandela's close associate, former Rivonia accused and Robben Island prison veteran, Mr Govan Mbeki.

He will return to South Africa for the first time since going into exile in 1962 on ANC instructions. — Sapa.

Sbr 28/3/90 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

'Way forward for all humanity' is not through capitalism

Slovo's Red vision is intact

SKN 28/3/90

(11A)

Socialism can undoubtedly be made to work without the negative practices which have led to its downfall in Eastern Europe, according to Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party.

In an in-depth interview published in the latest edition of the SACP mouth-piece, *Umsebenzi*, Mr Slovo said the way forward for the whole of humanity lies within a socialist framework guided by genuine socialist humanitarianism, and not within a capitalist system which entrenches economic and social inequalities.

However, mere faith in socialism is not enough.

The lessons of past failures have to be learnt to ensure that socialist democracy occupies a rightful place in a future South Africa.

Speaking frankly on the failures of socialism, Mr Slovo said it should not be forgotten that capitalism — even in the advanced world — has submitted working people to social evils which stem from a system which puts profits before people.

"Capitalism is not just the relative wealth of North America, Western Europe and Japan. It is the mass starvation, the crippling debt burden, the catastrophic levels of unemployment in the Third World.

"Over 90 percent of people on the African continent live out their wretched and repressed lives in stagnating and declining capitalist-orientated economies. International capital, to whom most of these

Mr Joe Slovo, the man capitalists love to hate, speaks out on the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and his unshakable dream of a socialist democracy in South Africa. Political writer **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE** reports.

"Capitalism is not just the wealth of America, Western Europe and Japan. It is the mass starvation, the crippling debt burden, the catastrophic levels of unemployment in the Third World."

countries are mortgaged, virtually regards cheap bread, free education and full employment as economic crimes."

However, unsparing criticism of socialism was needed. This should be done openly to demonstrate justified confidence in the future of socialism and its inherent moral superiority.

Mr Slovo attributed the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe to the application of the Stalinist concept



Mr Slovo . . . single party rule a short cut to political tyranny.

of "socialism without democracy".

This policy was followed in the USSR even after Stalin's death — until Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's intervention — albeit without some of the terror, brutality and judicial distortions associated with Stalin.

He said the gap that developed between socialism and democracy lies at the root of the present socialist crisis.

First, there was a steady erosion of the powers and representative character of elected institutions. In practice the majority of the people had very few levers with which to determine the course of economic or social life.

Mass organisations were turned into "transmission belts" for decisions taken elsewhere. Trade unions became an adjunct of both the State and party.

Workers had no meaningful role in determining the composition of the top trade union leadership. The right to strike did not exist.

The same erosion of democracy occurred within the party. A single-

party state became a permanent feature of socialist rule and was entrenched in the constitutions of most socialist states.

In a socialist South Africa, Mr Slovo said, care should be exercised to ensure a multiparty democracy within which trade unions will be completely independent and answerable only to the democratic decisions of their members.

He commented: "I think we have had sufficient experience of one-party rule in various parts of the world to conclude perhaps that the 'mission' to promote real democracy under a one-party system is not just difficult but, in the long run, impossible.

"In any case, where a single-party state is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability within the party, it becomes a short-cut to a political tyranny over the whole of society."

Focusing on the SACP, Mr Slovo said the authoritarian and bureaucratic approaches which took root during Stalin's time affected communist parties throughout the world.

"We cannot disclaim our share of the responsibility for the spread of the Stalinist cult and a mechanical embrace of Soviet domestic and foreign policies.

"Our party's critics are already suggesting that, in espousing greater democratisation and openness, we are merely running true to form. We are, they allege, once more tailing after Moscow."

Mr Slovo said the SACP did not pretend that its changing policies were the result of its independent evolution only.

"Our shift undoubtedly owes a prime debt to the process of perestroika and glasnost which was so courageously unleashed under Gorbachev's inspiration.

"And we must acknowledge another debt. Close to home, the democratic spirit which dominated the re-emerged trade union movement from the early Seventies onwards also made its impact."

ANC still denying Zuma's visit to SA

By Kaizer Nyatsumba



Mr Walter Sisulu . . . had no knowledge of ANC intelligence chief's visit to SA last week.

The African National Congress's internal leadership has once again denied any knowledge of the presence in the country of the organisation's chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, who was in the country last week.

This is in contrast with a report emanating from Lusaka, headquarters of the ANC, quoting "ANC sources" saying Mr Zuma returned to South Africa on Sunday.

The ANC's Internal Leadership Corps (ILC) last week flatly denied that Mr Zuma and two other senior ANC officials quietly slipped into the country last Wednesday and held talks with the ILC and government officials before returning to Lusaka on Friday.

It has now been established that Mr Zuma, accompanied by Mr Panwell

Maduna and Mr Gibson Macanda, were in fact in the country, and that they had apparently advised the organisation's leadership against flying to South Africa last Sunday for security reasons.

ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Govan Mbeki all told *The Star* they had no knowledge of Mr Zuma's presence in the country last week.

When *The Star* asked Mr Kathrada, today how long Mr Zuma would be in the country and how he could be contacted, he said: "I don't know how long he is going to be here. In fact, I don't even know if he is here. We go by media reports on these things."

Mr Kathrada would not reveal when the ANC delegation coming for the April 11 talks with the Government would arrive in South Africa.

Talks 'to go on'

Cont Times 28/3/90

Sisulu, Vlok say violence won't stop peace negotiations

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The spate of violence which has hit the country won't stop the negotiations between the government and the ANC from going ahead, Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Mr Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, and Mr Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC, were speaking on BBC radio. The two parties are due to attend talks on April 11.

Mr Sisulu blamed right-wing elements in the police for the violence in Sebokeng and warned that such

elements did not want the talks to take place.

Mr Vlok told the BBC that the shooting in Sebokeng was "an unfortunate incident. I am sorry it happened".

At least nine people died in unrest incidents over the past 24 hours, police said yesterday.

Asked whether police should not be told to exercise restraint, Mr Vlok said: "The police are really trying their level best not to kill people. At the moment they are accused of keeping too low a profile."

Asked whether the violence would make it very difficult to hold serious talks with the ANC, Mr Vlok said: "We are not responsible for the violence. All people in South Africa should realise that any violence is unnecessary."

When asked if the situation was good enough to allow the talks to go ahead, Mr Vlok said: "Yes, I think so. You see the ANC are at this stage calling for children to go

back to school, calling for people to stop the violence in the country."

Mr Vlok agreed that when they did sit down, one of the first things the government would say to Mr Mandela was that "the campaign of violence be stopped".

Asked whether the negotiations would still take place, Mr Sisulu said: "Yes, I am as confident as Mr Vlok is that the negotiations will take place."

As Maritzburg's political conflict erupted into full-scale "civil war" yesterday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was prepared to meet ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela at Mahlabatini.

A date for the meeting had not yet been set, he said.

The ANC yesterday confirmed that separate meetings would take place between Mr Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Buthelezi.

Hijacked buses were being transformed into Inkatha troop carriers yesterday and thousands of residents in the semi-rural areas were forced to stay away from work and join huge vigilante groups.

Police battled to contain the violence, believed to have been sparked by the stoning of buses transporting Inkatha residents on the main Edendale road.

By nightfall, large contingents of troops had been sent into Maritzburg's trouble-torn areas.

At least five people, including a policeman, have been reported injured in the Caluza area.

With numerous buses stoned and one completely burnt out, Kwazulu Transport has suffered up to R300 000 damage in the past two days.

The company yesterday suspended its service to Edendale Valley.

One bus driver nearly had his arm "blown off", another had his "face smashed up" and many abandoned their buses and fled, bus spokesman Mr Jim Scott said.

"It's a bloody war out there," a nervous staff member at Edendale Hospital said.

It is not yet known how many people were treated at the hospital where doctors have lately been putting in many extra hours work attending to wounded victims of the conflict.

Yesterday's death toll is also still unknown. No news of the situation has been available from the police.

"There were lots of incidents. Police are patrolling all over. We cannot pull them out from the field to compile reports," spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said.

The chairman of the Natal Church Leaders' Organisation, Dr Khoza Mgojo, condemned the renewed violence.

The disruption of education programmes would lead to the creation of a class of slaves in a new dispensation, he said.

'Voetsak'

Last night Chief Buthelezi said black soldiers were "running amok" in townships in spite of his appeal to President F W de Klerk to have them removed.

They should "voetsak" from the

Gold up slightly — 'but still very shaky'

GOLD closed at \$369.25 an ounce in London yesterday — \$1 higher than on Monday when it plunged to its lowest level for five months on aggressive selling from the Middle East.

Gold shares closed firmer on the JSE and the Allgold Index recovered partly to 1918 shortly before the close, after falling 151 points to 187 on Monday.

Cape Town stockbroker Mr Frank Brewer of Frankel, Kruger, Vinderine said the gold price was "obviously very shaky" but he thought it would hold

New deal on tax returns

Cont Times 28/3/90

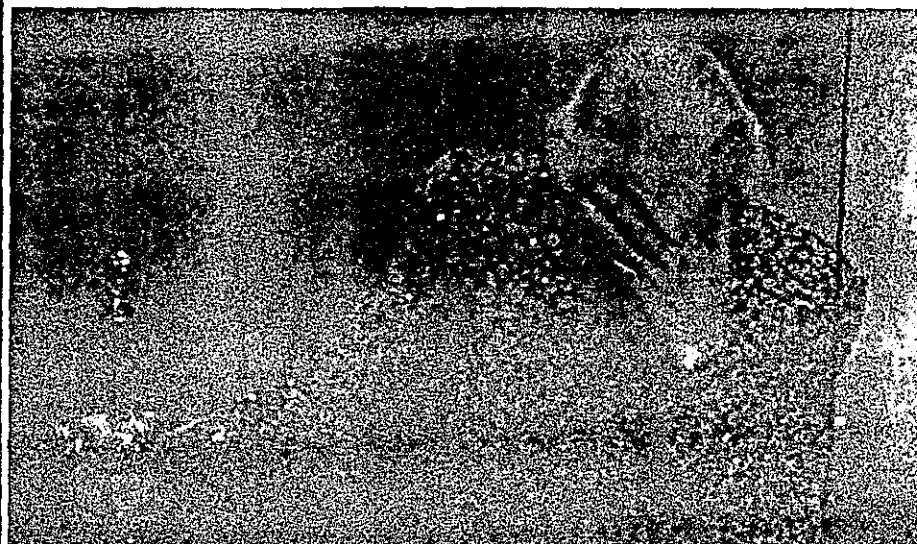
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has taken a big step in simplifying the tax system by freeing about 650 000 taxpayers from having to submit tax returns.

But tax experts said last night that employers would face an increased administration burden. They said a proposal to tax bonuses in full, and not pro-rata according to months worked, was highly controversial.

In a statement yesterday, the Deputy Finance Minister, Dr Org Marais, said anyone — regardless of sex or marital status — earning R40 000 or less a year "net remuneration" as defined in the Income Tax Act would pay only SITE, which is deducted by employers. This is a full and final tax, and income tax

Critics slate Oscars



PAC's call ^(11A) to Holomisa

PAN Africanist Congress internal general secretary Mr Mpongose Mangqangwana has called on the chairman of the Transkei Military Council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, to mediate between the African National Congress and the PAC.

According to the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation, the call came at a Sharpville commemoration rally in Umtata at the weekend.

Mangqangwana said unity came before negotiations. *Sowetan 28/3/90*

Holomisa could do better than Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for instance, in bringing the two bodies together, because the archbishop had constantly ignored the PAC in his trips abroad.

UDF bids to resolve Gazankulu crisis

Soweta
28/3/90

IIA

By SY MAKARINGE

THE UDF yesterday confirmed that it recently held two meetings with the Chief Minister of strife-torn Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, in a bid to resolve the on-going crisis.

Ntsanwisi told viewers in a TV interview on Monday that he had initiated talks with the UDF and the ANC.

In the programme, Ntsanwisi blamed "a few dissidents" for the unrest.

Meeting

Mr Popo Molefe, a senior executive member of the UDF, said executive members of the Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee were present at the second meeting.

He said the burning issue surrounding the demand of Ntsanwisi's resignation was not discussed, but added that both parties agreed that

there was a need to normalise the situation in the territory.

"The issue surrounding his resignation is between him and the local population. We are not qualified to tell him to resign," Molefe said.

He said the UDF pointed out that the conflict was not likely to be

resolved unless political activists detained during the unrest were released.

It was "ridiculous to pursue the course of detention without trial" in the light of State President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives.

He said Ntsanwisi undertook to discuss the issue with the Minister of

Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. He also committed himself to working towards the dismantling of the homeland system.

Molefe said the organisation was also not in a position to call off the stayaway by civil servants as it was an issue to be sorted out with the people on the ground.

ANC's Zuma is back in SA

11A
Sowetan
28/3/90

LUSAKA - The ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, is back in South Africa after two days of consultations in Lusaka with the movement's leadership.

Last week Zuma, who

is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee, travelled to South Africa to prepare for talks with the Pretoria government on April 11.

He was accompanied by Mr Panwell Maduna and Mr Gibson Macanda who stayed in South Africa while Zuma travelled

back to Lusaka for the consultations.

ANC sources in Lusaka said Zuma had returned to South Africa on Sunday.

On Sunday dozens of ANC supporters gathered at Jan Smuts Airport to await the arrival of the

ANC's military leader Mr Chris Hani and other top exiled leaders. However, they did not arrive, apparently because Zuma had advised against their trip.

ANC sources in Lusaka said yesterday it was not yet known when this delegation would go to South Africa.

ANC vows to fight on in spite of Tutu's call

Staff Reporter

THE ANC has rejected Monday's call by Archbishop Desmond Tutu for an end to armed struggle against the SA government and will continue to fight "until the grievances which caused people to take up arms have been removed".

This was said by Mr Tom Sebina, senior ANC information officer, yesterday.

Speaking from Lusaka, Mr Sebina reiterated Mr Nelson Mandela's "clear position" that the reasons for the armed struggle remain in place.

Regional UDF spokeswoman Ms Cheryl Carolus said any ceasefire would have to be mutual.

Speaking from Nairobi on Monday, Archbishop Tutu said that anyone who wanted to continue to fight when there "is a possibility to talk will find he has very few supporters in South Africa and internationally".



Mandela visits Vaal injured

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, flanked by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie (right), greet supporters outside Sebokeng Hospital yesterday after they had visited people injured when police shot at marchers in Sebokeng on Monday morning. Also yesterday Mandela had talks with a delegation of the Soweto City Council.

Sowetan 29/3/90 (11A)

Mrs Biko, UDF share platform

^{South}
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.— Nontsikelelo Biko, the widow of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, has been elected onto the central executive committee of the Ginsberg Residents' Association.

The association was launched in Steve Biko's home town last weekend.

^{27/3-4/4/90}
The entire community council in the township resigned late last month.

Nontsikelelo Biko, a nursing sister, is assistant general secretary.

Speaking at the launch, Mfuleki George, president of the Border region of the United Democratic Front, said people should not chase away the community councillors of Ginsberg

who resigned. Instead, they should be involved in the people's structures.

"The situation is fraught with danger, and we need to examine our strategies and tactics. We bear no grudges and we are fighting for a free, democratic South Africa," he said.

The vice chairperson of the new body, Ndumiso Gola, appealed for greater

^{11A}
unity, co-operation and discipline among residents.

The association has pledged to fight for affordable housing, for the immediate connection of telephones for which people have paid, for the renovation of "matchbox" houses, and the building of a proper bridge between Ginsberg and King William's Town.

FW's R3-bn can 'go ^{Argus} to hell' ^{29/3/70} — Motlana

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON: — Black civic organisations would not touch the R3 billion trust fund created by President De Klerk for socio-economic upliftment because it was insultingly too little, Soweto Civic Association president Dr Nthato Motlana told a US audience.



Dr Motlana

Dr. Motlana said the problem in South Africa was that there had always been a disgraceful maladministration of resources. Up to 17 times more was spent on the education of a white child than on a black child.

To offer a Bandaid of a stingy R3 billion was insulting, he added.

Dr. Motlana said many South Africans were surprised when Mr De Klerk set up the fund. Many organisations would find it difficult to touch the money.

He hoped to meet the administrator of the fund, Judge Steyn.

Dr. Motlana said he had supported the Soweto rent boycott since its inception in 1986 as black townships should be financed by the central government.

● See page 2.

Ex-magistrate blocked: Why? Coetsee asked

APR 29/3/90 (11A) ~~227~~
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will be challenged to establish if a former Verulam magistrate of long-standing is being denied reappointment to the Bench because he criticised the country's race laws.

Mr Steve Mundhree, 46, resigned as a magistrate at Verulam last July after 27 years in the civil service to become involved in politics.

He was chosen as leader of the National Federal Party and stood in the September 1989 elections for the House of Delegates but lost.

Since then Mr Mundhree has applied several times to be reappointed as a magistrate, but without success.

Now the Democratic Party's spokesman in the House of Delegates, Mr Mamoo Rajab, is asking why the Department of Justice in Pretoria has refused to re-employ Mr Mundhree, who won a merit award for diligence in 1986.

In an interview with a weekly newspaper shortly before the elections Mr Mundhree spoke about his reasons for deciding to give up his first love, law, and said he had great difficulty upholding racist legislation.

"It was no easy decision but my conscience would not allow me to continue upholding certain laws which were in keeping with the country's racist statutes," said Mr Mundhree, who in 1978 was appointed the country's first Indian senior public prosecutor.

Mr Rajab said: "I hope Mr Mundhree's criticism was not held against him when his applications for reappointment to the Bench were considered."

It was "sad and regrettable" if Mr Mundhree, "a man of some considerable experience, is being punished for having the guts to denounce racism publicly".

"President De Klerk has already conceded that racist legislation will have to go."

Mr Rajab planned to meet Mr Coetsee urgently to discuss Mr Mundhree's situation.

Committee firearms confiscated

CAPT Timpf

29/3/90

11A

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ALL firearms have been confiscated from the conservative Old Crossroads Committee as investigations into allegations of murder, attempted murder and pointing firearms against four of the six-man committee continued yesterday.

The township's mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, implicated in a five-month fraud investigation which reached the Attorney General's office this week, is believed to be in hiding amid calls for his resignation. He could not be contacted yesterday.

He and his committee yesterday failed to turn up for a meeting with regional police commissioner Major-General "Flip" Fourie, which was attended by Mr Mali Hoza, leader of Khayelitsha's Site C community, police confirmed.

The meeting was an attempt to clear up rivalries within the Old Crossroads and the Site C communities.

It was reliably learnt that all shotguns and 9mm sidearms issued to Old Crossroads members by the province had been taken in for ballistics tests by police in connection with the murder and attempted murder

counts.

The only exception was Mr Ngxobongwana's weapon for which, the source said, the six-month permit had expired.

Longstanding Old Crossroads councillors Mr Alfred Geli, Mr Eric Nzungu, Mr Nelson de Wet and Mr Alfred Pupu will appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court tomorrow in connection with the various charges.

The province's "on-the-spot" adviser to the committee, Mr Ricky Schelhase, has also appeared in court several times in connection with the murder of a township man.

The controversy surrounding the committee began early last year when 14 of Mr Ngxobongwana's 19 headmen broke away, claiming that the committee had misappropriated "millions" of rands collected in tithes from residents.

Burning of shacks and vicious attacks by both sides have continued sporadically ever since.

The CPA had yet to reply to a list of questions by late yesterday but earlier a spokesman said comment would be premature because of the police investigations. He added that the CPA would investigate Mr Ngxobongwana's long periods of absence from his mayoral duties.

App. Times 29/3/90 114
**Azapo backs
solidarity plan**

JOHANNESBURG. —
Azapo has pledged its support for a plan for black solidarity after meeting Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Our concern over the continuing spiral of violence in the past few weeks was raised with Comrade Mandela," an Azapo statement said after the meeting in the Orlando West home of Mr Mandela.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said Azapo would meet other organisations to discuss ways to halt the violence. — Sapa

BCMA says beauty contests degrade women's worth

11A

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has lashed out at beauty competitions as tools which perpetuate slave mentality and vehicles that serve the sole purpose of promoting the sponsors' products.

In its newsletter *Letsetse* (The Flea), BCMA said people had been so used to the idea of beauty competitions that few of them questioned what it did to black society. It said companies and businesses that wanted to publicise themselves sponsored the competitions.

"These competitions damage the well-being of women because all women are looked at the way the promoters evaluate them. Without thinking about it most of us expect all women to adhere to European standards, which have become the basis of judging in these competitions," the article read.

Most of the women who are chosen, it said, had light complexions and long straight hair. If not, they wore European-type wigs. Women who are not light-skinned and do not have long hair are pressurised to try and look white.

Nowetan 29/3/90

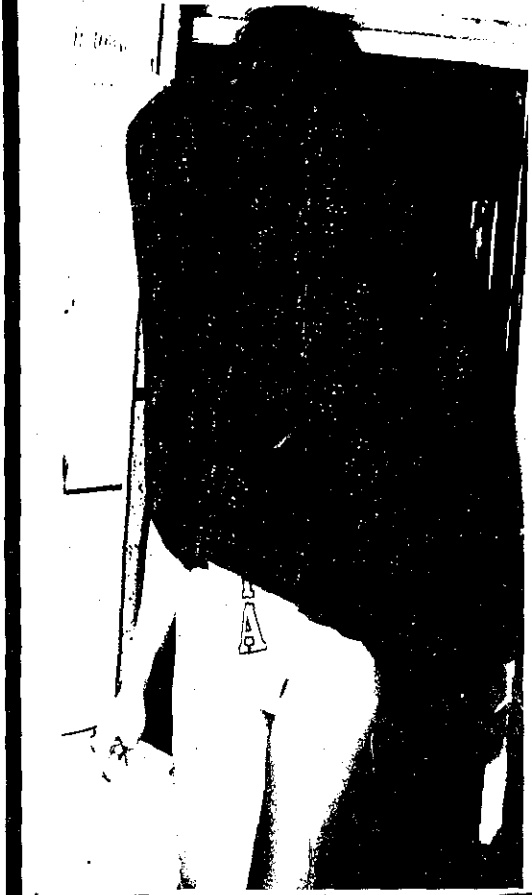
African features



"There is a company which makes hair-straightening chemicals that has an advertisement which starts by showing a young African woman complaining that her natural hair is 'ugly and tangled'. This slave mentality is reinforced by these contests, the article said.

"Both men and women are not built with the same shape. Yet in a beauty competition, we hear people say: 'She should not win. She is too short' or 'She is spoilt by her thick lips'. African features are regarded as a handicap."

The absurdity of beauty competitions lowered the human worth of women who fell outside the age group used in the competitions, the group at which European consumer culture was fixed. The idea that women should become prominent for having an appearance that suits those who define beauty for others, instead of the work they do or ideas they give to society, was the worst result of beauty competitions, the article said.



Confusion *Cowling 24/3/90* over Zuma

CONFUSION surrounds the whereabouts of African National Congress chief of intelligence Mr Jacob Zuma after the internal wing of the organisation yesterday denied any knowledge of his presence in South Africa.

On Tuesday ANC sources in Lusaka said Zuma had returned to South Africa after visiting the country last week to prepare for talks with the Government on April 11.

When asked yesterday how long Zuma would be in the country and how could he be contacted ANC leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada said: "I don't know how long he is going to be here. (1/A)

"In fact, I don't know if he is here."

would continue.

Mandela 'concerned' over teachers' strike

JOHANNESBURG — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has called for a change of tactics to solve the black education crisis, and has promised to speak to President F W de Klerk about the matter if necessary.

standing, but perhaps new tactics should be used to persuade the authorities to address your demands." *3/02/90*

"If the Minister (Stoffel van der Merwe) cannot solve the crisis in black education then I will intervene to facilitate talks with President de Klerk," he said.

Mandela was addressing more than 130 striking teachers from the National Education Union of SA (Neusa) at Soweto's Orland West High School on Tuesday.

"I am deeply concerned about the teachers' strike; our students cannot afford to miss school and I appealed to the teachers not to allow their grievances to aggravate the students' lack of schooling," Mandela said later at the ANC offices in Johannesburg. — Sapa.

He expressed concern that their protracted strike had gone on for three weeks.

"Your grievances are valid and long-

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(11A)

(20)

(20)

Mandela offer still stands says Buthelezi

copy prints 29/3/90



Mandela

ULUNDI. — Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to his home at Mahlabathini and the invitation by the Zulu king to meet him at Ulundi still stood, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He said Mr Mandela had been in contact with him on a number of occasions since his release from prison.

"Mr Mandela and I are old family friends and his visit to my home is a natural expression of that friendship. Mr Mandela and I were in the ANC Youth League together and later, when he was practising as a lawyer, he attended to my wife's father's estate after he died."



Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela's visit to his home was therefore not something about which there should be any speculation.

"We will meet at my home as we have arranged from the outset and we will meet whenever Mr Mandela's very busy itinerary makes it possible to do so. But the visit should take place in the relatively near future."

He said Mr Mandela wrote to him from jail last year expressing "deep concern about the hideous black-on-black violence which has reached unprecedented proportions in this region of South Africa".

11A



ANC leaders visit victims of Sebokeng shootings

Senior ANC leaders, including deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday made personal visits to the victims of Monday's shooting in Sebokeng that left at least 11 people dead and hundreds injured.

Internal ANC leaders, including Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni comforted and spoke to the wounded, some of whose conditions are still critical.

"We wish you a speedy recovery. We are going to do something about this. We will take up this matter in a vigorous way," Mr Mandela told Mr Zacharia Nhlapo, one of the injured.

The man lay in obvious pain with his fist raised as the Mandela party surrounded his bed.

He has a birdshot wound in his chest, three in his small bowel, and three in his colon.

EXCITED

A father of two, Mr Samuel Sefatsa (34) said he was shot in the stomach, while passing nearby the march.

Hundreds of excited patients and staff sang praises to Mr Mandela on his arrival.

Mr Mandela declined to comment after the visit.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC condemned Monday's police action and called for an immediate judicial commission of inquiry into the shootings.

Police have appealed to all eyewitnesses of the clash between police and marchers in Sebokeng on Monday to come forward with information.

The investigating officer on the case, Warrant Officer Sidney Puth, yesterday said police also wanted to contact the organisers of the prohibited march.

Hospital visit . . . ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, consoles Mr Zachariah Nhlapo in Sebokeng hospital yesterday. Mr Nhlapo was shot during running battles in the township on Monday. ● Picture by Reuter.

Work on Nelson's Merc gets under way

sta 29/3/90 (11R)

EAST LONDON — Production began on a luxury new car for the deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at the Mercedes Benz of South Africa plant in East London this week.

The car is a R211 530 top-of-the-range red Mercedes Benz 500 SE.

A majority of hourly-paid workers will work without pay for one hour daily for four days to pay for the car.

The company's public relations manager, Mrs Wendy Hoffman, said the car would be completed in two weeks' time.

NOT BULLET-PROOF

She said employees wanted Mr Mandela to receive the car at the plant in person but a date for this had not yet been decided.

The model was introduced in 1987 and among the standard equipment available to Mr Mandela are an electrically adjustable steering column and front seats, a radio cassette player with eight speakers, an electric aerial and an electric sunroof.

Mrs Hoffman added that the car would not be bullet-proof.

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa originally approached the company to consider a request to build the car to mark Mr Mandela's release from prison. — Sapa.

DP could find allies in ANC, UDF — Malan

Pretoria Correspondent

The Democratic Party's future political allies could include the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

Addressing a meeting in Pretoria last night, one of the DP's co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, said the party was closer to the ANC and the UDF than any other party.

He shared the platform with the DP's national chairman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, and the UDF's vice-chairman in Pretoria, Mr Moss Chikane.

Mr Malan said there would be a broader re-alignment in South African politics "in which the DP will move closer, maybe even merge or go up into another party, if that party projects the values we believe in".

"If we look at allies for the future, then the allies are within the space of the ANC, the UDF and the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement). There is no other organised political movement with a debate in the democratic spirit.

"If we look at the departure points of the DP, the ANC and the UDF in terms of the constitution and the nature of a future democracy, then we find we are closer to them than any other party," he said.

AMNESTY

Mr Malan told the 80-strong meeting the DP, the ANC and the UDF shared the concepts of a universal franchise and equality on a common voters roll but differed on how it should find expression.

Discussing the April 11 meeting between the Government and the ANC, Mr Malan said he hoped when it came to amnesty, it would be granted to members of death squads because, like members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, they believed in the justice of their case and were under orders. Political leaders involved with the squads, however, should leave politics.

Mr Malan said neither the ANC nor the Government was considering serious negotiations before 1991. He said attention should be given to urgent problems other than constitutional ones and proposed that problems such as education and housing should be addressed by area crisis committees.

Mr Malan was "upset but also hopeful" about remarks by the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, reported in New York, on a bicameral parliament.

"If this is indeed the Government's approach, it is time that it is spelled out."

Mr Chikane said it was important to establish the reasons for the Government's reform initiatives.

He said talk of group rights did not signal a move away from apartheid.

Mr van der Merwe said President de Klerk was acting less repressively and had created an openness in politics. "But it would be a mistake to think Mr de Klerk has turned his back on apartheid."

11A



ANC leaders visit victims of Sebokeng shootings

Senior ANC leaders, including deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday made personal visits to the victims of Monday's shooting in Sebokeng that left at least 11 people dead and hundreds injured.

Internal ANC leaders, including Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsa-ledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni comforted and spoke to the wounded, some of whose conditions are still critical.

"We wish you a speedy recovery. We are going to do something about this. We will take up this matter in a vigorous way," Mr Mandela told Mr Zacharia Nhlapo, one of the injured.

The man lay in obvious pain with his fist raised as the Mandela party surrounded his bed.

He has a birdshot wound in his chest, three in his small bowel, and three in his colon.

EXCITED

A father of two, Mr Samuel Sefatsa (34) said he was shot in the stomach, while passing near-by the march.

Hundreds of excited patients and staff sang praises to Mr Mandela on his arrival.

Mr Mandela declined to comment after the visit.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC condemned Monday's police action and called for an immediate judicial commission of inquiry into the shootings.

Police have appealed to all eyewitnesses of the clash between police and marchers in Sebokeng on Monday to come forward with information.

The investigating officer on the case, Warrant Officer Sidney Puth, yesterday said police also wanted to contact the organisers of the prohibited march.

Hospital visit . . . ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, consoles Mr Zachariah Nhlapo in Sebokeng hospital yesterday. Mr Nhlapo was shot during running battles in the township on Monday. Picture by Reuter.

Let up on 'Superman's antics are going to drive us to the CP camp', SA whites

I have serious complaints about the editorial policy of our leading English newspapers.

When Wits students went on the rampage, Dr Zach de Beer deplored their behaviour, but said that he understood it in view of apartheid laws.

Now he excuses township violence because of years of oppression.

Who is doing the oppressing now? The violence is mostly blacks on blacks and not on the whites whom Dr de Beer and Archbishop Tutu regard as the oppressors.

Once again our young people are beginning to vote with their feet, and large companies are doing the same. The state of the financial rand tells us clearly how overseas investors feel.

It's fashionable, and Democratic Party policy, endlessly to condemn the whites and excuse and appease the blacks.

And of course, isn't it high time he stopped traipsing around the world and returned to our troubled and bloody townships, where he could try to pacify some elements? Or is it possible that, as in Natal, he would fall again and is afraid to reveal his 'Emperor's Clothes'.

Grovelling

It's time to let up on the faults of the whites and acknowledge all the good whites have done in a multiracial society where there are genetic, cultural and religious differences. To ignore these and try and force everyone into a common mould hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it won't work here either.

Now the question is, "How long are our newspaper editors going to continue grovelling sycophantically at this political infant, who has revealed neither subtlety or any sense of diplomacy. His lack of statesmanship and ordinary political commonsense make him a child, even compared to his colleague, Mr Walter Sisulu.

As yet few blacks generate jobs. The whites have created millions of jobs, they pay more than 90 percent of the taxes from which hospitals, schools, roads, railroads and a terrific infrastructure have been built up, benefiting everyone.

And is it not high time that our newspapers, with their skills at investigative reporting, should by now give us the real reasons for the ghastly events in the townships? Surely you have reporters with the necessary skills. Your readers are anxiously waiting for the truth.

They could have done more and many things could have been done differently, but if credit were given where credit is due, the South African Communist Party would not have had such an easy task in stirring up ANC anti-white feelings in South Africa. We could have worked towards reform from a completely different angle.

So come on, our Editors, stop grovelling, put the messiah in his place and tell him clearly how the white electorate really feels and what they are saying nowadays. Tell it to him like it is.

I am an erstwhile DP supporter, but the antics of Superman will surely drive us all into the CP camp. Doesn't he know it or doesn't he care?

I am an erstwhile DP supporter, but the antics of Superman will surely drive us all into the CP camp. Doesn't he know it or doesn't he care?

Gwen Barragwanath

Lydenburg

J Rowlins

Germiston

Letters to the editor must be sent to P O Box 61682, Marshalltown 2107, or faxed to 836-8398. Preference will be given to letters which include the writer's name for publication.



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, at the University of the North this week, where Mr Mandela called for a return to school. In a letter today, one reader feels that the policy of leading English newspapers in South Africa towards Mr Mandela is not "telling it like it is".

Burning questions on toll roads

Let's solve problems without any violence

In five years' time taxpayers will almost certainly be debited for the proposed east-west Hendrik Schoeman Toll Road now being planned through Johannesburg's mining belt.

Tolling on this proposed road exploits the historical shortage of highway access serving black residential areas. Rich residents of Sandton can travel toll free in all directions. Poor Sowetans will have to pay extra for similar access.

Do those who are investing their shareholders' money in the Hendrik Schoeman Highway really believe this iniquitous situation will be allowed to continue in a new South Africa? Do they really believe they will be fully compensated when this highway is justifiably nationalised?

Sowetans should also ask questions. Why are there no northbound ramps where the Soweto highway intersects with the Western Bypass? Why has Commando Road never been improved between Soweto and the Main Reef Road? Why does the Main Reef Road not interchange with the Western Bypass? Is it to force Sowetans to use the toll road?

Berbron

Conrad Berge

Let's not slip back again

Now is the time for the Government to proceed with the dismantling of apartheid — which has supposedly been dead for years (as Mr Piet Koorhof said).

The good sign that Bantustans desire to be reunited with South Africa should be acted upon. Unity is strength — the South African motto must once again be made a reality — saving wasted millions. If Mr Mandela is hedging about negotiation, let South Africa carry on to demonstrate that we can return to a healthy, fair state.

Africans — ANC, PAC and others — must realise that they cannot solve anything by taking white wealth and redistributing it — the northern countries tried that and here is nothing in their

Marx built ideology on false foundation

On reading historian Paul Johnson's book "Intellectuals" recently, I was particularly struck by the chapter on Karl Marx entitled "Karl Marx: Howling Gigantic Curses".

The publishing of the book preceded by approximately a year, with almost uncanny precision, the burgeoning movement away from communism which is sweeping Eastern Europe.

Karl Marx appears to have been a person with big ideas and ideals, but minimal integrity. As far as is known Marx never set foot in a mill, factory, mine or other industrial workplace.

He seemed to have in mind a blueprint for the ideal state and then set about garnering facts from various written sources to support his theories. He did not check on the validity of these facts and where they did not fit in with his theories, he simply tailored them to do so. He based his "scientific" examination of working conditions under capitalism in the mid-1860s on a single work, Friedrich Engels's "Conditions of the Working Class in England", published 20 years before.

Engels in turn was not too concerned about accuracy. In one instance he quoted a paper on sanitation in Edinburgh without letting his readers know that it was written in 1818. Engels was only born in 1820.

Paul Johnson states that the actual content of Marx's philosophy can be related to four aspects of his character, namely, his taste for violence, his appetite for power, his inability to handle money, and, above all, his tendency to exploit those around him.

Also, that from start to finish, not just "Capital" but all his shops or stomachs.

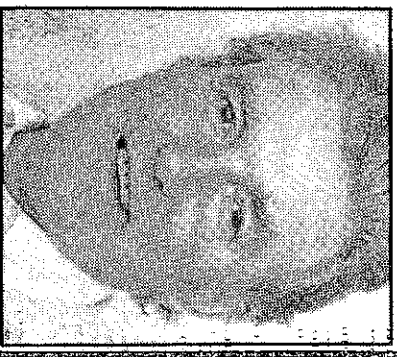
Please, Mr de Klerk, continue on the correct path — everybody will benefit eventually. The rand will become valuable again once progress is made and the black people will realise that this will lead to a better life for everyone. They must have more say.

More education and better wages will allow them to pay for their own houses, schools and hospitals. When they work for their own dwellings they will take pride in them.

Let us take advantage of the forward movement now — and not let things slip backward again.

S L Goldberg

Parktown



Historian Paul Johnson exposes true content of Marx's philosophy.

work reflects a disregard for truth which at times amounts to contempt. What I personally found to be the most abhorrent and hypocritical facet of Marx's dealings with the proletariat was the fact that he kept an unpaid servant, Helen Demuth (handed down to him by his mother-in-law). He not only exploited her labour but also exploited her sexually.

When she fell pregnant and in due course gave birth to his child he adamantly refused to acknowledge the child and even compounded this cowardly rejection by persuading his co-author on "Capital", Engels, "to claim paternity."

Engels seems to have been completely dominated by Marx. In addition to shouldering the burden of paternity he also shouldered the burden of contributing to the upkeep of the Marx household for a period of 15 years. As communism seems to be built on a foundation of falsehood it is hardly surprising that it has now become a crumbling edifice.

(Mrs) D Kaplan

Edenvale

R26-m US aid fund for SA's non-violent groups only

From DAVID BRAUN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Congress is creating a special R26 million fund for South African political organisations to prepare themselves for negotiations with the government — but only those who agree to suspend violence may apply.

A House of Representatives committee examining proposed legislation to set up the 10 million-dollar fund yesterday agreed to amend its previous draft, which stipulated that the money may not go to any organisations represented in the tricameral parliament or which were financed or controlled by any of the homelands.

This original wording would have prevented Inkatha or the Labour Party from receiving funds.

DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

This proposal has, however, been rejected and replaced with a new condition which stipulates that an organisation engaged in armed struggle or other acts of violence shall be eligible for assistance only if that organisation is committed to a suspension of violence in the context of negotiations to establish a democratic system of government in South Africa.

In terms of the proposed legislation, the African National Congress would not be eligible for American assistance until it agreed to suspend violence.

US sources were optimistic yesterday that the new version, agreed to by the majority Democratic Party in the House of Representatives, would also be adopted by the Senate.

The allocation of the R26 million for South African political organisations forms part of a huge appropriation of R2 billion for assisting the new democracies in Nicaragua and Panama.

BUSH APPLIES PRESSURE

President Bush is personally putting a lot of pressure on the Congress to get the appropriation approved as soon as possible.

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that National Party sources have welcomed the US Congress committee decision that the ANC and other black organisations must suspend violence before they can get American aid.

Said one source: "This is an acknowledgement that it takes two the tango and that the position of the ANC on this particular issue is untenable."

Protest messages given to Maggie

South 29/3-4/4/90
From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — A weekend rally held in London's Trafalgar Square beside the towering South African embassy opened with a speaker declaring: "This will probably be the last rally of the Anti-Apartheid Movement before we celebrate the death of apartheid with the ANC

inside this embassy."

The 20 000 strong crowd roared its approval as honorary secretary of the AAM, Adbul Minty, gestured towards the embassy, for 30 years a traditional site of London protest against the South African government.

The rally came at the end of a two-hour march through central London, past the residence of Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher, where 16 000 personal messages of protest were delivered.

In spite of occasional showers in the freezing weather, the cheerful crowd waved ANC flags

The high point of the rally was the keynote address by Rivonia trialist Andrew Mlangeni, introduced to rapturous applause, as the first of the trialists to visit Britain.

'Unshakeable alliance'



South 29/3/44/90

"WE share a common struggle. The alliance between the people of Palestine and the people of South Africa is unshakeable," said Denis Goldberg in a recent interview in London.

The only white to be sentenced in the 1964 Rivonia treason trial, Cape Town-born Goldberg was released from prison in 1985 after serving 22 years in jail.

Since his release, Goldberg has travelled widely, speaking on behalf of the ANC and in support of the armed struggle.

"It is important to me that I use the authenticity I have to make the cause of the ANC heard."

Today he runs the ANC's flourishing merchandise department — popularising the organisation internationally by selling T-shirts, badges, scarves, diaries, watches and tracksuits, all bearing the movement's colours and emblem.

In recent months, Goldberg has

The struggle of South Africans and Palestinians is similar, says ANC official, Denis Goldberg. He spoke to GUY BERGER about his attitude to Israel, and gave some insight into the alliance between the ANC and the PLO:

shared a platform with Palestinian activists and pledged ANC support for their call for a boycott of Israeli produce.

He believes the struggle in South Africa is similar in principle to that of the Palestinian people — hence the ANC's solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO).

For Goldberg, there are parallels in the ideologies of the Israeli and South African rulers.

He points out that among Afrikaners are Israeli Jews, there are those who believe in their biblical right as God's chosen people to dispossess the indigenous people of their rights.

He also points to the similar way in which both powers became regional powers because of the strategic importance placed on them by the West during the Cold War.

Goldberg supports the right of the state of Israel to exist on the basis of the 1948 United Nations resolution on partition, but has never been a Zionist.

Biblical

"Zionism is the belief in the exclusive right of Jews to the whole of the land referred to as biblical Palestine, and the refusal to come to terms with the Palestinians living in the area," he said.

"I am Jewish to the extent that I like chicken soup and matzo balls — and that's as far as it goes."

Opposition to Zionism is quite different to anti-Semitism which is opposition to Jews as such, he argued, "just as opposition to apartheid does not imply anti-white attitudes".

He noted that there is a growing recognition of this distinction within Israel, and that many Jewish Israelis are highly critical of what their government is doing.

According to Goldberg, Zionism has given rise to racism against Arabs living within Israel, and against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip territories that Israel has occupied since capturing them in the 1967 Middle East war.

"In Israel, racism may not be writ-

ten into laws to the same extent as in South Africa, but is implicit within social practices," he said.

Examples he pointed to include:

● Palestinians are used as a cheap labour force by Israel and are subject to rigid control by the state in many areas.

● Israel has seized most of the land belonging to Palestinians living in Israel, confiscated more than half the land of the West Bank, and siphoned off more than 80 percent of West Bank subterranean water for use in Israel.

● Like South Africa's past curfew and pass system, Palestinians from the occupied territories may work in Israel, but may not stay overnight.

● In an Israeli version of the Immorality Act, Jews and Arabs cannot legally marry within Israel — even if they are citizens of the same state.

"People of South Africa and Palestine have suffered at the hands of internal colonialism," said Goldberg.

"The PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people and the ANC of the South African people. Both movements are involved in a struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

"They are united in their fight for national liberation, and this unity stretches across all classes," Goldberg said.



Palestinian children smile despite a bleak future

THE time is ripe for Muslims to rally behind the leadership of the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) and to decide on strengthening the hand of the African National Congress when it goes to the negotiating table.

This is the message from Sheik Abdul Gamied Gabier, who briefly returned to South Africa this month from Canada, where he has lived in exile for the past four years.

Gabier played a role in the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Rocklands in 1983 and in mobilising Muslims to support the Front.

He is a former MJC chairperson and administrator, and former imam of the Kensington mosque.

He was officiating at a funeral in Salt River in 1986 when a policeman was killed after he shot at congregants.

Attacked

"The mob just jumped on him," Gabier recalls.

The police wanted him to identify the people who attacked their colleague.

"I would have been the greatest traitor of all times if I had done so. In any case, I wasn't right at the scene of the attack, and told the investigating officer I could not be held responsible."

Gabier was subpoenaed, but left the country shortly afterwards on what was to be a three-month lecture tour.

While overseas, his lawyers informed him a warrant of arrest had been issued against him. He decided to remain in exile in Canada.

Gabier left the country, but not the struggle.

"While overseas, I worked for the ANC from their Toronto base all the time, delivering lectures at universities and to non-governmental

Strengthening the ANC's hand

11A

Sheik Abdul Gamied Gabier, who left South Africa in 1986 after refusing to assist police in identifying youths who shot a policeman, returned to the country briefly. He spoke to NOEL BRUYNS about his activities and his thoughts on the role of religion in the struggle:

organisations (NGOs) in Canada on their behalf," he says.

He also represented the ANC at conferences in the Middle East. He says he assisted in strengthening the movement's contact with Muslim countries.

Gabier played a role in establishing the ANC's religious department in Lusaka in 1986.

"The religious department was formed because of the strong religious element in the struggle, internally and internationally.

Atheist

"The ANC felt it should have better coordination with churches and religious leaders involved in the struggle," he explains.

"The South African media project the ANC as an atheist organisation — which is not true. There are many good Christians and Muslims in the ANC."

Gabier reports that "Lusaka has the greatest respect" for work done by religious leaders. Mandela and the ANC recognise the MJC as the strongest Muslim body in South Africa.

On talks, the sheik says: "It is less costly to sit at the table and talk than shoot at one another. You will obtain

your objectives much more easily."

He believes a future ANC government will have an ally in the Canadian government.

"The Canadian government and NGOs have always recognised the ANC as the vanguard of the struggle and the legitimate voice of South Africa's oppressed.

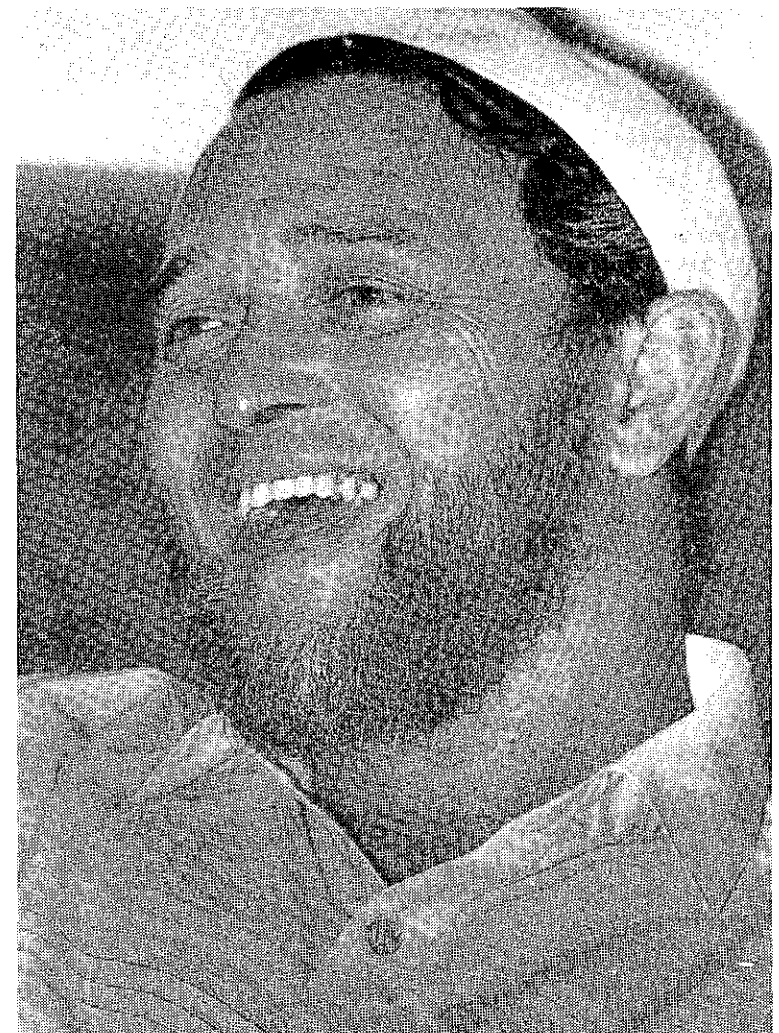
"We can assume the government will not accept anything unless the ANC also accepts it," says Gabier.

At the end of the interview, Gabier gets worked up as he refers to a huge conference of Muslims being planned to respond to the changing political scene.

"We have certain organisations which have not played a role in the struggle whatsoever. It would be wrong to invite these people when determining the direction Muslims should take."

Gabier calls the Islamic Council of South Africa a "totally bankrupt organisation" which has no grassroots support and was involved in sanctions-busting. The Muslim Assembly is "pro-government," he says.

Gabier has meanwhile returned to Toronto, but says he is continuing to work for the struggle, and that he will be back.



Sheik Abdul Gamied Gabier

Gangs join UDF

11A

South 2913-44190

By REHANA ROSSOUW
GANGSTERS in Hanover Park have swapped their knives for UDF banners to fight for better facilities rather than short-lived glory.

At a meeting last Saturday, heavily tattooed gangsters addressing each other as "comrades" vowed to end the killings in the area.

No gang fights have taken place in Hanover Park since gangsters

attended a mass meeting on March 18 and pledged to work towards peace.

Gang members of the Laughing Boys, Back Streets, Americans, Fancy Boys, Mongrels, Ghetto Kids, Park Boys, State Boys and Sewe Lewens attended last week's meeting.

Grudges

"We are satisfied with the peace. I hope the last fight we had with each other will be the last one ever," said a leader of the Americans.

A member of the Laughing Boys

called on gangsters to forget their grudges.

"I did not enjoy hurting people or getting hurt," he said. "There are many of us walking around holding grudges; there can't be peace until we forget them.

"What we must realise is that by calling for peace, nobody won. I am not fighting anymore," he said to loud applause.

The Mongrels, Park Kids and Nice Time Kids supported the call for peace. They reported that some gang members indicated they wanted to return to school and join youth structures.

A committee consisting of two representatives from each gang will monitor the peace and mediate in gang disputes. It will be formed after gangsters report back on the meeting and elect their representatives.

Gangsters have begun attending meetings of the People's Action Group, formed to combat gangsterism, and of the Hanover Park Youth and the Civic Association.

"The time has come to stop fighting each other and start fighting for better facilities such as schools and sports fields in Hanover Park," said a Laughing Boys member.



Exiles waiting for call to return

NGWERERE - About the time Nelson Mandela was going to jail 27 years ago, Lenford Ganyile was heading into exile - but not before losing most of an ear and all of his teeth during a 20-month stay in a South African jail.

The teeth, he says, were knocked out by a South African policeman's rifle butt. A bayonet sliced his ear.

Ganyile said he had been arrested for leading ANC protesters in the Pondoland region near

Mandela's Transkei home.

"We were fighting one of the worst devils on earth, the Bantu Authorities Act," he said, referring to the South African discriminatory laws.

After his release, he crossed into Botswana, then went to Zambia, where the ANC is based.

Ganyile, now 68, is one of thousands of South African exiles scattered worldwide whose lives have been transformed by State President FW de Klerk's decision to lift the 30-year ban on the ANC

and other political organizations, and to release Mandela from jail on February 11.

"I am waiting for Comrade Mandela to tell me what to do next," Ganyile said recently, using the honorific common among ANC members.

The ANC says most of its exiled members would now like to return home by the end of the year.

"It is a dream to me," said Ganyile, a veteran of the Pondo rebellion in the late 1950s when scores of blacks were killed in riots protesting against South Africa's racial laws.

He is now a respected father figure at the organisation's 3 000-ha farm in Zambia's fertile, well-watered Ngwerere district, about 40 km north of Lusaka.

ber the wife and three children he left behind.

"In the early years I sent them letters but had no reply," he said. "I was afraid they would get into trouble so I stopped writing."

He would occasionally hear news of his wife from newly arrived exiles, but he later lost all contact.

"The struggle became my family," he said. "I saw my ear was not there and it reminded me always that I wanted all our

people to be free."

Ganyile used his experience as a peasant farmer to teach farming to fellow exiles. At Chongela farm in Ngwerere he is a member of the collective's management committee.

The collective grows vegetables and maize, and rears cattle, including a Simental stud herd, sheep, pigs and ducks.

Donations

A dairy, a slaughterhouse, several workshops and a motor repair shop are partly financed by foreign donations.

Leslie Ponusamy, the farm manager, said the property - three adjoining farms owned by whites before Zambia's independence in 1964 - feeds up to 1 500 of the some 2 000 ANC exiles living in the country.

"We don't produce everything for a balanced diet. We sell the surplus of one thing to buy other things we need," said Ponusamy, an Indian-trained veterinarian and one-time student activist in Natal.

The collective also teaches practical skills to young exiles posted there for varying periods by the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

"Most of our young people interrupted their education when they left home," he said.

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S 4500

ANC's left-wing may pose threat to peace settlement

11A

A FACTION of the Far Left of the black nationalist movement has come out against the ANC decision to negotiate a compromise settlement with the South African government, labelling talks a "trap" for the organisation.

The development may mean that just as the government has had to keep an eye on reaction from its Right-wing constituency, the ANC might have to now keep its eyes peeled for reaction from the growing constituency on its Left.

The dissident group, which calls itself the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC, says any talks with the government that do not result in the immediate transfer of "real



AS Nelson Mandela - now effective leader of the ANC - prepares for talks with the government, a Far-Left faction of black nationalists has come out against negotiations as a "betrayal" of the struggle in what may be an indicator of possible resistance from militant black youth. Ken Vernon of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

power" to the masses will be a betrayal of the struggle and a trap designed to emasculate the ANC and "bend and blunt the spearhead of the movement".

Its message is couched in traditional Marxist rhetoric and obviously aimed at the radical township youth who have recently come to the fore as being the main support base of the South African Communist Party and to the Left of the mainstream ANC leadership.

The ANC has dismissed the radical group as "four or five" fanatics based in London who have little influence within the organisation.

An ANC spokesman in London said the group was allied to a group called the "Workers Tendency" expelled from the ANC in 1985.

In an open letter to Mandela which takes up the whole of an edition of "Congress Militant", a news-sheet put out by the group, the MWT says that "millions, young and old, would respond if you

called them to action under the ANC flag..."

"But if you say freedom can be won through negotiations and compromise with the government, many will wait in hope.

We believe that will seriously harm the progress and unity of our Congress movement - and the fate of the country".

The MWT says the present government is not prepared to concede majority rule, or the immediate transfer of real power to the majority, and concludes that "the fight for majority rule is the only way to end group domination".

"The government's strategy has long been one of reforms from above to prevent revolution from below.... and for this purpose he (FW de Klerk) is trying to entice into the government black leaders who enjoy the trust of the masses."

The group takes issue with Mandela's letter to then president P W Botha last year proposing negotiations, in which he says the issues to be resolved

in talks are the black demand for majority rule in a unitary state and the concern of whites with this, allied to structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean black domination.

"How is it possible to reconcile structural guarantees for the whites with majority rule" the MWT asks, "the one directly contradicts the other".

It adds that any such guarantees would have to nullify the principle of one man one vote.

"A fundamental choice has to be made between revolutionary struggle and compromise" it concludes, "this is the reality and no words will hide it".

Instead it suggests that the ANC should "show a willingness to negotiate a peaceful end to white rule and the hand-over of power to the majority of people - so that everyone can see that the responsibility for the violence and suffering in the country lies fully with the government, the racists and the ruling class".

If the organisation

goes ahead, the MWT says that apart from the preconditions so far identified - the release of all political prisoners, end of the state of emergency, return of exiles and troops out of townships - it must insist on the following conditions:

* That the immediate transfer of real power to the majority be attainable through the negotiations.

* A constitutional assembly, elected on the basis of one man, one vote, be on the agenda.

During the election and meeting of that constituent assembly the following must apply:

* An immediate suspension of all segregation laws and the Labour Act.

* The equal right of all the people, irrespective of race, to bear arms for their own defence. The right of local people to form militias for defence purposes in all residential areas and of the trade unions to form workers defence guards in all industrial areas and on buses and trains.

The MWT says without these provisions there "could be no guarantee of a peaceful hand-over of power" and negotiations might become bogged down in "mere talk".

Privatisation is theft, says ANC's Mkwayi

3/90

Labour Reporter

11A

Privatisation was a form of theft and aimed to undermine the economic power of a future ANC government, Mr Wilton Mkwayi said yesterday.

The ANC stalwart was addressing public sector workers before yesterday's anti-privatisation march to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Mr Mkwayi warned that a future government would re-nationalise State concerns sold to private interests.

He said privatisation would further concentrate economic power in the hands of a small group of private corporations, and would generate revenue for the State over which people had no control.

The masses would receive "a small piece of pie" after foreign creditors, the state bureaucracy and business had been paid off.

The alternative was to find new and creative forms of co-operative control. One example was a proposed electricity co-operative in Soweto, owned by consumers and run on a non-profit basis.

NP questioned over 'show of might'

CP against inviting terrorists for talks

The Conservative Party wished to express its most serious objection to the Government inviting terrorists to the negotiation table in such a way that they would have a say over the future of all, including CP and NP supporters, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget, he asked whether it was a "show of might" by the NP in letting loose terrorists over South Africa, and inviting someone like Mr Chris Hani — head of the ANC's armed wing — who was responsible for the deaths of many South Africans, to the negotiation table.

The armed struggle

Dr Treurnicht said the Government realised it had made a mistake in unbanning the ANC and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela.

They had released Mr Mandela unconditionally, when their prior attitude had been that he should first forswear violence. In his first speech after his release, Mr Mandela had recommitted himself to the armed struggle and to nationalisation.

Dr Treurnicht said there were two main constitutional options in the world: The global approach, which aimed at one world government eventually; and one amounting to the orderly existence alongside each other of nations with the recognition of their sovereignty.

There was an upsurge of the nationalism of nations in the world at present.

The real Rip van Winkles in South African politics were the Democratic Party.

If even in a uniraical country like Belgium the Flemish did not want to be subjected by the French and the Germans, it was more so the case in South Africa.

An upsurge of nationalism was taking place in the country which was not only confined to Afrikaners, but included English-speakers.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government should re-examine its proposed Bill of Rights in terms of which communities would be penalised if they wanted to put their communities first.

One of the elements of the proposed "New South Africa" was power-sharing, but the CP had differed with the NP on this since 1982.

An equal vote

Power could not be shared, because if it was, one lost control, Dr Treurnicht said.

"Either you govern, or you are governed. We as a nation don't want to be governed by any other nation or nations, and we also don't want to govern over others."

Dr Treurnicht said NP members were saying they were not proposing domination, but how could they say this when the State President, Mr de Klerk, had said blacks would have an equal vote in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk had said at the same time there would be protection for minorities, but this was impossible unless blacks were discriminated against. — Sapa.

Star 30/3/90

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US funding Bill leaves them cold

By Kaizer Nyatumba

South African anti-apartheid organisations have responded with indifference to the decision by two subcommittees of the United States House of Representatives to pass a Bill prohibiting black political organisations from receiving financial aid from Congress unless they renounce violence.

Organisations contacted yesterday said they did not receive money from the US government anyway, while another body condemned the House's "political prescription" for liberation movements and other anti-apartheid forces.

The Bill, which will become law if accepted by the Senate and both Houses, stipulates that independent black democratic organisations will be eligible for assistance from the R28 million allocated to help them only if they are committed to a process of negotiation to establish a democratic system of government in the country, and suspend violence as a strategy.

To receive the US assistance in terms of the proposed legislation, the organisations will have to agree not to use the funds made available to them for the purpose of supporting physical violence by any individual, group or government.

This rules out the ANC and PAC from benefiting from the fund until they suspend violence.

Azanian People's Organisation spokesman Mr Lybon Mabasa said liberation movements were not bent on "wanton violence" but had resorted to the armed struggle after all peaceful efforts to end apartheid had been exhausted.

"Nobody will prescribe to us, and that includes the US. We believe we are facing an armed and violent regime, as evidenced by the recent killings of our people by the police.

STUDYING THE IMPLICATIONS

"We cannot understand the thinking of the subcommittees ... They must first tell the regime to stop its violence," Mr Mabasa said.

United Democratic Front assistant publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said his organisation would study the implications of the Bill before commenting. "Anyway, we don't receive any funds from the US," he said.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada of the ANC referred questions to the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka, saying he did not know whether the ANC received funds from the Americans.

The PAC could not be reached for comment.

Looking for Moses, they've found Mandela

87-30 31 90
By HENRY KATZEW,
The Star's Foreign News Service

NEW YORK — Tears flow from the eyes of black Americans when they talk of Nelson Mandela. He means more to them than most can express.

"I promise a crowd of one million strong when he visits New York City," said Mr John Aheto, a prominent black New Yorker who hails from Ghana.

Believe him. The million could well be there, if other considerations do not intervene.

No date has been set for Mr Mandela's visit, but he has accepted Mayor David Dinkins's invitation to come.

There are several reasons why Mr Mandela has eclipsed the Rev Jesse Jackson as the world's No 1 black leader. The main reason relates to Africa.

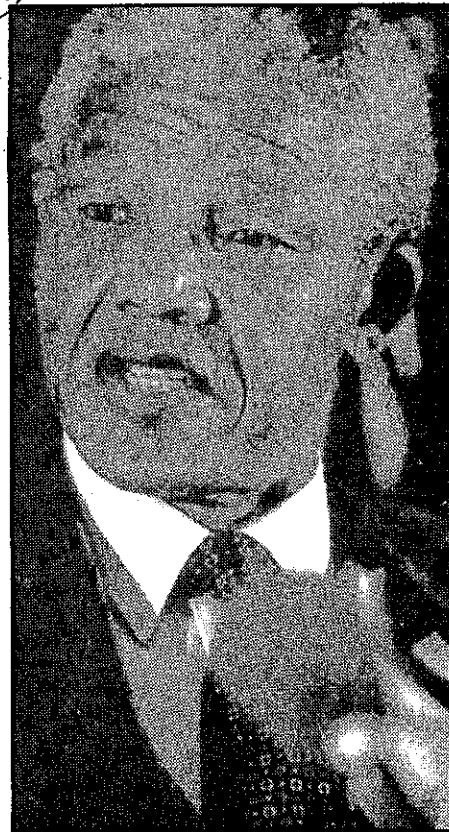
Nelson Mandela represents not branch, but root and trunk — and because he comes regal, proud, unbent, serene and rich in civility, he has, in some mysterious way, rolled back for black Americans the kidnappings, the slave ships, the chains, the plantations, the auction blocks, the 300 years of their stolen selves ... and restored Africa to them as no other black leader has been able to.

The acknowledged tears that flowed from Mr Roger Wilkins were for that reason. He said so in an article in the New York Times. Mr Wilkins is one of black America's leading "think tank" men.

In his article, he gloried in the term African-American, hugging it afresh to his bosom, grounding his pride in that particular moment when Nelson Mandela emerged from his 27 years in prison: tall, unbowed, a man, Africa.

Roger Wilkins, like millions of other black Americans watching TV, knew themselves afresh. From Africa had returned what America had taken from them.

Indeed, Mandela could not have come more timely for black Americans, so great is their need for such as he. Africa has not squared the shoulders of black Americans



Mr Nelson Mandela has accepted Mayor David Dinkins's invitation to visit New York City, but no date has been set.

in a way that the freeing of the African continent from colonialism could have led one to expect.

There was, and is, no mystery about this. Africa as reflected in the media was, and is, negative, weak, uncertain. Much has been told of corrupt rulers, tyranny, fierce killings, wars, mass starvation, ineptness, debt, elite handfuls, unredeemed masses.

This selective Western focus concealed — and particularly in South Africa — what is tremendously important: great human

potential, hunger for unfettered life, goodness ready to spring out of the ground, a magnanimity in too many to be divorced from the race, thoughtfulness waiting for full expression.

In one month of freedom, Nelson Mandela — with his speeches, his tone and his bearing, in public address and TV interviews — lifted the curtain on this other Africa.

The Africa Mr Mandela symbolises simmers with possibilities, making black America ripe at last for the love affair with Africa it has sought. The evidence will come one day in a large-scale black American tourist traffic, particularly to South Africa, the country that for 40 years has embroiled black Americans in passions untellable.

There is a second reason why Nelson Mandela has taken hold of the black American imagination. It is embedded in a profound sadness; in the shocking state of the inner cities of America. This is where eight million of the black underclass live — if living is the term that can be applied to those pitiless urban areas, drug-ridden and crime-ridden.

The tale has become familiar: crack babies, welfare mothers, no fathers, rampant homicides, drop-outs, illiterates, unemployables, mean alleys, random death, prisons with a black face ... and no one knowing what the end will be: for black America, for America itself.

Oh for a Moses!

Nelson Mandela cannot be the Moses of black America, but this clearly selfless man can be, and is, the next best thing: a hero for them.

In the long centuries of human thinking on the uses of great men, it has always been noted that their main service has been to quicken souls and spirits, raising the dead. Hope stirs again, initiatives come to life.

Accept, then, that the drama of Nelson Mandela is unfolding not only on his native continent but also on the continent of America, the intangibles more electric than the tangibles.

Star 30/3/90

11A

Nats announce team for ANC talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government yesterday named a nine-man delegation of Ministers to represent it at historic pre-negotiation talks with the African National Congress in Cape Town on April 11.

A surprise inclusion is Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok — not part of the Government's usual negotiating team.

He has undoubtedly been included because the April 11 talks will focus on security issues: the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen stressed yesterday that the meeting was not the start of negotiations. It would deal purely with trying to clear away the "perceived obstacles" to negotiations: the state of emergency and the release of prisoners. These could be finalised on April 11 or at further meetings.

After that, there would be two phases to negotiations proper — a first phase to determine how the negotiation process should be structured and who should take part, and a second phase to negotiate a new constitution.

The Government's full negotiating team, under President de

Klerk's leadership, is Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha; Dr Viljoen; Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers; Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee; Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis; Mr Vlok; Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe; and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.

The ANC has yet to announce its delegation, although it is expected to be headed by Mr Nelson Mandela and to include both internal and external leaders.

At a press briefing yesterday Dr Viljoen would not be drawn on reports that the Government intended introducing legislation to grant immunity from arrest to members of the ANC's delegation for April 11.

Put to the test

- He made it clear that:
- The new constitution which was negotiated would be put to the test of the white electorate.
 - Only those who committed themselves to peaceful solutions would be able to take part in negotiations.
 - Although only the ANC and the Government were taking part in the April 11 talks, the negotiations would include other organisations.

Leaders in joint peace bid

20 more die as 'civil war' erupts again

Sta 30/3/90

11A

By Craig Kotze

At least 20 people died yesterday in fighting in Edendale's "valley of death" — with no end in sight to the most vicious phase to date of the Inkatha/UDF power struggle in Natal.

Heavy fighting broke out again last night in the area's townships and early today police were combing the area for casualties. More bodies are expected to be found.

The latest killings in the steadily escalating "civil war" brings the known death toll this week to 36. Police said two people were killed on Tuesday, 14 on Wednesday and at least 20 yesterday.

Hundreds of people are feared injured and hundreds of houses have been burnt down in the fighting.

Today the situation in the area was described by police as "still extremely tense".

Efforts to stop the violence are being made in various quarters.

Democratic Party leaders met President de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday while ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi will jointly call for peace at a Natal rally on Monday.

Called

Maritzburg mayor Mr Mark Cornell has called for martial law to be imposed and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok will meet police generals today.

President de Klerk was told more men were needed on the ground in Maritzburg and that refugees had to be helped.

The boiling Edendale cauldron threatens to engulf other areas in Natal. Police said three people were killed in fighting elsewhere on Wednesday.

In Edendale yesterday, houses were again targets of petrol-bomb attacks, with 25 homes attacked in Myandu alone. In the Haza area, police used birdshot to disperse 800 people who were fighting each other.

Black Sash women walking with a



Women for Peace protest march in Edendale were arrested, fingerprinted, photographed and threatened with detention in Plessislaer yesterday, said Mr Radley Keyes, regional director of the Natal inland region of the Democratic Party.

They were later released. Mr Cornell called for the ANC to "get its act together", like Inkatha, in a practical attempt to end the spiral of killings, burnings and destruction in Natal.

The mass rally to be addressed by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will be held at Taylor's Halt near Maritzburg on Monday.

Mr Cornell said he feared that Maritzburg could become a battlefield.

"Help us, please. If it takes the army to do so, then send in the army. Edendale is burning and I

really fear that Maritzburg itself will become the scene of full-scale fighting.

"We have more than 2 000 black refugees living in white areas in Maritzburg and they have brought their feuds with them. Yesterday, a 14-year-old youth was shot in Maritzburg."

Appoint

Mr Cornell said the ANC should appoint a "peace representative", as Inkatha had done, to accompany security forces and point out trouble-makers.

"Until we work together, until there is an agreement, there will be no peace. The people at grassroots level, people like Cosatu, want the troops here, but the ANC won't negotiate until the troops are out of

Pig's head shocks Kramer

Staff Reporter

Sta 30/3/90

Jacobs

"Shocking, disgusting and sickening" were the words used today by the Jewish town councillor in Boksburg, Mr Issy Kramer, to describe the discovery of a pig's head on his seat at a council meeting last night.

Minutes before the council meeting began, the head, wrapped in a Star of David flag, was found on Mr Kramer's seat.

In the ensuing chaos, the leader of the National Party in the council, Mr Chris Smith, called for the meeting's adjournment to tonight and said the police should be called immediately.

A still shaken Mr Kramer told The Star today: "We were still talking on the council chamber floor when we were told to take our seats, since the meeting was about to begin. I sit between (Mr) Smith and councillor Dawn

"Dawn, who pulled my chair out so that I could sit down, was the first to see the pig's head. Smith then shouted: 'Don't touch it. Don't touch it, call the police'."

"I was shocked and I felt very sick afterwards. It is only a mentally sick person who could do what was done. It shows that there is a small group of people in this country which is unable to face reality and the inevitability of political change."

Mr Kramer, a lawyer and independent councillor, said the incident could have been triggered by the Pretoria Supreme Court's decision yesterday to overturn the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council's reintroduction of petty apartheid in November 1988.

He read to The Star an anti-

Semitic document distributed before the meeting by chairman Mrs Trudie van der Merwe of CP councillor Mr van der Merwe. Mr van der Merwe later confessed he had drawn up the anti-Semitic document, according to Kramer.

The document contained extracts from a speech made in the House of Assembly by Eric Louw in 1937, saying South Africa already had a large Jewish population.

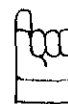
"We owe it to the future generations of South Africa to take this problem now before it is too late," the document quoted Mr Louw as having said.

NP leader Mr Smith condemned last night's incident and said he hoped the police would soon prosecute whoever was responsible for it.

Katrina Ngubane mourns over the body of her brother-in-law who was killed yesterday during vicious faction fighting in the township of Edendale outside Maritzburg.

© Picture by Reuter

Can you command?



When you speak, a Can you talk easily, strangers, superiors alike?

In other words, do you have

★ Speak up with confidence:

★ Address a group spontaneously

★ Make powerful talking points

Celebration in honour of PAC veteran

30/3/90
By Kalzer Nyatsumba (11A)

Two Africanist organisations are to pay tribute to Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Johannes Matshweni Mashamaite on his 89th birthday.

The chairman of the Katlehong regional branch of the Azanian National Youth Unity, Mr Lwazi Mthintsilana, yesterday told The Star Azanyu that it and the African Women's Organisation would honour Mr Mashamaite at a function to be held at the Leth'ukuthula Secondary School in Katlehong at 10 am on Sunday.

Born on March 28 1901, Mr Mashamaite joined the ANC at the age of 25. He later became chairman of the organisation's Alexandra branch.

During the countrywide defiance campaign in 1952 Mr Mashamaite led a group of people in defiance of apartheid laws in Johannesburg. He was arrested and sentenced to 18 months in prison.

Together with Mr Robert Sobukwe, Mr Jeff Masemola and current PAC leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng, Mr Mashamaite was a founder-member of the PAC in 1959.

He served an eight-year sentence on Robben Island for PAC activities. Upon his release he was issued with a banning order restricting him to the Pietersburg magisterial district.

Civic organisations react cautiously to Motlana snub

Star 30/3/90

By Kaizer Nyatumba

(11A)

Anti-apartheid organisations yesterday reacted cautiously to a statement made in Washington by Soweto Civic Association chairman, Dr Nthato Motlana, that black civic organisations would not touch the Government's R3 billion trust fund because it was "insultingly too little".

Addressing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington on Tuesday, Dr Motlana said that as a matter of principle black civic organisations would not touch the R3 billion trust fund recently created by President de Klerk for black socio-economic upliftment.

"We are going to say (to President de Klerk) 'Go to hell, man.' This is a question of principle; we are not going to touch that money," Dr Motlana said.

MALADMINISTRATION

He said the problem in South Africa was that there had always been a disgraceful maladministration of resources, and that up to 17 times more was spent on the education of a white child than that of a black child.

The assistant publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Murphy Morobe, said the UDF had not yet adopted a formal attitude towards the fund, but would do so soon.

Said Mr Morobe: "We will take an attitude which will be informed in the main by various educational and civic organisations' contributions.

"There has always been a degree of caution when it comes to issues relating to the Government's money, but I think in this case it can be argued that the situation is different.

"Mr Justice Steyn (who will oversee

the fund) is right when he says the fund cannot be put to good use without the involvement of the people it is supposed to help. If there's a departure from the unilateral decision-making, then our decision would be positive."

A spokesman for the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa, said blacks had been historically disadvantaged by the Government's racist policies and it was now a positive development that the Government wanted to address the situation. However, channels and structures such as civic organisations were already in existence, and these could be used as conduits to channel the funds.

If invited to sit on the committee which will decide on how to use the money, Azapo would "look at what is given" before making any decision.

But the chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Justice Jan Steyn, said yesterday that black political organisations consulted about the fund had responded positively.

Mr Justice Steyn said he had held discussions with black political leaders and had been assured "at the highest level" that participation in management of the fund was being considered.

In a statement, Mr Justice Steyn said: "Dr Motlana's statement as reported in the newspapers yesterday has been brought to my attention.

"In response, I state that I have had in-depth discussions with several leaders of various black political movements and will be having further discussions with them in the weeks ahead. I can only say that I have been encouraged by their personal response to the creation of the fund and to my involvement in it."

Indaba 'not the only plan' FW to head nine-man team to talk to ANC

THE government was not going to the negotiating table without a definite constitutional plan of its own, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

He told a Cape Town press conference that the two-tier Natal-KwaZulu Indaba model was not what the government had in mind and reports that he had told the New York Times so were out of context.

He had merely referred to the Indaba proposals as an example of a two-chamber parliament which would provide checks and balances to ensure minority protection.

"But it is one of many examples under consideration and not a specific model which the government envisages.

"The relevance of the Indaba model is the positive aspect of its recognition of group protection but there are two aspects of it which are unacceptable."

Firstly it sought to protect only cultural rights and not political rights which the government regarded as important.

"Secondly the Indaba model assures membership of minority groups but no meaningful participation in decision-making processes."

An acceptable model would have to meet both these criteria, Dr Viljoen said.

"The government will come to the negotiating table with definite proposals. An open agenda does not mean we are coming without any ideas." — Sapa

FW to head nine-man team to talk to ANC

CAT 71/15 30/3/90 Political Staff

11A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will head a nine-man team to sit down on April 11 for the first round of talks with the ANC on obstacles in the way of negotiations.

The names of the government negotiating team were announced yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

In addition to Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen the team comprises Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok; Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs; Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis; Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and Development Aid; Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development.

ANC-Inkatha peace bid

ULUNDI. — As the death toll in Natal spiralled last night, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced that he and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would address a joint rally in the region in an urgent bid to stop the killings.

An ANC spokesman confirmed that Mr Mandela felt the rally — announced by Chief Buthelezi in KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday — was a priority on his agenda.

The spokesman said the two leaders had discussions yesterday and that the idea of a joint address at the rally was the ANC's initiative. It will take place in the Maritzburg area, where the conflict has escalated into virtually a full-scale civil war, with police yesterday reporting 15 dead, many with stab and burn wounds (See unrest map, Page 2).

When the two meet it will be the first time they have come face-to-face since Mr Mandela was sent to prison 27 years ago.

Scattered clashes in the "valley of death" near Edendale yesterday pushed the death toll in two days of battles to 24 and left thousands homeless.

Thousands of black workers were unable to report to work in Maritzburg as public transport was in chaos and more than 100 schools in the area remained closed.

The head of a commission of inquiry investigating the Natal violence has recommended that all security forces involved in policing unrest areas in the province be disbanded and reconstituted as an independent peace-keeping force.

Mr Bob Douglas, an advocate, who is com-

missioner of the inquiry set up at the request of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, yesterday presented his recommendations, contained in an interim report, to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) in Geneva.

Mr Douglas recommended the SA Police, the SA Defence Force, the kwaZulu Police and the special or "Kits" (instant) constables — all the security forces involved in Natal — be disbanded at once.

Calls were made in the Maritzburg city council yesterday for martial law to be declared in Edendale.

During an emotion-charged debate on the Edendale crisis, one city councillor said Maritzburg was "bleeding to death" and that law and order did not exist.

Cap Times 30/3/90 11A

Negotiation *Mc Turk* 'implies 30/3/90 compromise'

Staff Reporter *11A*

NEGOTIATION is not yet an option open to South Africa's black political leaders because it implies a compromise.

This was the message of the Black Lawyers' Association (BLA) branch secretary, Mr W A Ngoqi, who yesterday reported back on the association's general meeting held in Durban last week.

Speaking in Athlone, Mr Ngoqi said recent developments such as the unconditional return of all exiles, the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of all repressive legislation were not prerequisites for negotiation but considered a matter of right.

"The future is very bleak and some very convincing steps would have to be taken before the time is right for going to the negotiating table," he added.

"We believe that principled unity within the liberation movement is paramount."

ANC's left-wing may pose threat to peace settlement

11A

A FACTION of the Far Left of the black nationalist movement has come out against the ANC decision to negotiate a compromise settlement with the South African government, labelling talks a "trap" for the organisation.

The development may mean that just as the government has had to keep an eye on reaction from its Right-wing constituency, the ANC might have to now keep its eyes peeled for reaction from the growing constituency on its Left.

The dissident group, which calls itself the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC, says any talks with the government that do not result in the immediate transfer of "real

AS Nelson Mandela - now effective leader of the ANC - prepares for talks with the government, a Far-Left faction of black nationalists has come out against negotiations as a "betrayal" of the struggle in what may be an indicator of possible resistance from militant black youth. Ken Vernon of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

power" to the masses will be a betrayal of the struggle and a trap designed to emasculate the ANC and "bend and blunt the spearhead of the movement".

Its message is couched in traditional Marxist rhetoric and obviously aimed at the radical township youth who have recently come to the fore as being the main support base of the South African Communist Party and to the Left of the mainstream ANC leadership.

The ANC has dismissed the radical group as "four or five" fanatics based in London who have little influence within the organisation.

An ANC spokesman in London said the group was allied to a group called the "Workers Tendency" expelled from the ANC in 1985.

In an open letter to Mandela which takes up the whole of an edition of "Congress Militant", a news-sheet put out by the group, the MWT says that "millions, young and old, would respond if you

called them to action under the ANC flag..."

"But if you say freedom can be won through negotiations and compromise with the government, many will wait in hope.

We believe that will seriously harm the progress and unity of our Congress movement - and the fate of the country".

The MWT says the present government is not prepared to concede majority rule, or the immediate transfer of real power to the majority, and concludes that "the fight for majority rule is the only way to end group domination".

"The government's strategy has long been one of reforms from above to prevent revolution from below.... and for this purpose he (FW de Klerk) is trying to entice into the government black leaders who enjoy the trust of the masses."

The group takes issue with Mandela's letter to then president P W Botha last year proposing negotiations, in which he says the issues to be resolved

in talks are the black demand for majority rule in a unitary state and the concern of whites with this, allied to structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean black domination.

"How is it possible to reconcile structural guarantees for the whites with majority rule" the MWT asks, "the one directly contradicts the other".

It adds that any such guarantees would have to nullify the principle of one man one vote.

"A fundamental choice has to be made between revolutionary struggle and compromise" it concludes, "this is the reality and no words will hide it".

Instead it suggests that the ANC should "show a willingness to negotiate a peaceful end to white rule and the hand-over of power to the majority of people - so that everyone can see that the responsibility for the violence and suffering in the country lies fully with the government, the racists and the ruling class".

If the organisation

goes ahead, the MWT says that apart from the preconditions so far identified - the release of all political prisoners, end of the state of emergency, return of exiles and troops out of townships - it must insist on the following conditions:

* That the immediate transfer of real power to the majority be attainable through the negotiations.

* A constitutional assembly, elected on the basis of one man, one vote, be on the agenda.

During the election and meeting of that constituent assembly the following must apply:

* An immediate suspension of all segregation laws and the Labour Act.

* The equal right of all the people, irrespective of race, to bear arms for their own defence. The right of local people to form militias for defence purposes in all residential areas and of the trade unions to form workers defence guards in all industrial areas and on buses and trains.

The MWT says without these provisions there "could be no guarantee of a peaceful hand-over of power" and negotiations might become bogged down in "mere talk".

PAC, Nafcoc on economic future

11A
Source
30/3/90

THE nationalisation of industries was top of the agenda when the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce met the

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

leadership of the internal wing of the Pan Africanist Congress in Johannesburg this week.

The delegations, led by Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane and PAC's president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, also discussed various issues, including future economic challenges and strategies, and black skills development.

Spokesmen for both organisations confirmed the meeting, but would not reveal details of what was discussed.

However, according to reliable sources the organisations discussed the nature of an

economic system and strategies to be used to achieve an egalitarian society.

Both movements explained their views on nationalisation.

It was agreed that while Nafcoc and the PAC had to recognise and respect each other's autonomy, they also had to accept that they were close collaborators for the betterment of all South Africans.

PAC agreed to meet with business organisations to discuss further the economic challenges facing this country.

Last month it met with the Federation of African Business and Consumer Services in Harare.

The PAC is the second liberation organisation to discuss nationalisation with Nafcoc. Three weeks ago Nafcoc met with the ANC and the meeting was chaired by Mr Motsuenyane, presi-

dent of Nafcoc.

It was then decided that Nafcoc would host a conference on the Wild Coast where the country's economic future would be discussed.

PAC says ^{11A} no to aid ^{soweta} 30/7/90

THE PAC is not dependant on United States aid for successfully promoting its programmes, Mr Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the organisations internal wing, said yesterday.

In a response to a precondition by the US Congress that organisations renounce violence before they received a stake in about R26-million offered to liberation movements, he said the PAC did not request any assistance from the US, thus the condition was irrelevant to the PAC.

Honour for PAC oldie

11A

THE African Women's Organisation will on Sunday host the 89th birthday party of Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Machuene Johannes Mashamaite in Katlehong on the East Rand.

The celebrations begin at 9am at Lethukuthula Higher Primary School in Twala Section.

Born in Pietersburg, Mashamaite was jailed in 1960 for PAC activities. On his release in 1965 he was banished to the Northern Transvaal.

The AWO arranged for Mashamaite's removal to Katlehong last year when his health needed constant medical care which was available on the Reef.

Mashamaite's banishment order has not been lifted.

Govt 'flexible' on returning exiles

BIDAM
30/3/90

ANC's top brass set for first SA talks

11A


MIKE ROBERTSON
and ALAN FINE

THE ANC would appoint a top-level team for the "talks about talks" scheduled for April 11, to match the high-powered government team just announced, an ANC official said yesterday.

Likely negotiators are deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Umkonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and SACP boss Joe Slovo.

The ANC official also said a delay in getting passports, and not security considerations, had delayed the planned arrival by an advance guard of ANC leaders in SA last Sunday.

Meanwhile, government sources yesterday elaborated on government's attitude to issues on the agenda of the historic meeting, likely to take place on a farm "in or near Cape Town".

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday announced that government's nine-man team would be headed by President F W de Klerk. The others are himself, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC source, a national executive committee member, said the ANC had been waiting for the government announcement before naming its own team.

Since government had chosen senior Ministers, the ANC was likely to send senior leadership.

He said details and plans for the visit of the six-man advance team — to confer with the internal leadership and allies inside SA — would be announced soon.

He scotched persistent reports that their non-arrival last Sunday had been because of fears about security or about not being granted immunity from prosecution.

He said the group's application for uniform UN passports had been submitted late, and the passports had not been ready in time for Sunday's flight. All the passports now were and the team would arrive "any day now". Unfortunately, he said, today's flight had been fully booked.

One government source said yesterday any suggestion that there were problems regarding immunity was "nonsense".

Another government source said government wanted to talk to as many ANC leaders as possible, and was willing to be extremely flexible on the questions of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Government was, however, hoping the ANC would not demand immediate amnesty for people such as alleged bomber Hein Grosskoppf and convicted Magoo's Bar bomber Robert MacBride. These were politically sensitive individuals, not key members of any ANC negotiating team.

□ To Page 2

ANC line-up

11A
30/3/90
□ From Page 1

and would necessitate bringing people such as Barend Strydom into the equation — something government wished to avoid.

Government believed the question of a general amnesty should be addressed as part of a negotiated settlement, but in the meantime, specific deals could be reached.

The source said government was less sympathetic to the ANC's demand for immediate lifting of the state of emergency. It was likely to ask the ANC for co-operation in reducing the levels of violence, which could eventually lead to the lifting of the emergency.

In announcing the government team for

the April 11 talks, Viljoen stressed these were "not a commencement of negotiations. That is a further stage." Negotiations would be a two-step process. It would first decide on how a negotiating conference should be structured and then on the functioning of such a body.

Viljoen stressed government's view that leaders participating in the talks had to commit themselves clearly to the peaceful road of a negotiated solution, which implied the abandonment of violence. It also firmly believed negotiations were not a one-to-one process, but open to political parties with proven substantial support.

Getting down to reality

F/M 30/3/90 (11A)

The ANC's Director of International Affairs, Thabo Mbeki, spoke to the *FM's* Amarnath Singh in Windhoek last week.

FM: F W de Klerk's series of meetings with world figures suggest something is afoot, perhaps the ending of SA's isolation?

Mbeki: I think it would be to misread the situation to think that the world is ready to end the isolation of SA. However many meetings De Klerk may have had in Windhoek, there's a general international commitment to see an end to apartheid. So long as the apartheid system is there, the campaign for its isolation will be sustained.

Recent weeks have seen heightened violence in SA, after Mandela called for people to throw their weapons into the sea. Who controls the townships?

Obviously and inevitably, in our situation, violent conflicts of this sort lie immediately underneath the surface. This is a result of apartheid, its tensions and divisions that are our heritage. We should not be surprised that there's an eruption somewhere every day. It doesn't reflect an absence of political influence by anybody. From the ANC point of view, it's very important that this kind of terrible bloodletting should come to an end.

Particularly important is that the ANC has to establish its legal structures throughout the country as quickly as possible, because then you have an immediate point of reference. I'm quite certain that as the ANC establishes its legal presence, you will see a rapid de-escalation of that sort of conflict.

How do you see the violence in Natal; could Chief Buthelezi alone end it?

It probably is not a matter that can be dealt with unilaterally. We are very interested that ourselves, Inkatha, UDF, Co-satu, churches, business, everybody, should get together and solve this problem. Quite clearly, Chief Buthelezi has an important role to play in this process. To the extent that he has people who listen to him and consider him their leader, who went to war because they had a perception that their leader was being "denigrated" — Buthelezi's voice is important.

Will there be mandate gathering by the ANC before real negotiation begins?

Yes, there has to be. We've said for many years that every political force in the country needs to be involved in negotiating this new SA into being and the ANC could never claim that it has sole responsibility among the oppressed to do this... I include Black Consciousness organisations, the PAC, everybody who has been involved in the struggle against apartheid.

And the homelands?

We are against any composition of any negotiating machinery that is based on the

notion of group representation to negotiate a united democratic and non-racial SA. But we recognise the fact that there are people who have been leaders in these homeland structures and we're not necessarily saying that because of that they have no role to play. We believe they also need to opt for a united democratic and non-racial SA and should see themselves as part of those forces.

De Klerk rejects the idea of a constituent assembly, which the ANC calls for.

I've seen an interview with Mr De Klerk in which he said it might be that, in the end, the question of who represents the people in any constitution making body must be decided by the people themselves. We thought that was an important statement. If we want to produce a democratic SA, we need to use democratic means to achieve that result. Even the legitimacy of the result of the negotiating process must derive from the fact that the people feel that they were party to the process.

In any case, I think that it would be somewhat inconsistent for SA to accept the



Singh and the ANC's Mbeki

notion of an elected constituent assembly in Namibia and reject the same in SA.

What sort of concessions or minority guarantees is the ANC prepared to look at?

There are certain things which are agreed among everybody. One is, that every person should have a right to his language.

I mean something like guaranteed seats in parliament, as in Zimbabwe?

Such an arrangement would exclude, from the real exercise of political power, a group of people by virtue of their race or colour. If there were reserved seats for whites proportional to their number, you'll still have a majority parliament which is black, as in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe parliament passed any legislation that it wished even if those 20 white MPs voted against. It guaranteed this white bloc nothing; it excluded itself. We are determined to get to the point where racial considerations cease to be factors defining the political makeup of SA.

How flexible is the ANC on the issue of nationalisation?

If you want a stable democratic SA, you can't have it simply on the basis of equal political rights without addressing enormous economic inequalities. We say there's a whole range of things that would need to be done: you'd have to look at taxation policy, at the informal sector, the role of co-operatives, public property (nationalised industry) and so on. We can't conceivably exclude, *ab initio*, the notion of public productive property as part of a whole series of measures to address inequality and poverty.

We can't rule out the notion of intervention because there is no way in which the free market economy of SA can address these basic problems which it has created.

Why not use taxes?

To say increase the taxes a little bit and so forth, derives from viewing the State as a kind of consumer: nationalising because it wants to gobble up new value created. I'm saying State intervention in the form of nationalisation might be necessary, not because the State wants to consume, but because it becomes necessary to sit at a point where it becomes possible to direct the economy.

The system of mining leases in SA is a very clear example of State intervention in private industry... A democratic government which inherits a system of leases will marshal them differently. You have State intervention all the time and it's not in the least illegitimate.

But the argument has been presented in a scary fashion by people who have an interest in maintaining the status quo. It's wrong and unfair and the matter must be debated. SA has a particular experience of nationalised industry: take only the railways, steel, electricity. State intervention was used (apart from addressing the poor white problem) to

encourage the development of the rest of the economy.

Does the ANC feel confident that it can sell its strategy, the compromises entailed in negotiation and bring its constituency along, especially the youth?

The ANC is not about to enter into compromises which perpetuate apartheid. It's true that in this changing situation there will of course be many questions and many doubts. That's part of our reality.

How soon after your April 11 meeting with De Klerk do you see substantive talks starting?

That depends on that meeting producing results. As we have said, substantive issues cannot be discussed until a climate for discussing them exists.

If that meeting succeeds, it will mean we are close to entering substantive discussions. But from our point of view we'd want to make sure that all of the anti-apartheid forces act together as a bloc presenting a common perspective.

Uneasy balance ~~SECRET~~

The important meeting between President F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and an ANC delegation in April may be under pressure because of increased violence in and around black townships. Word from Lusaka is, however, the ANC has indicated that Monday's Sebokeng incident should not affect the talks but there is a belief in parliamentary circles that strong-arm tactics could jeopardise the meeting. ~~SECRET~~

DP Law & Order spokesman Tiaan van der Merwe says he does not expect a major clampdown by government. He believes government should act to curb the unrest but a clear line should be drawn between genuine protest marches and criminal violence.

Van der Merwe says the most worrying aspect is that it seems no one has control. In extraparliamentary circles, and apparently in the ANC itself, concern has also been voiced that the ANC does not have the persuasive powers it once took for granted.

Recent attempts by some whites in Welkom to take the law into their own hands have also been criticised by Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

There can be no doubt, however, that events are to the CP's advantage.

In a media release issued at parliament on Tuesday, Uitenhage CP MP Willem Botha referred to incidents of stone-throwing on the road between Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. He urged all travellers on that road to arm themselves. ■



CHIEF BUTHELEZI



NELSON MANDELA

ANC in bid to halt violence

DEPUTY president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will jointly address a mass rally in Natal on Monday in an attempt to halt the growing violence in the province.

A spokesman for Buthelezi said yesterday the rally would be held "come hell or high water", and appealed to employers in Natal to give as many workers as possible time off to attend.

The publicity spokesman for the internal wing of the ANC, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, confirmed the meeting would take place.

"We have been in contact with the various parties. And it is certain the meeting will take place on Monday. The publicity department is at present holding a series of meetings after which a formal statement will be issued.

Sowetan 30/3/90 *11/9*
Taylor's Halt

"People are dying horrendously in Natal, and that is the reason it is going ahead as soon as possible," he said.

According to Buthelezi's office, the rally will be held at Taylor's Halt, outside Maritzburg, one of the most violent areas of conflict between supporters of Inkatha and those of the United Democratic Front, a coalition of organisations sympathetic to Mandela's ANC.

The rally was due to get underway at 10am, the Buthelezi spokesman said. - Sapa.

SA violence in perception

B/Dog 30/3/90

ALAN FINE

"criminal elements" often exploiting the already volatile situation.

"Obviously the escalation in violence is being caused by individuals, including, probably, supporters of organisations like the ANC and UDF. But I wouldn't say these organisations themselves are deliberately behind this escalation," Stadler says.

He accepts leaders have damaged their political reputations in opposing violence: "We have heard Mandela call on his supporters to throw their weapons into the sea. Now some young militants see him in the same category as (Inkatha chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi."

What of the ANC's attitude to the armed struggle? There is more to it than meets the eye, he hints.

"We know Mandela and the ANC have called for escalation of the armed struggle. The question is: are they serious, or is it just rhetoric?" He says the ANC has admitted it is

(logistically) unable to escalate its armed struggle. He also recognises the the ANC is "in a difficult position. If they renounce the armed struggle they will lose support internally".

UDF assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa — like Si-sulu — argues that there exist tensions between the Cabinet and elements of the police.

"There is a disjuncture between what (President) F W de Klerk and his ministers have been saying, and what people are experiencing at the hands of police in the townships.

"De Klerk has created the impression among ordinary people that free political activity would now be allowed, hence the sudden increase in essentially non-violent marches." But referring to events this week at

Sebokeng and to other incidents, Valli says that "police belligerence towards township residents is the same as any time since 1976. This has led to massacres, and spin-offs like looting, which no one planned."

Valli believes De Klerk accepts mass mobilisation cannot and should not be countered by the repressive measures used in the mid-1980s. His conclusion: "The SAP is not supportive of De Klerk's reformist stance."

Vlok's spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet defended the police: "It is easy to blame them, but that does not explain fighting where police are not present." It is a lie, he adds, to suggest the police as a whole do not support De Klerk's initiatives.

He points proudly to efforts by the police, in places like Welkom and the eastern Cape, to discuss with cross-sections of communities the causes of violence.

In many cases, he says, even left-

wingers have suggested the police are too thin on the ground.

He, too, will not blame ANC/UDF leadership. He blames "cranks" who have taken advantage of mass mobilisation, and "mob violence by youths who still believe in liberation before education".

Valli contends the mass mobilisation of recent weeks has not been co-ordinated nationally. It is a case of local leaders taking advantage of the new situation to convey grievances to the authorities.

"In each case, leaders of communities have arranged marches to deliver memorandums to the authorities. The issues raised are local ones, which shows the protests are not part of a centrally co-ordinated campaign," he says.

How does the UDF plan to deal with the growing violence? It certainly does not plan to call a halt to mass mobilisation: "It is not our task to tell people not to protest. We will defend their right to protest."

But, he affirms, the UDF does have a role to play: "It is our task to see that protest occurs in a disciplined way."

LETTERS

WHEN both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are able to say with equanimity that township violence will not harm the negotiating process, they overturn conventional wisdom and demonstrate how the nature of conflict in SA has changed.

Government, and the ANC and its allies, still have different perceptions of the root causes of the violence which has engulfed many parts of the country in the past five weeks.

Each blames it on the other side, but not on the leadership; whether they attribute the violence to policemen or to militant youth, they see it as the work of undisciplined, out-of-control elements acting without the authority of the leaders.

Gen Herman Stadler, in rising to security police chief before becoming head of police public relations, devoted years of his life to fighting the ANC.

He argues the escalation of violence is caused by a variety of factors such as socio-economic deprivation, "freedom euphoria", polarisation between black consciousness and charterist youth, with

US Bill's proviso on aid to SA blacks

TWO subcommittees of the US House of Representatives have passed a Bill prohibiting black political organisations in SA from receiving financial aid from Congress unless they renounce violence.

The decision was made in connection with about R28m that has been allocated to independent black democratic organisations in SA, Sapa reports.

This is part of an aid package to African countries. (328) (10am 30/3/90)

The Bill stipulates that the concerned organisations will be eligible for assistance only if they are

committed to a process of negotiation to establish a democratic system of government in SA.

The provision will become law only if it is accepted by both Houses. (11A)

ALAN FINE reports that ANC spokesman in Lusaka Tom Sebina described the proposed legislation as "silly", and unhelpful to the process of change in SA.

"All parties have committed themselves to peace. We have stated this repeatedly, and no one should expect us to go further."

Motlana clears the air over Mandela's house

WASHINGTON - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife would move into their luxury Soweto home once the electricity, water and other services were connected, the president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said this week.

But the services could not be supplied until the rent boycott in Soweto was over.

There was no reason why Mandela should go to live in the ghetto called Orlando West merely because it was felt he should live among his people, Motlana told a meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for Internal Peace in Washington on Tuesday.

He wanted to take the public blame for what had happened to Mrs Winnie Mandela over the building of the larger house, which was dubbed "Winnie's folly".

"The truth is we formed the Madiba Trust with me as chairman so as to provide suitable accommodation for Nelson.

"Unfortunately, at the beginning of June 1986 the SCA decided to call a rent boycott, and as a result we have been unable to connect the services and accommodating the Mandelas in that house," Motlana said.



What's Winter witho



Honour for PAC oldie

11A

THE African Women's Organisation will on Sunday host the 89th birthday party of Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Machuene Johannes Mashamaite in Katlehong on the East Rand.

The celebrations begin at 9am at Lethukuthula Higher Primary School in Twala Section.

Born in Pietersburg,

Mashamaite was jailed in 1960 for PAC activities. On his release in 1965 he was banished to the Northern Transvaal.

The AWO arranged for Mashamaite's removal to Katlehong last year when his health needed constant medical care which was available on the Reef.

Mashamaite's banishment order has not been lifted.

Crisis? Jewish leaders aren't worrying yet

W/Mail 30/3-4/4/90

THE embraces of Yasser Arafat, the burning of the Star of David, pigs' heads in synagogues ... these are some of the spectres which have been haunting South Africa's Jewish community.

For some it appeared there was an onslaught from both right and left, and many in the Jewish community expressed fears that anti-Semitism was increasing.

Public meetings were called, the Jewish Defence League was wheeled in and in some circles there was talk of emigration.

But today, seven weeks after the "crisis" broke, Jewish leaders are virtually unanimous that the problem has been overstated, and that there is little to fear.

"The simple point," says Democratic Party MP Harry Schwarz, "is that the future of the Jewish community is not different from the future of anybody else in the country.

"If there's a future for everybody in a future South Africa then there's also a future for the Jewish community."

An Israeli embassy representative said this week that there was "definitely no sign of any increase in emigration to Israel over the last two months.

"In fact, over the last year or so the numbers have dropped, and are now not more than 200 annually."

The latest wave of concern was set off by the raising of swastikas and the burning of the Israeli flag at a right-wing rally early last month. The fear of a rise in anti-Semitism was exacerbated by a pig's head hung in a disused Johannesburg synagogue later in the month.

Jewish community leaders noted however, that these were isolated incidents of right-wing extremism, which should not be exaggerated.

"I don't believe that right-wing anti-Semitism is rising," said Zionist Federation chairman Solly Sachs.

"It has its ups and downs but we haven't seen much since those incidents last month. Some people believe it's just the work of a few individuals."

Transvaal Jewish Board of Deputies chairman Hans Saenger said that while the statements from right-wing leaders distancing themselves from anti-Semitism were welcome, "sometimes I suspect they protest too loudly".

National Board chairman Gerald Leissner said that while there had been an increase in anti-Semitism at right-wing meetings, he believed this was primarily the work of a "lunatic fringe".

"I do not believe that anti-Semitism is the highest priority in these people's lives."

Fears of a different kind were expressed when the *Citizen* ran a front-page photograph of Nelson Mandela embracing Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat, and quoted Mandela saying it was "too bad" if this gesture alienated the Jewish community.

There were rumblings in the Jewish community after Yasser Arafat embraced Nelson Mandela and after right-wingers burned the Star of David. But Jewish leaders are less worried and say the problem has been overplayed

By GAVIN EVANS

And this weekend pictures of a smiling Arafat shaking hands with State President FW de Klerk were run in several newspapers.

Most Jewish leaders have been quick to point out the distinction between anti-Semitism on the far right and the African National Congress's identification with the Palestinian struggle.

"If Nelson Mandela had made his remarks as part of a prepared speech I would have been concerned, but instead it was an off-the-cuff remark which I don't think one should get emotional about," said Leissner.

"What was unfortunate was that the picture was run on the front page of the *Citizen*. You must remember that Man-

"All he said was that there was a similarity between the colonial-type situation in South Africa and that on the West Bank. I think we in the Jewish community need to be aware that sympathy for the Palestinians is not necessarily anti-Semitism."

Schwarz, who also serves on the board, said Mandela's statement should be seen as no more than an "unfortunate choice of words".

"First we have to understand that liberation organisations all over the world have links because of what they have in common.

"Second, and more important, my own impression from meeting Nelson Mandela is that he is not anti-Semitic, and I don't believe that anti-Semitism is part of the platform of the ANC."

However, some saw the issue in a different light.

Sachs said he believed the PLO had tried over the years "to get close to the ANC and use it for their own political purposes".

He said he was concerned that Mandela was "misinformed" about the Israeli situation.

"He hasn't realised the true situation — that Arafat is a terrorist with blood on his hands.

"It is incorrect to compare Israel and South Africa. Israel is a non-racial society with 700 000 Arab-Isrealis who can vote and do whatever anybody else in the country can do."

The Jewish leaders said they were in the process of organising a meeting with Mandela to discuss their concerns.

On Saturday a group of Jewish leaders held a meeting organised by the Jews for Social Justice with United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota in Johannesburg.

Saenger described the exchange as "extremely amiable".

"I found him a very well informed individual and the exchange of views was very pleasant.

"He stressed his opposition to any forms of anti-Semitism and showed a positive attitude to the Jewish community. However, he felt that the Jews should negotiate with the PLO, which we do not agree with."

Lekota said the meeting was "very frank and very successful".

"They were willing to listen carefully and in the end I found an incredible level of understanding for our positions. I was inspired by their reiteration of the commitment of the Jewish people to work for justice in South Africa."

Lekota stressed that he knew of no anti-Semitism in the UDF and ANC, and pointed to the presence of people like Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Dennis Goldberg and Raymond Suttner in prominent leadership positions.

"One must not equate criticisms of aspects of a belief such as Zionism with anti-Semitism," he said.

And over the past year several cordial meetings have been held between Jewish leaders and the ANC and UDF.



Anti-semitic slogan in Pretoria during a march of AWF supporters last month ... 'we're not their first concern'

dela also hugged and kissed Helen Suzman."

Leissner said that it had to be accepted that Jews in South Africa had a "dual loyalty".

"They are good South Africans but at the same time they are very loyal to Israel, and therefore anything that may create complications for Israel creates difficulties for many South African Jews."

Some Jewish leaders stressed that a distinction had to be drawn between anti-Semitism and support for the PLO.

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris said he believed the Mandela-Arafat embrace was not something the Jewish community should get "over-excited about".

"I think we must remember that there's a close relation between freedom movements around the world, including the PLO. Arafat wants to keep in with everyone, including De Klerk, and I suppose there's no reason why he shouldn't try."

Jews for Social Justice leader and Board of Deputies member Franz Auerbach said he felt there had been an over-reaction to Mandela's statement on the Palestinian issue.

Zuma, the man who was here, but wasn't

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

NO ONE in the African National Congress seems to know when the ANC delegation will arrive in South Africa.

The Internal Leadership Corps (ILC) of the ANC this week continued to deny any knowledge of the arrival of Intelligence Chief Jacob Zuma.

The ANC leadership refused to confirm or deny Zuma's visit to the country. According to Ahmed Kathrada of the ILC: "We can not say, at this stage, whether it is true or false." He said that through media reports the ANC had heard that there was to be a meeting with De Klerk, but he did not have the details.

The *Weekly Mail* can confirm that Zuma was indeed in the country, accompanied by senior ANC men Penwell Maduna and Gibson Macanda. We know of several people who met Zuma while he was here.

According to reports, Zuma advised the organisation's leadership, expected at Jan Smuts on Sunday, against flying to South Africa.

The ANC's Director of Internal Affairs, Thabo Mbeki, is expected to be the first ANC leader back from exile to speak in South Africa when he addresses the Cape Town Press Club.

Mbeki is expected to speak to approximately 300 journalists and opinion-makers in Cape Town on April 12.

But the ANC office this week denounced as pure media speculation reports that security hitches were the main reason for the delay.

Yesterday, sources in Lusaka remained silent on when the delegation would arrive. But Tom Sebina, press relations officer for the ANC, confirmed that the ILC did meet Zuma.

Sebina said "the composition of the delegation has not yet been decided upon, let alone when they will leave for South Africa".

According to Sebina, the failure of the delegation to arrive was not related to fear of prosecution.

The government this week indicated it was logical that a moratorium on prosecutions be passed to enable the return of exiles. Such a moratorium would be effective until legislation could be passed and implemented by the Department of Justice.

An announcement and urgent legislation in parliament is expected. There is no provision in law for the granting of temporary amnesty and this may have to be changed by Parliament.

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W/ Mail 30/3-4/4/90

Mandela meets Azapo for talks on peace and a common front

TIA

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation held talks with African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela on Wednesday to discuss an end to the violence between United Democratic Front and Azapo supporters over the past three weeks, and to continue last month's talks on a united front.

Mandela reported to the Azapo six-man delegation that his organisation's national executive committee (NEC) had "responded favourably to Azapo's proposal at their last meeting to form a consultative body of liberation organisations.

"The consultative network would confer on issues like negotiations before talking to the government," said Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley.

"Mandela reported that he was encouraged by the NEC to go ahead and work on the proposal."

UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota confirmed Wednes-

Peace broker ... Mandela has proposed joint rallies in a bid to end fighting against the UDF and to formulate a joint platform for the liberation movements

day's meeting, saying the two most pressing issues discussed were the internecine violence and unity.

The meeting with Mandela follows an Azapo central committee meeting last weekend in which "killings of six Azapo supporters and attacks launched against the membership in Bekkersdal, Potchefstroom, and Randfontein by UDF sympathisers were strongly condemned".

Mandela said he would propose to

the ANC that the two organisations hold joint rallies in all the conflict areas. Azapo promised to consult its constituencies on the proposal.

Another meeting is planned before April 11, the date on which an ANC delegation will meet State President FW de Klerk for "talks about talks".

Moodley said Azapo would also be meeting other resistance organisations to discuss ways to end the violence.



Star 31/3/90 11A

China's lesson etched in blood

WHEN Alexander the Great conquered "the world" and when Caesar ruled "the world" neither showed any appreciation of the civilisation to the East which, by comparison, made both their worlds, and Egypt and Mesopotamia before them, look like side-shows.

The Punic Wars, for instance, which ultimately established Rome's dominance over "the world", were puny little scraps next to the wars going on in China, where millions of men were locked in battles bigger than anything in history, except perhaps the Russian Front in World War 2. In just one conflict between China's warring states, 400 000 prisoners were slaughtered or buried alive. And in a brief period, Qin Shi Huang's army killed no fewer than 1.65 million opposing soldiers.

Qin (pronounced Chin) Shi Huang was buried 2 199 years ago in a tomb that made the pyramids seem like mole hills. His mausoleum, including a man-made mountain, covered 56.25 square kilometres.

Qin Shi Huang (as the world was dramatically reminded 16 years ago) created China's first empire in the third century BC, before the Roman Empire reached its zenith, and it lasted until 1923 AD, when the British Empire was in decline.

Qin established the "Great Wall", which astronauts on their way to the moon told us was the most visible work of mankind on Earth when looked at from space.

He unified a 4 000-year-old civilisation which gave the world paper and printing and movable type, and a Confucian administration far more sophisticated than

the one later developed by Rome.

When Europe was looking for a way to the East, China's Silk Road to the West was already 1 500 years old.

While Europe was building medieval stone castles, China was building painted palaces with vermillion walls, golden tiles and white marble. The palaces were not just forts. They had names such as "Heavenly Purity", or "Supreme Harmony" or "the Palace of Earthly Tranquillity".

China went on to invent gunpowder and deployed the most sophisticated weaponry and the world's largest armies — yet avoided external war for 20 centuries (if one excludes Taiwan, and also Tibet and Inner Mongolia, which are now both part of China's empire of 56 different ethnic groups).

Yet China today, still the largest civilisation on Earth, is the poorest in material, cultural and spiritual wealth (despite its Buddhist temples and gold-plated statues, sometimes two or three storeys high).

There are several reasons for China's lack of progress; some of them illustrated by her founder, Qin Shi Huang himself.

He was wise enough not to bury his army in his own grave. As the world discovered in 1974, he buried instead a life-size army of terracotta soldiers, drawn up in battle array with terracotta horses and war chariots.

But 10 000 court women were cruelly buried alive in his tomb. And the 3 000 workers left to put the finishing touches to its defences were also entombed alive.

The practice of burying alive the em-

Undercurrent Affairs

HARVEY TYSON



QIN SHI HUANG: Civilisation and barbarism went hand in hand.

peror's favourite concubines at his funeral lasted 1 400 years after Qin's death. But his feudal system, run partly by court eunuchs, lasted until 1923 AD.

One one of his most backward practices is still in vogue: public book-burning and "burying" of intellectuals.

In the late 1960s, for instance, Mao Zedong destroyed almost all books — except

his own little Red book, which had to be looked at by a billion Chinese at least once a day. And, like imperial rule, his "people's rule" began in treacherous bloodshed. Several thousand communist comrades were executed in the bloodiest purge of modern times.

Later, in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", Mao copied Qin Shi Huang's style by "burying" intellectuals in hard labour communes and running a militaristic, restrictive society in which only the government's interests mattered. If the common people did not accept this, they were subjected to cruel punishments.

What has this to do with any of South Africa's current affairs?

China has many lessons for Africa and for the world. There is no room here to describe its innate conservatism, somehow transformed into "China's unique socialism", which reduces all life to the lowest common denominator.

But one highly topical and relevant lesson concerns mob rule. Mao's Red Guards were let loose to retain his power — but they almost destroyed China's civilisation.

It was left to Chou En Lai to try to protect some of China's heritage from the mobs. Mao's youth brigades behaved in the same way as South Africa's "comrades" and Inkatha youth gangs do here today. Acting in the name of "the people", the Red Guards smashed property and symbols of order and so terrified the populace that farmers refused to till their fields; factory workers would not leave their homes.

"You never knew which side was shooting whom. If you wore the wrong colour clothing you might be killed. If you said the wrong word at the wrong time you might die," a citizen of Shanghai recalled when we were there recently.

"The mobs prevented us going to school. I lost the two most important years of my education," he said.

The comparisons are obvious. Mao finally used the army to subdue his youth brigades. But the cost is not yet fully paid.

Today, under the "outward-looking" Deng Xiaoping and his more youthful 75-year-old followers, the rhetoric has changed, but the style has not.

The Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing last year saw students and city dwellers gunned down, followed by swift executions of many from the universities.

Those journalists and TV and radio commentators in the communist State-owned media who advocated more democracy were ruthlessly purged after June 4.

Today there is apparent normality, and the vast peasant population and the people's army are docile.

But one man told me that everyone believed the questioning universities of Beijing were still surrounded by soldiers in civilian dress, occupying all the overcrowded houses in the vicinity. "On December 13, when intellectuals tried to protest again about lack of freedom, they were quickly stopped this time," he said.

Again, the Chinese lessons in socialism and democracy are obvious.

Has ANC set up shop in Jo'burg?

5/10/90 31/3/90

PAT DEVEREAUX

(11A)

THERE is widespread confusion as to whether the ANC is actually "in office" in Johannesburg.

The organisation ostensibly opened its headquarters in 500 sq m premises in the Munich Re building in Sauer Street opposite The Star, the same offices occupied by the National Reception Committee.

Although receptionists and employees of the NRC openly refer to the offices as "the ANC offices", NRC officials would not confirm whether the offices were being used by the ANC.

One employee, who refused to be named because he said he "did not have the authority to speak for the organisation", said the ANC would officially open its offices only in April as there were "still practical arrangements to be made".

Senior manager of the Munich Re Insurances building, Mr M Akoob, denied that the ANC had officially moved into the building. "Our clients are the National Reception Committee," he said. He also denied a rumour that the building had been earmarked for implosion.

Sebokeng: ANC

THE exiled leadership of the African National Congress has blamed the South African Police for Monday's killings in Sebokeng.

In a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday, the ANC's National Executive Committee said people who had been shot dead in Sebokeng had been engaged in a peaceful demonstration.

"Coming in the wake of shootings in Gazankulu, Thabong, Bophuthatswana and other parts of our country, these most recent killings establish a pattern of police brutality and repression which holds out the prospect, not of peaceful demonstration, but of increased bloodletting and death," the statement said.

Conflicting reports of Monday's shooting have led to calls from the ANC for a judicial commission of inquiry. While the official police estimate of the number killed is nine, the Vaal Civic Association is claiming that 17 people died. Hundreds were injured.

Memorandum

"We were returning to the crowd after handing over a memorandum to the police station commander, Lieutenant-Colonel O Mazibuko. Suddenly the police opened fire — we didn't know why. I and other organisers and leaders had our backs to the police..." This was how a committee member of the Vaal Civic Association, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, described the shootings.

Mr Isaac Rantsatsi, who headed the march, said: "I was about 20 m from the police when they started shooting." Responding to police claims that they had fired in self-defence, he said: "People carried sticks, but there was no threat."

Permission to march from the Vaal Triangle townships to the National Party offices in Vereeniging had been refused by police and the magistrate earlier last week.

But the organisers decided that people should march anyway. They would go to the local police station and present their grievance memorandum to the station commander. They listed the following: rent reductions, lower electricity and water fees, an end to evictions as well as the freeing of political prisoners.

Star 3/13/90
Victims
'were staging peaceful protest'



DR DE BEER: Police violence not general.

PAT DEVEREAUX
and AFRICA
NEWS SERVICE

However on their way, the crowd, estimated at 50 000, was stopped by a large contingent of police in the Houtkop area. So their memorandum was handed to the commander of the police contingent, Lieutenant-Colonel Mazibuko, by VCA and UDF leaders.

Then, according to eyewitnesses, including a Star photographer, the police suddenly opened fire without any warning.

But the police version of events is that they had opened fire in "self-defence" after a crowd armed with stones, knobkerries, bottles and iron pipes attacked them, shouting "kill the boers".

Police said they had warned the crowd to disperse several times before and after they handed their petition to Lieutenant-Colonel Mazibuko.

Following Monday's carnage a delegation of ANC leaders including Mr Nelson Mandela visited the injured in hospital.

Asked whether the Democratic Party would be calling for a judicial inquiry, Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday: "We have expressed our abhorrence at the continuing violence throughout the country... However, I don't think we're seeing generalised brutality by the police. But we have no objection to a judicial inquiry being called into this particular incident."

Reports

Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday said: "The Sebokeng shooting will be fully investigated."

According to police unrest reports yesterday violent incidents were continuing in Sebokeng.

Stones and petrol bombs were thrown at police vehicles and private dwellings.

The home of a municipal policeman was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. In another incident, a policeman was injured when a police vehicle was stoned and damaged.

blames police

Stat 31/3/90 (11A)

Frantic bid to halt violence

Fresh detentions, stepped-up use of troops on cards

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, TOS WENTZEL and SAPA

CAPE TOWN — The Government and scores of significant leaders across the political spectrum are frantically trying to stop the spiralling violence which has turned parts of South Africa into battlefields and led to calls for martial law.

A series of peace moves has begun in the wake of President F W de Klerk's warning that the full weight of the Government's power could be invoked to restore law and order.

Senior Government sources suggest fresh detentions under the emergency regulations and stepped up troop deployments in unrest areas could be on the cards.

But the moves to head off the violence have been dealt a serious blow by the ANC's cancellation of a joint peace rally which was to have been addressed by ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and kwa-Zulu Chief Minister and chairman of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in Natal on Monday.

After ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu had earlier reported that the peace rally was definitely on, the ANC's "interim leadership core" later announced it had been called off.

'Atmosphere not ideal'

"The atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal," the statement signed by ANC information and publicity head, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said.

However, Mr Mandela was still due to visit Natal areas affected by violence on Monday and Tuesday and to consult people in the region, and arrangements were still being made for a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, the ANC statement added.

As fighting and unrest continued throughout the country — and with this week's known death toll in Natal alone already 37 and possibly as high as 70 — politicians fear a further escalation could seriously affect the first formal talks between the Government and the ANC, scheduled for April 11.

The latest moves towards ending the violence include:

• A meeting in Maritzburg today between the Minis-



VICTIM: One of the 36 confirmed fatalities of the unrest. The unofficial toll is as high as 70.



TORCHED: A burning hut in the Henly area near Maritzburg.

Stat 31/3/90

Thousands flee Valley of Death as violence spreads

DAWN RARKHUIZEN

AS fighting continued in stricken Natal last night, the official death toll for the week climbed to 36 with unofficial estimates reaching between 60 and 70.

At the time of going to press, reports of more bodies being found continued to stream into the offices of the Maritzburg Crisis Co-ordinating Committee.

Thousands of people are joining those fleeing to Maritzburg after fighting from Edendale's "Valley of Death" spilled into Siangspruit and Imbali in a pre-dawn raid by Inkatha supporters yesterday.

An estimated 8 000 and 10 000 refugees are being housed in halls and tents and private homes in the city and many, whose homes have been razed, are continuing to stream in.

dubbed the "Valley of Death".

The director of the Natal Coastal region, Mr Roy Ainslie, said 300 people had died in the Natal violence so far.

The fighting, said to involve at least 12 000 people, is being given impetus by the battle to ensure constituencies for

• TO PAGE 2.

Staal Burger comes in from cold

LEGENDARY top policeman Staal Burger is to come out of hiding to testify before the Harms Commission about the South Afri-

NORMAN CHANDLER, Pretoria Bureau

poenaed to appear shortly before the Harms Commission.

Mr Burger will remain in hiding until he is called to testify before

Violence

HOW TO START YOUR SMALL BUS

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You've always had the dream of owning your own...

Frantic bid to hal

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The latest moves towards ending the violence include:

- A meeting in Maritzburg today between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and Chief Buthelezi in a bid to find a solution to the fighting in townships surrounding the Natal capital.
 - An address to be given by President de Klerk to Parliament on Monday on the threat to good order, and action to be taken by the Government if the violence and intimidation continue.
 - A meeting between Mr Vlok with police generals yesterday.
 - A meeting between President de Klerk and five Natal Democratic Party MPs on Thursday to discuss ways of stopping the violence. The MPs told Mr de Klerk immediate steps were necessary to deal with thousands of refugees.
 - A call by the Mayor of Maritzburg, Mr Mark Cornell, for martial law.
 - Pleas by leading black opinion-makers to all leaders to recognise the complexity of the problems in a society dominated by a "culture of violence".
 - A Cabinet meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday at which tougher measures to be taken were discussed.
- At today's crisis talks in Maritzburg, Mr Vlok is to be accompanied by the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, and Brigadier Leon Mellet. Chief Buthelezi is to be accompanied by a number of his top men. A news conference is to be held immediately after the meeting.
- Top ANC sources and Chief Buthelezi have indicated they regard the Natal violence as being out of

● TO PAGE 2.



VICTIM: One of the 36 confirmed fatalities of the unrest. The unofficial toll is as high as 70.

Staal Burger comes in from cold

LEGENDARY top policeman Staal Burger is to come out of hiding to testify before the Harms Commission about the South African Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

Mr Burger, a former police lieutenant-colonel, is being sought by the SA Police for questioning in connection with the activities of the CCB. He was also being hunted by the Namibian police in connection with the murder of Swapo

NORMAN CHANDLER, Pretoria Bureau

executive member Mr Anton Lubowski.

His brother, SABC London representative Mr Sakkie Burger — who flew from England to mediate in negotiations on the question of his giving evidence — told Saturday Star yesterday: "He has decided to talk, and has been sub-

poenaed to appear shortly before the Harms Commission."

Mr Burger will remain in hiding until he is called to testify before the commission, which is sitting in the Sinodale Sentrum in central Pretoria, his brother said.

The commission, chaired by Justice Louis Harms, was established by the State President, F W de Klerk to investigate alleged politically inspired murder

It has been in session almost a month.

Three of Staal Burger's former police colleagues in the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, which he was the commander, are appearing before the commission. They are Mr Abri "Slang" van Zyl, who already testified, and Calla Botha and Mr Fe Barnard, who are bound to testify when hearings resume on Wednesday. Police have not been able to trace a fourth member, Mr Chappi Maree, who disappeared

● TO PAGE 2.

Coetzee to testify at Harms inquiry

RUNAWAY former police captain Dirk Coetzee has agreed to testify before the Harms Commission about alleged South African Police hit squads.

Mr Coetzee, who left South Africa last November after giving a newspaper interview about the alleged squads, is to give evidence in London.

It was announced in Pretoria yesterday the commission would begin hearing evidence in London from April 23.

Mr Coetzee, who has since his departure from South Africa joined the African National Congress and has been living in Lusaka, made his statements about hit squads after a former colleague, Butana Almond Nofemela, said in an affidavit to

NORMAN CHANDLER Pretoria Bureau

Lawyers for Human Rights on October 19 last year that such squads did exist within the South African Police.

In his affidavit, Nofemela — who was on death row at the time for the murder of a Brits farmer — said Mr Coetzee had been his commanding officer.

Mr Justice Louis Harms, the commission chairman, said in Pretoria last week that Mr Coetzee's evidence was vital to the commission and that efforts were being made to convince Mr Coetzee that he should testify.

Star 31/3/90

ANC quits peace rally

11A

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3/13/70

HOPES for a speedy end to the bitter fighting in Natal floundered last night when the ANC pulled out of a planned peace rally with Inkatha.

The decision came last night as 20 more bodies were found in the "valley of death" outside Maritzburg and President F W de Klerk warned of a security crackdown to contain the growing violence, lawlessness and unrest sweeping the whole country.

Mr De Klerk, who is to address Parliament on the issue of the violence in the country on Monday, said the government would use the full weight of its power to restore law and order.

After chairing an extraordinary cabinet meeting in the morning to discuss to deteriorating security situation, he told a Cape Town Press Club lunch: "The future of this country will not be decided through the barrel of a gun."

He said there was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of South Africa.

And in further developments yesterday:

● Justice Minister Mr Koble Coetsee announced the extension of the

ban on gatherings calling for boycotts and stayaways.

● Defence Minister General Magnus Malan hinted that the Defence Force would play an increasingly active role in Natal's strife-torn townships.

● Five Democratic Party MPs from Natal also held crisis talks with Mr De Klerk and asked for the army to help end the civil war raging in Natal.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu cancelled a visit to America as a result of the violence in Natal.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, will meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today to discuss the security situation in Natal. A police spokesman said that Police Commissioner General Johann van der Merwe would accompany Mr Vlok.

In the past week, the six townships around greater Maritzburg have seen a hideous upsurge in the three-year-old political conflict with up to 37 people losing their lives and hundreds of others being wounded.

More than 3 000 people have died in the conflict since 1987 but the fighting this week in the Edendale valley was the worst this year as up to 12 000 fighters engaging in scattered attacks across the vast and hilly area.

TO page 2

crack of dawn



Slang van Zyl says the CCB is not political. In other words it's politically neutralising ... I mean neutral.

Cape Times

RELAY FOR OPPORTUNITY
RATHUBA

Continue

More than 250 houses have been set ablaze in the attacks and thousands of people have been driven from their homes. *Cape Times 31/3/90*

11A

Throughout the week the planned peace rally, due on Monday in Taylor's Halt, was mooted as possibly the best chance of bringing the warring parties together. But those hopes were dashed last night when the ANC Interim Leadership Core (ILC) emerged from a five-hour meeting and called the rally off.

"After investigations had been made, the ANC's ILC decided that the atmosphere is not yet ideal for a joint rally in Natal.

"However, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is still scheduled to be in Natal on Monday and Tuesday to visit areas affected by violence as well as consulting with people in the region," a statement said.

Although the ANC leader would not be at the rally, the statement continued, he would still seek a meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

The two leaders are due to meet at Mahlabatini and at Nongoma again soon for talks which will also involve the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Addressing the Press Club yesterday Mr De Klerk departed from the prepared text of his speech to warn: "The future of this country will not be decided through the barrel of a gun, the waving of arms or the stamping of feet.

"It will be decided around the conference table."

Mr De Klerk said that "if good order is threatened, the government will not hesitate to take strong action".

Asked if the violence sweeping the country, particularly in Natal, could present problems when the government and the ANC meet on April 11 for talks on obstacles to negotiation, Mr De Klerk said the violence was "great cause for concern". —
Political and Own Correspondents, and Sapa