

BLACK POLITICS

1990

JUNE.

## Govt not fit for interim rule — Mbeki

AN INTERIM government could not be entrusted to the people who made the mess in the first place, ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki told about 5 000 Wits students on Wednesday.

Mbeki spoke at a mass meeting which formed part of the SRC's campaign in support of a constituent assembly.

He said the legitimacy of SA's new constitution would depend on the participation of the people which required the election of a constituent assembly elected by the people on the basis of one person one vote.

President F W de Klerk had raised a "strange notion" requiring the proposed constitution to be ratified in a referendum by whites. He said the ANC had no objec-

TIM COHEN

tion to a non-racial referendum.

The government could not be responsible for the administration of the country in the interim stage, because of its partiality and the partiality of other bodies.

For example the SABC had reported "down to the last cup of tea" every move De Klerk had made on his overseas trip, but had not reported on ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela's African trip.

Asked how the ANC would deal with white fears and white rights, he said no one had yet been able to tell him what a "white right" was. White fears were a consequence of apartheid.

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The ANC's Thabo Mbeki addressing Wits students on Wednesday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



# ANC plans state role in economy

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CMT JMS  
6/6/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A future democratic non-racial state should — in the context of a mixed economy — assume a leading role in the reconstruction of the economy, a draft ANC economic policy document recommends.

The draft arose from the ANC/Cosatu workshop on a post-apartheid economic policy held in Harare.

While seeing a key role for the state in building infrastructure, industrial restructuring and regulation of the capital market, the recommendations also propose conservative fiscal policies.

The document also proposes a shifting of the tax burden away from individuals towards the corporations in order to be "more equitable and effective".

It recommends the state retain ownership of existing nationalised industries, the possible renationalisation of privatised industries and, "where necessary", the setting up of new state corporations.

But the draft steers clear of actually recommending the nationalisation of parts of the economy until now in the private sector.

It argues for reconstruction to be financed by domestic savings with foreign capital seen as supplementary rather than as a substitute.

The document stresses a future government "would not replicate the recent practice of using borrowings to finance current state expenditure."

Because the capital market "does not sufficiently direct investment into productive activity", the new government would seek to rationalise and restructure the financial sector to overcome this.

It recommends the present system of exchange controls be retained, although in a modified form, to retain domestic savings in the country and prevent "destabilising speculative capital flows".

The document proposes a future government seriously consider countering the volatile nature of mineral prices by the formation of cartels, and give high priority to the creation of industries to add value to mineral products.

## Mandela: Expect something big from FW <sup>Off Jimp's</sup> <sub>6/6/90</sub>

GABORONE. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he expected President F W de Klerk to make an "important" announcement while he (Mr Mandela) was on his six-week international tour.

Mr Mandela said he has long hoped that the state of emergency would be lifted. He added that he expected "a very important

statement from Mr De Klerk in my absence".

Mandela addressed a news conference at the end of his two-day visit to Botswana before flying to Paris via London. — Sapa-AP

● ANC criticises police — Page 3

● PAC's Mothopeng off too — Page 3

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Negotiations between the government and the ANC could start only when the police had been brought under control, Mrs Frene Ginwala, a spokeswoman for ANC president Oliver Tambo, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the same Foreign Press Association seminar, the South African Ambassador to Britain, Mr Rae Killen, said he hoped the ANC would avoid a tendency to "throw up more obstacles to negotiations".

Mrs Ginwala, from Mr Tambo's office and a member of the ANC's political committee, said between February 2, when the unbanning of the ANC was announced, and May 9, 139 people

11A  
**'Negotiation  
— when SAP  
under control'**

were killed either by direct or indirect police action, according to figures from the Human Rights Commission.

While there had been much debate in the media about whether Mr De Klerk could control the police, she said there had been no visible attempts to do so.

"There have been no reprimands, there has been no disciplinary ac-

tion, no statements of condemnation."

"It is only when the police are under control that we can begin the process of sitting down to begin negotiations."

The issue, she said was very important and had already been discussed between ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

Mrs Ginwala said the Internal Security Act

was another obstacle to negotiations.

On the recent announcement concerning the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act, Mrs Ginwala said the struggle had not been about swimming in pools or beaches. It was about political power.

The present constitution excluded the African majority from the polity. If there were a democratically elected government, it could "easily remove this and other legislation flowing from the apartheid system".

Mrs Ginwala said the changes so far had been the result of internal and international pressure, in particular the country's pariah status and financial sanctions.

**All South Africans 'able to vote in 1994'**

LONDON. — Voting by all South Africans on a new constitution is expected to take place in 1994, according to an expert on the political conflict in Southern Africa.

Speaking during a seminar organised by the Foreign Press Association, Professor William Gutteridge, of the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, said he did not foresee a final constitutional solution within the next couple of years.

Following negotiations he envisaged an initial compromise

constitution in South Africa incorporating a federation, proportional representation, two chambers, and a bill of rights.

This constitution, which included checks and balances, would then be put to the electorate in 1994, the year in which the government's term of office expires.

He said there might first be a referendum for whites on the constitution, followed by an election on a common voters' role which would be on a non-racial but regional basis.

On the question of the redistribution of wealth, he noted that economic power remained "largely in one section of the community".

The challenge was "how to harness it without alienating it and driving investment away".

Prof Gutteridge warned of the possibility of the international community prejudicing the negotiation process by siding with one or other party, particularly on the question of sanctions. They should "shut up rather than interfere", he said.

# No sanctions 'a stab in the back'

110  
CAPT TMS 5/6/90

GABORONE. — Mr Nelson Mandela flew to Botswana at the start of a 45-day foreign tour yesterday, warning the international community that lifting sanctions against South Africa now "would be tantamount to stabbing the liberation struggle in the back".

Kicking off a tour of Europe, Canada, the United States and Africa, Mr Mandela set the tone for his most extensive foreign trip.

The 71-year-old ANC leader and his wife, Winnie, received a red-carpet welcome led by President Quett Masire when they arrived in the diamond-rich country.

Tribal dancers performed on the tarmac and women ululated before the Mandelas were escorted into town along "Nelson Mandela Drive".

After meeting privately with Mr Masire, Mr Mandela addressed a crowd of 15 000.

"Apartheid is still alive but the ANC is even more alive," Mr Mandela declared.

He said despite relaxation of restrictions on political activity and repeal of some apartheid laws, the main issue of black voting rights and self-determination has not been addressed.

As he left South Africa yesterday morning, Mr Mandela reacted to a question about newspaper reports that said he might be embarrassed abroad by the government's lifting of the emergency.

"If the state of emergency is lifted, that will be a victory for us," he said as he boarded a 12-seater, twin-engine Botswana government plane in Johannesburg. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Own Correspondent

THE PAC, in its most explicit statement of economic policy yet, has detailed a sweeping programme of redistribution, coupled with the "massive" upliftment of black entrepreneurs and consumers.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander revealed the organisation's first detailed policy document in a speech delivered at the weekend on behalf of PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Elements of the "exploratory" PAC document — which was drafted by its external economists and is currently being circulated for comment — include the "localisation" of the ownership of resources

# PAC details economic policy

CAPT TMS 5/6/90 (11A) (18)

to minimise the role of international finance capital in the economy.

It also proposes active state intervention in the economy and control over natural and economic resources, the redistribution of economic wealth in favour of the indigenous African people and the redistribution of land for use by all "Azanians".

Compensation for landowners will be paid in the form of interest-bearing government bonds.

Other measures envisaged in-

clude decentralisation initiatives by the state and efforts to discourage the concentration of assets in individual firms.

Mr Alexander also said it appeared that a "negotiation stage" was unavoidable.

In an interview yesterday he said the PAC had never ruled out negotiations with the government, but it believed meaningful negotiations were not viable in the short term.

The organisation did not wish to promote the illusion that only the

state could develop the economy or start new economic organisations. An Africanist government would promote businesses owned individually and by African co-operatives on a "massive" scale.

Africans would be encouraged to acquire managerial, technical and professional skills and to increase their growing ownership of the economy. This would be achieved by helping Africans own and run their own businesses, by providing training services and by ensuring

the promotion of Africans to managerial positions in all sectors of the economy.

Further privatisation of state economic units would "not be encouraged" unless this enhanced the PAC's political and economic aims, he said. Despite this, the PAC preferred a "lean" civil service.

State corporations would be run autonomously by professional managers within the framework of the state's developmental and redistributive goals.

Private sector workers would have the right to participate in all investment and financing decisions, with representatives serving on companies' boards of directors.

cise breakdown of repossession statistics, but there was grave concern about the scale of the problem.

"We are now seeing the tragic aftermath of the house-buying spree in the mid-1980s when thousands of families were tempted by low interest rates to buy houses far beyond their means," he said.

"The casualties are home-buyers who made the mistake of thinking that interest rates were going to stay down at 12,5 percent for the duration of their mortgages. The climb in rates to around 21 percent has crippled many budgets.

"Yet even when a sale in execution goes out, it may still not be too late to mount a rescue operation. Battling homeowners should explain their plight to their bank or building society. It may still be possible to avert catastrophe with a package of compromises," said Mr Tucker.

## Gold's slump puts industry in crisis

Star  
5/14/90 By Magnus Heystek and Peter Fabricius

The crisis in the gold mining industry is deepening as the gold price continues its weak performance on international markets.

Gold shares took a hammering on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday, with the all-gold index dropping by more than 5,7 percent (93 points) to 1 517.

Uncertainty over Soviet gold sales pushed the price down to an eight-month low of \$356,05 yesterday afternoon in London, down from Friday's close of \$363,45.

It recovered slightly in New York to close at \$358 and opened

at \$359,75 in Hong Kong today.

The slide in gold share prices pulled down the overall index by 42 points to 3 126, but the industrial sector held firm as selected buying of blue chip shares pushed the index up 18 points to 2 978.

Gold's slide is placing the gold mining industry in severe jeopardy. Already the Cabinet has to make a decision on whether to increase its aid to the troubled ERPM mine on the East Rand.

An announcement expected last night has been postponed for at least a week while additional contingency plans are considered.

ERPM has made a last-ditch ef-

fort to raise capital, including selling its slimes dumps and several Boksburg properties.

Money raised by this effort will, however, not reduce the mine's R300 million debt, but will supply operating capital for another year.

Without continued State aid, ERPM is faced with almost certain closure, with about 11 000 job losses. Once closed, the mine cannot be reopened as the shafts will rapidly fill with water.

Between 11 and 16 other mines also face uncertainty with the gold price at current levels. Together, they earned about R7,2 billion in foreign exchange last year.

## ANC leader takes hard line

Star  
5/16/90 By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

GABORONE — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has warned the world that lifting sanctions would be tantamount to stabbing the liberation struggle in the back.

At the start of a 13-nation tour, Mr Mandela took a hard line against Western countries that believe punitive measures should be eased as a reward for President de Klerk's bold reforms.

Speaking at a mass rally in the Botswana capital, Mr Mandela said he wanted to make the ANC's posi-

tion clear at the start of "the long journey of thanksgiving and re-dedication".

The ANC stood by its policy of sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle. He told a crowd of about 15 000 that to denounce the armed struggle now would be an act of immaturity, since the preconditions for negotiations had not been met, and political reform was not yet irreversible.

He said the external pressure of sanctions and the armed struggle had helped create the climate for discussions with Pretoria.

## Govt approves UN visit to SA

Star  
5/16/90 Political Staff

The South African Government has given conditional approval to a team of senior United Nations officials visiting South Africa from Saturday on a 10-day fact-finding mission.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha issued a statement in Cape Town last night, however, dissociating the Government again from the UN resolution that has prompted the visit.

He said such a visit was construed as a genuine desire on the part of UN Secretary-General Ja-

vier Perez de Cuellar to obtain correct information on the internal situation of South Africa, and not that the Government acquiesced in the uncalled-for interference by the General Assembly in the internal affairs of the country.

The UN official announcement made it clear, however, that the information gained would help prepare a report on progress in implementing a General Assembly declaration on apartheid adopted last December.

It requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report by July 1.

Hansard 5/6/90

until such time that they are arrested and appear in court.

Cape Recife Nature Reserve: complaints about SADF members

\*14. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Defence: Hansard 5/6/90

Whether the South African Defence Force or the Eastern Province Command has received any complaints about the behaviour or actions of Defence Force members in the Cape Recife Nature Reserve; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the (i) purport of and (ii) response to each such complaint?

B1171E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Yes.

- The Chairman of the Cape Recife Environment Project Committee and also the Eastern Province Branch of the Wildlife Society of SA.
- 21 May 1990.
- (i) and (ii) A Board of Inquiry has been convened to investigate the alleged behaviour or actions of members of the SA Defence Force in the area. The investigation has as yet not been completed.

#### Death sentences

\*15. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(a) How many persons were sentenced to death from 2 February 1990 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) for what crimes in each case?

Hansard 5/6/90 B1175E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Position as at 28 May 1990:

- 39.
- Murder 35; rape 4.

#### TV news bulletins

\*16. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the Government has considered any applications to broadcast news bulletins received from any television broadcasting organ-

isations; if so, (a) from whom were such applications received and (b) what was the result of such consideration in each case?

B1176E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b)

Should the hon member with the words "has considered" mean "finalised" the reply is no.

The hon member is however referred to my replies of 29 May 1990 to Question 13 and follow-up questions when I have indicated that details are being obtained with regard to an application received from M-Net, whereafter the matter will be considered by the full Cabinet and hopefully be finalised within the next few weeks.

#### Transfer duty

\*17. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Finance:† Hansard 5/6/90

- What amount did the State collect by way of transfer duty during the 1989-90 financial year;
- whether the Government intends abolishing transfer duty; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B1180E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- R675 332 729,76
- No. Transfer duty remains an important source of revenue and if it was abolished it would mean that tax would have to be levied in another manner to recoup the tax sacrificed.

SADF: propagation of policy of certain political party

\*18. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister of Defence:† Hansard 5/6/90

- Whether any officers of the South African Defence Force in their capacity as such officers hold information sessions for Commando and/or Citizen Force members in which they propagate the policy of a certain political party, the name of which has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, of which political party;

- whether he is taking or has taken any steps to prevent this; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

B1181E

Hansard 5/6/90

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- No.
- The guidelines and instructions regarding the participation of members of the SA Defence Force in political activities, are laid down in the SA Defence Force Personnel Code, which is available at all units and is strictly adhered to.

#### ANC/SACP: policy

\*19. Mr H J COETZEE asked the Minister of Defence:† 11A

Whether the policy of the (a) ANC and (b) South African Communist Party is in accordance with the staff regulations of the South African Defence Force relating to employment in the Permanent Force; if not, why not, what are the points of difference?

Hansard 5/6/90 B1182E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The conditions of employment in the SA Defence Force are laid down in Chapters III and IV of the General Regulations of the SA Defence Force. All appointments/employment in the SA Defence Force in a permanent capacity is, therefore, subject to a variety of requirements.

#### Foskor: privatisation

\*20. Mr P J PAULUS asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:† Hansard 5/6/90

- (a) When will Foskor be privatised and (b) what is the present value of Foskor's assets;
- whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1183E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

- (a) Pending the outcome of an investigation by consultants on the feasibility of the privatisation of Foskor, no indication can be given at this stage when Foskor will be privatised.

(b) R329 927 000, based on share capital and reserves as at 30 June 1989.

(2) No. Hansard 5/6/90

Employees of Department: accommodation

\*21. Mr C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:†

Whether White and Black unmarried employees of his Department are accommodated together in the same single quarters; if so (a) why and (b) where?

B1184E

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

No.

- Falls away.
- Falls away.

#### INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

#### Colleges of Education: administration

Mr K M ANDREW to ask the Minister of Education and Culture:†

Whether he is prepared to transfer the administration and control of colleges of education to universities of their choice; if not, why not?

Hansard 5/6/90 B1231E.INT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, the answer is no. Fundamentally the missions of the two types of institutions are at variance. Universities are scientific institutions which focus primarily on the teaching and development of the various sciences. Colleges of education, on the other hand, are professional institutions specifically geared to the training of teachers for the primary school. In doing so, a very close relationship needs to exist between the colleges and their client schools.

In the fulfilment of their mission, colleges of education educate from a particular cultural perspective. This is required in order to maintain cultural continuity between home and school. Universities, on the other hand, are focused on a

Sowetan 6/6/90.

## Mothopeng to visit

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Mothopeng is to visit five African states to raise funds for his organisation.

PAC internal general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday Mothopeng leaves tomorrow with a five-person delegation, including his wife Urbania. (11A)

His tour will begin in Harare and proceed to Libya, Nigeria, Guinea-Conakry and Ghana.



**MOTHOPENG**



# Azapo member murdered

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

The murder of another member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) on the West Rand has shocked its members.

The partly decomposed body of David Ditaba Montsho, 28, of 323 Moshoeshoe Street, Mohlakeng, Randfontein, was found near the Kagiso cemetery 12 days after he went missing.

*press 6/5/90 (WA)*  
Azapo fears there is a campaign to eliminate its members. Two months ago, Mbuyiselo Msiya, 22; and his brother Patrick were attacked by a group of people and were taken to Leratong Hospital.

Patrick was hacked with pangas, knives and knobkieries and had multiple wounds to his head and body but was discharged from hospital the day they were attacked.

Mbuyiselo died a few days later and was buried in Bekkersdal cemetery.

Trouble in Bekkersdal started after the launching of the Bekkersdal Youth Congress (Beyco), a UDF affiliate, which is opposed to the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), an Azapo affiliate.

Ditaba's family told City Press this week they last saw him on April 12 when he visited friends in Kagiso.

His uncle, Samuel, said they were worried the following day when he did not come home and they started searching for him.

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## ANC economic policy 'would lead to ruin'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's economic policies would lead SA to ruin, DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said last night.

Speaking at a DP fundraising dinner, De Beer said the ANC still retained widespread nationalisation as its official policy.

"Whether they mean nationalisation or confiscation is not, in truth, clear. What is clear is that either would be ruinous to SA."

De Beer said that to get a legitimate, stable and successful government in the new SA there had to be "unadulterated democracy" and free enterprise.

# Support Azapo, says Mwasa

SA Press  
Association

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday called on all political organisations to support the consultative conference being convened by the Azanian People's Organisation.

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In a resolution taken at the union's national executive council in Johannesburg on Sunday, Mwasa said the recent "talks about talks" between the African National Congress and the Government had created divisions within the ranks of the oppressed masses.

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## Conference

"As these divisions would delay the resolution of the conflict in the country, it would be imperative that all organisations that have an interest in the future of South Africa be actively involved in supporting the conference," said Mwasa's president, Mrs - Sandra Nagfaal.

The consultative conference was mooted by Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala when he returned from consultations with the BCMA in Harare two weeks ago.

The ANC, PAC and the labour federations are expected to attend the conference, scheduled to discuss common positions on the approach to negotiations with the Government. - Sapa.



**L**AST week — fittingly enough on Republic Day — the CIA held a conference on SA in Rosslyn, just across the Potomac River from Washington. Participants included analysts from the intelligence community, leading academics and officials from the State and Defence Departments and the National Security Council. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen spoke after lunch.

He asserted that the US must now “tilt” towards the ANC as “the most significant black majority party”. To be sure, he was careful to add that the “tilt” should not be so extreme as to concede the ANC “exclusivity” at the negotiating table. Nonetheless, his remarks were an extraordinary departure from the “even-handedness” that he himself had hitherto espoused.

More remarkable still was the logic by which he reached this conclusion. It was necessary, he said, to avoid “undermining constituencies”. Which, apparently, would be the effect of a balanced approach as it might weaken the authority of Nelson Mandela and others within their own movement. American bias, in

*Other words, was necessary in order to demonstrate to the ANC rank and file that the supposedly moderate and constructive steps taken by their leaders were not without reward.*

**T**here are a number of problems with this. First off, it puts Washington in the game of adopting a highly factionalised movement about whose ultimate objectives it knows little, and whose tactics and structure up to this point it would evidently rather ignore. Indeed, since it is far from clear — even to the ANC itself — whether the movement commands the support of voluntary majority, such a policy is tantamount to playing god, a habit that has yielded horrifying results everywhere from Vietnam to Iran to Nicaragua. Also, if the US objective is not to

# FW must act to loosen the ANC's grip on US policy

*B/day 5/6/90*

*(IA) (BA) (BB)*

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

undermine constituencies, what then about the white side of the equation? What does a “tilt” towards the ANC do for President F W de Klerk when his moves, all of them significantly bolder than any undertaken by Mandela, continue to go unrequited? Unlike Mandela, who can expect an orgy of adulation here, De Klerk cannot even be assured of a polite wel-

come in Washington. Much less can he hope for any easing in US sanctions. To the contrary, efforts are under way in Congress to tighten the existing ones as a gift for Mandela during his visit.

Cohen made it clear at the conference he takes the point. He also indicated the administration does not propose to act on it. Not even a symbolic gesture like the restoration of direct flights between the US and SA is on the cards, he said, until after November's congressional elections — whatever De Klerk does between now and then to fulfil the conditions laid out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

Cohen has repeatedly pleaded that Congress should not move the CAAA's goalposts, yet he now appears to be moving them himself by acceding to the tight definitions demanded by the sanctions lobby. He

evidently does not regard the Groote Schuur Minute as having resolved the political prisoner issue, even though such prisoners are now effectively to be held by the mutual consent of the ANC and government. Furthermore, he will not accept a lifting of the state of emergency that excludes Natal — even if Mandela himself specifically accepts the exclusion.

**T**his is more than a mere “tilt” towards the ANC and its demands for the maintenance of sanctions, it is an abdication. It also goes deeper than mere ambivalence on the sanctions issue. Cohen told his audience that he did not propose to fall into an “ideological trap” by having the administration endorse any particular economic or political outcome in SA. To the contrary, he argued, the US should not even take sides in the nationalisation debate, but should rather limit itself to suggesting possible “models”.

As it happens, Cohen's superiors have already fallen into the trap. At a media conference shortly after

Mandela's release, President George Bush declared himself opposed to nationalisation in SA. Secretary of State James Baker announced before he met Mandela in Windhoek last April that he meant to voice disapproval of the ANC's socialist inclinations. It seems we are now supposed to forget those statements.

It is as though, on the question of SA, the Bush administration had been cleanly filleted of spine, principle, vision, even solid intelligence and analysis. In fact, if Cohen is to be believed, it may not ultimately even be committed to what has thus far been the one solid cornerstone of its policy: the principle that every effort should be focused on encouraging the parties to negotiate. If negotiations were to break down, he argued, the US should be prepared to “back away” from the process.

And then what? As far as SA's future is concerned, negotiation is the coin of the realm. Even to hint that it might be valueless is to devalue it instantly and admit to possible validity of other means. And that can only encourage more horror than anything currently in store. Cohen might just as well have said: “We support the unilateral seizure of power by the ANC.”

As things now stand, the ANC already controls, through Randall Robinson, Jesse Jackson and others, that fraction of American public opinion which, on all matters relating to SA, controls Congress, and through Congress, an administration that lives in terror of the appellation “racist”. Mandela's triumphal progress through the country can only strengthen this chain of command, giving the ANC all but absolute authority over US policy towards SA.

Cohen's “tilt” is evidence enough of the ANC's existing power here. By even allowing that negotiations might falter, he has given the movement every incentive to take positions that ensure they do. The ANC will then be able to say it was Pretoria's fault, and the American body politic will believe it and react accordingly.

Regrettably, in this instance, the US is still a superpower. Indeed, it is the only one. Its backsliding on SA will ripple back across the Atlantic and to the Far East. As it happens, one nervous European country that had thought of easing sanctions after De Klerk's recent tour contacted the State Department last week to make sure of US intentions before it acted. SA hopes that Europe may offset American folly should therefore be tempered.

**T**he ANC's stranglehold on the US policymaking apparatus must somehow be loosened. De Klerk himself is perhaps the only person who can do that. While he was wise to delay his visit here later this month — to let himself be overshadowed and last-worded by Mandela would have been folly — he should think again about accepting Bush's invitation once Mandela is gone.

Bush must be given a reason to take charge of his administration's policy and undo the craven surrender presently in train. An hour or so with De Klerk would give him that reason, and focus his attention enough to demand better work from his subordinates.

# ANC, PAC and Azapo on verge of signing peace pact

11A  
Story  
5/6/90

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The three major anti-apartheid organisations are on the verge of signing a non-aggression pact recognising each other's right to exist and to compete for membership.

Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member Muntu Myeza yesterday told The Star that Azapo, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were working on a statement on violence "and inter-organisational democratic culture".

If accepted, Mr Myeza said, the document would eliminate recent violent confrontations like the one between Azapo and ANC supporters at Maokeng township in the Free State.

ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu, who addressed a joint peace rally with Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe at Maokeng on Sun-

day, confirmed that such a document was being prepared.

Mr Sisulu said he was looking forward to meeting Mr Myeza to thrash out details of the agreement. He said PAC president Zephania Mothopeng had suggested that the policy statement be withheld until the organisations' members had been reconciled.

Approached for comment yesterday, Mr Mothopeng denied any knowledge of the statement, but confirmed that Mr Myeza had indicated that he wanted to meet him.

Mr Myeza said yesterday: "We (Azapo) have had discussions with the ANC before on the need to curtail violence, and there was a joint committee established."

The Star reported last week that a secret meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Mr Myeza had taken place at Park Lane Clinic to discuss ways to end violence between their organisations.

## Mandela kicks off his 13-nation tour

GABORONE — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela began a 13-nation tour yesterday to tell the world apartheid still existed in SA, but that international sanctions could help the ANC end it.

"Apartheid is still alive, but the ANC is step-by-step ending apartheid," Mandela told a crowd of 25 000 in the Gaborone National Stadium.

Mandela's trip follows a successful tour early last month by President F W de Klerk.

But while De Klerk expects an easing

in sanctions, Mandela said: "To stop sanctions now would be a stab in the back." *6/10am 5/6/90*

He said he intended giving leaders in Africa, Europe and North America "the correct picture" of what was happening in SA. *(11A)*

ANO reports that Mandela's visit was described by Botswana President Quett Masire as a clear sign of Mandela's appreciation of Botswana's "unflinching commitment" to the cause of liberation in southern Africa. — Sapa-AP.



Tito Mboweni of the ANC's department of economics and planning. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

• 6/04/90

# Tax, sexism worry ANC economist

ALAN FINE

ANC department of economics and planning (DEP) official Tito Mboweni dropped into the chairman's office at 44 Main Street for an hour last week, just prior to his return to Lusaka after his first visit to SA in 10 years.

Although he holds strong views on the excessive power of local conglomerates, his visit to Anglo American HQ was not for the purpose of selecting an office for his occupation after nationalisation.

Rather, he said, he went at Anglo's invitation and expected to continue the debate on economic issues which he believed necessary for achieving a "national consensus" in SA.

Mboweni, 31, was the ANC's top DEP representative at the recent Carlton conference. Now Lusaka-based, he plans to spend the next few months establishing the DEP in SA.

He holds an MA in economics from the University of East Anglia in Norwich.

Mboweni said while gatherings like the Carlton conference had their uses they also had limits.

On the one hand, it was important for the two groups — the ANC and the

business community — to have received the messages they did from leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly.

At the same time, Mboweni believed, the process through which the ANC would develop detailed economic policies would rather occur in smaller, more focused, surroundings.

He expressed unhappiness with Relly's attitude to two specific issues — taxation and gender.

"I am very worried about Relly's suggestion that our taxation system should be based increasingly on indirect rather than direct taxes," Mboweni said.

## Interaction

"More indirect tax dumps more of the burden on the poor and relieves the tax burden on the wealthy. We think such policies are based on pure self-interest."

He was also unhappy with the "frivolous" attitude both Relly and Donald Masson — the two business panellists at the conference — took to the question of women's advancement in the economy.

Mboweni emphasised that, as the the ANC's main constituency was the black working class, discussions on these issues with Cosatu were very important and would continue very soon.

The ANC also was committed to further interaction with business, especial-

ly at company or industry level.

Mboweni used a trip to the cane growing areas of Natal last week to illustrate how he thought a future government should use such knowledge to determine the best form of state intervention in the economy.

He visited a Tongaat-Hulett mill and saw some of the farming done by 30,000 small growers.

He said a future government would have to devise ways of assisting the small farmers.

Powerful conglomerates and the vertical integration they had achieved in the sugar industry would have to be investigated in terms of the national interest, Mboweni added. "But we will not rush into breaking them up without careful consideration," he said.

The whole question of "conglomerates" (the ANC uses that word and "monopolies" interchangeably and not according to the strict economic definition of the latter, Mboweni explained) was critical for a future government.

"We cannot be blind to the fact that the power that Anglo and others hold is an issue. They are so all-powerful one cannot talk of free competition. They can squeeze and crush any smaller competitor ..."

He said not only the ANC was concerned. The point of anti-trust legislation for SA had been made "many times" by white SA businessmen outside the major corporations.

# ANC economic ideas revealed

ALAN FINE

A FUTURE democratic state should — in the context of a mixed economy — assume a leading role in the reconstruction of the economy, a draft ANC economic policy document recommends.

The draft arose from the ANC/Cosatu workshop on a post-apartheid economic policy held in Harare a month ago and has been handed to the two organisations' policy-making structures for their consideration.

While seeing a key role for the state in building infrastructure, industrial restructuring and regulation of the capital market, the recommendations also propose conservative fiscal policies.

The document proposes a shifting of the tax burden from individuals to corporations to make the system "more equitable and effective."

It recommends the state retain ownership of existing nationalised industries, the possible renationalisation of privatised industries and, "where necessary", the setting up of new state corporations.

Nationalisation "would be effected through due legal and constitutional processes", and state-owned industries would operate within strict budgetary controls.

But the draft steers clear of recommending the nationalisation of parts of the economy until now in the private sector.

The furthest it goes is to recommend "the possibility of the state making strategic investments in mines" be considered, while consideration should also "be given

□ To Page 2

## State role

to the extent of state ownership within the financial sector."

The basic goal of economic policy should be "to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power."

It argues for reconstruction to be financed by domestic, including personal, savings with foreign capital seen as supplementary rather than as a substitute.

The document stresses a future government "would not replicate the recent practice of using borrowings to finance current state expenditure."

□ From Page 1

It recommends the present system of exchange controls be retained, although in a modified form, to retain domestic savings in the country and prevent "destabilising speculative capital flows".

The document proposes a future government seriously consider countering the volatile nature of mineral prices by the formation of cartels, give high priority to the creation of industries to add value to mineral products, and improve miners' wages and working conditions "without weakening or making less efficient the mining industry."



# Azapo condemns closure of Venda colleges

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) at the weekend condemned the closing of four teachers training colleges in Venda and called for their immediate reopening.

In a statement released by the organisation's Northern Transvaal regional publicity secretary, Mr Khangale Makhado, Azapo said it noted with regret that Venda's military ruler, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, had said the go-ahead to deal sternly with protestors was given to him by the ANC.

## Encourage

The ANC has denied issuing such instructions to Ramushwana but its spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said the organisation could only have asked the colonel to encourage students to attend classes.

Azapo said the people of Venda were duty bound to support the students who were protesting against the inclusion of Afrikaans in their syllabus, the expulsion of second-year failures and pregnant students.

They were also calling

for the expulsion of alleged racist white rectors.

"Azapo, since its inception, has always rejected government created platforms, irrespective of who the so-called ruler of the time is. We, therefore, condemn the stifling of the student voices by the banning of SRC's in the area", the statement said.

The announcement by Ramushwana that he had been given instructions by top leaders of the ANC during a visit to Lusaka to deal "sternly" with youths who launched class boycotts and challenged orders to return to classes, has become a major talking point in the homeland, where Ramushwana's rule has been effectively rejected by youths.

The closure of the colleges followed an ultimatum by education minister, Major SV Landela, for students to return to classes or face a lost academic year. The ultimatum was ignored by the students, who are from Makhado, Tshisimani, Ramaano-Mbulaheni and Venda colleges. The closure of the colleges is indefinite.

*Sowetan 4/6/90*

*11A*

## 3 000 at funeral of PAC man who was burnt to death

More than 3 000 mourners yesterday attended the funeral of a PAC supporter killed in political fighting in Vosloorus, near Boksburg, late last week.

Johnny Rantho, a member of the PAC-aligned Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), was attacked and burnt to death by alleged supporters of the Vosloorus Students' Congress on Wednesday.

The death started fighting between ANC and PAC supporters. On Thursday, two adults and a baby were killed by armed men.

At the funeral Nactu president James Mndaweni called for political tolerance.

The head of the PAC's Vosloorus branch, Sy Montsitsi, has accused the rival Vosloorus Crisis Committee of propaganda in its accusations against PAC supporters. — Sapa.



Pattern of Politics  
By HERMANN  
GILIOME

# Soviet Africanists ambivalent on new SA policy

CHM TMS  
4/6/90  
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BACK in England after a sojourn in India Rudyard Kipling once wrote: "It is good to be back among your countrymen for you know when they are lying." A week in Moscow invokes a similar reaction.

Attending an academic conference "Africa in World History" I found it very hard to pin Soviet Africanists down on the new Soviet policy towards the process of transition in South Africa.

To be fair, most Soviet Africanists inside and outside government do not so much lie as avoid straight answers or sometimes simply do not know in which direction the policy will develop. As in other complex political systems Soviet foreign policy is the product of a cumbersome process in which a lot of in-fighting occurs between different bureaucracies before the leadership at the top ultimately decides. To an important extent ambivalent answers to a South African are given because few, if any, people actually know how the policy will evolve while the Soviet government is in such a deep-seated political and economic crisis.

My first impression is that there has indeed been a global Soviet shift away from military aggressiveness and expansionism towards favouring political means to resolve regional conflicts. At the same time, however, the Soviet government and people are unanimous in their resolve to strengthen Russia's international prestige. The Soviet Union has engaged in a strategic withdrawal from its outer empire in Eastern Europe but it is fully prepared to maintain its stake in some high-profile Third World conflicts of which South Africa undoubtedly is one. To see an ANC-led government in South Africa would be a crowning achievement for Soviet foreign policy after the humiliating reversals in Afghanistan, Central America and elsewhere.

## Senior partner

Secondly, the Soviets stress that a negotiated settlement must be reached by white and black South Africans themselves and the Soviets will do nothing to interfere with this process. While the ANC's public demand is for an interim government along the lines of pre-independent Namibia there are interesting signals from the ANC's political wing that the movement is seriously considering the option proposed in the Groote Schuur talks, of an interim government being phased in informally. This will mean that the South

African government and state will be steadily broadened through joint study commissions and joint monitor-

ing committees of the police in which the NP and ANC will be the main actors. In this way the ANC will steadily evolve towards the position of senior partner in a power-sharing government.

My third impression is that far from being disillusioned with the ANC the Soviets are confident that the movement has the ability and determination to prevail. Africanists in Moscow scoff at the prediction that the ANC will split in the process of transition. They believe that the ANC is unique as a liberation movement with its strong tradition of collective leadership and the absence of any major splits since the PAC breakaway in the late 1950s.

The question is: what will the Soviets do if negotiations between the government and the ANC break down? My distinct impression was that the Soviets will employ considerable resources to back up ANC demands. When asked at a round-table discussion whether Soviet financial and military aid to the ANC had been cut off a senior official laughingly replied: "Ask the ANC."

Most of the conference participants took this to mean that military aid was indeed ended. Yet when I pressed another prominent Africanist to interpret the remark he referred me to the ANC *Newsbriefing* of March 11. Here Mr Chris Hanu, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, disclosed that Umkhonto we Sizwe has initiated a programme to train officers for a future South African army. Mr Hanu added these significant words: "We will not at any stage be happy with a situation where leading officers of a future South African army are from the South African Defence Force. For a future army whose orientation is for a non-racial democratic South Africa, we need Umkhonto officers participating fully in

the process of transforming the army."

I found Soviet Africanists unwilling to discuss military assistance in any detail but the possibility cannot be discounted that a significant form of Soviet aid in the short to medium term future will consist of training ANC guerrillas in the use of sophisticated weaponry and in other skills required for their absorption in a regular army. For a military leader such as Mr Hanu, this training is of crucial importance for he wants his men in the camps to return as soldiers rather than refugees. He also wants to undercut the claim of General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, that ANC operatives are too ill-equipped for incorporation into the South African army. When I quoted this statement, a Soviet Africanist replied with a wink: "Perhaps General Malan will not fit into a future army."

The control and composition of the army will undoubtedly be one of the most sensitive issues in the negotiations which lie ahead. While the South African government may accept majority rule with checks and balances, it will strongly insist on a white-controlled army for a considerable period after the political transition has occurred. It wants this army to ensure constitutional safeguards, by force if necessary. The military wing of the ANC, on the other hand, wants to put the integration and rapid transformation of the army on the agenda at the very beginning of the transition process.

If lack of trust between the government and the ANC prevents a compromise on this issue the Soviets can be expected to provide the necessary assistance to its allies in the South African struggle. They have never been slow in exploiting opportunities which have opened up for them in Southern Africa.

# Dhlomo denies plans to join ANC, UDF

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's right-hand man, yesterday dismissed as "pure speculation" rumours that he was moving across the political spectrum to the ANC or UDF.

The rumours followed Dr Dhlomo's shock announcement on Friday of his resignation from politics.

"There is absolutely no truth in these rumours whatsoever. Perhaps people are expressing their own wishes — which I have no quarrel with.

"I have made it clear that I am leaving politics altogether. Contrary to popular belief, I did not consult with Mr Mandela before resigning. I have not been in contact with the ANC at

all except when we met with a delegation led by Mr Walter Sisulu.

"While people are free to speculate, their speculations should not be taken seriously."

When asked whether he was still committed to Inkatha, its principles and its leader, Dr Dhlomo replied that he still supported Inkatha's principles for a non-racial democratic future.

He said he regarded Dr Buthelezi as "a significant political leader and I still trust in him.

"I have nothing negative to say about Inkatha, KwaZulu or Chief Buthelezi."

Dr Dhlomo said of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba that he felt it had succeeded in some aspects and failed in others.

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# New York braced for the coming of Nelson

St 20/6/90 (11A)

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star Bureau

New York

The arrival of Nelson Mandela in New York tomorrow has provoked the largest media blitz on a single subject since the mass public hysteria that surrounded Colonel Charles A Lindberg's historic solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927.

Put into top gear will be a massive security operation that includes 12 000 police, sharpshooters on rooftops — and a special bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" in which the ANC leader will travel.

The vehicle, with room for four people, is a specially-designed truck with a bullet-proof enclosure that will enable Mr Mandela to stand up to acknowledge the applause of the many thousands expected to line the route.

At each event he attends, special agents, using tracker dogs, will carry out hourly anti-bomb sweeps of the surrounding areas. They will also use electronic detectors to screen TV cameras and other media equipment.

Since early today TV and radio stations have broadcast hourly warnings of a huge traffic "gridlock" in New York's crowded streets and urged motorists to use buses instead.

## Unusual gesture

When Mr Mandela steps off his plane at New York's J F Kennedy Airport, he will be greeted formally by Mayor David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, and in an unusual gesture, also by the Governor of New York State, Mr Mario Cuomo, a Catholic who did not offer a similar courtesy to Pope John Paul on his visit.

Thousands are expected to greet Mr Mandela at the airport and to crowd the streets as his motorcade wends its way to a Brooklyn high school, with a predominantly black enrolment, his first stop, where Mr Mandela will make the first of his many speeches during the day.

But the best and biggest honour New York can offer — a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade, usually reserved for national heroes — will be the highlight of the ANC leader's day.

The same squadron of helicopters that will fly over Mr Mandela's motorcade as it leaves the airport will hover above Manhattan's "Canyon of Heroes" as the ANC leader is showered with ticker-tape.

The security operation, labelled "Operation Topaz", is the biggest effort ever undertaken for a visiting dignitary.

## 5 300 journalists

More than 5 300 journalists are covering the eight-day US visit. In addition to New York, Mr Mandela will visit Boston, Washington, where he will address a joint sitting of Congress, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

● Canadian Indian leaders boycotted a State banquet held in Mr Man-



The strain is showing . . . a weary Nelson Mandela wipes his brow during a speech to about 1 000 high school students in Toronto yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.

# Cosatu appeals directly to FW

St 20/6/90

Political Staff and Staff Reporters  
Cosatu representatives last night telephoned President de Klerk, asking him to intervene in a dispute between the labour movement and the Government.

Trade unionists are threatening a wave of pickets, boycotts and stayaways if the Cabinet does not extend the sitting of Parliament today to amend the Labour Relations Act.

A Tuynhuys-spokesman confirmed today that Cosatu telephoned Mr de Klerk at home.

"Mr de Klerk took note of their views," he said, but said he would not discuss the matter on the telephone.

"He did not give them undertak-

ings or assurances and, in regard to their requests to have a meeting with him, said Cosatu would be contacted today," he said.

On claims by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo that the President had said he would take the matter to the weekly Cabinet meeting today, the spokesman said Mr de Klerk would never disclose details of the Cabinet agenda.

The Government has said it cannot introduce legislation this year to implement the accord which Cosatu and the other trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), signed this year with the employer body, the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccolla).

The trade unions are hinting that the ANC could pull out of talks with the Government if their request is not complied with.

Parliament is due to go into recess on Friday.

Last night, top Cosatu officials started an indefinite sit-in at the Department of Manpower's offices in Johannesburg, demanding the amendments be brought before Parliament.

Among those who started the sit-in were Mr Naidoo and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

## Offers

Cosatu negotiator Marcel Golding said yesterday if the Cabinet did not extend Parliament for a few days for the amendments to

# Call for better deal for

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# Soviets now 'sympathetic to NP's stand on group rights'

Star 4/6/90  
CIA

Own Correspondent

The Soviet Union has growing sympathy for the National Party's concern over group and minority rights and is reconsidering support for the ANC's armed struggle, claims a top academic.

Mark Phillips, an authority on the ANC, believes Soviet perceptions have undergone important changes since the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1984.

In a paper, "Beyond Rasberry Diplomacy? Current Soviet Policy Toward South Africa", for the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Phillips explores Russian foreign policy towards South Africa.

He said Moscow has developed a new theory on regional conflicts, which is being applied to South Africa. It was broadening the range of parties, organisations and individuals with which it wishes to maintain contact — and showing increas-

ing interest in establishing trade relations with Pretoria.

Mr Phillips visited the Soviet Union last November.

"... Soviet academics and officials are seriously considering a number of surprisingly conservative scenarios for the South African democracy of the future. They are increasingly sympathetic to the NP's group or minority rights proposals," says the paper.

A reason for this "lies in the Soviet's own recent experience with their own nationalities problems," said Mr Phillips.

He predicts that political organisations like the ANC, which seek to establish a unitary, non-racial democracy in South Africa, will not be able to count on unlimited Soviet support for their proposals.

Mr Phillips points out that some Soviet analysts at universities and in the foreign ministry have believed for some time that the armed struggle serves no useful purpose.

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## Inkatha Youth Brigade calls on ANC to control supporters

Staff Reporter

The Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday called on leaders of the ANC and its allies to discipline their supporters "to prevent inter-organisational violence erupting in Soweto".

Speaking at an Inkatha rally in Soweto, Themba Khoza, chairman of the West Rand Youth Brigade, appealed to ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to publicly condemn and dissociate himself from statements promoting violence against other political organisations.

Mr Khoza said: "Our members in Emndeni, Zola, Diepkloof and Meadowlands are

being assaulted, forced out of their homes to attend political meetings, had their membership cards burnt and forced to join the ANC. This has been happening for the past two months.

"Victimised Inkatha members have been threatened with death if they reported intimidation incidents to the police. Defenceless people have been left with no option but to report intimidation incidents to kangaroo courts. Should violence erupt, Inkatha must not be blamed," Mr Khoza said.

"We must be realistic and admit that there will be no process of negotiation about the future if blacks can hardly tolerate each other."

# EC sanctions row on eve of Mandela visit

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The 12 European Community (EC) governments are locked in a bitter row over South African sanctions on the eve of Mr Nelson Mandela's grand tour of Western Europe, starting in Paris tomorrow.

Some socialist-dominated countries fear that the red carpet could be pulled from under Mr Mandela's feet while he is in Europe.

A combination of relentless British-led pressure against sanctions and an expected announcement that the state of emergency is to be at least partially lifted could provide a coup for President F W de Klerk this week. There are strong indications that EC political directors' meeting in Brussels tomorrow will propose broad acceptance of a Dutch plan for sanctions to be lifted step-by-step in relation to irreversible reform.

The proposals of the influential Brussels bureaucrats will be submitted to a meeting of the EC foreign ministers in Luxembourg on June 18.

Anti-apartheid groups are outraged that the EC should even consider shifting its hardline on sanctions while Mr Mandela is in Europe.

● No sanctions 'stab in back' — Page 3





**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

LAST week — fittingly enough on Republic Day — the CIA held a conference on South Africa in Rosslyn, just across the Potomac from Washington. Participants included analysts from the intelligence community, leading academics and officials from the State and Defence departments and the National Security Council. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen spoke after lunch.

He asserted that the US must now "tilt" towards the ANC as "the most significant black majority party". To be sure, he was careful to add that the "tilt" should not be so extreme as to concede the ANC's "exclusivity" at the negotiating table. Nonetheless, his remarks were an extraordinary departure from the "even-handedness" that he himself had hitherto espoused.

# To 'tilt' to ANC is to capitulate on policy

*Capit 7m's 5/6/90*



It gives it knows little and whose tactics and structure up to this point it would evidently rather ignore. Indeed, since it is far from clear — even to the ANC itself — whether the movement commands the support of voluntary majority, such a policy is tantamount to playing God, a habit that has yielded horrifying results everywhere from Vietnam to Iran to Nicaragua.

Also, if the US objective is not to undermine constituencies, what then about the white side of the equation? What does a "tilt" toward the ANC do for President FW De Klerk when his moves, all of them significantly bolder than any undertaken by Mandela, continue to go unrequited? Unlike Mandela, who can expect an orgy of adulation here, De Klerk cannot even be as-

There are a number of problems with this. First, it puts Washington in the game of adopting a highly factionalised movement about whose ultimate objec-

— of a polite welcome in Washington. Much less can he hope for any easing in US sanctions. To the contrary, efforts are underway in Congress to tighten the existing ones as a gift for Mandela during his visit.

**Moving goalposts**

Cohen made clear at the conference that he takes the point. He also indicated that the administration does not propose to act on it. Not even a symbolic gesture like the restoration of direct flights between the US and South Africa is on the cards until after November's Congressional elections — whatever De Klerk does between now and then to fulfil the conditions laid out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Cohen has repeatedly

pleaded that Congress should not move the CAAA's goalposts yet he now appears to be moving them himself by acceding to the tight definitions demanded by the sanctions lobby. He evidently does not regard the Groote Schuur Minute as having resolved the political prisoner issue, even though such prisoners are now effectively to be held by the mutual consent of the ANC and the government. Furthermore, he will not accept a lifting of the State of Emergency that excludes Natal — even if Mandela himself specifically accepts the exclusion.

This is more than a mere "tilt" towards the ANC and its demands for the maintenance of sanctions, it is an abdication. It also goes deeper than mere ambivalence on the sanctions issue. Cohen told his audience that he did not propose to fall into an "ideological trap" by having the administration endorse any particular economic or political outcome in South Africa. To the contrary, he argued, the US should not even take sides in the nationalisation debate but should rather limit itself to suggesting possible "models".

**US backsliding**

As it happens, Cohen's superiors have already fallen into the trap. At a Press conference after Mandela's release President Bush declared himself opposed to nationalisation in South Africa. Secretary of State James Baker announced, before he met Mandela in Windhoek last April, that he meant to voice disapproval of the ANC's socialist in-

clinations. It seems we are now supposed to forget those statements.

It is as though, on the question of South Africa, the Bush administration had been cleanly filleted of spine, principle, vision, even solid intelligence and analysis. In fact, if Cohen is to be believed, it may not ultimately even be committed to what has thus far been the one solid cornerstone of its policy: the principle that every effort should be focused on encouraging the parties to negotiate. If negotiations were to break down, he argued, the US should be prepared to "back away" from the process.

And then what? As far as South Africa's future is concerned, negotiation is the coin of the realm. Even to hint that it might be valueless is to devalue it instantly and to admit to possible validity of other means. And that can only encourage more horror than anything currently in store. Cohen might just as well have said: "We support the unilateral seizure of power by the ANC."

As things now stand, the ANC already controls, through Randall Robinson, Jesse Jackson and others, that fraction of American public opinion which, on all matters relating to South Africa, controls Congress, and through Congress, an administration that lives in terror of the appellation "racist". Mandela's triumphal progress through the country can only strengthen this chain of command, giving the ANC all but absolute authority over US policy towards South Africa.

Cohen's "tilt" is evi-



**NELSON MANDELA:** US congress and administration within his grasp.



**HERMAN COHEN:** Up to now even-handed, he has suggested tilt to ANC.



**FW DE KLERK:** Only he may balance the ANC stranglehold on US policy

dence enough of the ANC's existing power here. By even allowing that negotiations might falter, he has given the movement every incentive to take positions that ensure they do. The ANC will then be able to say it was Pretoria's fault and the American body politic will believe it and react accordingly.

Regrettably, in this instance, the US is still a superpower. Indeed, it is the only one. Its backsliding on South Africa will ripple back across the Atlantic and to the Far East. As it happens, one nervous European

country that had thought of easing sanctions after De Klerk's recent tour contacted the State Department last week to make sure of US intentions before it acted. South African hopes that Europe may offset American folly should therefore be tempered.

**Think again**

The ANC's stranglehold on the US policy-making apparatus must somehow be loosened. De Klerk himself is perhaps the only person who can do that. While

he was wise to delay his visit here later this month — to let himself be overshadowed and last-worded by Mandela would have been folly — he should think again about accepting Bush's invitation once Mandela is gone.

Bush must be given a reason to take charge of his administration's policy and undo the craven surrender at present in train. An hour or so with De Klerk would give him that reason and focus his attention enough to demand better work from his subordinates.

**LETTERS**

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

## Retirement villages: life right or sectional title?

From Mrs J D MITCHELL (Kleinmond):

WITH reference to the sub-leader in the Cape Times (May 25) on retirement villages, I would like to make the following points that have

to be financed entirely by our levies, this would inevitably be the case for most of us. Having sectional title ties in with these fears.

It will be appreciated that, at this stage of our lives, most of us are not

greater portion, of the profit on the resale of the cottage is paid. This would in time produce a steady income to be used solely for the running and betterment of the village, thus ensuring that our levies would not

# Fear not, ANC tells Jewish school heads

*Cape Times 5/6/90 11A*

Staff Reporter

JEWISH and other culturally-based schools had nothing to fear from the ANC in a new South Africa if they were free of racism, ANC leader Ms Cheryl Carolus told the Association of Principals of Jewish Schools national conference in the city yesterday.

Ms Carolus and Mr Gareth Rossiter of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) were invited to address the conference.

Both speakers said:

● The ANC recognised the right of individuals to exercise their cultural backgrounds as long it was not at the expense of others.

● The ANC and NECC wanted every school to fall under a single, non-racial education department.

● The NECC wanted schools to be

run in co-operation with parent, teacher and student bodies.

● The country could not afford R5 billion of under-utilised white educational assets when two-thirds of the population was illiterate.

● Education would be free, compulsory and equal for all children and higher and technical education open to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on merit.

The NECC, which is establishing an alternative education department, has set up commissions to grapple with issues such as future language policy, the content of future curricula and adult education, and contributions from all sectors are welcome.

● SA 'can't afford' instant equality—

Page 5

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# Four killed in ANC-PAC clashes

CAPE TOWN  
2/6/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Four people, including a nine-month-old baby, have been killed in clashes between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in Vosloorus township on the East Rand.

Major Reg Crewe of the SA Police public relations division in Pretoria last night confirmed the four deaths.

He said a member of a youth organisation was assaulted by a group of youths. Afterwards petrol was thrown over him and he was set alight. He died from his injuries.

Mr Keith Montsisi, of the ANC Vosloorus Crisis Committee, told newspapers: "It looks like Beirut here this morning."

"You can see different types of weapons were used when you look at the sizes of the holes in the walls, cupboards and windows of the attacked homes," Mr Montsisi said.

Major Crewe said AK-47 rifles and hand-grenades were used in two of the attacks yesterday morning.

The wife and baby of VCC chairman Mr Ali Maziya were killed when gunmen opened

fire on his home in Vosloorus.

Mr Thusi Motsopi, a member of the Vosloorus branch of the SA Youth Congress, was asleep at home when gunmen opened fire and killed his grandmother, 65, who was sleeping in the front room.

"We only heard guns. It was about one o'clock this morning. We only saw blood on her back. She died immediately," Mr Motsopi said.

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday afternoon that ANC

internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng had discussed the violence in Vosloorus by telephone earlier in the day.

"A meeting at leadership level will be held soon," he said, but declined to reveal details.

Mr Alexander said "steps are meanwhile being taken by the PAC and ANC to regularise the situation on the ground".

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada confirmed that a meeting would take place.

# FOUR DIE IN ANC CLASH WITH PAC

W/K-AD45 2/6/90

Weekend Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — A new wave of spiralling violence between supporters of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress has hit the townships.

Four people, including a nine-month-old baby, died and at least three people were injured in the East Rand township Vosloorus this week.

Township violence — which included a clash between supporters of the Azanian People's Organisation and the ANC in Maokeng, Free State — has become so serious that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela this week held a long meeting, from his hospital bed, with a high-ranking Azapo leader.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member, said he met Mr Mandela for 1½ hours at the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

"We had a long meeting which centred on the need to avoid acrimony between organisations and ways of avoiding occurrences such as those at Maokeng. We agreed that organisations need to get round the table to thrash out the road ahead."

## Meeting of leaders mooted

At least seven people were injured in the Maokeng clashes.

At Vosloorus the baby and two other people were shot dead. A fourth person was burnt to death. The ANC and PAC blamed one another for starting the violence.

Those who died were: Mrs Lindiwe Maziya, 32, wife of the Vosloorus Crisis Committee chairman; her nine-month-old daughter Ali Maziya; Mrs Zwelakhe Bella Motsupi, 65, grandmother of Vosloorus Students Congress activist Allison Motsupi; and Azanian Youth Unity member Mr John Rantho, 2.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said: "A possible meeting between the leadership of the ANC and PAC is being mooted."

"The PAC is calling for vigilance on the intervention of third elements, who aimed at escalating the conflict. The situation in the country is not made any easier when leaders of liberation movements issue concealed threats to each other," Mr Alexander said.

ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu yesterday said the ANC had no way of knowing what the "real situation" was and "we are still investigating the matter".

But he did condemn the violence, saying it was not the ANC's policy to attack its opponents.

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had a non-malignant cyst near his bladder removed earlier this week, Dr Louis Gecelter said today.

Dr Gecelter, who performed the operation last Monday, said he did not foresee any after-effects.

"It shouldn't be a problem. He is a very fit man for his age, and an exemplary patient," Dr Gecelter said from the Park Lane Clinic.

"I feel on top of the world," Mr Mandela told journalists at a Press briefing.

The ANC leader will be leaving the private clinic tomorrow, Dr Gecelter said.

"We removed a cyst related to his bladder on the right side. There is no question the cyst was anything but inflammatory," Dr Gecelter said.

### No after-effect

"There is no after-effect. There is no recurrence. It shouldn't be a problem, and it's not been a problem," Dr Gecelter told reporters and television crews.

"It was in fact found to be a non-malignant cyst," added Mr Terror Lekota, of the ANC, who chaired the Press conference.

Dr Gecelter has been Mr Mandela's doctor since 1985, he said, when the ANC leader was operated on for his prostate.

"Mr Mandela has always been an exemplary patient," Dr Gecelter said. "He has no complaints. He had no problems before or after the operation."

According to Dr Gecelter, there had been no complications since the operation last Monday.

He said Mr Mandela had "a very high pain threshold. He's done everything we've required of him. We've had routine medical checks with reference to his heart and his lungs, and his abdomen, and they've all been perfectly normal".

Meanwhile in Gaborone today, the Botswana Department of External Affairs told Sapa Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie would arrive at Sir Seretse Khama Airport at 9.30 on Monday morning and would be met by President Quett Masire and first lady Mrs Gladys Masire.

Vice-president Mr Peter Mmusi and Mrs Louise Mmusi, Cabinet ministers and members of the diplomatic corps would also be at the airport to welcome Mr Mandela and his entourage.

Mr Mandela was scheduled to have plenary meetings with President Masire before a private lunch and in the afternoon of the same day Dr Masire would receive Mr Mandela and his entourage at the national stadium. — Sapa.

Amus

FIT AND WELL: 'I'M ON TOP OF THE WORLD'

Mandela ready to leave hospital

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2 Cape Times, Saturd

# Union officials claim damage

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Five trade unionists sued Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Patrick Cull of the EP Herald, and SA Associated Newspapers Ltd (SAAN) for R250 000 in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday.

The five are Mr Frederick Sauls, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Elliott Mtwa, Mr Lesley Kettledas and Mr Jurie Harris of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu).

They submitted two claims for damages based on defamation and claimed R25 000 each on each claim.

In the first they alleged that on February 27, 1985, Mr Hendrickse told a press conference: "It has been shown that office bearers of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union were involved behind the scenes in the unrest and that certain teachers had also incited the students."

They pleaded that the words were defamatory.

The second claim was against Mr Hendrickse, Mr Cull and SAAN jointly and separately, and alleged Mr Cull and SAAN had maliciously published the words in an article the next day.

At the start of the hearing, Mr HJ Liebenberg, SC, for the unionists, informed the court that the claims against Mr Cull and SAAN had been settled. This effectively disposed of the second claim.

# ANC, PAC clash in new wave of violence

Star 2/6/90

11A

~~2/6~~



A NEW wave of violence is sweeping South Africa's townships, much of it between the ANC and members of Azapo and the PAC.

In the most recent outbreak, four people, including a nine-month-old baby, have died and at least three people have been injured in politically motivated violence in the East Rand township of Vosloorus this week.

Other incidents included:

- Two grenade attacks on the homes of policemen in Soweto.
- The wounding of a policeman in a shooting incident in Chesterville, Durban.
- Petrol-bomb attacks on the Khotso, Bothaville, homes of policemen.
- A bloody clash between supporters of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the African National Congress (ANC) in Maokeng, Free State.
- The death of an Umlazi, Natal, businessman, who was shot dead and set alight.
- A clash between SADF members and residents of Lulekani, Gazankulu.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has become so concerned about the political violence that he held lengthy talks from his hospital bed with a high-ranking Azapo leader.

The Saturday Star learnt that the meeting was held at Johannesburg's

## STAFF REPORTERS

Park Lane Clinic, where Mr Mandela has been since Sunday.

Muntu Myeza, Azapo projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member, yesterday confirmed that he held a 1½-hour meeting with Mr Mandela at the clinic on Wednesday, after the ANC leader had asked to meet him urgently.

"We had a long meeting, which centred on the need to avoid acrimony between organisations, and we reached an agreement on that," Mr Myeza said.

"We also discussed ways and means of avoiding future occurrences such as those at Maokeng, and agreed that organisations should get around the table to thrash out the road ahead."

Azapo and ANC supporters were involved in violence at Maokeng on Monday. At least seven people were injured, three seriously, in the clashes.

Mr Myeza revealed that the leadership of the two organisations had held a number of similar meetings in the past. He said another meeting would be organised between Azapo and the ANC's internal leadership during Mr Mandela's overseas tour.

Mr Mandela is expected to leave the Park Lane clinic today shortly after addressing a press conference.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.





ON THE JOB: Soldiers of 32 Battalion undertake a house-to-house search in Edendale near Maritzburg. To them a shanty town in Natal is not much different from a shanty town in Angola.

# ANC/UDF want SADF out of Natal

A CONCERTED effort is being made by the UDF/ANC/Cosatu alliance to get the South African Defence Force out of the troubled Maritzburg area where fighting between the alliance and Inkatha has resulted in an estimated 3 000 deaths since 1983.

If President FW de Klerk does not heed the demands of Cosatu to immediately resolve the escalating conflict in Natal, the giant workers' body has vowed to embark on nationwide stayaways and marches in the first week of July.

A Cosatu spokesman said plans for a countrywide stayaway on July 2 in sympathy with the victims of violence in Natal were under way.

## SAP probe urged

Nationwide demonstrations and marches were also scheduled for July 7.

Cosatu has also called for the immediate appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the role of the police in Natal. Further demands include the dismantling of the KwaZulu police and the arrest or prosecution of Natal warlords.

Getting most of the flak from the alliance is the crack 32 Battalion. This unit was formed during the Angolan war — from former FNLA members — and waged a most effective campaign against the Cuban and MPLA forces. The battalion was brought to Maritzburg — with half a dozen other SADF units — to assist the SA Police in maintaining law and order in the area.

But, according to one of several pam-

**CLOETE BREYENBACH**  
and STAFF REPORTER

phlets issued by the ANC Natal Midlands, these soldiers are "mercenaries" and formerly of the FNLA "who fought alongside apartheid forces against the popular MPLA government, under the leadership of comrade Agostinho Neto (sic)".

The pamphlet goes on to claim that this unit was "led by CIA agents".

In an interview, top UDF official Dr Deliza Mji had this to add to the anti-32 Battalion campaign: "This is an anti-communist force who fought the MPLA and Swapo in Angola, both close allies with the ANC."

"Here they are fighting on the side of Inkatha, which is pro-free enterprise and anti-communist. In fact, it is our sincere view that, if all troops could be withdrawn from the townships, there would be peace, because Inkatha on their own cannot do any damage."

And what would the UDF/ANC suggest as a possible solution?

"If a force has to be maintained in the townships it's got to be neutral. The deal that we are coming up with now is that the SADF has lost all credibility among our people. This also applies to the SA Police."

"The only force our people have any confidence in are the Umkonto we Sizwe (ANC) force which, we feel, could hold the peace."

"We actually want the Ministry of Police disbanded — there must be no KwaZulu police. As to the availability of our forces that

is a matter to be discussed between the Government and the ANC, namely the repatriation issue. These highly trained forces have to come back to South Africa in any case."

But when accompanying 32 Battalion's "Foxtrot" company in the Edendale/Mpumalanga area a few days ago, it seemed that they are able to move around unhindered among the local population and appear to be able to conduct their duties effectively.

## 'They feel safe'

Says Sergeant Mario: "The people here are getting used to us. We talk to them and, sometimes, bring out some smiles and handshakes. They feel safe with us around. Even the children, although scared because of the weapons we carry, and the uniform, relax after a while."

Commanding officer Colonel Johan Swanepoel said: "We have had no complaints of ill treatment by one our members. As to the accusation of being mercenaries — these troops are all fully fledged SADF members and subject to all standard regulations. Also, incidents of violence have decreased dramatically since the Defence Force moved in to assist the police."

Official figures are that in the first week of April there were 37 murders, 12 attempted murders and 17 shooting incidents.

But towards the end of April there were five murders, nine attempted murders and 11 shooting incidents.



# Mandela cyst not cancer, says his doctor

By DESMOND BLOW

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FEARS that Nelson Mandela may have had cancer were dispelled by top urologist Dr Louis "Gus" Gecelter yesterday.

A cyst removed from the side of Mandela's bladder was non-malignant, he told a horde of newspaper and television reporters at a Press conference outside the Park Lane Clinic.

The cyst was sent for examination after it was removed, but was found to be "nothing more than inflammatory".

He said Mandela was a very fit man for his age and was well enough to endure his arduous six-week tour of 13 countries beginning tomorrow.



Mandela yesterday ...  
'On top of the world!'

"I'm feeling on top of the world," the smiling ANC deputy president confirmed.

Mandela will leave hospital today but according to Gecelter it was his own choice.

"It was a very minor operation and he could have been discharged on Wednesday, 48 hours after the operation," Gecelter told *City Press*.

"Dr Mandela has a very high pain threshold. He's done everything required of him. We've had routine medical checks of his heart, lungs and abdomen - and they are all perfectly normal."

It was the second time in five years that rumours spread that Mandela had cancer.

# Press 'deliberately ignores PAC'

C/Press 3/6/96 (11A)

By GIFT SIPHO SISO

PAC stalwart Gora Ebrahim has lashed out at newspapers inside South Africa, saying they deliberately ignore his organisation, treating it as though it does not exist.

Ebrahim, PAC shadow Foreign Minister, who was in Botswana to attend a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc

committee's Monitoring Group on Southern Africa, said in an interview there was a deliberate campaign by newspapers at "home" to ignore the views of the PAC.

"Newspapers at home, with the blessings of the apartheid establishment, are all out to suppress the views of the PAC in order to condition public opinion along the lines of certain views they consider compatible with the interests of the newspaper magnates in the country," said Ebrahim, who has been in exile for close to 30 years and is now based at the PAC's headquarters in the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam.

However, with the support the PAC was enjoying inside the coun-

try at present, he said, it would no longer be possible for anyone who wanted to seriously talk about the future of South Africa to do so without taking into consideration the existence of the PAC.

He said each time newspapers reported on the PAC they tended to project the image that the PAC was an extremist organisation and he asked: "By whose standards are we being judged extreme?"

Ebrahim cited a number of independent surveys that have been conducted inside South Africa and claimed they had all indicated support for the PAC was growing rapidly.

"We are riding the crest of a wave and if the present momentum at organisational level can

be maintained, we are certain that our party might form the next government in a free, democratic and united Azania.

"No-one is going to stop us now - not even the Press can afford to stop the tidal wave. The PAC has never been built by the Press and therefore it goes without saying that they can never destroy us," said a confident Ebrahim.

On the proposed consultative conference of the liberation movements and other anti-apartheid bodies, Ebrahim said his movement was and had always been ready to meet or unite with other organisations who thought such a move would help accelerate the pace of revolution.

## Debate options, advises Viljoen

THE PAC was making a laughing stock of itself when it said there had been no change in the South African political scene, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen said this week.

Speaking at an impromptu Press conference during his official visit to Umtata, he was commenting on earlier statements by the PAC that the unbanning of political organisations and lifting of certain restrictions were merely taking the country back to where it was in 1960.

"On their own admission there is some form of change. How can they now turn around and say there is no change?" he asked.

Addressing an audience at the South African Embassy in Umtata to mark Republic Day, Viljoen said the creation of the new South Africa would take time and it was important that existing institutions should not be immediately broken down.

On the desire by many Transkeians to rejoin South Africa, he said: "There is much that is uncertain about the new South Africa, much that cannot become clear until the process of discussion, the exchange and refining of ideas through public debate and through the process of negotiation is underway," he said.

He advised Transkeians to discuss the various options in public political debates and academic studies before committing themselves to a future course.

## ■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

# ANC urged to help maintain normality

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THE countrywide violence mainly among black people is partly a manifestation of the power struggle among political groups like the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and their respective satellites, says *Beeld* in an editorial.

"But there is also an amorphous group of especially young savages - leaderless and without a political agenda - for whom the the law of the jungle applies. They plunder, burn down, murder and intimidate. In some parts of Natal it has already become a way of life.

"No matter what the reasons for this rejection of authority - the disintegration of traditional family structures, poverty, the continuing education crisis, migrant labour, apartheid, and so on - the concern about it is fortunately not only restricted to the government.

"The ANC has also now acknowledged the existence of *tsotsi* elements who try to give status to their criminal activities under the banner of the organisation. This became clear in a statement in which the organisation distanced itself from the attacks on Azapo supporters in Kroonstad for which the ANC was initially blamed.

"The sooner the ANC - which has already committed itself to a peaceful solution - helps identify these lawless elements, the sooner consensus about efficient action can be reached. The alternative is anarchy - which we wish on no future government," says *Beeld*.

*Insig*, a monthly Afrikaans magazine, says in an editorial there will still be many people who blame whites for the gruesome violence in the townships.

It will be too easy, even though the whites who governed the country for so many years have to accept a measure of responsibility for it. It is just as true that black leaders have badly neglected their duty to their own communities.

So many sins - real or imaginary - were laid in front of the door of the Nationalist government that what happened between blacks was comfortably overlooked.

**T**HE African National Congress's charter for negotiations with the South African government, better known as the Harare Declaration, will be a year old next month.

When the document was first made public it created much controversy within the country despite endorsement and support for it by the OAU's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Frontline States and the United Nations General Assembly which, when adopting it, made few changes from the original document.

Not surprisingly, the detractors of this document were the same people who opposed the 1955 Freedom Charter. They attacked the ANC for not consulting with other black political movements before presenting the document to the public. They also questioned the ANC's wisdom in wanting to talk to the government when fundamental issues had not yet been addressed.

The ANC, however, maintained that these were minimum demands and proposals to the government for a political settlement.

They believed that for negotiations to take place in order to resolve the intricate South African

**MY WAY**

.....  
**With Khulu Sibiyi**

**Accelerate  
the process**  
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conflict a proper climate had to be created.

Today, almost a year since the document was adopted, political organisations to the left of the ANC say only one out of five demands has been met by the De Klerk government – the legalisation of all political movements.

The government's slowness and pussy-footing in dismantling all apartheid structures puts enormous pressure on the ANC. They have been accused of all sorts of things – including “selling-out” – in talking to the government.

But one thing the detractors of the Harare Document failed to appreciate (or is this a deliberate oversight on their part?) is that at least

the ANC has contributed towards moving the process of negotiations forward by holding talks with the government.

It is easy to point fingers at people who are continuously exploring ways and means of resolving our conflict. The ANC in this case is a victim of its uncompromising stand.

The De Klerk government should understand that playing party politics at this time by slowly removing one petty apartheid law after another could be dangerous.

Time is of the essence now and both the NP and the ANC should realise this. We would like to see the formation of an interim government as soon as possible.

By now we should be talking of a process of

drafting and adopting a new constitution that will lead to national elections.

Let's face it, we are no longer impressed by government announcing the scrapping of legislation like the Separate Amenities Act. These laws should not have been there in the first place.

Perhaps President de Klerk wants to tell us he needs more time and that we should understand that he cannot leave behind his white constituency.

But De Klerk should understand that this very constituency is now shifting to the right, as evidenced by the number of whites who attended the Conservative Party rally in Pretoria last week.

He has gained more support among blacks than among whites. He is the

first South African president to be called “Comrade” De Klerk. This means one thing: that he should look for more allies within the black community.

It is often argued that if national elections were held in the townships tomorrow, De Klerk could easily match ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela with votes.

But the longer the government delays in forming an interim government the more the ANC and the National Party will lose support to the left and right – the ANC to the left and the NP to the right.

Some people, and I tend to agree with them, believe that should the ANC become the next government, they will experience more problems than any other independent African state has experienced.

The black majority would expect the ANC to provide instant houses, jobs and all the privileges that whites enjoyed during the apartheid rule. This would be impossible and would create friction.

The only solution, as I see it, is for all black political groups to start now with a Patriotic Front-type alliance. In that way no dissidents will turn around and point a finger at “sell-outs”

# Mandela cyst not cancer, says his doctor

11A

By DESMOND BLOW

FEARS that Nelson Mandela may have had cancer were dispelled by top urologist Dr Louis "Gus" Gecelter yesterday.

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**Mandela yesterday ...  
'On top of the world!'**

"I'm feeling on top of the world," the smiling ANC deputy president confirmed.

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# Mandela fighting fit!

At hospital  
briefing he  
slams FW's  
reforms as  
irrelevant

NELSON MANDELA has launched a blistering attack on President FW de Klerk's reform moves.

At a Press conference on his discharge from Johannesburg's Park Lane Clinic yesterday, Mr Mandela dismissed President De Klerk's recent diplomatic mission to Europe as "irrelevant to the country" and this week's announced scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act as "Government rhetoric".

Mr Mandela said his own, forthcoming visit to Europe would determine whether or not President De Klerk's visit had been successful.

Mr Mandela said the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act this week was "typical of the Government's rhetoric".

The repeal was "secondary" and the "the real issue" was that "blacks must be given the right to self determination".

Mr Mandela said the motive of his European trip was to thank the international community for being instrumental in securing his release from prison.

"Their contribution made it possible for the Govern-



HALE AND HEARTY . . . Nelson Mandela and wife Winnie at his Press conference yesterday

BY FELICITY LEVINE

ment and the ANC to sit down and talk, he said. He denied specific credit should be attributed to President De Klerk.

"Talks to find a solution have been in progress since 1986 and President De Klerk merely accepted our final invitation."

"President De Klerk's actions till now have been merely notional and all the pillars of apartheid still exist," he added.

His overseas tour was also aimed at removing contact with international supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle.

"The struggle is not confined to South Africa, and we have supporters everywhere," he said.

## Violence

He said he would call on the international community to reinforce sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Mandela also stated police ineffectiveness in curbing violence.

"The Government has well-equipped police which should be put to better use to curb violence instead of taking advantage of differences among individuals," he said.

Looking fit and well at the conference, Mr Mandela was flanked by his wife Winnie, their daughter Zinzi, a family friend, Linda, and his specialist, Dr Louis Gecceler.

"I feel on top of the world and am looking forward to the trip with eagerness," said Mr Mandela, elegantly dressed in a grey silk three-piece suit with paisley tie.

Some of the medical treatment Mr Mandela received in the clinic will not be charged for, said doctors.

# ANC takes closer look at homelands

*Sowetan 4/6/90*  
THE ANC was seriously looking into the question of embracing all the homeland leaders - except Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi - into its broad political structure, ANC official Mr Elias Motsoaledi said yesterday.

Motsoaledi was addressing hundreds of people at a rally hosted by the local Residents' Interim Action Committee at Polyana Stadium, in Bushbuckridge, north-

eastern Transvaal. (11A)

It is also believed former Inkatha secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who resigned his post this week, could well be accepted if he approached the ANC for his political role.

But it is understood the ANC was obviously not even considering embracing Buthelezi into its fold "because he had been too controversial for too long". - Sapa.

# ANC betrayed blacks, claims PAC

Sowetan 4/6/90

(11A)

**BLACKS** have been betrayed by political groups which have surrendered and were negotiating with the government and telling lies that the authorities were about to give over power to the majority.

This was said by Mr Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC (internal) at the weekend.

Speaking at the formal launch of the PAC branch and the welcome home rally of former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Mark Shinnars in Atteridgeville on Saturday, Alexander urged members to fight for survival.

**By MONK NKOMO**

He warned that the State President, Mr FW de Klerk would never surrender power through the so-called peaceful negotiations.

"Claims that De Klerk is about to hand over power to the black majority is a lie", he said.

Alexander said the involvement of the ANC in "talks about talks" with the government in Cape Town last month, was one of the four stages of betrayal by the ANC.

"The government did not move an inch during those talks", Alexander said.

He added negotiations with the government meant that no controversial matters should be on the agenda and that there should be a compromise on the land issue.

Amid shouts of "one bullet, one settler", and "peace among the Africans, war against the enemy", Alexander said to achieve victory, PAC members should have a revolutionary ideology,

the means to fight for liberation, the revolutionary will and commitment not to give up and to have

revolutionary structures.

Shinnars, who served almost 20 years in prison for PAC activities, rejected negotiations with the government and said his organisation "will not be party to superficial solutions".



# Returning ANC exile finds little has changed

JOHANNESBURG. — Apartheid is still in place, and the few changes effected by the government are not what the struggle is all about, African National Congress executive committee member Mr Max Sisulu said yesterday after 27 years in exile.

Mr Sisulu, a member of the ANC's department of economics, flew into South Africa

*Cape Times 4/6/80 11A*  
from Lusaka on Friday on a temporary indemnity permit with his wife Elinor and the couple's two young children.

He hopes to return permanently to South Africa before the end of the year to help restructure the ANC's internal struggle.

He said in a telephone interview that

apartheid was still in place: "Economic and political power and land still remain in the hands of a few people."

The few changes which had come about were a result of pressure from the international community and because of the struggle by people outside and inside the country. — Sapa

# ANC, Azapo in big rally for peace

KROONSTAD. — The ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) met in the Maokeng township near here yesterday in a bid to end the violence between the two groups.

The meeting followed a bloody clash last week that left one Azapo supporter dead and seven people from both sides injured.

The dead man, Mr Michael Lekitlane, 20, will be buried in Maokeng next Saturday.

One of the wounded displayed stitched stab- and hack-wounds on his head, sides and chest and scars on his arms where he said he blocked a blow from a concrete slab.

Azapo general-secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe described the meeting as "one of the most important deliberations ever" and said Azapo had always challenged those who believed in black-on-black violence.

## Freedom songs

A large delegation of church leaders and representatives of Azapo and the ANC were flanked by flags of the two organisations.

After initial reluctance to sing and chant slogans together, ANC and Azapo supporters joined in singing freedom songs and applauded speeches by Mr Nefolohodwe and ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu.

He told the few thousand people the ANC's one duty as a liberation movement was to create everlasting unity and build a nation.

Mr Nefolohodwe said: "Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) takes cognisance of other liberation forces — they represent and reflect the diversity of the political consciousness among our people."

Mr Sisulu said both Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng and Azapo's Mr Muntu Myeza, national project co-ordinator, had agreed a public statement condemning inter-organisational violence should be signed along with the ANC. — Sapa

# Discipline lacking, admits Mandela

CAPE TOWN 4/6/70 (11A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has admitted that the political township violence sweeping the country is linked to a lack of discipline among anti-apartheid activists.

Last week's violence, which has seen a rise in clashes between the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the PAC, has left at least six people dead and five seriously injured.

At a press conference on Saturday Mr Mandela was asked to what extent the anti-apartheid groups could be held responsible for the political violence, as well as people who claim allegiance to the ANC.

Mr Mandela said there was no doubt that there was a certain "amount of lack of discipline" on the part of activists.

He added that the ANC leadership was united in condemning all forms of violence among the people themselves.

"The only type of violence that we accept is organised violence in the form of armed action, which is properly controlled and where the targets have been carefully selected," he said.

According to reports, a concerned Mr Mandela held talks last week in the Park Lane Clinic, where he was recovering from a minor operation, with a high ranking Azapo leader.

This was confirmed by Azapo projects co-ordinator and national executive committee member Mr Muntu Myeza.

Mr Myeza said the meeting centred on the need to avoid acrimony between organisations and the means of avoiding future occurrences such as the recent clash between supporters of Azapo and the ANC in Maokeng, in the Free State.

At Saturday's press conference Mr Mandela condemned the government for being unable to control the violence.

"Despite its strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force why is it that it (the government) has been unable to suppress the violence that is going on?"

"The reason is quite clear. The government has taken advantage of differences among political organisations in order to crush a movement and eliminate individuals whom they regard as the real threat to white supremacy in this country," Mr Mandela said.

CAF Tmf-3  
4/6/90

# Mandela tour to 114 'correct one-sided picture'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela leaves today for the start of his extensive overseas visit during which he will urge the international community to retain sanctions against this country.

Mr Mandela, who will be visiting 13 countries during his six-week tour, said he was determined to correct "the one-sided picture" that President F W de Klerk had presented during his recent nine-nation tour.

Speaking at Saturday's press conference at the Park Lane Clinic, where he has been recuperating from an operation to remove a non-malignant cyst on his bladder, Mr Mandela described Mr De Klerk's diplomatic mission as having "brought absolutely nothing back to South Africa".

He also dismissed the government's moves to scrap the Separate Amenities Act as "quite insignificant", saying it was "not the real issue over which we are fighting". "The basic issue in this country is whether blacks are going to have the right of self-determination," he said.

## Bush meeting

Mr Mandela will be conferring with Irish President Patrick Hillery and Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, French President Francois Mitterrand, the mayor of Paris, Mr Jaques Chirac, and Pope John Paul II. He is also to address the European Community and European Parliament.

After that Mr Mandela will travel to North America where he will face a hectic 10-day tour which includes a meeting with President George Bush at the White House scheduled for June 25.

● Mr Mandela is expected to arrive at the Sir Seretse Khama airport in Botswana at 9.30am today. He will hold talks with Botswana's President Quett Masire and will later address a gathering at the National Stadium.

Meanwhile, in London, representatives of British trade unions, religious groups and anti-apartheid organisations are to meet Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd today to urge Britain not to renege on international agreements by lifting sanctions on South Africa.

# Top-level talks

## FW and Mandela meet on how to reduce the level of violence

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela met in Pretoria on Saturday to discuss how to effectively reduce the level of violence, it was disclosed last night.

They also discussed the implementation of the Grootte Schuur Minute, Mr De Klerk's visit to Europe and Mr Mandela's trip to Europe and North America.

Apart from the main topics, no other details of their discussions were given in a brief statement issued by the President's Office at midnight.

The statement said: "The State President, Mr F W de

Klerk, has announced that he and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy-president of the ANC, held discussions in his office in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on Saturday June 2, 1990.

"Discussions centred on the progress which had been made on their implementation of the Grootte Schuur Minute and the need to effectively reduce the level of violence.

"The State President's recent visit to Europe as well as Mr Mandela's forthcoming visit, were also discussed."

It is understood, however, that the discussions took place on Saturday evening — after Mr Mandela's press conference in which he stated he would ask the international community to keep its sanctions in place because "whatever De Klerk has said, it is up till now merely

rhetoric".

Mr Mandela also said at the press conference he would be correcting certain impressions Mr De Klerk had made while in Europe and that the success of Mr De Klerk's tour could be gauged only after Mr Mandela had completed his visit.

"I don't know if his trip has been successful — he has brought absolutely nothing back to South Africa."

However, the fact that both Mr De Klerk's and Mr Mandela's visits were discussed later in their discussions in Pretoria could well mean that despite their differences on sanctions and the armed struggle, both leaders felt the need not to convey conflicting versions of the progress towards negotiations and the implementation of the Grootte Schuur Minute.

The joint government-ANC working group, which

agreed on various issues, including the definition of political prisoners, reported back to the government and ANC while Mr De Klerk was in Europe and this was the first opportunity he and Mr Mandela have had to discuss the working group's report and the next stages in the negotiation process.

At Saturday's press conference, Mr Mandela also dismissed the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as insignificant when viewed against larger problems such as the lack of black self-determination, right-wing violence and the violence in Natal.

He also said the ANC was committed to peace but there was "no doubt that we have a certain amount of

● Discipline lacking, admits Mandela — Page 2

To page 2

From page 1

When the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, hinted recently that the state of emergency could be lifted except in certain areas, such as Natal, he praised the ANC's commitment to ending violence.

Mr Mandela's public endorsement of that commitment, to the point of criticising some of his own supporters, and strong indications that the emergency will be partly lifted, suggest that the emergency was raised when the level of violence was discussed in Saturday evening's meeting.

Mr De Klerk may well have outlined the government's intentions on the emergency, though these still have to be ratified by the cabinet on Wednesday.

If Mr Mandela confirmed ANC commitment to restraining supporters, the way may have been cleared for the lifting of the four-year emergency next week.

Mr Mandela leaves on his six-week trip today. It is probable that the next round of substantive discussions between the government and the ANC will only take place towards the end of July.

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada last night confirmed that the meeting had taken place.

# FW's moves could put Mandela in tight spot

Sowetan 4/6/90

1/A



MOST state of emergency measures will be scrapped within the next few days.

The state of emergency comes up for review on June 11 and speculation is that it is likely that many of the provisions will lapse.

Parts of the emergency are likely to remain in force, however, particularly in troubled areas such as Natal.

According to reliable sources, President FW de Klerk will use the opportunity to put Nelson Mandela in a tight spot.

Most Government supporters argue that while De Klerk has gone a long way towards meeting the conditions for negotiations set down by the ANC, the organisations has done nothing in return.

By lifting the state of emergency the Government would be pulling the rug under Mandela's feet when he is in Europe next week.

## Sowetan Correspondents

Mandela leaves from Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, on a 13-nation six-week trip at 8.30am today, ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said last night.

Mandela, who will be accompanied by his wife, Winnie, will be part of a four-member ANC delegation from inside

South Africa, he said.

They will joined later by Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, ANC treasurer general Mr Thomas Nkobi "and some others", Kathrada said.

The ANC delegation, which will tour 13 countries in Africa, Europe and the Americas, will eventually total 13, he added.

\* De Klerk and Mandela held discussions in the President's office in the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on Saturday, his office in Cape Town announced last night.

Discussions centred on the progress which had been made on their implementation of the Grooten Schuur Minute and the need to effectively reduce the level of violence," the statement said.

ANC, Azapo (11A)  
join forces and  
denounce violence (277)  
5 to 11/6/90

KROONSTAD — The African National Congress and Azanian People's Organisation joined forces for a mass meeting in Kroonstad's Maokeng township yesterday and denounced recent violence between people claiming support for the two groups in the northern OFS township.

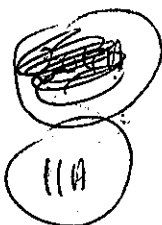
The meeting followed a clash last weekend between people claiming support for Azapo and the ANC that left one Azapo supporter dead and seven people from both sides hurt.

Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe described the meeting as "one of the most important deliberations ever".

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu told the crowd that the ANC's one duty as a liberation movement was to create everlasting unity and to build a nation.

A columnist replies

B/day 4/6/90



# Let's try to untwist it

KEN OWEN

I AM surprised and delighted that Ms Callinicos demands history to be objectively recorded, even by penny-a-line scribblers like me, but on this occasion, I regret to say, she has not done her homework.

Baruch Hirson writes (Yours for the Union, Page xii): "I ... visited many of the trade union offices as an organiser of the Workers International League." He adds that the local Workers International League (WIL) was formed during the war by Heaton Lee who had previously been "an organiser in the British Trotskyist movement" (Page 169).

Peter Walshe (The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa) and Edward Roux (Time Longer than Rope) refer to the WIL as "Trotskyite", or "Trotskyist". Roux says it came under fierce attack from communist Senator Hyman Basner.

Hirson himself is described by Tom Lodge (Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, Page 240) as one of the "main personalities" in the ARM conspiracy that ended in murder. Hirson was linked, through the Socialist League (whose members were "nearly all inside the Congress Alliance"), to the Congress of Democrats. To speculate about his role as one of the main personalities in ARM, a Trotskyist among liberals, is not only permissible but, until the historical record becomes clear, necessary.

As Ms Callinicos says, the COD included many communists, but she understates the true position. Ian Bernhardt, the man who "discovered" Miriam Makeba, told me a few years ago, rather hyperbolically, that he thought he might have been "the only liberal" in the COD. He recalled that no single member of the COD would pass judgment on the

Soviet invasion of Budapest until "the line" came from Moscow; then they all cheered.

It is true that S P Bunting was not a Trotskyist. I did not say he was a Trotskyist, merely that he was among those purged from the SACP as "rightists" during the Stalinists' struggle for supremacy over the Trotskyists. The point is that the bloodletting, as usual among communists, was indiscriminate.

Hirson suggests the extent of that battle (Page 41) when he says, "The story of African trade unions in the 1930s is also that of the Trotskyist groups whose members had been expelled from the CPSA." Other references abound in the works of Roux, Lodge, and Walshe.

All of this is, however, mere nit-picking. On the main question of how the Charter was drafted and adopted, Ms Callinicos does not even attempt to refute Edward Feit's account (South Africa - The Dynamics of the African National Congress) that the adoption of the Charter was rigged.

She resorts to assertion ("argument weak, speak loudly") to sustain the romantic nonsense about "little scraps of paper" which, for the Left, passes for the history of the Charter.

Lodge, whose sympathy for the Freedom Charter is not in question, does not talk of "little scraps of paper". He at least attempts to record history, noting among other things that the final stage of the campaign to test opinion through local committees "never really got off the ground", and that hostility to the Charter sprang in large measure from "the prominent role which members of the Congress of Democrats seemed to have in the arrangements leading up to the Congress of the People".

To this I would add that an emi-

nent writer told me recently that she was simply informed by Albie Sachs, when she was a student at UCT, that she was to be a delegate to the Congress of the People. There was, in fact, no semblance of "democracy", not even of the left-wing kind.

Lodge, though he leans over backwards to rescue the Charter from its sleazy origins, is forced to record: "As far as the critics were concerned the Charter and the process which produced it were the results of manipulation and conspiracy. Peter Hjul ... contends that his function, along with other committee members, was merely to endorse pre-arranged decisions. ... To Liberals, the dominant influence in the campaign was the Congress of Democrats, in their view no more than a front for the communists." (Page 72)

Interestingly, Lodge does not level at Hjul or other liberals the accusations which Ms Callinicos levels at me. To sustain her charge that I twist history, she must refute not what I say but what the best available histories say - and that would require her to penetrate the mendacious myths which the propagandists of the Left, historians among them, have woven around the origins of the Freedom Charter. Ms Callinicos, if she will cleave to historical objectivity, is equipped for the task.

Finally, I must break a lance for the liberals who were left to carry on the fight when, in the Sixties, the communist leaders, with the notable exception of Bram Fischer, were running for exile. The communists, on orders from the Comintern, abandoned their earlier devotion to the "white workers" in 1928; the Liberal Party in 1960 abandoned the qualified franchise.

We all have skeletons in our cupboards.

LETTERS



A noted author says

B/Dam  
4/6/90

# Don't twist history



**LULI CALLINICOS**

I AM in full agreement with Ken Owen (Business Day, May 28) when he calls for the opening up of political debate in SA — until barely four months ago the majority of South Africans faced vicious persecutions for their political beliefs. I agree too, that the SA Communist Party needs to come out of the closet. It would certainly help to avoid conspiratorial interpretations of its aims and agenda.

But, it must be said, it would be naive for SACP members not to be cautious, given the experience of countries such as Chile. There the brief period of open politics in the early 1970s lasted only long enough for the security police to gather information on the communists to stage their bloody counter-revolution. To facilitate the process of converting underground organisations into open political parties, we need to get our history into perspective.

Some response is required, however, on Owen's comments on the history of the SACP. To describe Sydney Bunting as a Trotskyist is simply wrong. To label Baruch Hirson an agent provocateur is not only wrong, it could be libellous. To label the Freedom Charter as a (white) communist plot is crude.

The idea of the Freedom Charter was first mooted in August 1953 by ZK Matthews, professor at Fort Hare and ANC president in the Cape Province but not an SACP member. The call to reach out to the people received an enthusiastic response from thousands of Congress supporters, including members of the by-then banned SACP.

In the following 22 months, "volunteers" canvassed among ordinary people countrywide, in both rural and urban areas, to ascertain "the

people's demands". The idea was that the process of grass-roots participation was as important as the finished product itself.

The committee which finally drafted a charter out of the thousands of little scraps of paper sent in from all over the country certainly included communists, both black and white; but that fact should not obscure the ANC leadership's democratic impulse, a turning point in its strategy for mass mobilisation.

As for the Congress of Democrats, this tiny, vocal group of white activists certainly seems to have had a large proportion of communists among its ranks, but they were among the few whites in the 1960s who were prepared to risk persecution and banning in the struggle against apartheid.

Of course they were not the only whites to speak out in those years. Individuals within the church, the Black Sash and the Liberal Party took personal risks to alert SA and the world to the evils of the SA system. But the Liberal Party's qualified franchise had the effect of turning away the more militant black and white activists. A large number of those who were prepared to practise full racial equality and to risk their privileges were socialists and communists.

Much of our past has been suppressed, distorted and maimed. But we now have an unprecedented opportunity to cast off prejudices and examine more clearly and honestly our difficult and complicated past. For Owen to twist the historic role of his political opponents will not help build the trust which he commended Govan Mbeki for seeking, and which is so necessary for working towards democratic solutions.

□ Callinicos is Senior Research Officer at Wits University's History Workshop.

# Cheers as ANC and Azapo join hands

KROONSTAD. — The African National Congress and Azanian People's Organisation joined forces for a mass meeting in Maokeng township here and denounced recent violence.

The meeting yesterday followed a vicious clash the previous weekend between people claiming support for the Azapo and the ANC that left one Azapo supporter dead and seven on both sides injured.

After initial reluctance to sing and chant slogans together, ANC and Azapo supporters joined in singing freedom songs and roaring their approval at speeches by Azapo general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said: "We stood firmly in 1985 and 1986 in condemning the 'necklace' as a method of struggle — Azapo will never necklace people for contrary beliefs.

## "DOUBTFUL CHARACTERS"

Meanwhile, it has been reported from Johannesburg that the ANC is seriously looking into the question of embracing all the homeland leaders — except Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — into its broad political structure, according to ANC official, Mr Elias Motsoaledi.

He indicated the ANC could embrace even "doubtful homeland characters" such as Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, who was reported to be recently "turning towards the people due to political pressure".

It is also believed former Inkatha secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who resigned his post last week, could also be accepted if he approached the ANC. — Sapa.



*Cry Freedom*, the film about Steve Biko (above) is playing to packed houses at the Shareworld cinema complex.

*CRY Freedom*, the film about the friendship between Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and newspaper editor Donald Woods, is the most popular film ever shown at the Shareworld cinema complex, near Soweto.

The manager of the complex, Mildred Mathopa, said that since the film opened in April, it has been doing very well and they showed it in two cinemas for a week due to the demand from the public.

"That was the first time we have had to run a film in two cinemas," she said.

On many occasions,

# Cry Freedom packs cinema

Sowetan 4/6/90

including the morning show, people have been turned away because the cinema was full.

Hilton Volkwyn of Eldorado Park said the cinema was so full when he was there last week that people sat in the aisles.

The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of

Azania noted in its latest edition of *Letsetse - The Flea* that the film was based on two books Woods wrote referring to Biko after knowing him for less than three years.

"In spite of looking at Steve through the eyes of a white liberal, the film reminds all of us of one of the great patriots of

Azania and one of the greatest thinkers of Africa.

"We must share with the younger comrades and those who did not know Steve, the history and the foundations of the BCM.

"This movement changed the way black people looked at themselves and at white domi-

nation.

"The BCM broke the fear black people had for the settler-colonial state and their dependence on being 'helped' by good whites.

"It showed black people that they could liberate themselves."

And in the film, Biko emphasises that "if you change the way people think, things will never be the same again".

He said this in reference to the attitude of confrontation the Black Consciousness Movement bred among the oppressed in the 1970s and it was an attitude which led people to confront the might of the State with nothing more than sticks and stones.

The events of June 16 1976 are going to be commemorated in two weeks time and for those who have only read about the carnage in newspapers or heard about it from friends, *Cry Freedom* captures it in graphic detail that leaves its cinema audiences crying.

The film also has scenes of the demolition of the Crossroads shanty town in Cape Town by officials of the Western Cape Bantu Administration Board; the self-help schemes run by Biko and the Black Community Programmes and Biko's torture and death in detention.

There are some light moments as well.

In one of these, the judge in the 18-month long trial of Black Consciousness leaders in 1985/86 asks Biko, who appears as a witness for the defence, why he calls himself black when he is light brown in complexion.

Biko looks him in the eye and says: "Why do you call yourself white when you are pink?"

The judge turns red in embarrassment.

In a tense court scene during the trial, Biko is questioned by an angry prosecutor who bangs his desk with his fist and screams that what Biko wrote called for confrontation and that, to the court, means violence.

Biko is calm when he replies: "We are in confrontation now, but I see no violence" and the prosecutor seems to choke on the unexpected response.

Strini Moodley, who was one of the leaders jailed by the judge, said Biko was too sharp for anything either the judge or the prosecutor tried to trap him with in defence of the Black Consciousness philosophy.

Besides Shareworld, the film is also showing at four other Johannesburg cinemas as well as in Mmabatho, Sun City and Vereeniging among other places.

## OK FARADAY CLOSING DOWN

# SALE

Infants Tracksuit Longs Infants Corduroy Longs <b>500</b> each	Ladies Track Suits Was <del>7995</del> Now <b>4500</b>	Mens Trousers Assorted Sizes <b>1000</b>
Infants Pyjamas Assorted Sizes <b>1200</b>	Ladies Polo Neck Jumpers Was <del>2995</del> Now <b>1800</b>	Mens Ski-Pyjamas Assorted Sizes <b>2400</b>
Infants Polo Neck Jumpers Assorted Sizes <b>400</b>	Ladies Gowns Was <del>4995</del> Now <b>2000</b>	Mens Wind breakers Was <del>6995</del> Now <b>4000</b>
Girls Short Sleeve Blouses Was <del>999</del> Now <b>500</b>	Ladies Tracksuit Longs <b>1500</b>	Mens Trousers Was <del>6995</del> Now <b>3000</b>
Boys Ski-Pyjamas <b>1500</b> Boys Long Sleeve Shirts <b>700</b>	Childrens Corduroy Dungarees <b>1100</b>	Childrens Tracksuit Longs <b>800</b> Childrens Corduroy Longs <b>1300</b>

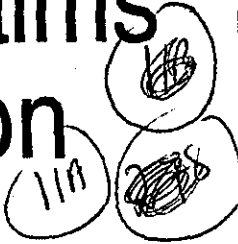
Corner Eloff & Wemmer Jubilee St.

NOW ON

to closing date 15 June

OK

# Inkatha claims victimisation in Soweto



**By PHANGISILE MTSHALI**

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday called on leaders of the ANC and its allies to discipline their supporters "to prevent inter-organisational violence erupting in Soweto".

Speaking at the Inkatha peace rally in Soweto, Mr Themba Khoza, chairman of the West Rand Youth Brigade, appealed to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to publicly condemn and disassociate himself with statements promoting violence against other political organisations.

In an emotional speech Khoza said: "Our members in Emndeni, Zola,

Diepkloof and Meadowlands are being assaulted, forced out of their homes to attend political meetings, had their membership cards burnt and forced to join the ANC. This has been happening for the past two months.

## Blamed

"Victimised Inkatha members have been threatened with death if they reported intimidation incidents to the police. Defenceless people have been left with no option but to report intimidation incidents to kangaroo courts. Should violence erupt, Inkatha must not be blamed," Khoza said.

"We must be realistic and admit that there will be no process of negotiation about the future if blacks can hardly tolerate each other."

4/6/90  
Soweto

# Big boost for

Sowetan 4/6/90

# peace



ANC  
call to  
sponsors  
- Page 2

The Rev  
Mooki  
is dead  
- Page 3

Pirates,  
Birds  
win -  
Page 24

By THEMBA MOLEFE and SAPA

In a major boost for peace, the African National Congress and Azapo joined hands in a move to quell a wave of inter-necine violence that has racked townships.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and Azapo's Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe addressed a peace rally in Maokeng, Kroonstad, yesterday.

This initiative followed meetings between leaders of the PAC, ANC and Azapo since Friday when desperate attempts were being made to end the violence.

Sisulu and Nefolohodwe presented to the community resolutions passed at a meeting held last Thursday at which the two groups agreed on a ceasefire.

This followed bitter fighting last Monday between two groups claiming support for Azapo and the ANC. Seven people were injured and one was killed.

The dead youth, Micheal Lekitlane (20), will be buried in Maokeng on Saturday.

After initial reluctance to sing and chant slogans together, ANC and Azapo supporters joined in singing freedom songs and roaring their approval at speeches by Nefolohodwe and Sisulu.

Sisulu told the few thousand people the ANC's one duty as a liberation movement was to create everlasting unity and build a nation.

Nefolohodwe said: "Azapo and the Black Con-

● To Page 2



JOHNNY RANTHO



NELSON MANDELA



JAMES MNDAWENI



MUNTU MYEZA

*Each Cigarette  
a Masterpiece*

# Victim of Vaal shootings dies

PAN Africanist Congress member Mr. Adam Malefane, who was crippled after being shot by police during the March 21 1960 Sharpeville shootings, will be buried tomorrow.

Three of the nine bullets which hit him in the right leg were still lodged in the limb at the time of his death last week. Both legs were crippled.

In 1985 a newspaper described him as a living

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

monument of the Sharpeville massacre.

The funeral service, at which leading PAC members are expected, begins at 9.30am at the NG Kerk in Sharpeville. The cortege leaves for the local cemetery at 2pm.

He lived with his family at S1041 Sharpeville where he died after apparently suffering heart fail-

ure.

Since he was shot during the anti-pass laws demonstration in which 69 people were killed and 177 maimed, Malefane (57) has undergone several operations.

## Remove

He was 27 years old when the police bullets changed his life. For the next three years he was in hospital with doctors managing to remove only

six of the bullets.

In an interview with *Sowetan* last year he remembered vividly how he met his tragedy.

"When the police tried to arrest an African near the gate of the Sharpeville Police Station where thousands had gathered in protest there was a scuffle which was followed by the rattle of sten guns and a hail of bullets."

Despite his condition Malefane never failed to

smile. On March 21 this year, the 30th anniversary of the shootings, he sat next to PAC stalwart Mr Jeff Masemola who addressed a huge crowd at George Thabe Stadium.

Still using his crutches, Malefane was there when Masemola was buried in Atteridgeville on April 28.

He is survived by his wife, Seipati, and five children aged between 25 and 34.



**ADAM MALEFANE**

11A  
11A

# The PAC men cometh

FIM 1/6/90

(11A)



**Al J Venter, noted African affairs expert and producer of documentary films, raises some anxieties about the emergence of the PAC.**

Two apparently unrelated incidents in Durban some time ago sparked this column. The first was the murder of a white outside a Point Road restaurant in front of me and my family. I had a difficult time comforting my hysterical seven-year-old daughter afterwards. The man was stabbed by one of four young passing blacks.

The killing was senseless. There was no robbery; no motive whatsoever. They simply walked past and murdered him.

The second event was a meeting sponsored by the PAC on the University of Durban-Westville campus earlier that day. The theme was "One Settler-One Bullet."

Police say the two incidents are not linked. Some Durban residents are not so sure.

This, and many other recent developments *good and bad*, prompt me to ask: Are we being simplistic about focusing our attention (where black politics is concerned) on the ANC? I think we are.

As someone who has made a life's work of covering the African beat I have stuck my neck out with political projections on numerous occasions. I have usually been right. Now I pray that my gut feeling is wrong.

The ANC's role is widely acclaimed as one of the ingredients (with the NP, DP and arguably Inkatha) for the New Society. But what of the PAC? Its very mention usually results in some pretty deft foot scuffling on the part of all the abovementioned.

I see the PAC as composed of perhaps 10m, 12m or more aggressive, potentially violent youngsters in the townships, growing by the day simply because they are youthful, aggressive and potentially violent.

There is more. Most of them — almost a full generation — are also uneducated because they perfected a technique of burning schools and intimidating teachers. Imagine it: a full generation of our youth illiterate.

Being uneducated, they are also unemployed and, axiomatically, hungry. Therein lies the true danger.

They don't know the white man because they have rarely had anything to do with him. We live in our areas and they live (largely) in the townships. They don't understand the white man, either.

Rather, sentiments within this stratum fluctuate between fear and loathing of a society of which they snatch only glimpses — such as those of us driving by in large cars, shopping in Eastgate or The Mall, or from TV advertisements which make about as much sense to the penniless and uneducated as bath oil.

These youthful PAC cadres like what they see, though. It's all very desirable, which is probably why it's the PAC that's still so vocal about redistribution of wealth.

But there is a new angle to this imbroglio.

Again, this is my perception of events in the short term — and they disturb me.

The PAC is unequivocal about any association with whites. The next logical step is a short one: rejection and intimidation of those of their number who are even vaguely associated with whites by working alongside them, even socialising with them. That would logically include those members of the ANC who advocate some form of collaboration with the white community to bring about the new society.

From there it is only a short hop to eliminating those who oppose their will. Comparatively soon we could have a complete breakdown of the system because violence will most certainly be met with violence.

Curiously, it was their adversaries who initiated this trend. PAC leaders can point to Cosatu (an ANC affiliate) strikes during the past year in which a number were murdered.

One group of dissenters was even hauled into a stadium on the Witwatersrand and necklaced before a crowd of several thousand because they dared oppose the trade union strongarm line.

So PAC cadres have a few experiences to draw on and what better way than by example?

Shades of Uganda under Idi Amin when so many of those with education were liquidated? Or more to the point: Cambodia?

If you believe my views are exaggerated, consider this. A Hungarian TV crew toured the black townships of the western Cape under the aegis of the SABC a week ago. The only slogans they saw were those of the PAC.



Time to end (11A)  
the 'game of  
numbers',  
says Mbeki

BY THANDEKA QOUBULE

THE negotiating table was one of the sites of the struggle, African National Congress foreign affairs representative Thabo Mbeki told a Republic Day gathering at Wits University yesterday.

Mbeki said this was why the ANC had entered into negotiations with the government.

Addressing several thousand people, he said the way to the "New Republic" was through a constituent assembly — which would be valuable for two main reasons:

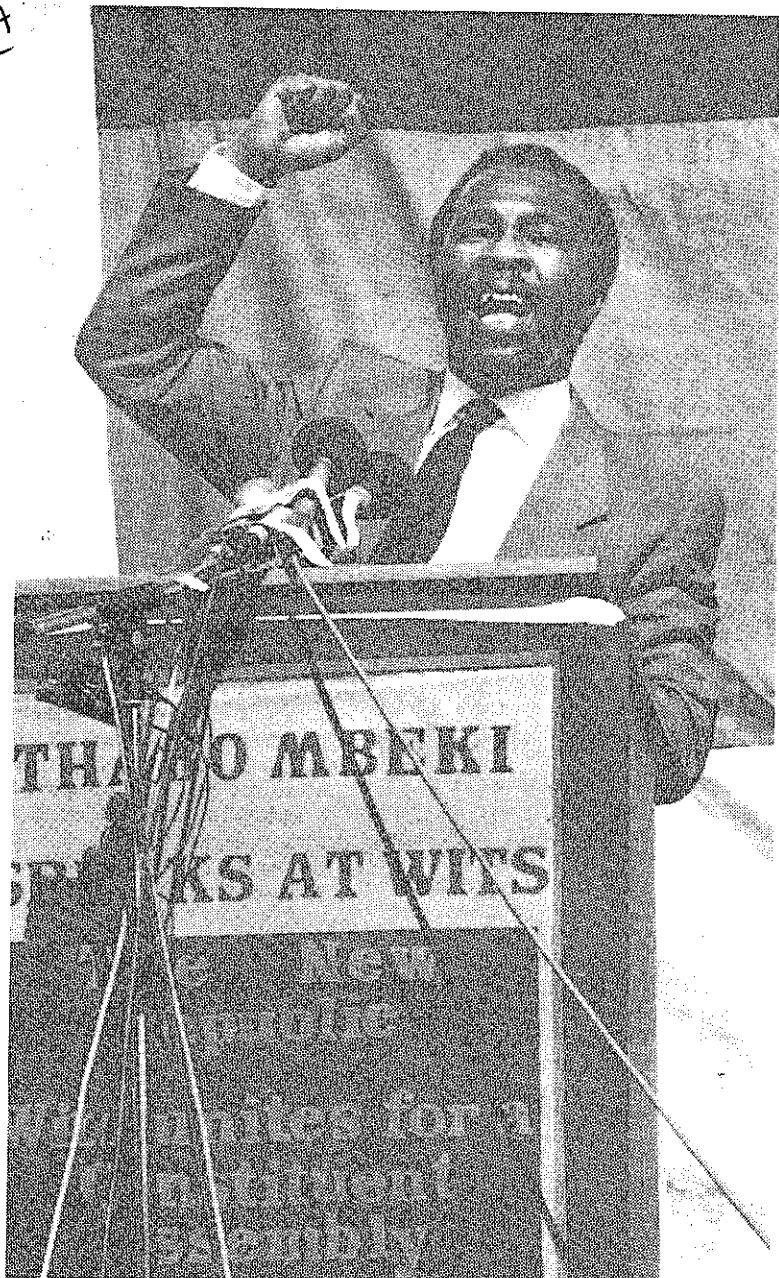
- It would ensure the participation of the people of South Africa in the process of ironing out a constitution for the future.

- It would stop "the game of numbers" in which each political grouping claimed to represent a certain number of people.

"Treurnicht claims he has more Afrikaners than FW de Klerk. The Pan Africanist Congress claim to have majority support in Soweto, while Inkatha claims to be the most formidable organised black force in the country."

Mbeki said a constituent assembly would prove or disprove the validity of these claims, but he rejected the notion that such an assembly should be subject to the veto of a white referendum.

The ANC could not "affirm the right of white South Africans to have a veto over what the rest of the people of the country have decided. The constituent assembly should be the one to negotiate the new constitution."



Mbeki ... the African National Congress cannot affirm the right of white people to veto over the people's wishes

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix



# Culture takes up the cudgel — again —

Should culture be the 'instrument of the struggle' or should it be an independent, critical voice about our country? IVOR POWELL reports on the ongoing debate

IF you, like many other people in this country, thought that winds of change were blowing on the "battlegrounds of culture", think again.

"First and foremost culture is an instrument of struggle.

"Culture is the soul of the people and therefore it is a very important, a very essential instrument of the struggle. It's a very important and essential aspect of the lives of the people, both socially and politically. Without the necessary means to organise ourselves culturally we can find ourselves unable to achieve the goals we have set for ourselves."

The speaker is Naledi Tsiki, Pretoria activist and recent Robben Island inmate. The occasion is last weekend's National Cultural Congress in Hillbrow, where representatives from seven regions in four provinces thrashed out the establishment of a national authority responsible for South African progressive culture.

Tsiki was standing in as the African National Congress' keynote speaker for Albie Sachs who, as Tsiki perhaps unwittingly remarked, "as usual could not make it".

Sachs is a well-known critic of the cruder versions of the "culture as a weapon of the struggle" argument. But in his absence, at least during that part of the proceedings where press presence was tolerated, this was the interpretation which unambiguously held sway. Naledi spelt it out.

"Through culture we are in a position to reach a much wider spectrum of people than can be done through a political organisation, — whether it is the Mass Democratic Movement, the ANC or any other political organisation — because culture has a human appeal. The people love to hear music, they love to hear the peoples' voice ... these are the things that are tactical. Even when Nelson Mandela can't reach people, you can bring your cultural group. It can reach those people and through it you can get the message across. That is why cultural workers have such an important and such a special role."

That message was to be made equally clear in the opening minutes of Tsiki's address: "As you are well aware culture is an instrument of struggle ... (It is used) to motivate people to struggle, to be able to get people to realise themselves, to gain their own self-confidence, to be certain of the correctness of their objectives."

"Culture is a way of enlarging or magnifying their (the people's) perceptions in relation to their own objectives. It is a way of bringing to the realisation of the people as a whole the importance of their own struggle. In other words through culture we are able to pay special attention to specific aspects of our struggle and to magnify them. It's a kind of a magnifying glass. And in the process to show the beauty of what we are doing, in the process to instill confidence in ourselves as to the correctness of the path we are treading."

If this has a disturbingly Orwellian ring, it rose to a deafening clang during the 10 minutes allocated for discussion. A representative from the Border region stood up to ask the highly pertinent question: what is our role when we find that the culture the people really want to consume is the bubblegum culture such as that of Brenda Fasie?

Tsiki's response was decisive.

"If we feel that there is any aspect of our culture that demeans our people, that is not at the level where it should be, our task as politically conscious cultural workers ... and I believe as cultural workers we are social leaders ... is to

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Michael McCabe, as Sorin, adds a touch of comic subtlety to Chekov's *The Seagull*

## Chekov as comedy. It succeeds

*The Seagull* is a difficult play: to direct, to act and, one suspects, often to watch. There are no histrionics, no easily recognisable jokes, no moments of gut-wrenching drama. It is a very ordinary tale of a small, privileged community out of touch with its environment; out of step with history and pretty much out of reach of redemption.

It focuses, in impressive detail, on the banalities of life and love; unfulfilled ambition and unrequited passion. Chekov does this by creating no less than four love-triangles in his little group, the characters slipping in and out of them with various degrees of hurt, bewilderment and resignation.

None are resolved in any dramatic conclusion; none are terminated by any great tragedy (except by one suicide, in the final seconds, that Chekov determinedly keeps off-stage); most just meander on with the characters unable to alter their course and confined to an almost passive participation.

In Chekov's world, there are no blinding revelations. Lessons are not learned and life simply takes its course; in most cases that course being pretty unexceptional.

Pact's is a charming and magnetic production that draws the audience right into the human situation Chekov portrays. Director, designer and cast have done well in capturing just the right tone of country-house ennuï and intellectual apathy.

THEATRE: *The Seagull*  
VENUE: Adcock-Ingram, Windybrow

Lindy Robert's set is important, with its slightly faded backdrop and airy spaciousness that allows a listlessness essential to some of the characters.

Ise von Henert's direction provides an evenness in performance with some spectacular results.

One of these is Michael McCabe's, who, playing well within himself, brings to a rather pathetic role a touch of comic subtlety that is a crucial component of the evening's success. Sandra Prinsloo strains for pathos rather than hysteria, while James Borthwick, always a restrained and unselfish performer, centres the production with his air of common sense and common humanity.

There are more fine performances in the same vein. Dale Cutts as the crabby old bailiff is good, illustrating the banality of domestic tyranny. And so is Embeth Davitz, reducing tragedy to foolishness. Graham Hopkins is assured in showing that a successful and famous novelist suffers from common-place weaknesses and fallibilities.

It is difficult to pinpoint why this production is such an enjoyable one but it is well worth a visit.

John Campbell

## Demea kicks off — in a boxing gym in Hillbrow

Guy Butler wrote *Demea* in 1960. It is to be performed — for the first time — at the Grahamstown festival in 1990. CELIA WREN visited a kickboxing gym to watch the rehearsals

AFTER 30 years, Guy Butler's play *Demea* is finally in rehearsal.

Under the scrupulous supervision of director Dieter Reible, 18 actors, including Nomisa Xaba, Graham Hopkins and Peter Se-Puma, are readying the tragedy of love, betrayal and prejudice for the Grahamstown main theatre festival.

Butler, the well-known playwright and poet, English professor at Rhodes University since 1952, wrote this adaptation of Euripides' *Medea* in 1960. But, calling as it did for a multi-racial cast, the play was for years unproducible. Pact has finally taken it on, and packed the cast off to rehearse in a spacious Hillbrow kickboxing gym.

Tragedy may not be a stranger to kickboxing gyms, but this tragedy has a finer pedigree than most. Euripides' *Medea* was an enchantress who helped the adventurer Jason capture the magical golden fleece. Having married Medea, Jason later deserted her, and in revenge she murdered both him and their young sons.

In Butler's version, which is set during a trek in the late 1820s, the Medea character is a Thembu princess named Demea whose white husband leaves her to join a racially pure group of trekkers. In his foreword to the script, Butler explains that while none of the 19th century trekking parties were "run about Victorian times", he invented such a group for the purpose of historical allegory.

*Demea* symbolises the plight of the black and "coloured" people during the early 1950s when English speaking whites, as Butler sees it, abandoned them to the vicissitudes of apartheid.

The meaning of Butler's fable was abundantly clear on a recent Friday morning, in the Summit Club's kickboxing gym. The Summit Club is situated on Chain Street, in a freize on its outer walls an archer points his bow in the direction of Yeoville. Inside, the elevators are painted pink and the stairways hum with mysterious comings and goings. The kickboxing gym occupies the building's second floor.

Wooden floorboard takes up most of the space, but a carpeted nook in the corner features a small lounge and bar where the walls glow with the outlines of huge neon popsoles. A chalkboard next to the door of the gym instructs all would-be kickboxers with the schedule for their practices. "10 minutes skipping," it announces. "50 press-ups ..." and so on, right down to a last joyful bout of free-fighting.

The cast of *Demea*, for its part, was exerting itself in thought and voice, rather than brute muscle. As the room throbbled with a beat from the discotheque on the floor below, the actors sat in a circle and chanted lines from a chorus over and over again.

"We want, we will fight for a land," they intoned, "where thickness of lips and colour of skin are not the same as original sin." Reible knelt on the floor in a multicoloured sweater, peering at the actors over the rims of his spectacles. "Once again from the beginning," he suggested, "don't lose energy. If you have

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# ANC, Cosatu agree: the aim is growth via economic equality

(11A) (11A) THE African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and Cosatu's affiliates are discussing a 13 page document which sets out recommendations for economic policy in greater detail than any previous proposal.

The document contains a more subtle and pragmatic approach to the problems of growth and distribution than previous ANC and Cosatu statements.

It arises out of a meeting between the two groups' affiliated economists in Harare in early May, but does not have the status of a policy document — it is a discussion paper. Nevertheless, it summarises the views of some of the most influential economic thinkers in the extra-parliamentary opposition.

The discussion paper that emerged from the Harare conference between ANC and Cosatu economists outlines economic approaches with a more subtle and pragmatic approach than previous documents. By ALAN HIRSCH

The overall strategy of a non-racial democratic state, the paper argued, would "aim to achieve growth through a process of increasing equality in incomes, wealth, and economic power". As the economy was in "fundamental crisis", the state would "assume the leading role in the reconstruction of the economy".

Nationalisation was frequently noted as a potential policy option, but the document's position on the question of state ownership was distinctly ambiguous. On the mines, for example, while fiscal measures, inspectorates, representation on boards, incentives and direct funding were listed as potential instruments for "maximising the benefits of mining for the people as a whole", "state ownership" would merely "be considered".

Yet the paper took a strong line against further privatisation measures by the present government and threatened to renationalise privatised corporations. It also attacked deregulation, and specifically opposed the application of the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act.

The document, while accepting the developmental role of private enterprise, was very critical of the part played by huge conglomerates in the South African economy. It indicated that a democratic state should look into the dismemberment of conglomerates "where feasible", especially where they were tying up investment funds thereby blocking "balanced economic growth" and ignoring "the interests of all the people of South Africa". The document expressed concern about the relocation of part of the De Beers empire to Switzerland, and argued that "potential disinvestments of this type should be an urgent item in negotiations with capital".

The concern of the document over capital flight was matched by its concern to attract foreign investment, which should be encouraged to "lead to increased employment and the development of local technological capabilities." But foreign capital should supplement domestic savings and "not be seen as a substitute".

The document proposed several shifts in emphasis in fiscal policy, including a shift in the tax burden from lower income individuals to corporations, and the use of the fiscus in encouraging industrial development and the extension of social services. Yet it attacked the government's recent practice of using borrowings to finance current expenditure, and, while noting that the state was responsible for ensuring that housing needs were met, accepted that affordable housing for all would only be possible in the long run.

The document supported targeting selected industrial sectors for growth, and calls for a review of the General Export Incentive Scheme "in the light of the need for a selective strategy with regards to exports".

A conservative monetary policy aimed at rectifying inflation and balance of payments problems, thus removing "critical obstacles to redistribution and economic development policies".

In contrast, the still rather vague land policy called for the immediate return of confiscated land previously held by Africans by freehold right, and for a democratic land claims commission to address the question of the further redistribution of the land.

One of the most striking features of the document is the strong warning against "an overcentralised, commandist approach to economic policy by the state", and the assertion of the need for a strong civic society independent of state and political party. It advocated a "compact powerful state, without a massive bureaucracy".

Further meetings will be held before a definitive economic policy statement is released. In the meantime the discussion paper indicates a degree of serious consideration and a relative lack of ideological preconception that might surprise some business-oriented critics of the ANC and Cosatu. It might also surprise supporters of a more traditional socialist line.

## SABC keeps a closed mind on M-Net open time move

THE South African Broadcasting Corporation is opposed to M-Net being given more open time. Behind its opposition lies the argument that the subscription service is eating into SABC revenue.

M-Net not only wants to retain its present one-hour open time, it wants another hour. The SABC argues there is no such thing as "free broadcasting", just as there are no free lunches.

"It is the SABC licence holders who ultimately have to pay for M-Net's open window (open time)," said SABC chairman Christo Viljoen. "M-Net's open window is costing the SABC an estimated loss in revenue of some R20-million this year."

M-Net commercial sales director Ken Baillie says an extra open hour would garner M-Net R15-million to R20-million.

Compare this with the SABC's "surplus" or profit of only R26-million last year to see why the corporation is perturbed.

True, the surplus does hide a "provision for replacement costs of R33-million".

But in the annual report director general Wynand Harmse says: "... on average, equipment in the SABC has served 60 percent of useful life. Total replacement cost (excluding land and buildings) was calculated in detail recently at R1,3-billion, against which a provision of about R990-million is required. Depreciation and accumulated funds (including provision for increased replacement costs) amounts to far less, which means that at present the SABC is underproviding for replacement of assets."

Baillie says the SABC hasn't taken into account the fact that M-Net's entry into the market has broadened it.

The SABC in its report admits its own share of total advertising expenditure (adspend) has remained constant over the last few years. For the corporation adspend is crucial while for M-Net it is the cream. And it is likely the subscription service is drawing some advertising revenue away from the SABC.

The SABC's licence revenue last year was R143-million, from more than two million licensees. Revenue from advertising and sponsorships was R490-million, 19,2 percent more than in 1988.

M-Net gains almost R19-million a month in revenue from subscribers, or R228-million a year. M-Net subscribers number one quarter of the official number of SABC-TV licensees and the subscription service's advertising revenue is less than one quarter of its total revenue.

M-Net supplies its service to 433 000 homes and 20 000 hotel rooms. According to Baillie, M-Net believes saturation will be reached at 500 000. The subscription fee is R45 a month, although 75 percent of

By REG RUMNEY

home subscribers pay by debit order and so only pay R43. The 20 000 multi-dwelling units pay less than R30 apiece. The fee for hotel rooms works out around R30 a room.

Competition is increasing the corporation's costs in other ways. The SABC annual report notes: "Bidding against M-Net for the rights to international sports events is contributing to the exceptionally steep increase in the cost of sport."

This highlights an ethical and political question. Should M-Net win a bid for any particular event, non-subscribers are excluded.

The SABC is worried about licence fee income because the number of licences issued in 1989 increased by only 2,4 percent, a figure which the SABC says cannot match the increase in viewers.

While M-Net gains far more from its subscriptions than the SABC does from licence fees, Viljoen states in the annual report that M-Net applies its funds to only one television service in densely populated areas. The SABC, on the other hand, operates three-and-a-half television services and 23 domestic radio services, serving sparsely populated areas by 224 television and 542 radio transmitters.

What makes any loss of advertising revenue more serious for the SABC is M-Net can, theoretically, raise its subscription fee to make up for the loss, subject to market forces.

M-Net subscribers are to a certain extent locked in by their having bought decoders and installed aerials.

The M-Net decoder costs R695 plus GST and installation of an aerial to receive M-Net is another R200 to R300. Renting is cheaper at R22 a month but the cost of installing an aerial remains.

Moreover, Viljoen says M-Net pays only the basic cost of providing services. "No 'profit' is made in providing these services to M-Net. It alleviates M-Net of a substantial investment in transmitters, antenna etc."

What irks the SABC, is M-Net was to be a pay-TV service exclusively. The agreement, between M-Net, the cabinet and the SABC, was the open window of two hours would cease once M-Net had reached 150 000 subscriptions, or at the end of 1988.

"Thereafter it was supposed to irrevocably become a subscription service. This open window was supposed to assist M-Net to become a viable service, and the SABC made an hour on its TV4 service available for this, at no cost to M-Net (and at an estimated loss of revenue of R12-million to the SABC). A new open window of one hour was subsequently awarded until the middle of 1991, in contradiction with the original contract to which the SABC agreed."

# Mkonto soldiers 'see themselves as professionals'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

THE armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) regards the Castle, the Citizens Co-operation Bureau and special forces as symbols of oppression.

They also were adamant that 32 Battalion — Portuguese-speaking soldiers who were part of Holden Roberto's FNLA — had to be removed from Natal because MK regarded them as mercenaries and non-South Africans.

This was said by Officer Commanding Cape Town Highlanders, Mr David Plane, who was among 45 South Africans to meet an MK delegation in Lusaka to discuss a post-apartheid army.

## Terrorism, patriotism

"My approach from a military point of view goes back 20-odd years. During that time, I've had some very definite ideas on terrorism, terrorists and patriotism," Mr Plane said at a University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business Association breakfast.

He said four or five people from Cape Town had taken part in the talks organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

The group included academics, conscientious objectors, religious leaders and Citizen Force members.

"Serving military officers were told they could not go."

He said the group set out to find what the feelings and objectives of MK were.

"We decided we had had enough of shooting at people who disagreed with us and that in the spirit of negotiation we should talk to the enemy."

He said MK "saw us as white oppressors and we saw them as terrorists. They were emotional about the word terrorist, just as we rejected the term white oppressors."

Initially, the MK contingent said they wanted to settle old scores. "They were incensed about the Civil Co-operation Bureau and death squads.

"We said there were people in South Africa who would want to do the same. We accepted that the settling of old scores would be moved lower down the agenda."

At the end of the conference, ANC national executive council member Mr Thabo Mbeki told the group not to expect the ANC to exert tight control over its cadres.

"From a military point of view, we must accept this. I've been in the operational area where you have troops, who are supposedly educated, doing stupid things, whether it's the rape of an Owambo woman or shooting the chief's daughter," said Mr Plane.

Umkhonto we Sizwe members saw themselves as professional soldiers and wanted to be reintegrated into the army.

## Shot down

This idea has been shot down by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

The Umkhonto we Sizwe group was positive about the future and one of its major fears was that English-speaking white businessmen would leave South Africa.

Although SADF personnel were barred from attending the conference, one of the Cape Town group was called in by a senior SADF officer on Monday to be debriefed, said Mr Plane.

● Mr Plane was a Democratic Party candidate in the 1989 general election. He was a commandant in the Citizen Force and has been awarded the Chief of the SADF commendation and the Southern Cross.

## Edgar Tekere in SA

HARARE. — Zimbabwe Unity Movement leader Edgar Tekere is in South Africa at the invitation of a number of anti-apartheid groups, including the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. — Sapa.

# Activist claims police intimidation

By Stan Hlophe <sup>281</sup> 1/6/90 <sup>11A</sup>

A Mohlakeng activist, Thomas Seshoka, has alleged that he was intimidated by an unidentified member of the Krugersdorp security police.

A West Rand SAP commander, Lieutenant Colonel P E J Kruger, said the incident was "news" to him and that he had not yet received a letter from Mr Seshoka's attorney. He advised Mr Seshoka to make an appointment with him and promised to "do something" about the matter.

Mr Seshoka is a general secretary of the Mohlakeng Hostel Residents' Committee, and an executive member of Mohlakeng Civic Association (Moca).

In a letter to The Star he claims: "In the past few weeks a clear pattern of harassment and intimidation by state agents on political activities has developed. On numerous occasions I have been visited by a man purporting to be from a Krugersdorp security company.

"Ironically it was discovered that the vehicle he was travelling in has different sets of registration plates, some of which were seen inside the kombi. The man was later discovered to be a member of the security branch.

"I was visited by this man on May 21 and questioned about the activities of the hostel and the mass rally held on May 19 at the Mohlakeng Stadium.

"... The man asked a lot of questions and it was clear he was out to intimidate me."

A lawyer confirmed she had written to the Krugersdorp police station commander asking that the man stop harassing Mr Seshoka and was still waiting for a reply.

## Mandela to address media

Ste 1/6/90 By Esmaré van der Merwe (117)

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, recuperating from a minor operation, will resume his hectic schedule tomorrow when he will address a press conference after his discharge from a Johannesburg clinic.

The ANC said yesterday that Mr Mandela would address the press conference at a yet unspecified venue and time.

The ANC leader would probably stay in hospital until the weekend, Park Lane Clinic general manager Gordon Cohen said.

Dr Cohen said Mr Mandela was recovering well after the unspecified operation.

Intense media speculation about the extent of the operation has ranged from circumcision to cancer of the colon.

Mr Mandela on Wednesday released a statement, signed by Dr Cohen, denying that he was being treated for cancer.

He is scheduled to leave for an extensive six-week tour of 13 countries on Monday.

# Business and black leaders opt for dialogue

By Michael Chester

Star 1/6/90 (11A)

Gradual shifts away from confrontation and towards deeper dialogue between business leaders and black political leaders have started to stir a new mood of mutual confidence about the chances of accord in shaping the economic future of South Africa.

The new mood was generated by the success of the landmark talks held between the Consultative Business Movement and the African National Congress and its allies at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on May 23.

More encouragement has been added by disclosures of agreement to keep the dialogue alive in a series of behind-the-scenes meetings where experts from all sides will set out to seek solutions to the formidable list of priorities that need to be tackled.

Since both sides have agreed to draw a curtain across details about when and where the workshops are being held, it

means that there is now more going on than meets the eye.

Slipping away from fanfare and the rhetoric of playing to the gallery, the discussions are now delving into the real nitty-gritty — a more equitable school system, better job opportunities, racial equality at both work and play, ways to ensure a fairer sharing of wealth without the risks of merely sharing the poverty.

The agenda stands wide open. Confidence about the ultimate outcome has had a significant boost by signals from both sides that they are willing to drop the rigidity of earlier stances on such issues as nationalisation versus privatisation.

"Fortunately," says Gavin Relly, former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, "we have progressed away from the crudities of a capitalism versus socialism dog-fight to a recognition that we have today and will have in the future a

mixed economy. Our interest now is in the details of the mix."

The deepest sigh of relief among most businessmen is that the ANC now shows willing to be flexible in its stance on nationalisation, first mention of which by Nelson Mandela made the business world freeze in terror — as displayed by the jolt it gave to share prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and in the way the financial rand exchange rate plunged as a result of international reaction.

Observers believe the ANC had cause to pause when they took deeper note of the possible consequences. Economist Mike Brown, of the Frankel Kruger Vinderine stockbroker firm, fired off one of the first cautions when he trotted out a few facts setting out to show the errors of nationalisation of the mines.

More snags were listed by Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation,

who advised the ANC to reconsider the virtues of private enterprise as a better avenue towards prosperity for all.

Mr Mandela, though now stressing a loosening in hard-and-fast stances on the formula for the new South Africa, stays firm about a determination to hammer out a dramatic new deal on both the political and economic fronts.

Nationalisation is still a card held in reserve.

"We still believe that there must be further discussion of the issue of nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned," he says.

The message from Mr Mandela coming out loud and clear to business leaders is that the ANC alliance is in no mood for more shilly-shallying about a new deal for black society — and in a hurry to see results rather than promises.

FIM 116190

liaisons have taken place, but this one doesn't seem on. All the two have in common is conflict with the ANC and some other groups in extra-parliamentary politics. And even then, Inkatha's opposition to the ANC is far more subtle and complex than that of the CP. ~~(205A)~~ ~~(118)~~ (11A)

Buthelezi used to be an ANC member; Inkatha was originally formed with the blessing of the ANC's external mission, later to part on ideological differences. The CP's dislike of the ANC is much more simple — they represent its worst fears about a black takeover.

This can probably be seen in Buthelezi's response to Treurnicht's call for the chief minister to join his stand against the "ANC, communism and terrorism," made at Saturday's Voortrekker Monument rally.

It would not be surprising if Buthelezi had



Treurnicht

Buthelezi

his tongue in his cheek when he replied that the CP leader should join his stand against intimidation politics, because then "he would . . . have to do the only thing that can possibly be done to ensure that peace, stability and prosperity characterise the future — ensure that the 1912 aims and objectives of the ANC are actually put into practice and form the basis of much of the legislation which will govern a future democratic and prosperous SA."

Which does bring up a second similarity between the respective leaders: while Treurnicht felt so strongly about Nat leaders deviating from the original Verwoerdian line that he split from the party and formed the CP, Buthelezi feels that some ANC leaders, particularly those on the external mission, have betrayed the original aims of the organisation he once belonged to. ■

CP AND INKATHA FIM 116190

### Not on the cards (11A)

Talk of an alliance between Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is intriguing. But it's unlikely to happen, judging by the two leaders' references to each other at the weekend. ~~(205A)~~ ~~(118)~~

On the Machiavellian dictum that "my enemy's enemy is my friend," some bizarre

# ANC culture chief to visit SA

THE head of the ANC's department of arts and culture, Mrs Barbara Masekela is to participate in this year's Standard Bank's national arts festival at Grahamstown.

The invitation was extended by the 1820 Foundation's festival committee.

Festival officer Ms

**SOWETAN  
Reporter**

Lynette Marais said the ANC confirmed by telefax from Lusaka yesterday that Masekela would talk at the festival's winter school on July 5.

"At this time in our history Masekela's partic-

ipation will be a most significant contribution to the festival and the first chance for South Africans to hear directly what the ANC has to say on the vital topic of culture in our changing society."

The co-ordinator of the winter school, Mr Tim Huisamen, said: "Mrs Masekela will be speaking on 'Culture in a New South Africa'. We are delighted that our invitation has been accepted and we are looking forward to welcoming her to the festival."



## New PAC branch

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch its Atteridgeville branch and honour one of its stalwarts Mr Mark Shimmers at a rally at Saulsville tomorrow.

Branch chairman Mr Philip Mdau said the launch was because of the growing membership in Atteridgeville since the PAC was unbanned on February 2.

# Azapo calls for unity in services 11A

By MATHATHA TSEDU

COMMEMORATION services to mark important dates in the struggle for black liberation should not be made "own affairs" of specific political groups, but should become occasions when petty differences in strategy should give way to greater ideas of brotherhood and affinity in struggle.

This is the message issued by the Northern Transvaal region of Azapo this week in advance of the forthcoming 14th anniversary of the shooting in 1975 of protesting pupils in Soweto and other parts of the country.

*Soweto 11640*

The message said although June 16 "was a BCM initiative as no other political organisation was operating in the country at the time", Azapo regarded the commemoration service as a national event in which all the oppressed people must take part.

"As black people countrywide called the events of June 16 to remembrance, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania reminds the nation that commemoration services and victory celebrations cannot, and must not, become 'own affairs'.

Calling for joint services to promote the spirit

of unity of the oppressed black people, Azapo said liberation wars all over the world were waged and won because they have

"the goal of liberating both the oppressor and the oppressed, both friend and foe, both political supporter and political rival".

# Mandela will be home soon

*Call text 1/6/80 1/1*

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was still in a clinic here yesterday afternoon and will probably stay until the weekend, the general manager of the Park Lane Clinic, Dr Gordon Cohen, said.

Mr Mandela is resting and recuperating from an unspecified minor operation last Monday.

According to Dr Cohen, Mr Mandela is fine and recuperating well after the operation and a series of extensive medical tests.

"Mr Mandela will probably be staying until the weekend," he said.

According to the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela may address a press conference tomorrow at an unspecified venue and time.

Mr Mandela is due to leave for Botswana on Monday at the start of a six-week international tour.  
— Sapa

CPA Tugis 11/6/90

11A



Mr Edgar Tekere

## Tekere meets Sisulu, praises Mandela

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The leader of Zimbabwe's opposition, Mr Edgar Tekere, on Wednesday met Mr Walter Sisulu, the internal leader of the ANC.

Mr Tekere said he also hoped to meet ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who is recuperating in a private Johannesburg clinic after an unspecified operation on Monday.

"Mandela is a great man," the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) leader said.

"He served 27 years in jail for his beliefs while I served only 10 years," the ZUM leader added.

According to Mr Tekere, officials at the South African trade mission in Harare had expressed concern about his visit and said they did not want anything to happen to him in South Africa.

He said he took this to be a reference to right-wing groups in the Republic.

"The release of Nelson Mandela and the dialogue between him and President De Klerk was an extremely significant regional event," Mr Tekere said.

Events in South Africa made him decide to visit the country for the first time, he added.

His visit was to assess the feelings of political leaders and "the man in the street". — Sapa



**COMING HOME . . .** ANC national executive member Mr Reg September has a flower and a heart pinned to his jacket by an old friend who met him and his wife at the airport.

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

## Police bar September welcome

Staff Reporter

ANC members remonstrated angrily with policemen who tried to exclude them from the DF Malan Airport building yesterday, when they tried to welcome home Western Cape regional ANC convener Mr Reggie September after 27 years in exile.

The policemen refused to divulge their orders, but police spokesman Captain Attie Laubscher later said their orders had been "to maintain law and order".

Despite the police action, about three dozen ANC supporters gained entry to the building, and broke into

song when Mr September and his wife Hettie arrived. The group moved to the parking lot, where Mr September delivered a brief speech.

Mr September was in the Western Cape on ANC business briefly during the recent Groote Schuur talks, but yesterday was his true homecoming.

Mr September said he and his wife would gain a new lease on life from this opportunity to work "in this part of the world, where we come from".

• Another ANC national executive member, Mr John Nkadimeng, arrived in Cape Town earlier yesterday, Western Cape ANC office-bearer Mr Johnny Issei said.



Supporters carrying wooden AK-47 rifles beneath a South African Communist Party flag at an anti-Republic Day march in Tokoza.

Sowetan 1/6/90

# End apartheid, marchers demand

MORE than 4 000 people took part in an anti-Republic Day march in Tokoza, near Alberton, yesterday.

The crowd marched from the local stadium to the Tokoza Police Station where they presented a list of demands to station commander, Captain Funani.

Organised by the Tokoza branch of the South African Youth

Congress (SAYCO) and the Tokoza Civic Association (TOCA), the march was initially banned by police.

However, police gave permission for the march on condition there would be no violence.

Among the demands presented by TOCA president Mr Sam Ntuli were:

\* The unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees;

\* An end to political trials and executions;

\* An end to privatisation;

\* The scrapping of apartheid laws;

\* An end to the intimidation of people by the Transvaal Provincial Administration;

\* Lower rents; and,

\* A free and equal education system.

Police kept a low profile.

11A

**To join or not** (11A)

Executive members of Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses believe their supporters should join the ANC. At a joint meeting in Newcastle last Thursday they felt their organisations should disband. Now they have to convince the Indian community but are likely to get a lot of resistance.

The Natal congress, one of the oldest political parties in SA, faces the bigger dilemma. The organisation, formed by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, is based on the nonviolence and passive resistance of Satyagraha.

Critics of incorporation with the ANC, like Tongaat's Rathakrishna Soobiah, ask how leaders of an organisation committed to nonviolence can urge people to join the ANC while it still endorses armed struggle.

"The Natal Indian Congress acted in good faith by supporting and, at times, speaking for the ANC while it was a banned organisation, turning a blind eye to the question of violence. Now that the ANC is unbanned that function of the congress has ended," Soobiah says.

It is because the ANC has been legalised that the executive committees of the two congresses believe their organisations should merge with it.

"We have to strengthen the hand of the ANC at the negotiating table. We have always asked for negotiations via a national convention," says Natal congress vice-president Mewa Ramgobin. He admits there is a contradiction between his congress's nonviolent philosophy and ANC policy and says he understands reservations by some Indians.

Natal congress secretary Farouk Meer says, however, he does not see the issue as a serious problem because his organisation has never regarded the ANC violent. "The ANC was forced to adopt violence. We see it as a defensive posture. Not mindless violence."

Transvaal Indian Congress's Cassim Saloojee says Thursday's decision is only a recommendation and will depend on discussions with ANC leaders, Indian-based organisations and the community.

"We don't want to pretend there are not concerns about our members joining the ANC, and people have the democratic right to express their reservations. What we decided is the beginning of a process which will include getting a mandate from the community before we disband."

What the process of consulting the community (which is going to be difficult and time-consuming) might show, is just how much support the two congresses have. This has always been a nebulous area with claims of support based largely on anti-tricameral and don't-vote campaigns.

Critics like Soobiah, who says he accepts the principles of the Natal congress, believe they do not have the support of the majority of Indians and that their future role should be of a cultural organisation representing Gandhian philosophy. ■

THE ANC INDABA

# What business needs to do



The role that businessmen ought to be playing in the transition to a post-apartheid society became very clear at the meeting between the consultative business group and the ANC in Johannesburg last week. It is one of patiently and systematically educating blacks into the economic realities of the modern world.

Both the trend of questions and the statements made by ANC leaders indicate that while the ANC may have more than the words "nationalisation" and "redistribution" in its economic vocabulary, it hasn't much more. But the fact that it is prepared to discuss these matters with a large number of businessmen suggests that the minds of its leaders are not entirely closed.

Whether this is because the ANC has had its liberation so thrust upon it by President F W de Klerk that it hasn't yet had time to consider the implications of turning slogans into policy, or because it is tactically masking a more radical agenda, is hard to say. We are, for the time being, prepared to give it the benefit of the doubt and assume it falls short of the bigotry of rightwing whites.

Having achieved political equality, the ANC has made it clear that it will seek also the democratisation of business so that economic power is not concentrated in white hands. By economic power it appears to mean wealth. So, in the circumstances of this country, it will take from the whites and give to the blacks.

To the extent that this means a re-allocation of government spending so that the minority whites cannot command the lion's share being spent in their interest, we cannot quarrel with the proposition. What every citizen of this country has a right to expect in a democratic society is opportunity and the freedom to grasp it.

But it is a very dubious proposition to suggest that wealth which has been legally accumulated should be turned over to others simply because, in the view of some, it has grown too much. That should not be a criterion at all. In any successful and prosperous society, there are large differences in the amounts of wealth owned by individuals. The important thing in a free enterprise society is that competition, enterprise and technological advance ensures that the ranks of the rich are not static: all the time new people become rich while the rich, if they do not look sharp, easily become less so.

What is also a dubious proposition is whether the rich in a sovereign democratic state have more power than the poor. It appears to be an obsession with the ANC. Hence it talks about the unhealthy concentration of economic power and cites the American anti-trust laws in support. The object of these laws was to stimulate competition to broaden the op-

portunity to create wealth, not to place a ceiling on the individual accumulation of wealth.

Another proposition is that government appoint commissioners to the boards of business enterprises — Nelson's fifth column. Precisely what good this will do, or what powers they will have, is still within the realms of conjecture. According to Nelson Mandela, they will balance the pursuit of private gain against the promotion of the common good. That sounds beguiling, but does not bear serious economic analysis. For the enlightened pursuit of private gain provides the common good.

The ANC is against privatisation until government is more representative. The consequence of this is that some large economic units will remain poorly run and economic growth will remain stunted until a more representative government can rectify matters. But what about those who are meanwhile suffering from poverty?

The ANC is against the exporting of capital from this country. In other words, it wants the continuation of exchange controls. Or to be more blunt, it will give citizens the freedom to vote but not the freedom to seek the best and safest returns on their savings.

The ANC is muddled and confused. It needs to be guided and educated — taught to face harsh economic reality and the need to modify the expectations of its cadres. That can't be avoided simply by offering ransom money.

What gives us reason for hope is that we have over the past 30 years heard all this sort of confused economic reasoning so often before — from National Party ministers and their grasping public servants. The belief that every businessman is sitting on a private hoard of doubloons which, once distributed evenly, will eradicate poverty, is as prevalent around the Voortrekker Monument as it is in the townships.

So if, as Mandela says, the economy is in "crisis" as a result of the policies of the past 40 years, the last thing we assume he would want to do is perpetuate the sort of economic reasoning that supported the apartheid regime.

President De Klerk has seen the errors of his own party's policies — both social and economic — and it is largely his declared willingness to reject them that has turned his journey to Europe into a triumph.

As Lord Keynes said, it is only a fool who, when confronted with new evidence, will not change his mind.

If Mandela is going to aspire to the leadership of this country, he is going to have to be as intellectually resilient as De Klerk, who is in danger of eclipsing him — certainly in the eyes of the West — diplomatically, pragmatically, and in the realm of constitutional initiative.



J.W. FEARL 79



# ivided

been sent to Coetsee's department which will forward it to Advocate-General Piet van der Walt.

Replying to the debate, Kriel said Smit should furnish him with evidence on possible irregularities. Smit, in reaction, told the *FM* it was not up to him to present the minister with evidence: "That is why we want the Advocate-General to investigate the matter."

Smit would not comment further. Louw was also not prepared to discuss the matter with the *FM*, nor to react to claims that he and Smit had been threatened with civil actions and that the matter had been referred to the party's *Hoofraad*.

Eddie Botha

## THE CABINET FIM 1/6/90

### Shrinking Magnus?

Is Defence Minister Magnus Malan playing a destructive role in the delicate pre-negotiation phase? ~~Smit~~ ~~11A~~ 11A

His wide-ranging attack last week on ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela, and statements on what cannot be negotiated with the ANC, took NP colleagues by surprise. They prompted Pollux, the satirical columnist in the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*, to suggest that Malan place "the entire President's Guard in front of his mouth." Many members of the Nat parliamentary caucus agree.

Their concern was heightened this week when Malan scathingly attacked the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, after talks in Lusaka with former SADF officers. The talks explored the possibility of incorporating Umkhonto into the SADF. Malan said the two organisations were diametrical-

ly opposed and, therefore, irreconcilable.

Nat MPs are unsure of what Malan is trying to achieve. Though last week's statement attacking Mandela came from a military angle, its political tone was unmistakable and way out of line with Cabinet thinking. 11A

Malan was not a member of government's team at last month's Groote Schuur talks with the ANC and would seem to have no brief to comment on whether Mandela is perceived to be contravening the spirit of the "Groote Schuur Minute."

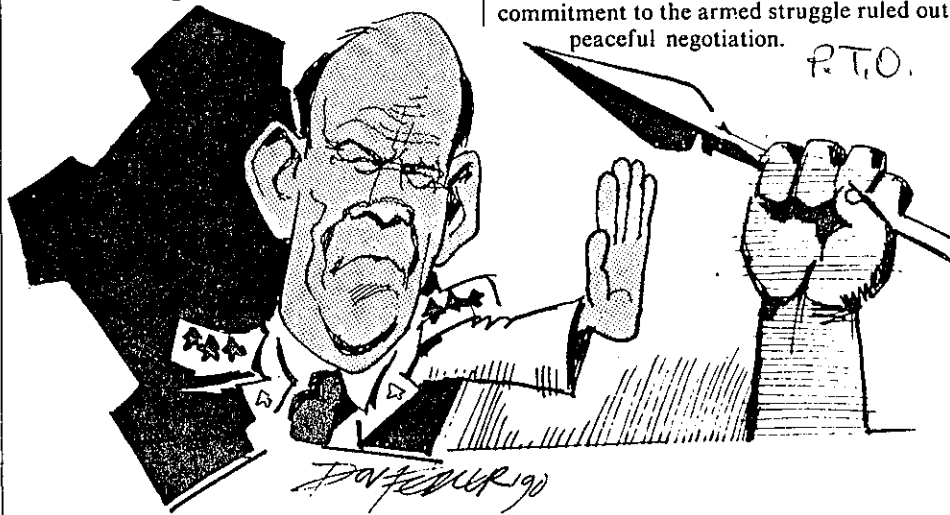
Admittedly, Mandela's recommitment to the armed struggle during his African tour was extremist. Malan was also clearly angered by the ANC leader's warm embrace of Libya's Muhammad Gaddafi. But posturing of that sort is to be expected from a black leader trying to consolidate a position.

Malan seemed to miss the point and accused Mandela of inciting a revolutionary climate and ignoring the terms of the Groote Schuur agreement in which both government and the ANC undertook to work towards stability and peaceful negotiation.

He also saw fit to lecture Mandela on the meaning of democracy. "Democracy as we understand it has a value content on which a nation must work. It is more than the right to vote, it is a value system that includes such things as responsibility and standards of behaviour."

The attack went much further. Malan rejected the concept of nationalisation as an issue for negotiation: "It is unacceptable to SA." By contrast, President F W de Klerk's position is that nationalisation is precisely the sort of controversial issue that must be thoroughly thrashed out during negotiations.

Malan also rejected the possibility of negotiating a ceasefire with the ANC: "It is not on the table." He said the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle ruled out peaceful negotiation.



8/Day 11/6/90

(11A)

# Mandela trip unchanged

WILSON ZWANE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's overseas trip had not been delayed as speculated, he said in a statement released jointly with Park Lane Clinic GM Dr Gordon Cohen.

On Tuesday, ANC internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada said Mandela's trip would be postponed by a day.

Mandela is recuperating at the clinic after an unspecified minor operation performed on him on Monday.

According to Dr Cohen, Mandela, who was operated on after his admission to the clinic last Sunday for routine check-up, would probably be staying at the clinic until the weekend.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said from Lusaka Mandela's overseas trip would take him to Belgium on Sunday and thereafter to France, West Germany, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, the US, Canada and Britain.

"Although it is not absolutely certain at this stage, the deputy president may visit Botswana, Italy and Ireland," he said.

On June 16 he would be back in Johannesburg from where he would go to the US.

On July 6 he would be in Britain, Sebina said.

"In all these countries the deputy president will be meeting government leaders,

business people and anti-apartheid organisations."

Asked about Mandela's possible visits to Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Mozambique, Sebina said those countries were not in the draft programme.

Meanwhile, SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that Mandela's tour organisers in the US are debating whether the hectic 10-day schedule they are arranging for him will put too much strain on his health.

Some are even suggesting that instead of visiting eight cities, he should limit himself to New York and Washington and give Los Angeles and San Francisco a miss.

Their concerns are shared by the State Department, which has quietly been urging Mandela to cut back on public appearances and rely on television and the Press instead.

The appeal has thus far gone unheeded by local ANC organisers, who appear determined to maximise Mandela's exposure.

Meanwhile, it is reported that Mandela is scheduled to meet US President George Bush for two-and-a-half hours on June 25. This will include lunch at the White House.

WARRING ARMIES BATTLE IT OUT IN A CONFERENCE HALL... THEN A SPEECH FROM THE HEART CHANGES THE TONE TO ONE OF PEACE

# Two days of war ... then peace broke out

w/m and 1/6-7/6/90

Soldiers who fought each other on the battlefields of Angola met in a Lusaka conference room at the weekend. For the first few days, they argued bitterly; on the fourth day, a lasting truce was declared.

GAVIN EVANS reports



ANC soldier Hein Groskopf talks to SADF intelligence officer Lieutenant Colonel Gideon Meiring. Behind them are former intelligence officer Paul Brink and Citizen Force commandant Tony Mariner

IT was an event which could certainly not have happened at any other stage in South Africa's history.

Officers and soldiers from opposing sides in a war who two years earlier had fought against each other, took the conflict to the conference hall and agreed on how to build a united defence force.

They had come together in Lusaka for a five-day conference on "The Future of the Military and Defence in South Africa", organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa).

For days, it was difficult to find any common ground between the soldiers. The 70-odd delegates from Umkhonto weSizwe spoke with anger about the South African Defence Force and attacked the politics of their opposite numbers. The SADF members were perplexed; they had come to talk nuts and bolts, not philosophies and atrocities, and the resentment grew.

At night, over drinks, the clashes sometimes became personal. A senior SADF officer accused a white MK member of being a traitor. Another told the End Conscription Campaign members that they had made their view "more than adequately known about the SADF", and that they should cross the floor and join the MK delegation.

MK members accused some of the SADF members of being racists. Others expressed resentment at the "home" delegation's view that the ef-

fect of their armed struggle had been negligible.

Occasionally the tension was broken by less heavy-handed interventions. A team of MK cadres challenged the SADF officers to a 6am, 8km run — and the challenge was taken up five mornings in a row.

On the fourth day SADF Commandant Tony Mariner, the former commanding officer of the Cape Town Highlanders, spoke from the heart and the tone of the proceedings changed.

"We, the delegates of the SADF, don't have to be convinced about the justice of the ANC cause. We would not be here if we did not believe that we must stretch our hands out to a political organisation which will have a very definite influence on our country and will inevitably be part of a future government," he said.

But he added: "We have not come here to be vilified, attacked and identified with terrorism and atrocities. We are soldiers, have followed the soldiers' code and believe ourselves to be honourable men. We have no need for guilt, we are not representative of the oppressors. We have come here with open minds and open hearts."

"African National Congress members responded magnanimously. MK soldier Mazolo Msomi said their talk of atrocities was not directed at those present, and that they were aware that many did fulfil their "soldiers' code". Senior political-military department official Klaus Maphapha took up the SADF concern about the possibility of future Nuremberg-type trials, stressing that these "were not on the agenda" and were not consistent with the "spirit of negotiations", though it

was later stated that this did not indemnify anyone from future atrocities they may commit.

Perhaps surprisingly, issues such as ANC admissions of torture in the mid-1980s and the allegations surrounding the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau did not feature much in discussion.

As one SADF Citizen Force officer explained: "These are things that happen in all countries, and are not what we came to discuss."

By the time delegates entered the three commissions — on manpower policy, the integration of existing military forces and on internal security — the air had been cleared and the soldiers on both sides found that consensus was less elusive than it had at first appeared.

Once it emerged that all agreed on the need for a new defence force, in-

corporating the SADF, MK and the "homeland" armies, the divisions evaporated and doves emerged on both sides.

On the final day a lengthy joint press statement was unanimously agreed to within less than half an hour.

Delegates reached complete consensus on a wide range of issues: the need for a mutually-binding cessation of hostilities between the contending military forces; the phasing out of military conscription; the return of Umkhonto weSizwe to South Africa as soon as negotiations permitted; and the need for a significantly smaller non-racial defence force which should be politically non-partisan and accountable to parliament. They agreed it should adopt a programme of "accelerated affirmative action, but this should be carried out with due regard to the maintenance of standards".

It was also agreed that the SADF's 32 Battalion "should be withdrawn immediately from Natal".

If there were two figures who stood out in the course of the five-day proceedings they were Umkhonto weSizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani and SADF Permanent Force Reserve Commandant, Dr Jakkie Cilliers.

The 48-year-old MK number two stamped a powerful presence on the event, combining his forceful interventions with a disarming charm and a flexibility and willingness to negotiate that some from home found disarming.

Cilliers, 34, a former member of the secretariat of the State Security Council and currently a private researcher on military-related issues, was the man who picked up most of the flak from the MK members during the first three days. But by day four he had won the respect of many of the guerrillas, and together with Hani played a major role in drafting the detailed proposals on the formation of a new defence force.

At one point, during a heated debate, Cilliers eased the tension by presenting Hani with an official Armscor brochure on which he wrote: "To my dear friend, Comrade Chris Hani."

Afterwards Cilliers described the conference as "an extremely constructive session", which arrived at "an amazing degree of consensus". He said it would provide a "basis of debate for the SADF, which is taking a hard look at its own future, and also for the wider security establishment."

Hani said he was "absolutely excited" by the success of the event, and that it had exceeded his expectations.

## Magnus makes every effort to stop the conference

w/m and 1/6-7/6/90

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan made stringent efforts to prevent SADF Citizen Force officers from attending a conference with Umkhonto weSizwe members, according to several of the delegates.

At least nine of the Citizen Force officers invited were contacted by the SADF or its representatives and asked to withdraw from the event. Some were told that while the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, favoured the exchange, it was strongly opposed by Malan.

Five Citizen Force officers were contacted by an army captain and National Party politician, who initially assisted with the conference, and were asked not to take part.

However, only two of the officers dropped out, while one, SADF Commandant Kevin Mulligan, resigned his position in order to attend.

Before, during and after the conference Malan made several statements indicating his opposition.

The morning after the delegation returned home, Malan said there was

no question of merging the SADF and Umkhonto weSizwe and the delegation had "no authority to discuss such a merger".

He said the SADF was an instrument of the state which was there to protect all South Africans, while Umkhonto weSizwe was a "self-confessed revolutionary organisation which was continuing the armed struggle in South Africa".

Earlier he told parliament a merger was not on the cards, explaining that the Umkhonto members did not have

the necessary technical expertise.

However, some of the SADF officers who did attend said they had been requested by top SADF members to report back on their return, which they agreed to do.

They said that despite Malan's opposition, issues such as the integration of military forces, and the ending of military conscription, were under discussion in the SADF, and that the ANC's proposals would be carefully scrutinised.

# Mapping out an army for

By GAVIN EVANS (11A)

MILITARY commanders of the African National Congress and South African Defence Force officers put their heads together last weekend to present joint proposals on what a future defence force in South Africa would look like.

They sat in three commissions — on the integration of military forces, manpower policy and internal security — and came up with some ideas which may have a significant impact on future debate on this issue.

Both delegations stressed the proposals did not necessarily reflect a consensus position, and that they were not considered binding on any party. w/Mand 116-716/90

Both Chris Hani and Dr Jakkie Cilliers played a major role in drawing up proposals on the creation of a national defence force.

Commission delegates agreed on seven principles for a new defence force:

- It would be non-racial.
- Its primary role would be the protection of South Africa's territorial integrity.
- It would uphold democratic values and be accountable to parliament.

● Its appointments and recruitment would, ultimately, be based on merit alone

● It would adhere to the Geneva Convention and all other applicable international treaties and agreements governing the conduct of war

● South Africa would be committed to the development of a nuclear-free zone in Africa and the surrounding oceans

● The new defence force would be a professional organisation with high standards of efficiency.

The proposed structure involved an army (with both conventional and counter-insurgency arms), air force, navy and special forces.

There would be a substantial reduction (50 percent) in force levels, with the leadership core being made up of professional soldiers, while the foot soldier component would be made up of short-term volunteers who would be put on the reserve after their service.

Conscription and the system of commandos should be scrapped or

W. Mail 116 7/1/90

## Homeland

# armies accept they will rejoin a future SADF

THE armies of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda have completely accepted that they will be integrated in a future defence force in South Africa, and are preparing for this.

The Transkei army sent five senior officers to meet Umkhonto weSizwe in Lusaka at the weekend, while Ciskei and Venda sent two.

One of the more controversial delegates present was Venda head of state Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana. He was accompanied by SADF Military Intelligence officer Lieutenant Gideon Meiring.

The tall, austere looking Ramushwana, 48, is chairman of the Council of National Unity in Venda and Chief of the Venda Defence Force.

The former security policeman, who is fluent in 19 African languages as well as English and Afrikaans, was frequently invited by the ANC delegation to sit at the head table with the likes of Chris Hani and Major General Wally Black.

In an interview with the *Weekly Mail* he said he had accepted the invitation because he believed all the military forces in the country needed to come together.

He said he believed the ANC had an important role to play in the country, and his meeting with it followed a series of discussions with the Mass Democratic Movement.

"I am willing to talk to all parties, and the ANC is one of the key parties. I am therefore very happy to be meeting with them".

He acknowledged that his defence force still formed part of the SADF Far North command.

Ramushwana said his immediate priority was the problems which his predecessors had left him.

"Clearly there are major problems which require sorting out, such as corruption and ritual murders, for example. I believe we are making very good progress."

The future of the Venda army lay "as part of a united South African army," he said, adding that he hoped to remain a senior officer when a negotiated solution was reached.

Afterwards he described the conference as a "big success" and said he hoped for a follow-up meeting.

He said the conclusions of the event would be "very encouraging" to the Venda Defence Force because "they also want to know what will happen to them in future".

# tomorrow

phased out.

The new defence force would have a new name, symbols and uniform.

Among the steps suggested as the path to integration were a reduction in defence spending, the initiation of a programme of affirmative action within the SADF, the promotion of senior Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers into senior command and control positions in the new army, the establishment of a joint commission on integration and the nature of a future defence force, with SADF, MK, homeland armies and other experts; and the integration or demobilisation of the armed forces of all parties, including the Pan Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. *W. Hand 116-7690*

The Manpower Commission proposed that members of the present SADF, MK and other military forces be asked to continue serving in a new defence force, with careful consideration being given to previous rank, experience and training.

It also proposed that members of the new defence force should not belong to any political parties, but that they be entitled to vote.

# ANC will repeat mistakes of past, archbishop claims

Mbus 1/6/90

Staff Reporter

THE ANC had shown that it would not tolerate dissent and criticism and that it would rapidly establish a one-party state if it came to power, said Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, founder and president of the Council for Apostolic and Zion Churches in Southern Africa.

Archbishop Masiya, who lives in the Winterveld near Pretoria, claims to have once been an ardent supporter of the deputy-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He claimed that the Zionist Christian Church of Bishop Lekganyane had the support of about 6 million members and that the Apostolic churches, whose 103 churches were members of his organisation, had a membership estimated at 2,5 million.

## "MODERATE" GROUPS

He said these groups were "moderate" and did not support any particular party.

The archbishop visited Cape Town earlier this week to hold talks with the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and National Education, Mr Roelf Meyer.

In an interview he said: "There is a blanket ban in the townships on policies that differ from those of the ANC."

"These people are now free to operate in this country. I believe they should also allow other people who differ from them to operate and to speak and do things without the fear that the so-called 'young lions' will kill them if they do."

## WHITE REPRESSION

Archbishop Masiya said after 40 years of discrimination and repression by the ruling white party, there was a danger that South Africa might be heading towards a situation where the mistakes of the past were repeated by a post-apartheid government dominated by the ANC.

He said that for many years in the late sixties and early seventies he was an ardent admirer of Mr Mandela.

"But after I found another hero in the form of Jesus Christ, I relinquished Mr Mandela for Him."

He said he admired the late US civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King and particularly his ideas on not feeling hatred towards the oppressor.





# ANC will end armed struggle — Chikane

THE African National Congress was expected to end the armed struggle soon so the negotiation process in South Africa could continue unhindered, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

He said in an interview in Cape Town the question was not whether the ANC and Government must end violence, but how.

From a political and tactical viewpoint, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela could not afford to lose his power base.

The ANC spoke a lot of the armed struggle, but it was political expression, said Mr Chikane.

Meanwhile a Unisa academic who specialises in black politics says that leaders of liberation movements should personally address the country's black youth to help stop the spiral of "black-on-black" violence which has killed thousands.

Political science lecturer Phil Mtimkulu said violence often occurred between youths, who tended to have a different concept of political power.

"At the higher, more responsible level, this violence is not prevalent," he said.

"We are aware of cordial relations between the leaders of organisations, but at the lower level the youth want to conquer territory."

'Question  
is not  
when  
but how'

SUE OLSWANG  
and SAPA

Mr Mtimkulu said there had been peace talks between leaders since the outbreak of violence in the early 1980s, but they often neglected to "go back to their people to tell them not to engage in this type of violence".

He said leaders would personally have to address the youth to help put an end to violent behaviour.

"This should not be done through the media or in stadiums and halls," he said.

"Leaders must go to the structures — the youth congresses and student organisations — to speak to the youth. This is a big task, but it is

worth it where unity is concerned."

Mr Mtimkulu said the youth tended not to see a proper transition to power.

"They believe the only way to gain power is to use force instead of persuasion.

"There is also no acceptance of one another's political ideologies. Leaders must try to temper their public speeches because their verbal attacks against other organisations often have a bearing on the violence.

"If leaders disregard an organisation, the youth tend to believe there is latitude for them to act against it. Criticism is, of course, allowed, but it must be done in a responsible manner."

Mr Mtimkulu said the violence was previously largely between Charterists (supporters of the Freedom Charter) and Black Consciousness groups.

"Today it seems as if the focus is moving away from the Charterists and BC movement towards the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress."

**T**HE SA economy is in fundamental crisis. This arises out of the distortions of the apartheid system, problems in domestic production and the changing international environment.

It has been unable to meet the needs of the mass of the people, and current strategies are unlikely to alleviate poverty and mass deprivation.

A non-racial and democratic state would follow an economic strategy that aims to achieve economic growth through increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power. This calls for the active restructuring of production to meet basic needs, expand employment, redistribute incomes and provide social services.

Within a mixed economy, the state would assume the leading role in the reconstruction of the economy to facilitate the realisation of developmental objectives. This necessitates some form of overall planning and co-ordination.

**T**he main emphasis in financing reconstruction would fall on domestic savings. Foreign capital should supplement domestic savings and not be seen as a substitute.

The new state would undertake tax reform to make taxation more equitable and effective. The expected expansion of income and employment will widen the tax base. At present the tax burden is carried disproportionately by individuals through direct and indirect taxation. The new state would begin shifting the burden of taxation, especially towards corporations.

Macro-economic imbalances, including inflation and balance of payments deficits, have been an important factor contributing to SA's economic crisis. Economic stabilisation policies, including monetary and exchange rate policies, would be used to manage imbalances.

State expenditure and overall fiscal policy are especially important. A future government would not use borrowings to finance current expenditure.

The current capital market does not sufficiently direct investment into productive activity or into criti-

# ANC's priorities for restructuring the SA economy

B/D on 6/6/90

These are excerpts from economic policy recommendations devised at a Harare workshop by ANC and Cosatu economists and being considered by the two organisations.

cal areas of infrastructure, such as housing.

The new government would seek to rationalise and restructure the financial sector and to develop new institutional arrangements for the primary and secondary bond markets, to direct them more to meeting developmental objectives.

Current financial deregulation policies and monetary policy exacerbate present problems. This requires direct state intervention. Consideration will be given to the extent of state ownership in the financial sector.

The present system of exchange controls would continue, but would have to be modified in ways consistent with development objectives.

The existing extreme concentration of economic power has been detrimental to balanced economic growth. The government would investigate this concentration with the objective of promoting a more efficient and effective use of resources.

Where feasible, a policy of dismemberment of conglomerates would be pursued.

Foreign investors would be encouraged to invest in activities which lead to increased employment and development of local technological capabilities. They would also be required to follow labour practices

acceptable to the trade unions.

Transformation of the economy will require a viable state sector. Nationalisation would be an essential part of the reconstruction.

The state would retain existing nationalised industries and would be prepared to renationalise privatised state assets. It would set up new state corporations where necessary.

Nationalised industries would operate within strict budgetary controls and would not become vehicles for bureaucratic enrichment.

**T**he democratic forces find morally reprehensible the present government's attempts, through privatisation, deregulation and other means, to weaken the new state's ability to restructure the economy. Industrial restructuring would be directed at meeting domestic needs and increasing international competitiveness.

A first priority would be to meet basic needs in food, housing, welfare and employment. This should be done in a sustainable way, for example creating new production capacity through employment linkages rather than simple income supplements.

The state would develop industrial policies aimed at transforming imbalances between blacks and whites, between urban and rural areas and between regions. The failure of the industrial decentralisation policy should not detract from the need for rural industrialisation.

In the mining industry the state would initiate measures to root out racist labour practices and improve wage levels and living conditions, without weakening or making the industry less efficient.

The state would investigate using fiscal policy to encourage venture capital in new mines, and consider making strategic investments in mines.

In view of the declining and volatile nature of mineral prices, a policy of stabilising prices through the formation of cartels would be considered. High priority would be given to the creation of resource-based industries to further add value.

The concentration of monopoly mining finance capital is a great impediment to alternative means of controlling mining. To control investment strategy and labour practices, the state would encourage research into the benefits of disaggregating the monopolies, taking the efficiency of the economy as a whole into consideration.

The recent shift of De Beers' control to Switzerland is a serious development and potential disinvestment of this type should be an urgent item in negotiations with capital.

Agriculture is facing a major crisis in both the advanced capitalist sector and in the black rural areas. Land distribution is a central national grievance and raising agricultural production is vital to future economic prosperity.

The future state commits itself to the development of a high employment, high wage and productivity economy, with economically viable, competitive enterprises. It will seek to empower organised labour, and to promote greater industrial democracy.

A comprehensive programme of education, training and skills for workers in industry and within the state sector is needed. Technical, professional and managerial skills among blacks will be promoted.

A massive injection of finance is going to be required to meet basic social needs (ie welfare, housing, health, education).

Determination of priorities in meeting social requirements will have to take account of several conflicting objectives.

These include the relief of poverty; the expectations and demands of people and communities; promotion of economic development strategies; the need to avoid inflationary spending policies and promotion of employment and training opportunities.

**T**he state would bear ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare and pensions. This would be exercised in the negotiated provision of welfare benefits between capital and labour, and private provision by those groups able to provide for themselves. The role of the state would be to provide a minimum level of social services at a reasonable rate for all.

The provision of affordable housing for all can be costly. The role of the state would be based on establishing conditions for providing low-cost housing (ie subsidisation of land and services) rather than direct state construction of houses. This would not rule out the establishment of a national state housing company.

# 'ANC wants a free and lively press'

## — Albie Sachs

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress does not want an official media or even a "tame press."

Instead it wants vigorous, lively and readable newspapers which enjoy writing about controversy,

VIEW

says the movement's constitutional guru, Mr Albie Sachs.

He said the ANC wanted a free circulation of ideas and information in a new South Africa.

"The people have a right to it. The people are not stupid, they've rejected the lies of apartheid and they don't have to be protected from views, information and ideas."

"We can benefit from the experience of other countries. Basically one draws the line at what's been called fighting talk from developing into incitement."

It was another issue entirely, he said, of who had the means of getting ideas into circulation.

"Here one finds that there are two factors: one is the enormous concentration of newspaper ownership which many countries with a long history of support for press freedom won't permit because it's unhealthy for democracy if the control of the media is restricted to a few.

### Domination

"I think that this is one of those issues that has to be debated and in which one hopes journalists will play a key role.

"We certainly don't want a tame press. Every government has its gazettes and methods of giving out official statements, but we don't want an official press. We want a press that is vigorous, lively, readable and enjoys writing about controversy rather than running away from it."

He said the "white domination of the media" was another problem. The issue was complicated and had to be handled with care.

"It's not a question of exchanging white control with black control, it's a question of creating a South African news reporting style which has sensitivity and vigour."



Albie Sachs

The government has scrapped the Separate Amenities Act, an act which Mr Sachs believes is a departure from the official policy.

"But it certainly does not mean apartheid has ended. That's going to require an historic effort. It will take quite a long time and will need an enormous investment of money and skills. We are just at the beginning of that. It would be extremely misleading and very dangerous to suggest that scrapping the Separate Amenities Act means ending apartheid."

He said the right-wing was a monster which the government had created.

"It's up to them to find out how to deal with it. What complicates things a little is that we are for freedom. We want people to be able to say what's in their hearts, to speak out openly and freely. We're not in favour of cracking down on the dissent all the time, whether it's from the left or right.

"Where it becomes different, off course, is when one deals with organised physical resistance to democracy. In this sense the fascists are a tiny minority in the country.

"They might generate a fair amount of support among Afrikaners, but they are a small percentage of the total population."

The only positive thing which could emerge from this, according to him, was a very broad agreement that "however much we might disagree on other questions, we all agree on the importance of the process of democracy in South Africa going through and resisting attempts by these fascists to frustrate this process".

He was looking forward to the December 16 ANC conference — to be held in Bloemfontein — because the movement would adopt a new constitution and elect a leadership for the first time in

South Africa since 1960, Mr Sachs said.

However, organising the conference was being held up by the government not having given total amnesty to exiled ANC members.

He said the SAP would be reconstructed under an ANC government.

"It's absolutely fundamental to have a police force that's respected by the whole community. We've never had that."

A reconstructed police force would consist of present black members of the SAP, honest white policemen, new recruits and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the movement's armed wing, and ANC security personnel.

"I've been assured that there are honest white policemen who want to get on with the job and that have often been frustrated by the way in which the police force has been hijacked to maintain apartheid and persecute opponents of apartheid."

The army and prisons service would be reconstructed in the same manner, said Mr Sachs.

### Enthusiasm

His impression was that the old South Africa was still in place.

"I came back not to one Cape Town, but to three Cape Towns. The divisions are as complete as they ever were. But there is new thinking and new attitudes which I found most encouraging."

He's been in South Africa for about a month, living in Athlone most of the time.

"The feeling there is very powerful and that real change is coming in South Africa because the people have fought for their rights. I would say that's the strongest impression of my whole visit.

"Coupled with that is that among whites living in the other part of Cape Town, I found a lot of enthusiasm for what's happening and a sense of liberation among many people who had been totally downhearted. They feel they can at last look forward to being proud citizens of a proud country and using their skills for the benefit of the whole country."

He said it was nice to have been home, "to be in a country where you can put on your tackies".

# PAC and ANC to hold peace talks

11A  


Sowetan  
6/6/90

**THE Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress are to meet in Johannesburg today following the violence which claimed four lives on the East Rand last week.**

The talks, between the ANC Witwatersrand and PAC East Rand regional representatives, are to be held at the offices of South African Council of Churches.

Confirming the meeting PAC internal general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said it was hoped the talks would bring an end to the conflict and peace to Vosloorus, scene of last week's fighting.

Alexander said he also hoped that the meeting would result in PAC members

**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

returning to the township, which they left at the height of the violence.

ANC regional spokesman Ms Barbara Hogan confirmed her organisation had arranged the meeting, with a view to restoring peace in Vosloorus.

Four people, including a nine-month-old baby and a 65-year-old woman, were killed when houses were attacked with AK-47 rifles and grenades.

On Sunday ANC internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu and Azapo executive member Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe addressed a mass rally in Maokeng where one person was killed and seven injured in political violence last week.

# THE BIG PUSH FOR PEACE!

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## Govt and ANC call on all to help work on constitution

By CHARLES MOGALE

THE ANC and government will start a drive to involve other political parties in talks about a new South Africa following this week's discussions, which left the country in a buoyant mood.  
It is believed efforts will be made to involve parties like the PAC, the AZA, homeland leaders and parliamentary parties in the talks.  
Although no timetable has been set it is said the drive to involve others will start soon.  
PAC president Zeph Mothopeng





# LA PUSAN

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# FACE!

## Govt and ANC call on all to help work on constitution

By CHARLES MOGALE

THE ANC and government will start a drive to involve other political parties in talks about a new South Africa following this week's discussions, which left the country in a buoyant mood.

It is believed efforts will be made to involve parties like the PAC, the ZAZA, homeland leaders and parliamentary parties in the talks.

Although no timetable has been set it is said the drive to involve others will start soon.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng told a Press conference yesterday the PAC was not interested in joining talks with the Government but wanted a constituent assembly based on one-man one-vote - also mentioned this week by ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC is believed to be eager to involve other parties, because as the only party involved in the talks so far, it could be seen as "selling out" to the government.

State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela emerged from a three-day talks session in Cape Town on Friday with a joint communique declaring their willingness to work for a new dispensation for the country.

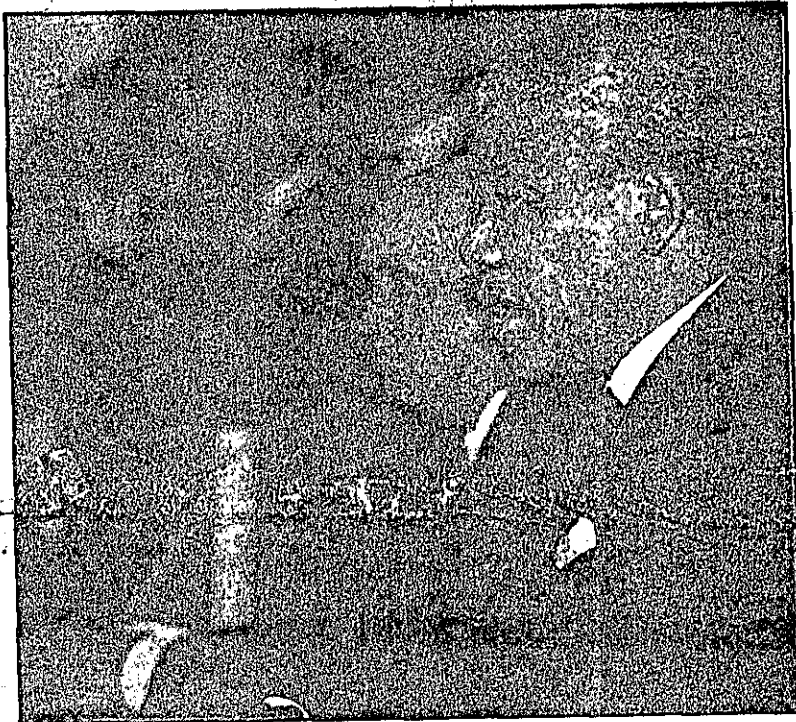
The move left the Democratic Party baffled as to whether to join the government, the ANC, or disband.

The government-ANC communique indicated plans to form a working committee made up of members from both sides. The committee will look into the question of amnesty, release of political prisoners and other obstacles in the way of real negotiations.

The government reiterated its commitment toward lifting the state of emergency.

It also undertook to review security

■ To Page 2



FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela ... seeking a new constitution.

## Govt and ANC join in peace talks

■ From Page 1

legislation "to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activity".

However, the ANC emerged non-committal on the two cornerstones of its policy - the armed struggle and sanctions.

Observers predicted the suspension of the two strategies at the next ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Lusaka.

Mandela went into the talks a strong supporter of the armed struggle.

When he came out, he told a persis-

tent questioner: "We are going to take a hard and earnest look at the question of the armed struggle. Please be satisfied with that."

The matter would be referred to the NEC in Lusaka.

The ANC has adopted a similar stance on sanctions, saying there would be no new calls for their intensification.

De Klerk said whether sanctions were ever justified or not, it was time to remove them.

He said negotiations had to be undertaken to ensure universal suffrage with protection of "minorities".

Mandela claimed victory for South Africa in the talks.

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# PAC's president to tour Africa

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will leave on an international tour tomorrow.

PAC spokesman Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that Mr Mothopeng, his wife Urbania and two national executive members would visit Zimbabwe, Libya, Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Uganda, Madagascar and Tanzania.

Mr Mothopeng intends to raise funds and brief governments on the PAC's analysis of political events in South Africa, Mr Alexander said.

The overriding message he would take with him was the PAC's rejection of the government's stance on the racial groups concept.

Mr Mothopeng has been invited to attend Madagascar's 30th independence celebrations on June 25 and 26. — Sapa

MR NELSON MANDELA has described his 13-nation foreign tour which kicked off this week as a "thank you" gesture to the international community for pressuring the South African government over the years and an opportunity to urge more of the same until apartheid is truly dead.

However, the ANC's decision to put its 71-year-old leader through a punishing six-week tour schedule at a time when developments at home are so critical suggests there are some important additional items on his agenda.

Near the top of the list must be a massive fund-raising drive to help get the ANC established as a regular political party in South Africa.

### Repatriation tab

The ANC estimates that the process will cost at least R60 m — a figure likely to evoke disbelief and envy among rival political groupings in South Africa.

However, the tab for repatriating and re-integrating between 20 000 and 40 000 exiles will make that figure pale into insignificance.

Ironically, President F W de Klerk and members of his entourage in Europe have already urged a number of European governments to assist returning exiles with plane tickets, food, training programmes, housing and other forms of assistance.

Clearly mindful of the massive problems individuals like Prime Minister Robert Mugabe have encountered with the costly business of re-integrating returning members of Zanu and Zapu into the mainstream of post-war Zimbabwean society, South African government officials have urged the wealthy European Community to open its wallet.

During Mr De Klerk's recent European tour, South African officials also let it be known that no objections would be raised to the UN High Commission on Refugees becoming involved in repatriation efforts — as long as their efforts remained on the humanitarian level and did not become unduly politicised.

# EC leaders know ANC is not the only show in town

*Chal. Tinf*  
*6/5/90*



Midweek Politics  
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

If the ANC deputy president is able to capitalise on the Mandela-mania sweeping the United States, money could soon be flooding into South Africa to assist the ANC with projects ranging from setting up offices to bursaries for returning ANC guerrillas.

This could present the South African government — not to mention other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties — with something of a dilemma.

For while Pretoria clearly sees the benefits of having exiles returning with the minimum of disruption and dislocation to the social order, it would not take kindly to favouritism being shown towards the ANC for purely party political projects.

Members of the PAC would also want to make sure that their supporters got a fair share of the cake when it came to projects designed to help returning exiles.

Interestingly, European leaders have been anxious that the ANC not be projected as "the only show in town" and almost without exception ques-

tioned President de Klerk on how other opposition groupings might be accommodated in the broad political picture in a new South Africa.

A number of European leaders emphasised that they did not want Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement to be left out in the cold once negotiations began and made it clear that they did not regard the PAC as a spent force.

When asked to estimate the relative strength of extra-parliamentary political groupings, South African officials put Inkatha's support among Africans at about 15%, the PAC at 20-30%, and the ANC at 40-50%.

The ANC would no doubt want to question such estimates. But what cannot be disputed is that when the time arrives for negotiations for a new constitution it will not simply be a case of the ANC plus hangers-on vs the National Party and fellow travellers.

Mr Mandela would do well to drive home this point while overseas and ensure that his supporters in South Africa act in this spirit.



## PAC leader off Sta 6/6/90 (11A) on African tour

Pan Africanist Congress President Zeph Mothopeng leaves on an international tour of his own tomorrow, it was announced yesterday.

PAC spokesman Benny Alexander said Mr Mothopeng, his wife Urbania and two members of the organisation's national executive would visit at least eight African countries.

Mr Mothopeng's intention is to raise funds and to brief the governments concerned on the PAC's analysis of current political events in South Africa, Mr Alexander said.

The overriding message Mr Mothopeng would take with him was the PAC's rejection of the Government's stance on the racial groups concept as a solution to South Africa's conflicts.

Another issue on his agenda was the Government's "rejection" of majority rule in South Africa, a PAC condition, according to Mr Alexander. — Sapa.

# Mandela mania (UA) sweeps across US

By DAVID BRAUN, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The maintenance of sanctions against South Africa is the key element of Nelson Mandela's visit to the United States, says Roger Wilkins, national co-ordinator of the ANC deputy president's 10-day, nine-city tour.

Mr Wilkins, a former assistant attorney-general of the US and a former journalist, has had the job of fielding dozens of requests from people and places seeking to be part of Mr Mandela's itinerary.

A careful screening process has been established to ensure Mr Mandela's principal role in the US will be to spearhead the effort to bring peace.

The key element of his visit, said Mr Wilkins, will be to ensure sanctions against South Africa are maintained by the US.

The organisers of the tour are struggling to sort out the final itinerary because of the avalanche of requests for Mr Mandela. Cities and individuals in with the best chance are those which have the longest record of solidarity with the ANC and the struggle for freedom in South Africa, and organisations which promise large sums of money.

Local organisers in at least two of the cities to be visited by Mr Mandela are hoping to hand him cheques for \$1 million (R2,67 million).

## Overwhelming

Already more than R0,5 million has been pledged by the various groups in the tour coalition to pick up the tab for the visit. This includes a private air charter for the Mandela party.

Security is being boosted by the US government.

Media interest in the tour has been so overwhelming that the organisers are toying with the idea of laying on a special media plane, to be paid for by the journalists using it.

From the moment Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie land at Kennedy Airport in New York on June 20, the Mandela extravaganza will roll.

They are to be met at the airport by the governor of New York, Mario Cuomo. A motorcade will take them to downtown New York for a ticker tape parade and a civic reception at City Hall.

The organisers hope several hundred thousand people will turn out in the streets to cheer Mr Mandela.

Mass rallies are being planned in New York's Yankee Stadium, on the Boston Common, in Washington DC's convention centre and at venues in Atlanta and Los Angeles.

Prior to visiting the US, the Mandelas will spend three days in Canada.

11A

# 'Black majority govt in power by end of 90s'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A black majority government will be in power in South Africa before the end of the decade, according to former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks.

Speaking at the national launch of his book, "The Mind of South Africa", here last night, Mr Sparks said he was optimistic about the country's future.

He saw the 1990s as a decade of transition and an acceptable, democratic South Africa would emerge at the end.

"It won't happen easily. It is going to be a traumatic, dramatic time but it will definitely take place. Neither of the major combatants in the phase we are entering has a realistic alternative. We are driven forward because neither the ANC nor the

Government has a fall-back position.

"And we are going to end up with a black majority government before this decade is out, possibly even in the mid-1990s."

Mr Sparks said he believed the process of change would take place "faster than any of us realise", as not only did the President not dare to hold another general election under the present constitution, but he was "utterly dependent" on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela who was in ill health.

Another time constraint was that the present Government knew the longer it delayed, the more time it gave to the ANC to organise and mobilise support.

"The Mind of South Africa" is a broad historical survey dealing with the rise and crisis of apartheid.

# ANC; PAC meet on Reef violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Members of the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress and their leadership on the East Rand will meet in Johannesburg today to discuss the violence which erupted in Vosloorus last week and claimed at least four lives.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander and ANC Witwatersrand regional spokesman Barbara Hogan yesterday confirmed that a meeting had been organised between the PAC's East Rand branch and the ANC's Witwatersrand regional branch.

Supporters of the two organisations in the township attacked one another last week, and accusations and counter-accusations were later made about who had started the conflict.

Grassroots members of both organisations and their regional leaders will attend the meeting, which will be held at the offices of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg.

Mr Alexander said the situation in Vosloorus was now "under control".

"I am quite optimistic that the meeting will be a success," said Ms Hogan.

# ANC to launch a daily newspaper

VIA  
Sowetan  
16/90

THE ANC is considering launching its own daily newspaper, ANC Western Cape interim committee member Ms Cheryl Carolus has said.

The ANC would also "fight for democratic control of the SABC," she added.

Speaking in an interview in Idasa's latest

*Democracy in Action* monthly magazine, Carolus called on the South African Government to disarm the white right-wing immediately.

In the absence of such firm action against violence, the entire negotiation process could be set back or even wrecked, she said.

Vivacious and highly-articulate, Carolus was one of the members of the historic ANC delegation which held talks with the Government at Groote Schuur in Cape Town in May.

In the interview, she condemned "the Government's selective response to violent behaviour", saying "if it were our people running around with guns in para-military style they would have been dealt with very differently. Black people have been shot for much less".

On the negotiation process, she said "the fact that talks have happened means that politics in South Africa has actually changed.

"There's often a tendency to say 'nothing's changed'. I think that's foolish." - Sapa.

~~SECRET~~ 11A

# Labour Party advert confusing domestic workers — union

By BARRY STREEK

A LABOUR PARTY advertisement which claimed domestic workers had been brought under the Unemployment Insurance Act and would be paid minimum wages was misleading and confusing, the South African Defence Workers Union (Sadwu) said yesterday.

Labour Party PRO Mr Peter Hendrickse admitted yesterday that the advertisement should have said

that domestic workers would receive these benefits and not imply that they already received them.

Mr Hendrickse said the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw, had said that domestic workers and agricultural workers would be brought under the ambit of the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, but legislation would only be before Parliament next year.

"The advertisement should have said they 'will' be brought under these acts," Mr Hendrickse said.

Sadwu said it rejected the Labour Party's statement on legislation for domestic workers.

"They are totally confusing our workers, as it will still take one or two years before domestic workers will be recognised by the present government.

"Therefore we condemn the way

the Labour Party is using this advertisement to get votes from innocent workers."

The advertisement, which was published on the weekend with a photograph of Mrs Terry Hendrickse, the wife of LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse, was headlined: "Look at what the Labour Party of SA has achieved."

This included the right of domestic workers in the same street to

form unions and the right for them to negotiate individually or through unions for maternity leave, working hours, leave rights, sick leave, salaries and pensions.

Mr Peter Hendrickse said the LP had negotiated a settlement with Mr Louw that domestic and farm workers would be brought under the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act next year.

# Mandela fêted but loses on sanctions

CAPT TWP 7/6/90 (11A) (12) (13)

## Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Mr Nelson Mandela was welcomed to Paris as a conquering hero last night — but he had already lost his battle for the retention of blanket French sanctions on South Africa.

The splendour of the pomp and ceremony masked sharp differences between the ANC deputy president and President Francois Mitterrand of France, who paid homage to Mr Mandela as a giant of the century and keystone for peace in South Africa.

In what French officials described as a level of red carpet

honour that many heads of state could not expect, Mr Mandela was personally welcomed at Charles de Gaulle Airport by the president's wife, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie were then driven in state procession to the spectacular Hotel Crillon on the Place de la Concorde, where thousands were gathering last night to pay tribute to the ANC deputy president.

President Mitterrand was to welcome Mr Mandela to a night of astonishing celebration at the famous Trocadero.

But behind the splendour and Mr Mandela's fulsome expressions of gratitude to

France for its stand against apartheid, were sharp differences on sanctions.

French officials said President Mitterrand was telling Mr Mandela that France felt it had no option other than to serve the best interests of peace and progress in South Africa and to do this a "gesture" had to be made to President De Klerk.

It is understood that French European Community bureaucrats attending talks in Brussels yesterday were supporting a Dutch plan to make minor concessions on sanctions linked to the introduction of irreversible reforms.

The French visit of 36 hours

is the first stop on a tour of Western capitals and heads of government.

The Mandelas were welcomed like visiting monarchs in an event that was half-carnival, half-solemn civil rights ceremonial.

On the Square of Liberties, the space in front of the Palais de Chaillot overlooking the Seine and the Eiffel Tower, which is officially dedicated to human rights, 21 violinists were assembled to play "Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika".

The American soprano Grace Bunbry was due to sing a negro spiritual as a tribute.

ANC may  
CARL T. B. 7/6/90  
have daily  
(11A)  
newspaper.

THE African National Congress is considering "the possibility of an ANC daily newspaper", ANC Western Cape interim committee member Ms Cheryl Carolus has said.

The ANC would also "fight for democratic control of the SABC", she added.

In an interview in the Idasa magazine "Democracy in Action", Ms Carolus called on the government to disarm the white right-wing immediately.

In the absence of firm action against violence, the entire negotiation process could be set back or even wrecked, she said. — Sapa



# ANC told: Beware of wasteland legacy

C77 + 7<sup>th</sup> 7/6/90 Political Correspondent

ORGANISATIONS like the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, which believe they have majority support, should behave like governments-in-waiting rather than "irresponsible opportunists", Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

If the estimated four million black people participating in rent and services boycotts continued to break their "social contracts", organisations with majority support could inherit "a wasteland".

Speaking on the Usury Amendment Bill, Mr Carlisle said "when large numbers of citizens deny their social obligations anarchy is around the corner".

He said that in the past the National Party had seriously undermined the social contract by governing on the premise that they had diminished obligations — or none at all — to black citizens.

"Now it is ever increasing numbers of blacks that are breaking the social contract, with frightening consequences for the future."

Citizens might dispute the amount of their social obligations, but these remained the essence of a democratic society. To walk away from them "creates a mind-set that will destroy our economy more certainly than sanctions or disinvestment".

# ANC cash row

9/4 7/4/15  
7/6/80

11A

## Academics angry after cash for think tank is stopped

By BARRY STREEK, ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and CHRIS BATEMAN

**ALL activities of the ANC's academic think tank, the Centre for Democratic Studies (CDS), and its bank accounts have been frozen as an academic uproar on university campuses countrywide reached a head this week.**

CDS projects involving 11 commissions researching the restructuring of South Africa in a post-apartheid era (with headquarters in Cape Town) have been frozen. Projects were instructed by CDS fax this week to suspend all activities and to regard all its bank accounts as frozen.

Last night urgent meetings of CDS projects were called in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

The trustees of CDS, under the chairmanship of Dr Abie Nkomo, and several members of the ANC's

national executive will meet at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) on Sunday.

The suspension was ordered by CDS national co-ordinator and UWC history lecturer, Mr Randy Erentzen, on Monday after he submitted an audit to trustees last week. Mr Erentzen said he took "full and sole" responsibility for the decision.

Dr Nkomo immediately took issue with Mr Erentzen, saying the suspension was "too severe" and would achieve little. The CDS was on the brink of further foreign funding based on progress, he added. Several CDS academics backed him, labelling the decision "unilateral and destructive".

There have also been unsubstantiated claims of financial irregularities with talk of as much as R2 million involved in Johannesburg.

These were denied and their motivation questioned by senior CDS members yesterday.

The uproar concerns "clumsy and tardy" administration, allegations of incompetence and a lack of substantial progress in the three years since the project was launched. Organisers cited the sudden political changes as reason for the slow progress.

Mr Erentzen said the CDS budget for the last three years was R450 000 and that it had R54 000 in its bank account at present.

Other sources said there was talk that the CDS had been drawing on a funds pool as large as \$26 million (about R67,6m). Mr Erentzen described these figures as "wishful thinking".

He confirmed that there had been allegations of financial irregularities from "within and without the CDS" but put this down to disgruntled academics.

Academics in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, who asked not to be named, claimed there was "chaos" and "gross inefficiency" in the CDS, which has a major base at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Elaborate guidelines and structures were established to co-ordinate CDS research and numerous meetings were held to discuss its operations with little new research emerging.

The CDS commissions were established to investigate economic trends, labour, land affairs, women's rights, local government and language policy and legal matters.

Dr Nkomo said the CDS initiative was unprecedented in initiating organisational relationships between academics and progressive regional structures. It was therefore "not surprising that there are some problems", he said.

The chairman of the CDS national co-ordinating committee, Cape Town attorney Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, appealed to anyone with evidence of corruption to bring it forward, "so we can deal with it".

As to the alleged "slow progress", he said it was generally accepted that there was great frustration by many academics who "do not know the workings of our organisation".

He said there was "nothing sinister" about Sunday's meeting which was initially scheduled for Lusaka. The question of indemnity for ANC members had caused rescheduling.

Mr Ngcuka said the present problem area centred on academic freedom versus "control and accountability". "We need to re-assess CDS priorities have changed

To page 3

### ANC cash row

rapidly with the political scene and we need direction from the national executive (of the ANC)," he added.

Dr Nkomo said that prior to the loosening up of the political scene, great amounts of CDS money had been spent on travel and accommodation expenses for "exploratory" international academic symposia. Identifying progressive academics and strengthening their accountability to the Mass Democratic Movement all took time, he added.

The CDS trustees are: Dr Abie Nkomo (Atteridgeville medical doctor), Mr Dullah Omar (Cape Town advocate), Professor Jakes Gerwel (UWC rector), Mr Pius Langa (Natal), Mrs Albertina Sisulu (wife of Mr Walter Sisulu, internal ANC head), Mr Mbuleleki George and the Rev L Finca (both Border region).

From **BARNEY DESAI**, Co-ordinator,  
Western Cape Region, Pan-Africanist  
Congress ( Salt River):-

**IN RESPONSE** to your leader  
"Curbing violence" (Cape Times, June  
5) please allow me to put the record  
straight on the question of the PAC  
and non-racialism.

Founded 31 years ago and banned  
after only 11 months of its existence  
when the State of Emergency was de-  
clared in 1960, the Pan-Africanist  
Congress has had little or no oppor-  
tunity to expose its founding princi-  
ples to public scrutiny.

We are committed to a policy of non-  
racialism — nothing has changed  
since the PAC's inception. I quote the  
late Robert Sobukwe, our first presi-  
dent: "Politically we stand for govern-  
ment of the Africans, by the Africans  
with EVERYBODY who owes his alle-  
giance and loyalty only to Africa and  
accepts the democratic rule of an  
African majority being regarded as an  
African."

"We guarantee no minority rights  
because we are fighting precisely that  
group exclusiveness which those who  
plead for minority rights would like to  
perpetuate. It is our view that if we  
have guaranteed individual liberties  
we have given the highest possible  
guarantees necessary and possible. I  
see no reason why a predominanttly  
black electorate should not return a  
white man to parliament, for colour  
will count for nothing in a free  
Africa."

## PAC: In a free land colour will be meaningless

A perhaps dramatic instance of this  
policy in action was the fact that Pat-  
rick Duncan, son of a former Governor  
General of South Africa, Sir Patrick  
Duncan, joined the PAC and was ap-  
pointed the party's representative in  
the Republic of Algeria.

Perhaps more significantly, the  
South African Coloured Peoples' Con-  
gress of South Africa, of which I was  
president, dissolved in 1966 and  
merged with the PAC, after unsuc-  
cessfully trying to persuade the Afri-  
can National Congress to open its  
doors to all "races".

It is significant that the ANC only  
opened its membership to all as late  
as 1985. The mainspring of its policy  
on this question was multiracialism,  
which manifested itself in the Con-  
gress Alliance, to wit: The African  
National Congress acting in concert  
with the South African Indian Con-  
gress, the Coloured Peoples' Congress  
and the white Congress of Democrats.

Robert Sobukwe categorised multi-  
racialism as racialism multiplied.

I may add that I found it odious that  
commentators in the mass media  
bracket the PAC with the racist CP  
and the fascist AWB.



Friday 7/6/90

11A

### 'Hurt' law will not be repealed yet

CAPE TOWN — The Population Registration Act could not be scrapped now as it could not be separated from the constitution, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation by Jac Rabie (UDP Reigerpark), Louw said the Act would have to be taken to the negotiation table.

"My department has struggled for decades with this Act. We did not enjoy tearing families apart, but stuck to the Act only because we were forced to do so by the law," said Louw.

"If we ignore the Population Registration Act now, then we must ignore the constitution."

Rabie said the Act was one of the "hurt" laws on the SA statute book and he was disappointed its repeal had to wait for negotiations to begin.

"Whites don't understand the hurt this Act has caused. During the 50s an uncle of mine was incorrectly classified and he was sold to a farm-

er. I was incorrectly classified when I went to college, and had to appeal. My family is classified in four different categories."

"The sooner we can be recognised as citizens of SA and not on the basis of the colour of our skins, the better."

Sam Louw (LP Rust Ter Vaal) said the Act had kept government in power for decades.

Not only had many families been torn apart by the Act, but the method of classification was humiliating and degrading.

Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) referred to letters in the Press criticising him for publicising the fact that folk singer Randall Wickam was coloured.

"These people have no conception of what coloureds feel. Can you imagine how Mr Wickam's coloured family felt when he recently held a concert in Oudtshoorn and they could not attend?" — Sapa.

# SAIRR study sees signs of a compromise

THERE are signs of a compromise between the NP, the ANC and Inkatha on the question of minority rights, according to a new South African Institute of Race Relations publication, Countdown to Negotiations.

Countdown, which reports the views of a wide spectrum of political organisations on the negotiation process, says "the definition of groups is likely to be of pivotal importance to the outcome of the talks".

The PAC and Azapo risked "missing the bus" if they stayed out of constitutional negotiations.

The PAC and Azapo could become peripheral if they stayed out of constitutional talks which produced a system acceptable to most blacks.

Countdown, compiled by Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, reports that some PAC and Azapo sympathisers

### Business Day Reporter

believed the organisation was in a dilemma over refusing to negotiate when others were doing so.

Azapo felt a negotiated settlement would be possible only when "the enemy's morale is too low", the economy collapsing, and "the enemy's war machinery" exhausted, among other things.

Government constitutional thinking had been "much influenced" by the KwaZulu Nata' Indaba, the publication reports.

Government had taken over one vital aspect of the Indaba's proposals — the concept of an open group for people who did not want to organise themselves on a racial basis.

Countdown says the question of minority rights will be a key issue when obstacles to negotiation have been cleared away.

# Parisians roll out red carpet

8 (12) 716/90

IAN HOBBS

PARIS — Nelson Mandela was welcomed here as a conquering hero last night — but he had already lost his battle for the retention of blanket French sanctions on SA.

The splendour of the pomp and ceremony masked sharp differences between the ANC deputy president and President Francois Mitterrand, who paid homage to Mandela as a giant of the century and keystone for peace in SA.

In what French officials described as a level of welcome many heads of state could not expect, Mandela was personally greeted at Charles de Gaulle Airport by the president's wife, Danielle Mitterrand.

They were then driven in state procession to the spectacular Hotel Crillon on the Place de la Concorde where thousands of Parisians were gathering last night to pay tribute to Mandela.

French officials said Mitterrand was informing Mandela that France felt it had no option other than to serve the best interests of peace and progress in SA and to do this a "gesture" had to be made to Presi-

dent F W de Klerk.

It is understood that French EC bureaucrats attending high-levels talks in Brussels yesterday were supporting a Dutch plan to make minor concessions on sanctions linked to the introduction of irreversible reforms.

Mandela, arguing vehemently that any concession on sanctions would undermine the representatives of the black majority in settlement negotiations with Pretoria, clearly faces an uphill task from the other EC governments he will be visiting on this trip — namely of Germany and Italy.

He said in a TV interview, filmed just before he left Johannesburg: "If France reduces sanctions, then the SA government will slow down the rhythm of change. It is because of sanctions that the government has changed its policy."

Today Mandela will have lunch with Mitterrand and about an hour of private talks.

## ANC academic think tank told to 'freeze'

CAPE TOWN — All activities of the ANC's academic think tank, the Centre for Democratic Studies (CDS), and its bank accounts were frozen as an academic uproar on university campuses country-wide came to a head this week.

CDS projects involve 11 commissions researching the restructuring of SA in a post-apartheid era.

Project leaders were told this week to halt their activities and regard all CDS bank accounts as frozen.

There have been unsubstantiated claims of financial irregularities. The allegations were denied by senior CDS members.

The trustees of CDS, under the chair-

Own Correspondent

manship of Able Nkomo, will hold an urgent meeting at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) on Sunday.

The suspension of activities was announced by CDS national co-ordinator and UWC history lecturer Randi Erentzen on Monday after he submitted an audit to trustees last week. *B. Ram 7/6/90*

Erentzen said the CDS budget for the last three years was R450 000 and it had R54 000 in its accounts at present.

Urgent meetings of the CDS project leaders were called in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban last night.



## ANC reviews sporting, cultural links

PETER DELMAR

was being closely questioned because many whites feared revenge. "There is a fear that by saying there will be nationalisation of some kind you mean confiscation of people's property," he said.

However, when the Freedom Charter was drafted, the intention was not to take advantage of specific groups of people, he said.

Asked whether the ANC would allow independent observers to investigate allegations of torture made by former ANC members, Sisulu said the ANC had not yet decided in detail how it would handle such an investigation.

In his address, LHR chairman Peter Leon said SA continued to have a statutory arsenal which ensured government by law but not government under the law.

Leon said in the present government's final years of rule the goal of a justiciable bill of rights was no longer utopian.

"Indeed, it now appears to be supported by the government in principle."

THE ANC was striving to normalise international sporting and cultural links and was involving SA artists in its internal investigation of the issue, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said last night.

Sisulu indicated in an interview that ending SA's cultural and sporting isolation would not necessarily be contingent upon government satisfying the full requirements of the ANC's Harare Declaration. But he said he could not commit himself or the ANC to a timetable.

He acknowledged the selective lifting of these boycotts was one of the options being studied by the ANC.

Earlier, while speaking at the Lawyers for Human Rights AGM, Sisulu paid tribute to the organisation, saying its members had inspired him and his colleagues during their imprisonment.

The ANC and the LHR, he said, had a common commitment to a bill of rights and did not believe in guaranteeing rights on the basis of ethnicity.

Sisulu said the ANC was committed to guaranteeing cultures.

Sisulu said the ANC's economic policy



Senior counsel George Bizos of Lawyers for Human Rights, far left, and Prof Arthur Chaskelson of the Legal Resources Centre listening to Walter Sisulu of the ANC at the Lawyers for Human Rights AGM in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



AN historical meeting between cultural organisations from seven regions in South Africa has resolved to work towards the formation of a National Cultural Congress before the end of this year.

The meeting, held at the Moulin Rouge Hotel in Johannesburg on May 26 and 27, was attended by more than 100 delegates from cultural organisations from the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Border, Orange Free State and Transvaal.

The consultative conference comes as a breakthrough for cultural organisations and artists who have been hampered by a lack of consultation and coordination between the various cul-

# National cultural congress breakthrough

South 2/6-13/6/90

(11A)

tural organisations in South Africa.

The urgency of the meeting has in part been prompted by the change in the political climate. It has forced cultural organisations into preparing for the return of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture and exiled artists.

The seriousness with which the Department of Arts and Culture views the meeting was conveyed in a message of support which stressed the National Cultural Conference, should "act as a midwife for the creation of a genuinely representative cultural organisation".

In the spirit of democracy and accountability — which the Johannesburg-based

Cultural Desk has been accused of lacking — the delegates agreed not to make any decisions before proper consultation and report-backs to their different regions.

Delegates questioned the role of the Cultural Desk and it was decided that a structure more representative of the various arts disciplines in all regions should be established.

The meeting established an interim committee that would work towards the launch of a National Cultural Congress. The 12 person interim committee will have to work with existing coordinating structures such as the Cultural Desk and the Cultural Workers Congress in Cape Town until the launch of the congress in September.

ANC speaker at the Johannesburg consultative, Naledi Tsiki, stressed the need for unity among cultural workers. It was important to mobilise across a broad political spectrum and not confine cultural practices within narrow political debates.

Delegates at the conference reaffirmed the selective cultural boycott strategy and stated a six-person delegation and members of the Department of Arts and Culture would address the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid on the cultural boycott within the next few months.

Delegates resolved to monitor the return of exiles and work with other political organisations in preparing for a national reception. — *Krisen Pather*

11A

# ANC wants radical action

South 7/6 - 13/6/90

# for women

From MOIRA LEVY LONDON. — The ANC's national executive committee last week released a policy statement on the emancipation of women, outlining radical affirmative action to be included in the Constitutional Guidelines.

Among its proposals is a call for "laws, customs, traditions and practices which discriminate against women to be held unconstitutional".

### Lobola

One of the traditions that could come under review, for example, is the practice of lobola.

The statement proposes the Freedom Charter's dictum, "the land belongs to those who work it", should be interpreted to mean women should own the land as the majority of rural workers are women.

The statement would serve as a discussion docu-

ment, said Ms Frene Ginwala, who serves on the political committee of the ANC president's office.

"It is the most comprehensive statement on women's oppression yet to have emerged out of any liberation movement or struggle.

"The aim is that it be debated and discussed by all South Africans," she said.

A call for a mass campaign for a Charter of Women's Rights, released at the time of the regrouping of the ANC's Women's League inside the country, is published in the statement.

Ginwala emphasised the statement was aimed at men and women. She referred to a passage which read: "Although the principal themes of the Charter must be guided by women, men must be engaged in the process so that we can ensure the Charter has the backing of the widest strata of society."

She added: "The statement recognises ANC policy that the emancipation of women

should involve the whole community — men and women.

"This policy statement declares the women's struggle is not a by-product of the liberation struggle; it is something we need to struggle for in itself."

### Status

The statement was directed at all women — black and white, Ginwala said.

It declares: "Within our racially- and ethnically-divided society, all women have a lower status than men of the same group in both law and practice."

However, "within apartheid ideology, African women have been perceived simply as the breeders of future generations of labour. Women have carried the responsibility for survival and generational reproduction, even though they are still often subject to the legal authority of absent men."

The importance of the statement, Ginwala believes, lies partly in the public recognition it gives to the fact that "patriarchy within our organisations has damaged the liberation struggle".

### Detriment

According to the statement, "the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes in South African society permeates our own organisations. The absence of sufficient numbers of women in our organisations, especially at decision-making level ... has been to the detriment of our struggle."

The statement calls for affirmative action to break the

cycle of women's discrimination.

"Patterns of discrimination and inequality are not self-correcting," the statement says. "We need to take affirmative action within the ANC to supplement and reinforce education and advancement programmes based on the principle of equality.

### Oppression

"The Department of Political Education has been instructed to embark on a systematic programme of formal and informal education to promote an understanding of the origins and effects of gender oppression on our people."

The ANC also believes it is not enough to make discrimination against women illegal; it proposes the onus be on the government to make the law accessible to ordinary women. It would be up to the state to ensure all women have the full protection of the law.

Arising out of a recent seminar, ANC women include proposed amendments to the Constitutional Guidelines, including adding "non-sexist" to the categorisation of South Africa as an "independent, united, democratic, non-racial state."

Also included are proposals to reconsider the Constitutional Guideline's declared commitment to protect the family.

The policy statement calls for protection for women's right to control their own fertility and demands equal and just child care within the family.

By MONO BADELA

MAX Sisulu, head of the ANC's economics department, is to take up a research appointment at the University of Western Cape later this year.

Sisulu, 44, will take up the four-month appointment at the university's faculty of economic and management sciences in October.

Sisulu "came home" from exile at the weekend after 27 years with a "deep sense of trepidation".

One of the lesser-known members of the Sisulu family, Max Sisulu has had more than his fair share of violent threats and intimidation from South African agents during his exile.

"I never felt safe and I don't know if I'll ever feel safer in South Africa," says the man who has escaped at least two attempts on his life.

After a stint in South Africa's police cells, at the age of 17, Max Sisulu reluctantly left the country in 1963.

In an exclusive interview this week, Sisulu told SOUTH that the exiled mission of the ANC had ordered him to skip the country after his father and seven others were captured in Rivonia.

# Max Sisulu heads for UWC

South 7/16-13/6/90

11/11



Max Sisulu

"When I finally decided to skip via Botswana my mother was still detained by the authorities. I left my younger brothers, sister and other members of the family in the care of our neighbours."

"They followed me to Botswana. I joined other members of the movement and Swapo in Francistown. On the eve of our departure for Tanzania, an aircraft specially hired to transport us was blasted by a bomb," he said.

He managed to get a lift in a small

aircraft especially hired to transport two Rivonia ANC fugitives, Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe. On arriving in Tanzania he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and underwent military training. After serving in the army, Max studied economics for five years in Moscow.

He came back to Africa and worked for the ANC's youth secretariat. After 1966 he went to Zambia to work in ANC structures, specialising mostly in political work.

Sisulu said while working in Lusaka in 1974, he survived another assassination attempt. A letter bomb from South Africa exploded in the hands of his friend, John Mvemve Dube, killing him on the spot.

"The entire office collapsed on us. I suffered burns and lacerations. My left ear is still partially deaf as a result of the blast."

Sisulu, and his family jetted into South Africa last Friday on a temporary indemnity permit issued by the government.



RETURNED: Hettie and Reg September at the welcoming function. 11A

## Motorcade for Cape ANC couple

South 7/6 - 13/6/90

THE Western Cape convenor of the African National Congress, Mr Reggie September and his wife, Mrs Hettie September, returned to Cape Town to an emotional reunion last week.

At the airport after their arrival last Thursday, September was visibly moved by the jubilant welcome of the crowd.

Afterwards he was driven through Guguletu and Athlone in an impromptu motorcade. Hundreds of people gave ANC salutes as he passed by.

About 100 people attended a reception for September in Athlone on Saturday.

He told the gathering it was important for the ANC to develop a broad alliance of young and old, men and women, workers and professionals.

"When we left, it seemed what we wanted was an impossible dream," he said.

### Talking to the ANC

"Today, Nelson (Mandela), Walter (Sisulu) and many others have been released and the government is talking to the ANC."

Hettie September introduced a friend who worked with her at a Cape Town textile firm in 1961.

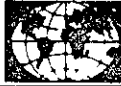
"We are going to continue where we left off in 1961. We are going to organise," she said.

She said she was not sure where they were going to live, the important thing was they were back in Cape Town.

The ANC in the Western Cape has organised two public meetings this week.

The Athlone branch will celebrate September's return with a public meeting at the Athlone Civic Centre on Friday at 8pm.

The Mitchells Plain branch will have a mass meeting at the Rocklands Civic Centre on Sunday at 2.30pm.



# Vive M'sieu Mandela!

## Mitterrand hails hero but ignores call for renewed sanctions

Archival 7/6/90 IIIA (circled)

### Date set for Bush meeting

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — Mr Mandela will meet President George Bush in the Oval office on June 25.

"The purpose of this private visit is to hear Mr Mandela's views on the emerging process of negotiations to end apartheid and to encourage further progress on this issue," a White House spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Bush invited Mr Mandela and President De Klerk to visit Washington separately. He extended the invitations to the two leaders in personal telephone calls on the day Mr Mandela was released from prison.

Mr De Klerk originally agreed to visit the US from June 17 to June 20, but postponed after congressional opposition to the timing of the visit.

No new date for Mr De Klerk has been scheduled.

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE Political Staff

PARIS. — Mr Nelson Mandela has used his first public platform on his six-nation European tour to urge France's President Francois Mitterrand and other Western leaders to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

However, in a tribute to the ANC leader on his arrival in France yesterday, President Mitterrand ignored the issue.

Sanctions come up for renewal at a European Community summit in Dublin this month.

Amid cries of "Sanctions, sanctions" by a flag-waving crowd of anti-apartheid activists who gathered at the Human Rights Square to welcome Mr Mandela, President Mitterrand lashed out at the cruelty of racism.

### Apartheid remains

Mr Mandela said last night at a public welcoming ceremony organised by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand: "The main pillars of apartheid, the system of white minority domination, remain in place.

"It is in this context that we call on the international community and our friends, in particular, to maintain sanctions.

"Sanctions must remain in place until profound and irreversible changes have taken place in our troubled country."

A reference to the 1988 assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC's representative in France, drew wild cheers from the crowd.

Due to the mass struggle of South Africans and international support he felt confident that "victory is in sight".

### Official talks

President Mitterrand said he had fought racism all his life and would continue to do so. He hailed Mr Mandela as a symbol of dignity, freedom and justice.

The two men will meet for official talks today and lunch at the Elysée Palace. Mr Mandela will meet French Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard, opposition leader and Mayor of Paris Mr Jacques Chirac, the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties and other senior politicians before flying to Switzerland tomorrow morning.



**WARM GREETINGS:** Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by French President Francois Mitterrand, while his wife Winnie is hugged by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand at Human Rights Square in Paris.

# SABC coverage 'scandalous'

Staff Reporter

Political analyst and former Unisa political studies professor Willem Kleynhans has slammed SABC-TV's coverage of Nelson Mandela's 13-nation tour as "scandalous".

"I am furious. When (President F W) De Klerk toured Europe we had hours of coverage. Since Mandela started his tour we have had a few minutes here and there."

Professor Kleynhans watched Mr Mandela's address to the US Congress at the US Embassy

in Pretoria last night. The US broadcast ran from 5 pm to 6.30 pm.

"When Mandela entered Congress he got a standing ovation for about five minutes. When he said sanctions should not be lifted he got another standing ovation."

## Negative

"On television news here we saw a few minutes of Mandela and only his saying we need capital to provide jobs in South Africa."

Professor Kleynhans

said both television and the press here had focussed on the negative aspects of Mandela's tour. This included two senators walking out of Congress and a few people protesting against Mandela.

"Dammit, man, this is the limit of partiality. It is scandalous. And where was the tumultuous welcome for Mandela in New York and the ticker-tape parade? It was a major international event and we saw almost nothing."



A warm hug for Winnie Mandela from Danielle Mitterrand as President Mitterrand greets Nelson Mandela yesterday evening.

● Picture by Associated Press.

By Esmare van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

PARIS — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has used his first public platform on his six-nation European tour to urge French President Mitterrand and other Western leaders to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

But in a lengthy tribute to the ANC leader on his arrival in France yesterday, President Mitterrand completely ignored the issue which will be the focus of Mr Mandela's six-week international tour of 13 states on three continents.

Amid cries of "Sanctions, sanctions" by a flag-waving

## Mitterrand gives Mandela a warm welcome but does not mention maintaining sanctions

crowd of anti-apartheid activists who gathered at the Human Rights Esplanade to welcome Mr Mandela to France, President Mitterrand lashed out at the cruelty of racism.

But the president, who last month warmly received President de Klerk, stayed clear of the sanctions issue which will come up for renewal at a European Community summit in Dublin later this month.

Mr Mandela called for continued international support

against the Government, which, he said, had recognised the failure of apartheid but had not yet addressed the illegitimacy of white minority rule.

"Sanctions must remain in place until profound and irreversible changes have taken place in our troubled country," he said last night at a public welcoming ceremony organised by President Mitterrand's wife, Danielle.

Mr Mandela said apartheid was a crime against humanity

and for decades it had caused the massacre, oppression and torture of black South Africans.

His reference to the 1988 assassination of Dulcie September, the ANC's representative in France, drew wild cheers.

Due to the mass struggle of South Africans and international support, he felt confident "victory is in sight". However, the last mile would be the most difficult and the international world should "walk this road with us", Mr Mandela said.

President Mitterrand, speaking in French, said he had fought against racism all his life and would continue to do so.

"France is the country of human rights, and therefore it is your country too. But at the time that you are among us, it is difficult to imagine that you are not even a citizen of your own country."

The two men will meet for official talks today and have lunch at the Elysée presidential palace. Mr Mandela will also meet Prime Minister Michel Rocard, opposition leader and Paris mayor Jacques Chirac, and the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties.

# Mandela: French stick by sanctions

CHL T-975 8/6/90 (11A)

From IAN HOBBS

PARIS. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night said President Francois Mitterrand had given him "unequivocal" assurances that France would not ease sanctions on South Africa.

"The French stick by sanctions," he told me in his suite at the Crillion Hotel.

The ANC deputy president said he had "no problem whatever" in winning the unequivocal support of Mr Mitterrand for his case that sanctions had to be maintained and enforced to dismantle apartheid.

Mr Mandela said the widely-held view in high political circles in Paris that Mr Mitterrand would reward President F W De Klerk with a "gesture" to ease sanctions must be a misunderstanding.

He had no doubt that the

French president would go to the 12-nation European Community heads of government summit in Dublin on June 25/26 to stand against the easing of sanctions.

Mr Mandela said he would take his strong message on sanctions to Bonn, Rome and the European Parliament in Strasbourg and if any governments were wavering or considering easing sanctions, he would want to know how they could consider this while apartheid was still in place.

He said the lifting of the state of emergency had merely removed one of many obstacles in the way of negotiations.

He rejected the premise that Mr De Klerk should be rewarded while the essential structures of apartheid remained.

On his coming meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who completely rejects his case on sanctions, he

said it was vital to South Africa and Britain that the meeting was held in a good atmosphere.

"Why should we clash?" he asked.

"We can differ and still be friends. I am keen to improve relations between Britain and the ANC."

Mr Mandela was still on the move late last night.

Apart from his banquet with Mr Mitterrand, he met the leaders of all the major political parties, addressed a huge United Nations function, acting as genial host, spoke to individual businessmen and journalists, addressed the National Assembly (the French Parliament) and then the press conference.

Asked how he felt, he grinned widely and said: "I feel very well."

Mr Mandela flies to Geneva at dawn today.



<sup>977 7mb</sup>  
PAC, 8/6/90  
ANC sign  
for peace

JOHANNESBURG. — Significant strides towards a peace settlement among ANC and PAC supporters in the Vosloorus township, near Boksburg, were made yesterday when both organisations penned an interim agreement to end hostilities.

The ANC and PAC branches also called on their supporters in Vosloorus for restraint.

Meanwhile a third family member has died after being injured in the township last Friday when gunmen attacked their home.

Ms Elizabeth Maziya, 63, died yesterday after being admitted to hospital with multiple injuries. — Sapa.

## Growing unease on admin, finance

# ANC think tank 'in a shambles'

Cape Times 8/6/90

11A

By BARRY STREEK

COMPLAINTS about finances, maladministration and lack of progress had been voiced within the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), the ANC think tank whose activities and bank account were frozen this week.

Members of one of the CDS's 11 commissions were also told of problems with the audit.

These developments emerged yesterday after the disclosure that CDS activities had been suspended by its national co-ordinator, Mr Randi Erentzen, who was not available for comment last night.

Yesterday, academics and activists, who asked not to be named, said CDS was in a total shambles, but they felt some of the commissions were doing important and relevant research and they hoped these activities would not be jeopardised by the suspension of CDS activities.

The CDS was established to "research the existing social, political and economic conditions in the country with a specific view for a future South Africa".

But there was increasing frustration about lack of progress and the way the organisation was administered.

In a document circulated in the Western Cape this year, one of

the 11 CDS commissions sought information about the CDS budget as "everyone seems to have differing notions of what finances are secured for CDS as a whole".

It also referred to a lack of regular financial statements and reported that the Transvaal regional administrator had not been paid for over three months and the office phone was cut off because of non-payment.

People were told that tickets for meetings were to be fetched from airports but on arrival people "found tickets unavailable, booked in the wrong names or not booked at all".

# Tsietsi Mashinini may return to SA

By LEN MASEKO

**EXILED Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini, who fled South Africa at the height of the 1976 upheavals, is likely to settle in Zimbabwe soon.**

The news follow immediately after reports that exiled world-acclaimed singer Mirriam Makeba is returning to the country.

Makeba, who is said to have played godmother to the fiery student leader in his years in exile in Guinea, West Africa, is expected on Sunday.

Mashinini's brother, Siphosiso, said yesterday his family was in touch with Tsietsi, with a view to arranging a meeting in Zimbabwe - possibly next week.

"Nothing has been finalised yet

but we are hoping Tsietsi may settle nearer home in one of the southern African states," said Siphosiso.

He said his family was still negotiating with the Zimbabwean authorities to allow his brother to settle there.

Tsietsi's impending return to southern Africa comes at a time when the Government and the ANC are negotiating over indemnity for exiles who plan to return.

It is believed the exiled leader, if granted political asylum in Zimbabwe, would be monitoring the situation in South Africa before deciding whether to return permanently to the country he left

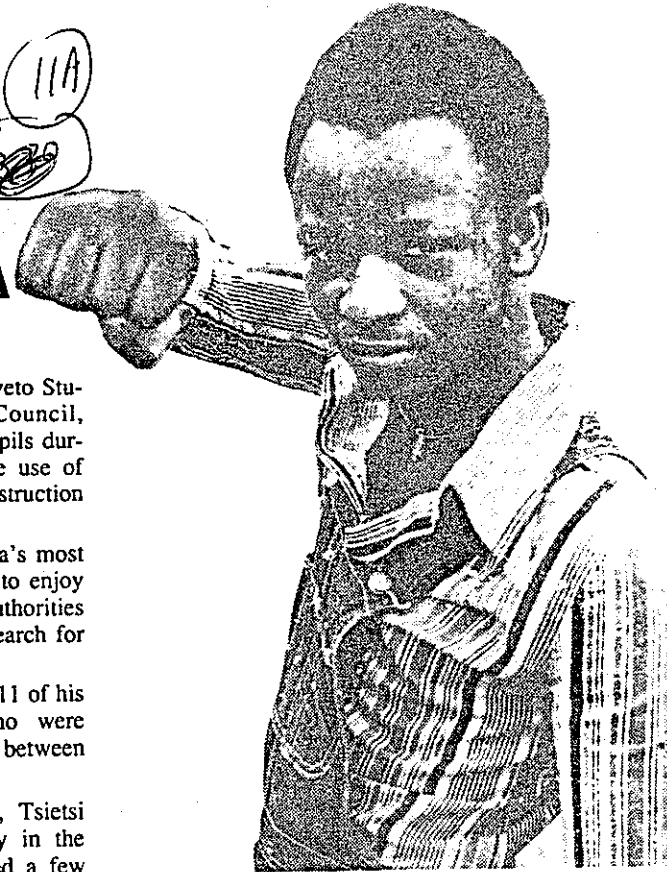
14 years ago.

As chairman of the Soweto Students' Representative Council, Tsietsi led thousands of pupils during their revolt against the use of Afrikaans as a medium-instruction in black schools.

He became South Africa's most wanted man and appeared to enjoy thumbing his nose at the authorities who launched a massive search for him at the time.

Police later rounded up 11 of his SSRC "lieutenants", who were jailed for terms ranging between five and 10 years.

While in north Africa, Tsietsi married a Nigerian beauty in the late '70s but they divorced a few years later.



TSIETSI MASHININI

quads at

NEW

PARIS - While President FW de Klerk was received in Paris last month with unexpected but still formal warmth from President Francois Mitterrand, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was welcomed on French soil on Wednesday night as a long-awaited hero.

Hundreds of policemen brought traffic to a virtual standstill as they cordoned off the entire Trocadero Centre near the Eiffel Tower and thousands of banner waving supporters braved continuous rain to attend Mitterrand's official public welcome to Mandela on the Human Rights Court.

### **Symbolic**

In accordance with the symbolic venue, Mitterrand recalled Mandela's decades-long fight for the rights of oppressed people in South Africa and paid tribute to his unwavering commitment to the goal of freedom and democracy despite 27 years of imprisonment.

The ANC leader in turn thanked the French people for their support over the years of bitter struggle and called on them to make their vital contribution now that victory over the terror of apartheid was finally in sight.

"The last mile can prove to be the most difficult ... we need to cover that last mile to-

# Hero's welcome for Mandela in Paris



ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, get a warm welcome from President Mitterrand of France and his wife, Danielle.

gether," he said to prolonged cheers.

The nitty gritty of Mandela's mission overseas: to persuade France and other European Community countries to reject De Klerk's plea that reform is real and irreversible already, and that sanctions are irrelevant, was not raised in the enthusiastic wel-

coming.

The sanctions issue was in fact not directly raised by either Mandela or Mitterrand.

This and other matters were due to be discussed at formal talks and a luncheon yesterday at Mitterrand's official residence, the Elysee Palace, where De Klerk was received

for well over half an hour, but not a meal, last month.

Also on Mandela's official agenda for the day were a meeting at the headquarters of the French Communist Party, a visit to the National Assembly and discussion with Parliamentarians, and a spot of sightseeing.- Sapa.

THE prime cause behind the armed struggle of the ANC lies in policies of the SA government which drove our organisation to fight with the most effective weapons given the impossibility, at that time, of pursuing effective non-violent and legal activities.



□ SUTTNER

# ANC examines undisciplined violence

8/10/91 8/6/90  
But as we know only too well, disciplined armed action has not been the only form that violence on the part of the oppressed has taken.

Crime is plaguing the lives of ordinary, honest blacks who want to go home with their pay, who want their wives and daughters to be free from the permanent fear of abduction and rape, who don't want to be mugged. This is an issue that affects everyone, whether they support the ANC or any other organisation.

We know also many acts are committed in the name of the liberation struggle, which rightly are condemned. The first such case in everyone's mind is the necklace. The ANC has condemned this, but we need to ask why people engage in such actions.

The answer may lie in their relative powerlessness. They cannot identify and attack the real cause of their misery, so they deal with perceived agents of that enemy, sometimes killing totally innocent people.

We know there are also acts of political intimidation — old women made to drink cooking oil during a

## RAYMOND SUTTNER

consumer boycott, or members of rival political organisations being beaten up.

Such action relates to a broader phenomenon, SA's culture of violence. One of the effects of apartheid rule, likely to endure long after it has been dismantled, is the brutalisation that it has caused in all sections of our population.

This is a serious problem, not only for the government but also for us. We need to combat this by instilling genuinely liberating and humanistic approaches, which we are trying to do in our organs of people's power.

In the period 1985/86 some very important steps were taken to control and eradicate crime in many townships where organs of people's power were set up.

On the basis of grassroots organisation — at the level of a street, yard or block — committees were established to consult people living there and to resolve disputes peacefully,

~~27/9~~ 11A  
mediate in quarrels and deal with crime.

This also meant political decisions were taken through consultation at all levels of the community. When the people of Port Alfred organised a consumer boycott in 1986 it was not necessary to use force. Everyone had taken part in the decision.

During that period steps were taken to disarm thugs with knives. Even the most admirable objectives raised fresh problems. Sometimes the people who were supposed to take away knives took other things. So to make it possible to identify the culprits, it was decided that only people in the same street could do the searching.

Our experience of local level justice has not always been positive. We read a lot in the papers of kangaroo courts, but that is not what popular justice means.

We have found there can generally be success only where the whole community is involved, not just the youth. It is mainly when it is only the youth involved that excesses occur. This has tended to happen especially

when detentions cause a leadership vacuum.

As regards the use of intimidation to "advance" our cause, our view is that people must join the ANC out of conviction and not intimidation.

But these questions go beyond the scope of political allegiances. The entire community must be able to live in peace and without fear. Many of these questions can best be addressed by civic structures and that is why we are not trying to absorb such structures into the ANC.

We are committed to peace. It is our people who are suffering most and dying in the violent struggles against and connected to apartheid. We have entered seriously into a peace process which we hope will make it possible to have serious negotiations.

This process requires the government to create conditions where we can organise freely and without repression. Once such a climate is created we are committed to negotiating a suspension of hostilities and taking the process further towards creating a new constitution.

□ Suttner is the head of the ANC's department of political education. This is an extract from a speech he delivered last weekend.

# No minority protection, Mandela tells French

PARIS — The ANC wanted a democratic system for SA without protection of any minority rights, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Speaking to reporters after meeting the conservative mayor of Paris and former prime minister Jacques Chirac, he said the ANC's plans for peace and prosperity had been spelt out in its talks.

On minority rights, he said politics in Europe were based on a democratic system in which the principle of one man, one vote was a central feature.

Chirac said his talks with Mandela had been interesting, as they had dealt with the ANC's vision of the future SA, relations

with Inkatha and Mandela's reasons for insisting international sanctions be maintained until apartheid was eliminated. While it was important to condier Mandela's views, he said he believed the issue should now be reassessed within the EC context. *8/10am 8/6/90*

At lunchtime, Mandela arrived at President Francois Mitterrand's official residence for formal talks, followed by a banquet. From there he went on to the National Assembly for discussions with parliamentarians.

IAN HOBBS reports that Mandela made no comment on his talks with Mitterrand other than to say it had been a "useful

meeting". He had thanked the president and people of France for their "solid support" over many years.

But both ANC and French government officials said Mandela had been determined to tell Mitterrand in blunt terms that any step he took to ease sanctions would be seized by Pretoria as an excuse to obstruct the process of reform and negotiation.

However, French officials said Mitterrand was standing by the undertaking he gave when he met President F W de Klerk that the French government would make a "gesture" in recognition of irreversible reform. — Sapa. Picture: Page 3

# ANC funds 'will be unfrozen soon'

w/Man s/6-14/6/90.

(11A)

By GAYE DAVIS

BUFFETED by allegations of gross inefficiency and misuse of funds, trustees of the African National Congress' Centre for Development Studies will meet in Cape Town this weekend in a bid to put the CDS initiative back on track.

Set up three years ago for research into social, economic and political issues with a view to planning a post-apartheid future, the CDS is said to have a potential R28-million coming its way in terms of funding.

The Cape meeting follows this week's suspension of CDS activities and the freezing of its bank accounts — a move which stunned academics plus others involved in its projects and which sparked a series of crisis meetings across the country.

It is believed that the Transvaal region's CDS division has rejected the decision, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

CDS spokesperson Bulelani Ngcuka denied the move was in any way linked with rumours of large-scale misappropriation of funds within the CDS. He said these allegations were "devoid of truth".

It was "not so much a suspension as a question of taking a step back and reassessing the situation", he said.

At Sunday's urgent meeting, trustees will discuss the future of the project and criticisms levelled at it. It was likely that some CDS projects would

be jettisoned as part of a rationalisation of its activities, Ngcuka said.

Bank accounts had been frozen because it was important that no further money be spent on CDS activities until the reassessment.

Ngcuka said: "By Monday the freeze will be over, that I can guarantee."

According to Ngcuka, the CDS has received "a little over R500 000".

This money was ostensibly used to fund research by commissions set up in various regions to study the likes of education, economy, health, social services, local government and land issues.

Setting the CDS apart from similar research initiatives were its close links with the Mass Democratic Movement. While it drew in progressive academics, it also involved community organisations affiliated to the MDM in an attempt to ensure research undertaken was relevant to "the people".

An academic said problems within the CDS centred around inefficiency and "general dissatisfaction" with its national leadership, made up of representatives from the MDM and a board of trustees.

One trustee said part of the problem was that the CDS, established at a time when the ANC was still banned,

had been forced to operate in a semi-covert way, which meant lines of accountability became blurred.

He believed money problems stemmed not so much from corruption within CDS ranks, but from inappropriate use of money — largely on air-travel.

Other academics engaged in CDS activities said much time was spent trying to sort out the issue of who would ultimately control the direction of the initiative — academics doing the research or the people for whom it was being done.

But regional and national structures set up to try and resolve the issue had proved to be unwieldy, often causing bureaucratic foul-ups, they said.

Ngcuka said there had been "grumblings" about too many structures, while the CDS had been criticised by people within community organisations for not producing "the research the people want" quickly enough.

"There is no other research centre like the CDS," he said. "It belongs to community organisations, but the role academics have to play is understood. We are charting a new course and progress is likely to be a little slow."

But, while projects had lagged in some areas, others had "produced results we can show". This was one of the reasons it was necessary to rethink and rationalise CDS activities, he said.

# New unity mood in black politics

*w/ Mail 8/6-14/6/90*  
A NEW mood of unity was forged this week when the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress met to halt violence between their members.

Fighting between the ANC and PAC in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, has left five dead. The ANC/Azapo conflict in Kroonstad, in the Free State — which left one dead and several injured — has led to those two groups preparing a joint statement on violence which they hope to release soon.

The meeting between the ANC and PAC, at the South African Council of Churches' chambers in Johannesburg, was attended by grassroots members of both organisations.

Delegates declined to speak to the press on the outcome of the meeting.

There are also moves to include the PAC in the forthcoming joint statement from Azapo and the ANC. It is hoped that successful completion of the statement would herald the implementation of the Azapo call for a consultative meeting of resistance organisations. This would embrace the negotiations question and inter-organisational violence.

The ANC/Azapo move follows the urgent weekend meeting on the Kroonstad violence between recuperating ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Azapo central commit-

● To PAGE 2

## Mood of unity

*w/ Mail 8/6-14/6/90*  
● From PAGE 1

tee member Muntu Myeza. It is also a consequence of the joint ANC-Azapo rally in Maokeng, Kroonstad, and an historic peace pact between the Kroonstad branches of the ANC and Azapo. ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and Azapo secretary general Pandelani Nepholodwhe spoke at the rally.

Last week in Kroonstad an Azapo supporter, Monyani Lekitlane, was allegedly killed by ANC supporters. Another Azapo member, Lebona Tsokotisi, was abducted.

In Vosloorus, Azanian National Youth Unity member John Rantho, was last week killed when he was doused with petrol and set alight in violence between members of the Pan African Students Congress and Vosloorus Students Congress.

On Saturday morning, three people died when the homes of Vosloorus Crisis Committee chairman, Ali Maziya, and SACC employee, Thusi Motsopi, were attacked with an AK-47 and a handgrenade.

The Kroonstad agreement includes: A joint condemnation of the necklace method; an end to public attacks on rival organisations; an end to the hijacking of meetings. Boycotts or stay-aways would not be called without prior consultation between the two organisations; a resolve that all students return to school.

The ANC also condemned the Maokeng Democratic Crisis committee as a band of "opportunists" who raised the ANC flag while they terrorised other legitimate organisations.



# A few useful tips on Marxism ... from a Cape Town call box

W/ Mal 8/6 - 14/6/90

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SMALL in number but strong in purpose, disciples of Marxist prophet Leon Trotsky are becoming increasingly active in the labour field, say political observers.

They say that with rising worker and youth militancy in the wake of the unbanning of organisations and the release of jailed political leaders, their revolutionary purism and non-collaborationist stance is likely to gain in appeal.

"There are signs that people are questioning the African National Congress' commitment to negotiations," was one comment. "Militancy is being diverted towards the Communist Party, which is seen as uncompromising. But disillusionment may set in if it fails to deliver."

A straw in the wind was the recent intervention of the Trotskyist Marxist Workers Tendency of the African National Congress in the dispute at Putco's Wynberg and Springs depots.

Following the closure of the depots, with the loss of several hundred jobs, the MWT issued a call for a national solidarity strike and is said to have directly approached other workers to strike — without working through the structures of Congress Of South African Trade Unions' (Cosatu) Transport and General Workers Union.

It also implicitly criticised the union for using "the bosses' courts" to fight the retrenchments.

The union hit back at the MWT, attacking it for sowing "confusion and division" and lacking a constituency. At a recent meeting, the union says, the tendency agreed to work through its structures.

Five MWT members were expelled from the ANC in 1985, but following an amnesty, the tendency now appears to enjoy official toleration.

Like Militant in the UK, the MWT is "entryist" in approach. In South Africa, this translates into working within the ANC, seen as the only authentic mass organisation, to transform it into a workers' movement.

Secrecy surrounds the MWT's composition, but sympathisers are also said to hold strategic positions in some unions.

In the same area of the political spectrum, but apparently without links, is the newly founded Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), an amalgam of the Cape Action League and three other far-left splinter groups.

There are signs that far-left groups are riding the current wave of worker militancy in South Africa. Their intervention has not always been welcomed by the labour movement, reports  
**DREW FORREST**

Although there are various tendencies in Wosa, which is to be formally launched early next year, it lays heavy stress on the current need for an independent socialist movement.

This extends to the trade union movement, whose continued independence Wosa strongly urged in a May Day pamphlet. The merger of Cosatu and the ANC's labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions; contact between unions and the government over labour law; the intervention of the Mass Democratic Movement in recent strikes and the ANC-Cosatu indaba on the

front" policy.

The MWT, by contrast, is hostile to Africanism.

"Both Wosa and the PAC are dismissive in their attitude to white workers, while we want to win them over," said the nameless Cape activist. He also attacked the PAC for "being wedded to a programme of class collaboration".

What the two Trotskyist movements share is a common insurrectionist approach to the winning of socialism, a vision of a future economy marked by worker control and self-management and a suspicion of the South African Communist Party, seen as tainted by its Stalinist history. The MWT takes particularly strong exception to the SACP's "two-stage theory", arguing that democratic rule and socialism are inseparable.

Its ideal, said the MWT source, is pre-Stalinist revolutionary Russia, and four Leninist principles: an armed people with no standing army, the right of recall of all officials, no one to be paid more than a skilled worker and the exercise of power through peoples' soviets.

"We believe the SACP is behind the policy of negotiations, which will compromise working class interests," said the MWT activist. "We also believe they are behind moves within Cosatu and the ANC to ditch nationalisation completely."

From the "incorrect" SACP programme, other errors flowed, he said. While the MWT had consistently urged armed self-defence as a counter to Inkatha in Natal, the SACP had pressed for negotiations.

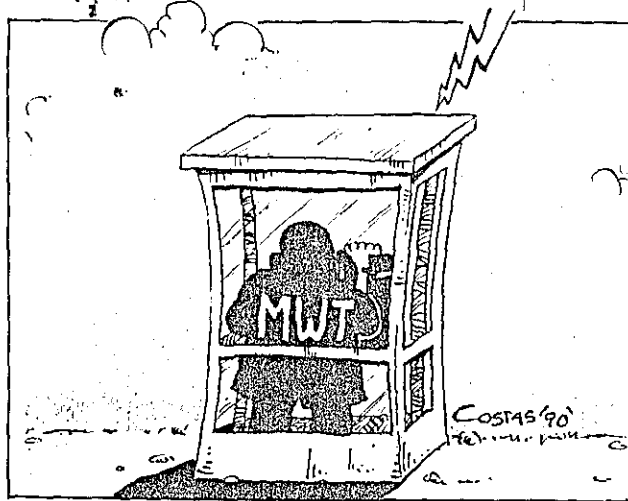
On the face of it, Wosa appears more flexible — Peace argues that the time is

not ripe for negotiations, and another insider commented that "democratic demands can be achieved before socialism".

But the bedrock belief that socialism cannot be achieved by peaceful means, and that socialism is a condition for a fully democratic order, remains.

The MWT source complained that Trotskyists have been the victims of recurrent witch-hunts but they are undoubtedly benefiting from the new-found climate of glasnost on the left.

"Everyone has the right to air their views and take part in the debate about socialist options in South Africa," commented one ideological opponent. But the "conspiratorial" style of activists in the Putco dispute was "not constructive", he added.



"Wosa is doomed", said the supporter of the Marxist Worker's Tendency — phoning from a call-box.

economy in Harare are all seen as dangerous portents.

In the eyes of an MWT supporter who spoke anonymously to the *Weekly Mail* from a Cape Town phone box, Wosa is a sectarian movement doomed to perpetual powerlessness. A Wosa member, who also asked not to be named, disagreed.

"The trouble with entryism is that if you stick your head out, it's likely to get chopped off — and if you don't, you can't get anything done."

Partly because of its roots in the Cape Action League, a National Forum affiliate, Wosa appears to be closer to the Pan Africanist Congress. General secretary Jean Peace described the links as "cordial", although she stressed that this was consistent with Wosa's "united

**EMERGENCY:**

*By moving far — but not as far as expected — FW lands the ANC with a hard choice*



FW De Klerk: His initiative placed an onus on the ANC to respond in kind, he said

# FW sets a tough poser for the ANC

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8/6-14/6/90

**WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk grabbed the initiative in the pre-negotiation process last night when he lifted the State of Emergency outside-war-torn Natal and accepted a joint African National Congress/government report on the question of exiles and political prisoners.

The state president's rapid action to remove obstacles to peace talks has left the ANC indecisive on a set of key policy issues and allowed the government to edge ahead in the contest to control the political pace in the country.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday hailed the end of South Africa's four-year-old State of Emergency as "a victory for the people, black and white" after talks with French Prime Minister Francois Mitterand in Paris.

But his colleagues inside the country immediately distanced themselves from his statement, saying there was not yet cause to celebrate.

Ahmed Kathrada, head of the ANC Information Department, told re-

porters at a press conference in Johannesburg late yesterday that De Klerk had not gone far enough.

"Our deputy president has already been over-generous with praise. When Mandela went into prison 27 years ago, he had no vote. Today he still has no vote," Kathrada said.

De Klerk appears to have created these differences of emphasis in the liberation movement by posing a set of difficult policy issues for the ANC and putting its leadership under heavy pressure to resolve them.

In his speech to a joint sitting of the three houses of parliament, De Klerk said the government was ready to implement recommendations in the report of the joint ANC/government committee regarding an amnesty for exiles and political prisoners — and that the ANC would have to account for any delay in this regard.

In the meantime the government was prepared to release 48 unnamed political prisoners "as a gesture" to give impetus to full-scale peace

**SCARS THAT WILL OUTLIVE FIVE GRIM EMERGENCY YEARS**  
Broke homes, psychological scars, an anger that continues ...  
PAGE 4

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# 'Mitterrand will keep sanctions'

From ESMARE VAN DER MERWE  
Political Staff

PARIS. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night that he had no problem in convincing French president Mr Francois Mitterrand that economic sanctions against SA should be maintained.

Dismissing reports that France and the European Community could decide to ease sanctions at an EC summit in Dublin at the end of the month as a "misunderstanding", Mr Mandela said: "The French president, government and people will stand behind us.

"There is no equivocation at all on the part of Mr Mitterrand that they will stick to sanctions. I don't think the French government has any hesitation in applying sanctions just as they are."

Mr Mandela was asked how his assessment tied in with most European countries' position that sanctions could be removed once the state of emergency was lifted and political prisoners freed — two issues on which the government has moved rapidly.

Mr Mandela replied: "I don't want to speculate on that. I'll hear it from them directly. My message to the countries I will be visiting is that sanctions must be maintained.

"I would like to hear from them why they want to ease sanctions, for what reason, while apartheid is still in place," he said.

Asked to comment on the Conservative Party's massive gains in the Umlazi parliamentary by-election this week, the ANC leader said it was clear that the CP was exploiting racial prejudice and white fears of power-sharing with blacks.

It was difficult to introduce sound and rational policies in a society based on racial thinking, he said.

Asked if he was pleased with the NP's victory, although marginal, he said: "We are negotiating with the NP and will naturally like to receive the backing of whites."

On a two-day visit to France, Mr Mandela met top French officials yesterday in a crammed schedule which started at 9am.

After lengthy talks with President Mitterrand, Mr Mandela met the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, the mayor of Paris and opposition leader Mr Jacques Chirac, parliamentarians and French prime minister Mr Michel Rocard.

After his early morning meeting with Mr Chirac, Mr Mandela said the whole of Europe's political systems were based on democracy which implied one person, one vote.

"Nowhere in Europe is there any suggestion that the rights of a particular minority must be guaranteed as Mr De Klerk is insisting. Our demands are based on the same principle. We have proposed a Bill of Rights and that is enough (to protect individual rights)."

Mr Mandela described his visit with President Mitterrand as "fruitful" and said it was fitting to brief a president and country, which had given the ANC solid support over many years.

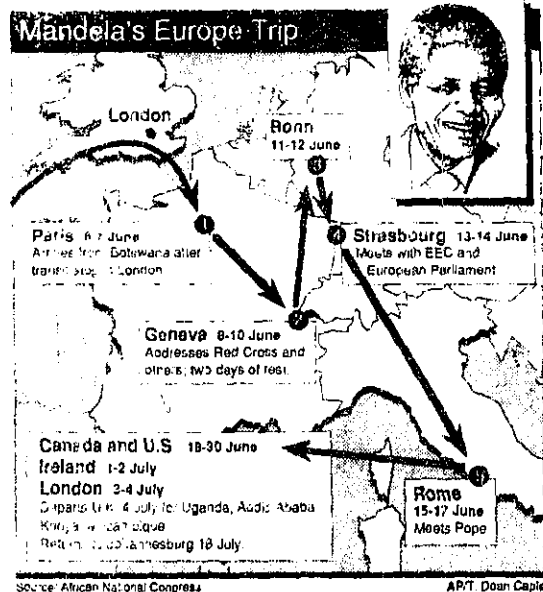
Unlike Mr De Klerk's reception a few weeks ago, Mr Mandela was not met on the steps of the Elysee palace but President Mitterrand escorted him out after the meeting.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, who arrived after her husband, was met outside by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand.

Strict security prevailed during the 12-man ANC delegation's visit to France, the first stop of Mr Mandela's European tour and the second of a 13-nation tour spanning three continents.

The streets of Paris were cordoned off by scores of policemen wherever Mr Mandela went.

At the luxurious Crillon Hotel, where the ANC group occupied 12 rooms at R1 000 a double room, two security men were on 24-hour guard outside the Mandelas' suite. The delegation leaves for Switzerland today.



Mr Mandela's route through Europe.

From ESMARE VAN DER MERWE  
Political Staff

PARIS. — As President De Klerk moved another step towards satisfying European community prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — in France on his 13-nation tour — said the partial lifting of the state of emergency would not change his organisation's policy on the maintenance of punitive measures.

President De Klerk's announcement on the lifting of the four-year-old state of emergency in all areas but Natal, was broadcast live in France on the television cable network CNN as Mr Mandela was holding discussions with French President Francois Mitterrand.

Speaking to journalists as Mr Mandela left the Elysee presidential palace, he welcomed the scrapping of the emergency regulations but added that there was no need to continue the oppressive measures in strife-torn Natal because they had served no purpose in curbing the protracted black-on-black violence.

He said the ANC had condemned the state of emergency since its introduction in June 1986. The issue had been at the core of the first extensive talks between the recently unbanned organisation and the government at Groote Schuur.

"We don't claim victory for the ANC although it had been known to all that the lifting of the state of emergency has been one of our basic demands. This is a victory for all the people of South Africa," a smiling and relaxed Mr Mandela said.

### Still not enough

Several Western leaders had indicated during President De Klerk's recent nine-nation European tour that the easing of sanctions would be considered once the state of emergency had been lifted and political exiles allowed to return to their country and all political prisoners freed. All three of these issues are receiving the government's attention.

In Johannesburg yesterday the ANC said the decision to partially lift the state of emergency and release some political prisoners had still not done enough to normalise the political situation in the country and create a climate conducive to negotiations.

At a Press conference attended by South African and foreign journalists in the ANC's Johannesburg head office yesterday afternoon, the ANC said its preconditions for negotiations included the lifting of the state of emergency in its entirety, the release of all political prisoners — which the organisation estimated at 3 000 — the return of all exiles and a host of other issues spelt out in its document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

### Armed struggle

President De Klerk, who now wanted to shift the blame to the ANC for dragging its feet in its preparation for negotiations, had not met all the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration, and he could not therefore expect the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

"The question of the armed struggle, as clearly stated in the Harare Declaration, is a matter for negotiations. The suspension of hostilities and a possible ceasefire, which we are ready for, must come from both sides," ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said.

Similarly, the ANC would continue calling for the intensification of punitive sanctions against South Africa until such time that "the question of a constituent assembly has been addressed."

Said Mr Sisulu: "We must also add here that the issue of violence has not been handled sufficiently by the government, and the right wing is still able to brandish arms publicly and make threats to defend itself."

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said it was significant that President De Klerk had chosen yesterday to lift the state of emergency, while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was touring abroad and campaigning for more sanctions against South Africa.

"Clearly," said Mr Kathrada, "Mr de Klerk did not meet with the success that he claims to have got abroad, and he is now trying to water down the effects of Mr Mandela's trip. Mr Mandela is touring the most important capitals of the West as a State guest, and this must be causing some anxiety in Cape Town and Pretoria."

Commenting on the retention of the state of emergency in Natal, Mr Sisulu said the ANC was not asking for half-measures, but wanted the atmosphere cleared for real negotiations to begin. As long as other security legislation such as the Internal Security Act remained, the situation on the ground would not change much.

### Aimed at activists

United Democratic Front (UDF) assistant general secretary Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, who chaired the Press conference, told journalists that the violence in war-torn Natal had escalated "precisely during the period of the state of emergency." The state of emergency, Mr Moosa said, was not originally aimed at "what the government called perpetrators of violence," but at activists like himself.

The state of emergency had never achieved its purpose, but had instead spilled more blood on South African soil.

Mr Moosa said the violence in Natal would end only when the Kwazulu police were removed from the townships, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was removed from his portfolio as the homeland's Minister of Police, and the Kwazulu homeland was dismantled.

Commenting on the major inroad made by the Conservative Party in Umlazi's parliamentary by-election on Wednesday, Mr Kathrada said it was unfortunate that white South Africa appeared still unprepared "to face the reality of politics in South Africa." The time when whites made all the decisions was over, and the liberation movement was now at the centre of South African politics.

While the swing to the CP also worried the ANC, the organisation felt the CP threat would continue to exist only for as long as the electorate was made up of whites. Mr Kathrada said the ANC did not feel in any way responsible for the National Party's

poor performance in Umlazi, because it had reciprocated President De Klerk's goodwill to convince the white voters that the direction the NP was moving in was for the good of the entire country.

No change in policy,

AKS 8/6/90

POLITICS

PARLIAMENT

says ANC

# Bold Azapo bid to end township strife

Spec 8/16/90

By Kalzer Nyatumba (KA)

The Azanian People's Organisation has urged all extra-parliamentary organisations "within the broad liberation movement" to put their political differences aside and work towards an end to inter-organisational violence.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation had devised a bold plan which would bring the leadership of all anti-apartheid bodies together in a bid to secure peace in the townships.

"To this end, Azapo would con-

vene a national consultative conference for anti-apartheid organisations and trade union federations to reach certain public agreements which will commit all of us to ending inter-organisational violence.

"Discussions with the ANC and PAC have elicited agreement in principle and we are confident that such a conference will become a reality in the near future."

The conference was set for July.

Azapo had also decided to make "Peace in the townships — an end to inter-organisational violence" its theme for this year's June 16 com-

memorations. The theme would seek "to call on black people to stop attacking each other and to concentrate on unseating the Nationalist regime".

Mr Moodley said the agreement reached by the ANC and Azapo in the Free State township of Mookeng, which culminated in ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe jointly addressing a peace rally last Sunday, had resulted in mutual understanding and a mutual undertaking to respect each other's right to exist.

## ANC signs 34 white members in Pretoria

The Pretoria city centre branch of the African National Congress held its first meeting for white members on Wednesday night and expressed concern at the danger of apparently increasing right-wing violence.

The office said in a statement that 34 people, almost all white, had registered as members since the recruitment drive began on May 21.

"Membership seems equally split between Afrikaners and English speakers and includes both students and professional people ... lawyers, designers, publishers and lecturers," it said.

The ANC officially recognises a branch when it has registered 100 members. — Sapa.

11A

8/6/90

~~8/6/90~~

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC said yesterday that President de Klerk's government, despite its decision to partially lift the state of emergency and release some prisoners, had still not done enough to normalise the political situation in South Africa and create a climate conducive to negotiations.

At a press conference attended by local and foreign journalists in the ANC's Johannesburg head office to respond to President de Klerk's speech in Parliament, the ANC said its preconditions for negotiations included the entire lifting of the state of emergency, release of all political prisoners — which the organisation estimates at 3 000 — the return of all exiles,

and a host of other issues spelt out in its document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

President de Klerk, who now wanted to shift the blame to the ANC for dragging its feet in its preparation for negotiations, had not met all the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration, and he could not therefore expect the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

"The question of the armed struggle, as clearly stated in the Harare Declaration, is a matter for negotiation. The suspension of hostilities and a possible ceasefire, which we are ready

for, must come from both sides," ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said.

Similarly, the ANC would continue calling for the intensification of sanctions against South Africa until such time that "the question of a constituent assembly has been addressed".

#### Brandish arms

Said Mr Sisulu: "We must also add here that the issue of violence has not been handled sufficiently by the Government, and the rightwing is still able to brandish arms publicly and make threats to defend itself."

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said it was significant that Mr de Klerk had chosen yesterday to lift the state of emergency, while ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was touring abroad and campaigning for more sanctions against South Africa.

"Clearly," said Mr Kathrada, "Mr de Klerk did not meet with the success that he claims to have got abroad, and he is now trying to water down the effects of Mr Mandela's trip. Mr Mandela is touring the most important capitals of the West as a state guest, and this must be

causing some anxiety in Cape Town and Pretoria."

Commenting on the retention of the state of emergency in Natal, Mr Sisulu said the ANC was not asking for half-measures, but wanted the atmosphere cleared for real negotiations to begin. As long as other security legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, remained, the situation on the ground would not change much.

United Democratic Front assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa, who chaired the press conference, told journalists that the violence

in war-torn Natal had escalated "precisely during the period of the state of emergency".

The emergency, he said, was not originally aimed at "what the Government called perpetrators of violence", but at activists like himself.

#### Dismantle homeland

The emergency had never achieved its purpose, but had instead added more blood on South African soil.

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gosuthu Buthelezi was removed from his portfolio as the homeland's Minister of Police, and the homeland was dismantled.

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worried the ANC, the organisation felt the CP threat would continue to exist only for as long as the electorate was made up of whites.

Mr Kathrada said the ANC did not feel in any way responsible for the National Party's poor performance in Umlazi, because it had reciprocated President de Klerk's goodwill to convince the white voters that the direction the party was moving in was for the good of the entire country.

"Mr de Klerk has not been elected by us, and we have no obligation to him. We cannot give credit to him for continuing to perpetrate apartheid. However, we are not churlish enough not to acknowledge the changes he has introduced," said Mr Kathrada.

# Mandela: I'm OK

ANC denies he's ill, but fears strain may exhaust him

From IAN HOBBS

GENEVA. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday denied news agency and BBC radio reports that he had come close to collapsing from exhaustion and had needed medical help.

ANC aides also denied reports that Mr Mandela had felt ill after a press conference in Switzerland and had been hurried back to his hotel where a doctor was called to attend to him.

Mr Mandela said a doctor was travelling with his delegation, but "he didn't even take my blood pressure this morning".

But Mr Mandela was clearly exhausted when he then faced about 400 international journalists, stumbling over his

words, and the ANC announced that he had cancelled a meeting with Ms Cornelia Sommanga, president of the International Red Cross.

Journalists commented on how exhausted he looked — and that he was given assistance as he left the press hall.

Later in the day, Mr Mandela added fuel to the renewed speculation about his health when he surprised even members of his own team by cutting short a speech at the World Council of Churches (WCC) headquarters after only 11 minutes on his feet.

Senior members of his delegation confirmed they were worried about the phenomenal demands on Mr Mandela, who flew at dawn from Paris to Geneva, and later on to Berne.

ANC officials and family friends said he was "indispensable" and had to slow down or risk a collapse that could plunge the peace process in South Africa into crisis.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo said: "Mr Mandela is not unwell. But he is tired and the pressure on him is quite incredible."

The ANC insists that it will take Mr Mandela to a secret address today where he will rest until he leaves on Monday for Bonn.

Mr Mandela is on just the third day of his 13-country tour and has four gruelling weeks to go.

After a rest at his hotel after the press conference, Mr Man-

dela, with his wife Winnie on his arm, looked exultant when he was given a tumultuous welcome at the World Council of Churches (WCC) headquarters.

Earlier Mr Mandela, addressing the International Labour Organisation, urged the world community to maintain sanctions against Pretoria until apartheid was eliminated and South Africa was no longer regarded as "the skunk of the world".

He continued his punishing programme last night by going ahead with a WCC dinner in his honour.

Today he will meet officials of the UN refugees committee UNHCR and Swiss anti-apartheid groups before resting at the secret location.



# Makeba, Cachalia on their way back home

*CAPT TINTS 9/6/90 (117)*  
**BRUSSELS.** — Black South African singer Miriam Makeba said yesterday she would leave for Johannesburg today for her first visit home in 31 years — and on Monday ANC stalwart Mr Molvi Cachalia, 81, will also return home.

"I'm feeling numb, I'll believe it when I'm sitting on the plane," Makeba said in a telephone interview from her home here.

Makeba, an ANC sympathiser, said the

week-long private visit would reunite her with her family and allow her to visit her mother's grave.

Makeba left South Africa in 1959 for the United States, where she established an international singing reputation.

In Johannesburg it was reported that Mr Cachalia, ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) stalwart, is due home on Mon-

day after more than 25 years in exile.

Mr Cachalia played an active role in the passive resistance campaign in 1946, where the Indian community demonstrated against legislation which affected their status in South Africa.

As a result of his actions, he was jailed for three weeks in Durban, along with 2 000 others, an ANC statement said on Thursday. — Sapa and Sapa-Reuter

# 100 violins give Mandelas warm Gallic welcome

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE, Political Staff

PARIS. — The sound of 100 violins playing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika filled the Human Rights Esplanade where French President Francois Mitterrand warmly welcomed ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela to the country at the start of his six-nation European tour.

But the tune had little meaning for the thousands of Parisian anti-apartheid activists who gathered in pouring rain last night to see the man for whose freedom they had campaigned for years.

They came to wave their ANC flags and shout their slogans: "Sanctions, Sanctions", "Solidarity with ANC", and rhythmic chants of "Mandela".

The ANC leader and his wife, Winnie, were visibly touched as they faced the orchestra against the backdrop of the Eiffel Tower.

They were warmly welcomed by President Mitterrand and his wife, Danielle, an ardent anti-apartheid campaigner.

Police escorted the Mandelas through the hectic late afternoon traffic to the luxurious Crillion Hotel, cordoned off by scores of police, and security men since midday.

Mr Mandela's signature will be entered into the guest book which witnessed the stay-overs of US Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Richard Nixon, the Shah of Iran, Emperor Hirohito and many more.

Today Mr Mandela faces a heavy schedule of meetings with the French President, opposition leader and Paris mayor Mr Jacques Chirac, the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties and other senior politicians before leaving for Switzerland tomorrow morning.

● Vive M'sieu Mandela, page 3.

# Mandela's gruelling schedule takes its toll

w/ Arbus 9/6/90 (11A) (S15)

By ESMARÉ van der MERWE  
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

GENEVA. — Nelson Mandela's gruelling schedule has taken its toll. The exhausted African National Congress deputy-president, on the fifth day of the six-week international tour, has cancelled an appointment to rest.

Alarms flickered all across the world when it was reported that a doctor had examined Mr Mandela, 71, after his first public appearance in Switzerland.

Mr Mandela left South Africa on Monday on a tour of 13 countries spanning three continents.

## Crammed two days

He visited Botswana and then flew to France for a crammed two days of meetings with France's President Francois Mitterand, other top politicians and business leaders. He arrived in Switzerland yesterday and is due to move on to West Germany tomorrow.

After an address to the International Labour Organisation yesterday, Mr Mandela cancelled an appointment at the International Red Cross to regain his strength.

He did not disappoint fans who gathered at the headquarters of the World Conference of Churches to listen to the man for whose freedom they have campaigned for decades.

Mr Mandela, looking relaxed but tired, made a short off-the-cuff speech but then handed over to the ANC's foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Arriving at the WCC, Mr Mandela told newsmen that he was in good health.

He denied that he had been examined by the doctor who is accompanying him on the tour, saying: "He has given me no instructions which suggest that I am not well. In fact, he did not even take my blood pressure today as he usually does every morning."

But Mr Mandela admitted that it was "quite possible" that his schedule would be cut back.

His close aides looked concerned and said they would relieve the pressure on him. They said the ANC's Ahmed Kathrada had telephoned from South Africa to inquire about Mr Mandela's health soon after the news was reported.

## "Just tired"

Cosatu's secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who joined the 12-man entourage in Switzerland, said Mr Mandela was "just tired".

"We are trying to cut down on his schedule, but no one wants to allow that." Mr Mandela will meet anti-apartheid organisations today before taking a weekend break at an undisclosed venue in Switzerland. He will resume his programme in Bonn on Monday.



Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie arrive at the United Nations in Geneva where he addressed the International Labour Organisation.

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# We'll pay price of liberty - Mandela



ALL SMILES: Nelson Mandela in a jovial mood as he faces the international press in Paris.

## ANC leader forced to take a break

GENEVA — Nelson Mandela's gruelling schedule took its toll yesterday as the exhausted ANC deputy president — on the fifth day of the six-week international tour — cancelled an appointment to catch some much-needed rest.

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ESMARE VAN DER MERWE

She 9/6/90 (119) UN  
 'Sanctions must stay, despite our hardships'

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE  
 Political Reporter

GENEVA — Mr Nelson Mandela, on a world tour to urge the international community to maintain sanctions, said yesterday that South Africa's black population was prepared to suffer the consequences of sanctions in order to have apartheid eradicated.

"We are prepared to undergo hardships. That is the price of liberty," he told an international press conference after arriving in Switzerland on the second leg of his European tour.

When asked about the apparent contradiction between economic suffering caused by sanctions and the urgent need for black eco-

mic upliftment, he replied: "There is no contradiction whatsoever in the use of sanctions to get the rights we are fighting for."

Only when the goal of a democracy based on the principle of one-person-one-vote had been reached would the ANC address the challenge of building a sound economy with a high growth rate and full employment, he said.

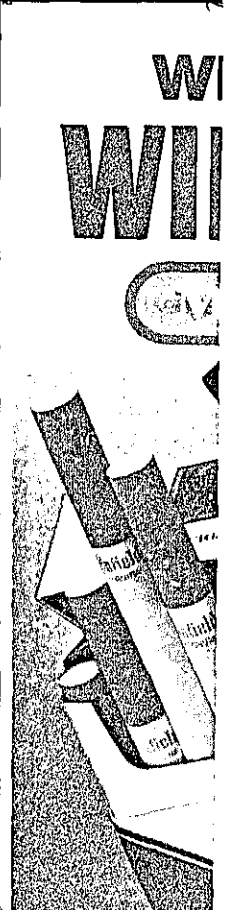
Clearly aware of Europe's shifting attitudes in view of President de Klerk's bold reforms, Mr Mandela urged the world to stick to the policy of punitive measures.

### Apartheid

"We want you to maintain sanctions because whatever changes have taken place in South Africa, the main pillars of apartheid remain in place. Sanctions must be maintained because it is the most effective way of eradicating apartheid."

Mr Mandela arrived in Switzerland yesterday after a visit to France during which, he said, French President Francois Mitterand had given him a clear undertaking that his country would not consider lifting sanctions until profound

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P.T.O.



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# Who is this mystery killer?

## Outrage as police raid the Mandelas

By DESMOND BLOW

WHO is the dangerous killer police claim to have been seeking when they raided two of Nelson Mandela's homes in Soweto in the early hours of Wednesday morning?

Although the SAP are normally keen to give the name of suspected murderers, plus pictures, to the Press - and fact run a very successful *Police File* seeking suspects on television - they are not saying a word about the mystery "Mandela Killer".

He remains an unknown killer in an unknown crime. All the police will reveal is that they were searching for a killer wanted since 1988 and that he was not connected to the Mandela family. They said the Murder and Robbery branch had received a tip-off.

Several efforts by *City Press* to find out who the suspect may be, or which police branch was seeking him, ended in failure.

"We are not prepared to disclose any details," was the response of senior officers.

Asked who "we" were, the reply came back: "Head-quarters."

No reason could be obtained for the refusal.

According to a member of the ANC at the Diepkloof house which had been raided: "The police did not appear to be searching for someone, but for something."

"Normally police tell people in the household who they are looking for, but they didn't do so."

"They searched bags and looked in drawers. Some of the men were in uniform but those in charge were in civilian clothes and all appeared to be Security Branch policemen. The captain in charge in fact spoke on the phone from the house to Col Andre Beukes of the Security Branch in Pretoria.

"I doubt very much if there was any murderer or any murderer."

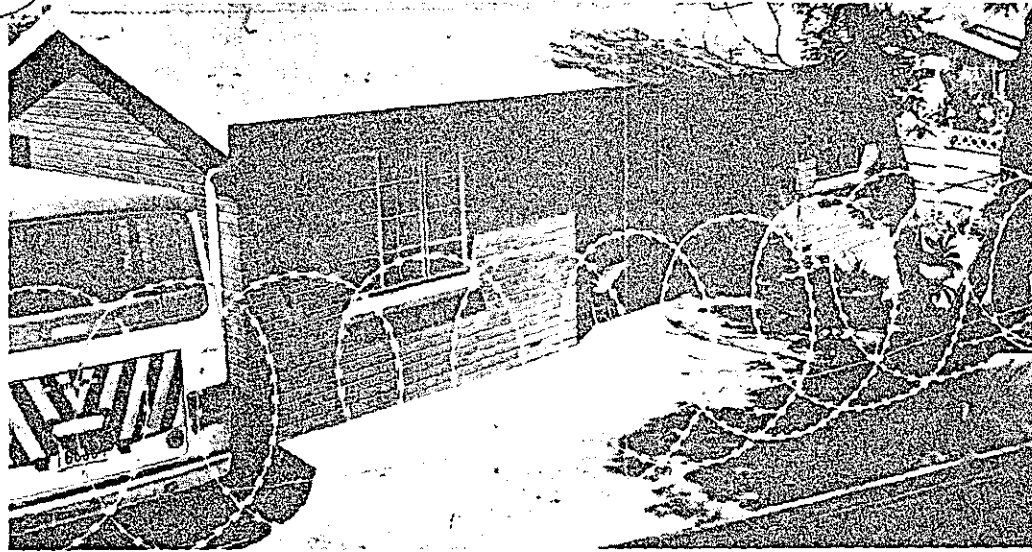
The police refused to accept that it was in the public interest to know why a killer should be hiding in the one of South Africa's most famous figures.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu later warned that aids by police on the houses "might pave the way for a rightwing to follow".

President of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) Tom Boya strongly condemned the raid.

"Did they have to wait for him to leave and embarrass him during his absence?" he asked.

He said such actions created unnecessary animosity, and efforts were being made to build bridges in a new th Africa.



One of the Mandela houses in Orlando West which police raided on Wednesday in search of a mystery killer.

## Prince faces treason trial

By DESMOND BLOW

THE imminent release from prison of Prince Mfanasibili, former strongman of Swaziland's now-defunct Supreme Council of State (Liqoqo), is creating fear in high places in Swaziland.

This week it was announced he would be tried again - on charges of high treason.

Mfanasibili, an uncle of King Mswati III, was virtual ruler of Swaziland after the death of King Sobhuza II in 1982. He was responsible for the imprisonment of many people who opposed him - including Finance Minister Dr Sishayi Nxumalo, who disclosed a huge fraud involving members of the Liqoqo.

When the young king came to power, he dissolved the Liqoqo and later Mfanasibili and several prominent Swazis were tried and jailed for defeating the ends of justice by imprisoning people on false charges.

Mfanasibili is known to have a powerful following in Swaziland, and there are fears that once released he will again become a powerful force and act against people he

considers enemies.

Mfanasibili is due for release from prison on July 5 after the king reduced his seven-year sentence to three years.

Last year the king released 12 of Mfanasibili's henchmen from prison.

This week it was announced Mfanasibili would face trial on July 30 on a charge of high treason.

The charges arise out of the escape last year of convicted armed robber Armondo Lecula from Matsapa Prison.

He was recaptured at the Mozambican border and claimed under interrogation that his escape was part of a plot by Mfanasibili to kill the king and others, and set himself up as king.

Prison warden Lucas Madonsela was later convicted of aiding Lecula's escape and for being part of the plot to allow Mfanasibili and others to escape.

During his trial, evidence was given that Mfanasibili had financed Lecula's escape and had sent a prison warden to Mozam-

bique with R2 000 in cash to find muti that would make him invisible so he could escape.

The alleged plotters - known as "The School Committee" - included prisoner Gabrielle Gule, who told the court the committee intended to kill the king and 12 leading Swazis.

They included a senior member of the royal family and former cabinet member, Prince Gabheni; former Deputy Commissioner of Police and now Commissioner of Prisons, Edgar Hilliary; Director of Public Prosecutions Absalom Thwala; and former Finance Minister Dr Sishayi Nxumalo.

Giving evidence for the defence, Mfanasibili denied all the allegations against him.

He denied sending a warden to Mozambique to fetch muti to escape and to find assassins to overthrow the state.

Mfanasibili said he had sent the warden to find an inyanga or "mutiman" to ward off lightning on his homestead.

His wife, who is alleged to have given money to the warden for the "plot", fled to South Africa, and is believed to be in hiding in Johannesburg.

## Old man cannot afford to bury his son who was killed by dogs

By ELIAS MALULEKE

AN 80-year-old widower, Isaac Sabezwe Skhosana, was this week battling to raise money to bury his son Moses, a victim of the Brakpan killer dogs.

Meanwhile, it was revealed this week that the owner of the dogs alleged to have killed two people and to have injured several others, will not be prosecuted.

Skhosana told *City Press* from his living quarters at the International Youth Camp (IYC) in Withok, Brakpan, that he was unable to bury his son because he had no money.

He said he earned a meagre social pension and Moses had been the breadwinner.

Moses was badly savaged by the dogs last week on his way to work. The owner of the dogs, Withok dairy farmer De Klerk Roodt, has not been charged with any offence.

Skhosana said he was now a lonely and heartbroken old man who wished he could "just drop dead".

Moses was the only surviving relative of the partially blind and deaf Skhosana, who walks with difficulty following an accident at the IYC where he has been employed for the past 40 years.

Four of his five children died before this tragedy.

Skhosana wept continuously as he spoke about the hopes he had in life for his son and said he could not understand how the dogs killed his son without anyone coming to his aid.

"I know the dogs have been biting black people and perhaps if police acted promptly when complaints were laid this would not have happened to Moses," he wept.

The last time Skhosana saw Moses alive was Sunday May 27 before he left for work in the afternoon.

Moses was working for a panel-

beater in nearby Dalpark, Brakpan.

Skhosana said his hope of burying his son rested with his brother's family in Tsakane, Brakpan, but he was unable to contact them because he had no money and could not walk.

Grieving Linah Tsotetsi, mother of three minor children, said her future was now bleak because her husband Johannes was dead.

His body was found mauled by dogs in front of plot 86, owned by Roodt. The police have since decided not to lay charges because there is no evidence to link Roodt's dogs with the deaths.

She said the dogs were vicious towards blacks and should have been put down long ago.

Brakpan police spokesman Capt-Miller told *City Press* this week that the Attorney-General has declined to prosecute Roodt on complaints laid by people attacked by the dogs.

Miller gave no reasons for the decision.

Police last week said it was "impossible to conduct tests on the bodies to determine if the bite marks matched the dogs' teeth because the bodies had been badly mauled".

The dogs - five rottweilers, a bull terrier, an alsatian and a ridgeback - have not yet been returned to their owner by Brakpan SPCA where they were taken by police for tests.

An SPCA official this week said they were unable to clean the kennels where the dogs were kept because they were "wild". Roodt's wife was feeding the dogs.

Others to have suffered bites on the buttocks, hands, legs and faces and laid charges include Jowie Portgieter, 21; Boy Sebilwana, 32; Johannes Majola, 36; William Mashaya, 34; Benjamin Tyakle, 43; Lazarus Sewela, 25; Josiah Taele, 49; Jan Masiya, 36; and Butiki Mbatana, 27.

# I won't join ANC - Dhlomo

## Tekere had mysterious white benefactor in South Africa

By ELIAS MALULEKE  
MAVERICK Zimbabwe politician and leader of the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) Edgar Tekere, was a guest of a mysterious white man during his stay in South Africa, *City Press* has established.

Tekere also booked in at the five-star Johannesburg Hotel under a false name. He allegedly said he did not want it known he was in the country.

According to *City Press* sources, the white man on Monday paid Tekere's hotel bills - which apparently ran into "several thousand rands" - with an American Express Card.

The sources said Tekere went on a whirlwind shopping spree in Johannesburg and spent a small fortune on clothes for himself and his wife and bought other goods not available in Zimbabwe.

Tekere, who is regarded by the ruling Zanu-PF as a "naughty little boy" in Zimbabwe, sneaked into the country last Tuesday and stayed for five days, living it up before his hush-hush departure after creating a political storm.

He had hoped to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, but was snubbed when the ANC "became suspicious of his motives" after he declared he was their guest.

According to an ANC state-

ment, the liberation movement knew nothing of his visit until they read in the paper that he was in the country.

"He came to our office and started shaking hands with senior ANC members without making prior appointment," the ANC said.

Tekere had a brief meeting with Walter Sisulu before rushing off to meet Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the chief of Inkatha.

The PAC also disowned Tekere and would not give him a hearing.

A founder member of the ruling Zanu-PF and former aide of Mugabe, Tekere formed his own party last year after falling out of favour with Zanu-PF, which expelled him over his awkward management style.

He has always been accused of failing to follow protocol and as an outspoken politician, he often embarrassed the government. Mugabe kicked him out "because he could not be rehabilitated."

He was later recalled to fill the post of Minister of Manpower but continued to be a political maverick and embarrassed the government.

He was again booted out of the cabinet and started to be more outspoken.



Edgar Tekere... politician on a shopping spree.

Before being expelled last year, Tekere also had strong anti-South African feelings and advocated stronger sanctions against this country.

However, he impressed Western leaders when he started to speak out against corruption in his own country before his final dismissal from the ruling party. He then formed ZUM and received wide coverage in this country, but Mugabe accused him of receiving funds from South Africa.

Tekere has denied having any

links with South Africa. TREVOR GRUNDY reports from Zimbabwe that Tekere returned to his small home in Mutare and told reporters he had gone south to "feel the pulse of change". But he didn't go into any details or, as expected, hold a news conference.

Tekere's wife, a policewoman, made Zimbabweans laugh when she said her husband had gone South to buy suits "because they're so much cheaper in South Africa".

In Mutare, the enigmatic Tekere said he might have gone shopping and confirmed he had not been invited officially by the ANC or the PAC.

Inevitably, speculation grows in Harare that Tekere is having dealings with South Africans ready to back him financially. There is official fear that Tekere could be used as a kind of Renamo "puppet" in Zimbabwe.

Politicians have hinted that ZUM might have had a hand in the strikes which partly paralysed the school system, although the numbers of teachers openly supporting Tekere seems to be small.

Soon after this year's general election, Tekere said Mugabe's government wouldn't last more than a year because people were disgruntled about the economy and the soaring cost of living.

But no reason why Inkatha shouldn't strike up alliance with ANC, he says

*City Press 10/6/90*  
*LA*  
*LA*

By S'BU MNGADI

OUTGOING Inkatha general secretary and KwaZulu Education Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo believes Inkatha has no future as a political entity.

He told *City Press* in an interview the strength of Inkatha's continued existence, separate from the KwaZulu government, would depend on alliances with mainstream political parties or organisations.

He said he saw no reason why this alliance could not be struck with the ANC as there were no insurmountable ideological differences between the two organisations.

Dhlomo allegedly clashed with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week over a possible alliance between Inkatha and the Conservative Party against the ANC. Buthelezi had made a statement welcoming CP leader Andries Treurnicht's overtures.

Dhlomo said that when he told a Press conference in Cape Town he expected the CP to be Inkatha's greatest opponents in negotiations because their policies were directly opposed, he had not seen Buthelezi's statement.

He said his resignation the day after his statement was purely coincidental.

He denied there had been a power struggle between himself and Buthelezi, but admitted that Buthelezi had done things

in his (Dhlomo's) department without his knowledge.

He confirmed that Buthelezi had recently acted as "acting Minister of Education and Culture" without his knowledge. It is widely believed that this became a major bone of contention between the two men.

Dhlomo's resignation has been seen by observers as not only a blow to Inkatha and Buthelezi, but as symptomatic of Buthelezi's dwindling black intellectual support.

He said that while his decision to resign might appear sudden, he had spent the better part of the past two years agonising over it.

Now Dhlomo is up for grabs - but "not party-political grabs".

He said that, contrary to popular expectations, the ANC had to date made no overtures to woo him to their side.

Even if this did eventually happen, he would not be available, as he sincerely believed "the unfolding political scenario needs the fostering of political reconciliation". He wanted to play a non-partisan role in any political institution he might join or establish, he said.

"I need to make statements, no matter who they hurt... to be free of categorisation," he said.

Concerning his future after June 30 - when he will leave office - Dhlomo feels he will be more at home with an "Idasa-



Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who last week announced his resignation as general secretary of Inkatha and from the KwaZulu Cabinet and legislature.

type" organisation. However, he thought Idasa had moved too close to the ANC.

Dhlomo, whose fields of speciality are didactics and comparative education in a state of crisis. In his 1990 policy speech he said the school year was almost half-way through and no meaningful education had taken place in almost half the schools in KwaZulu/Natal.

Offers to Dhlomo include some from the pri-

orate sector. He said he would assess all offers according to their merits.

Dhlomo will leave office with his Department of Education and Culture in a state of crisis. In his 1990 policy speech he said the school year was almost half-way through and no meaningful education had taken place in almost half the schools in KwaZulu/Natal.

He attributed the crisis

to the violence in Natal. "The year 1990 will go down as the most tragic in the history of educational development in Kwazulu and Natal."

Dhlomo's parting advice to the person who will step into his shoes in Inkatha is: "He must continue the efforts to end the violence in Natal. He should foster the spirit of political co-existence. The violence is not in the interest of any organisation."



Gomolemo Mokae, 'elimination' target.

## Anonymous death threat for Azapo man

By SANDILE MEMELA

*LA* *City Press 10/6/90*

AN EXECUTIVE member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, is living in fear of his life after a mysterious death threat this week.

Mokae told *City Press* an unidentified male phoned his Mabo-pane home at 8.30pm on Thursday. The mystery caller warned

Mokae that he would be eliminated by today.

Mokae said this was not the first time he had received death threats, but he could not dismiss them as the work of a crank.

"Without doubt there is a conspiring group that is out to get rid of elements of the Black Consciousness Movement. We find

ourselves wedged between an assault by both the white regime and some elements of the liberation movement," said Mokae.

He said it would be difficult to pinpoint people responsible for this intimidation campaign.

"I am now living in fear of my life because the political situation in the country does not accommodate dissenting voices."

C/11/11/10/6/40

# Cosas demands DET action by June 16

By SANDILE MEMELA

11A

THE East Rand branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) this week submitted a memorandum to the Department of Education and Training calling for a single, non-racial education system.

Publicity secretary Eric Rakgabale said Cosas has noted the "devastating" conditions in

township schools.

"We note particularly the serious shortage of textbooks and some other essentials to our education," he said.

The memo listed student demands, including:

- The hand-over of schools to the community;
- An end to tribal schools and erection of more schools;

- Abolition of school management councils, and their replacement by Parent-Teacher-Student associations;

- Adequate library facilities; and

- Recognition of Cosas, SRCs, and Neusa.

Rakgabale said the students would "consider taking action" unless the demands were met by June 16.



# Hope kept Rivonia trialists alive through the long prison years

By ZB MOLEFE

**R**IVONIA trialist Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada this week remembered a day 26 years ago which marked a turning point in his life.

It was a sunny winter's day when hundreds of black and white spectators outside Pretoria's Palace of Justice heard Kathrada and his comrades had been sentenced to life imprisonment.

"That day was inspiring," said Kathrada as the events all came back.

Kathrada, now a healthy 61 years old, for a moment sat down and pictured June 12, 1964 – the day he and his comrades paid a heavy price for their political activities.

"What I felt on that day was relief," chuckled Kathrada.

"There were expectations that we would be sentenced to death."

Kathrada explained the feeling that went through him, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and James Kantor, after they were found guilty on two counts under the Sabotage Act and another under the Suppression of Communism Act.

"Everybody was strong. But most important is that we had hope the things that took us to prison would ultimately change in our country."

Some of the things that took him and his colleagues to life imprisonment

in Robben Island 26 years ago are fast changing in the 1990s, he emphasises. Apartheid and all the laws born under this system are being removed.

But the greatest inspiration which held the Rivonia Trialists together was hope.

"Any man who loses hope ceases to be human," said Kathrada.

Yet hours before he and his colleagues were sentenced, they discussed the possibility of death.

"The attitude of Mandela, who was our leading light, was that should we be sentenced to death we should never appeal.

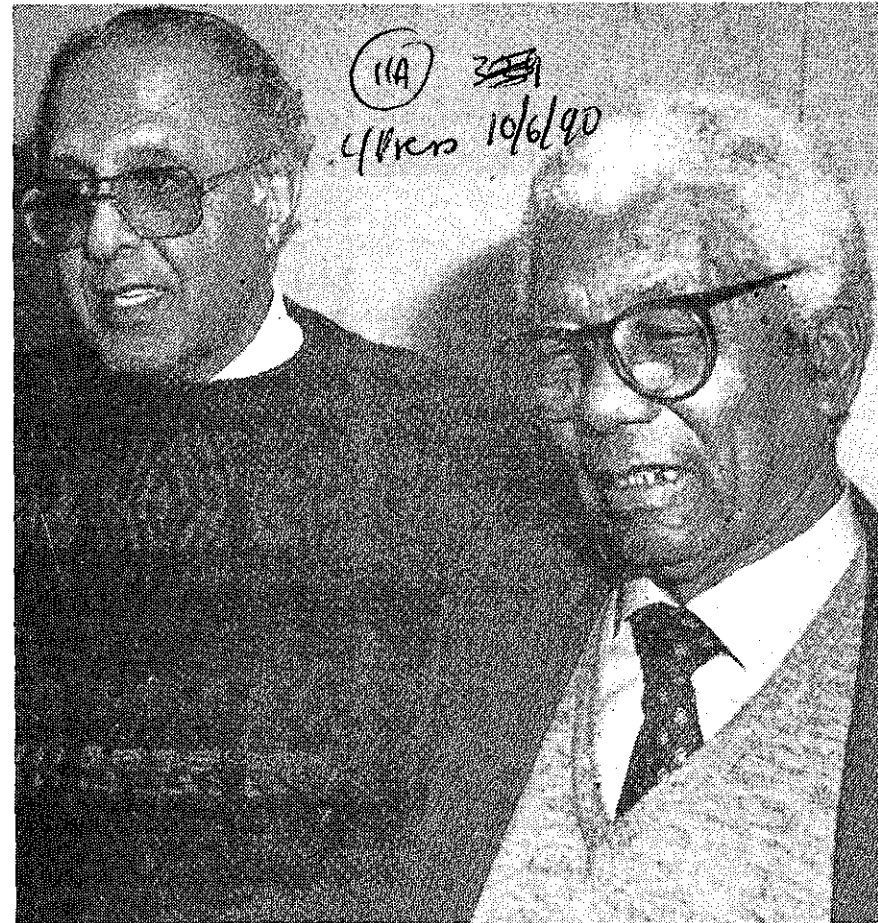
"Mandela's argument was that if we were sentenced to death, the struggle would save our lives."

Although evidence against Kathrada during the Rivonia Trial was flimsy and his lawyers advised him to appeal against sentence, he chose solidarity with his comrades.

"If I appealed against my sentence it would have been political suicide."

At the moment of sentencing, said Kathrada, "everybody was very strong. There were no regrets, no disappointments. That is how things remained with us throughout our imprisonment."

That solidarity extended beyond 1985 when they refused then President PW Botha's offer of release if they renounced violence.



Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu recall how they discussed the possibility of a death sentence.

■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

## Mandela's tour is a 'roaring success'

REPORTS of the collapse of his overseas mission to ensure the application of sanctions were dismissed as "false and mischievous propaganda" by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Geneva yesterday.

"My visit is a roaring success. My visit to France succeeded beyond my wildest dreams," he said to anti-apartheid supporters at the World Council of Churches headquarters.

Mandela also said he believed he had persuaded the Swiss government, which does not apply formal sanctions against South Africa, to close the gap between itself and other Western countries.

The rebuttal came after Mandela apparently cancelled a meeting on Friday with International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) president Cornelio Sommaruga as he was not feeling well.

The ANC denied reports from Geneva that Mandela had been seen by a doctor responding to an emergency call.

"He is tired as all are, but he is not ill," said a senior ANC spokesman. - Sapa

*cf/hrs 10/6/90 (119)*

# Azapo bid for peace conference

By S'KHUMBUZO MIYA

C/Press 10/6/90 (11A)

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) plans to bring together the leadership of all South African organisations within the broad liberation movement to counteract inter-organisational violence and to secure peace in the townships.

At a Durban Press conference on Wednesday, Azapo vice-president Dr Nchaube Mokoape said Azapo's plan followed the successful Maokeng Accord last weekend, when the leadership of Azapo and the ANC, with the



**Nchaube Mokoape**  
... no violence.

local leadership of both organisations reached certain agreements designed to ensure peace.

"It is also our policy not to be involved in violence or confrontations with organisations which share with us the idea of the broad liberation struggle."

Azapo called on the ANC, PAC and all other organisations working for liberation "to join us in ensuring that inter-organisational violence will come to an end immediately."

"Such agreements imbue the communities with a sense of confidence to deal with elements who attempt to sow division and who have no respect for the value of human life."

Moodley said it was constructive that the ANC disassociated itself from the actions of the "individuals" at Maokeng.

Meanwhile, Azapo called for nationwide June 16 rallies to spearhead peace in the townships.

**E**VERYBODY is talking about a "new South Africa" - a post-apartheid South Africa that will be free of racial hostility and domination of one group over another.

A wave of optimism has swept the country and the international arena. At home it can be felt in factories, schools, boardrooms, churches and at social gatherings.

Political leaders are effectively using this "new South Africa" syndrome to score political points. An example was President FW de Klerk's recent tour of Europe.

Because of this "new" image, the doors of most European countries were wide open for him.

But this "new South Africa" image has hardened the attitudes of certain white people and they are looking for a new political home in the Conservative Party, as the Umlazi parliamentary by-election in Durban showed.

While gaining support from moderate blacks, De Klerk is alienating certain white people.

It is clear that many whites would rather live in the "old" South Africa and Umlazi gave a clear indication that De Klerk is not taking along all his people to the new South Africa.

He has not addressed

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

Hard work  
for 'new' SA



one meeting in the rural areas, where most of the people still live in the past. These are the ones he should be converting, even if it means dragging them screaming and kicking into the new world.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will find on his present overseas tour that the countries De Klerk visited were impressed by his drive for a new South Africa. Mandela will have difficulty convincing the Western world to think otherwise.

When Mandela met President Francois Mitterrand of France this week it was reported that Mitterrand ignored the focal issues of Mandela's tour of 13 countries - sanctions and the armed struggle.

De Klerk made an impact by telling the world to judge him for what he

has done and intends doing, and not on the past.

In last week's column, I mentioned obstacles we are likely to face as we move to a new South Africa.

I have since received numerous requests to spell out in detail what I meant by a "Patriotic Front-type alliance" of black political groups.

What I mean is that all liberation forces should get together and work out what kind of new South Africa they envisage.

This could be done without any party compromising its principles. We all agreed that apartheid should be dismantled in its entirety. That was one step. The next is to work towards a political settlement with the government so we can have national elections.

These goals cannot be achieved while we are

divided.

Another request was for me to explain the problems I said an ANC government would encounter should it be elected.

This may be premature, but it is important to focus on what would be likely to happen.

Firstly, every citizen would like to see a stable government. A sound economy for any country depends on political stability.

The ANC would have to face the problems of providing housing and employment for all its citizens. The rate at which shelter houses are mushrooming in the townships these days is a clear indication that for far too long our people have not been taken care of.

The flood of black

people from rural areas to cities is likely to snowball in future.

After five years in power an ANC government would realise the impossibility of meeting all the demands of all its citizens. Even if the Land Act of 1913 and 1936 were scrapped tomorrow, blacks would not be able to buy enough land from whites.

Implementation of ANC policy on redistribution of land would not be as easy as it appears on paper.

President Robert Mugabe, after 10 years in power, is still grappling with this problem in Zimbabwe.

As one political observer pointed out recently: "There is no doubt that the ANC would sweep the first free elections, but when they fail to meet the expectations of the masses, they will run into problems."

Many believe the PAC, or the National Party for that matter, would then win the support of most black and white people.

The road to a new South Africa will not be an easy one. All of us, black and white, need to work hard towards it. We certainly don't need another Zimbabwe-, Angola- or Mozambique-type situation where dissidents take advantage of differences of opinion.

## INVESTMENT

# Anonymous death threat for Azapo man

By SANDILE MEMELA



**Gomolemo Mokae,**  
**'elimination' target.**

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(11A) C/PRES 10/6/90  
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"I am now living in fear of my life because the political situation in the country does not accommodate dissenting voices."

# PAC hits at police targets

CP Correspondent

THE external wing of the PAC has claimed responsibility for several hand grenade attacks against South African police targets recently.

At least seven hand grenade attacks on black policemen took place in various black townships in May.

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti said in Harare on Friday the movement was responsible for the attack on police single quarters in the Bongweni township at Kokstad in the Cape last Thursday.

He said the PAC was also responsible for an attack on a police hostel in Soweto last month.

"We are the only organisation that has declared 'grenade warfare' on the Pretoria regime. The ANC is not in-

involved because it has suspended the armed struggle," claimed Toboti.

"There is going to be an intensification because we are engaged in an armed struggle to liberate our country," he warned.

The PAC has rejected negotiations with the South African government and has launched a campaign against the ANC, which has declared its willingness to find a negotiated solution to the apartheid problem.

The PAC says this is evidence that the ANC has betrayed the liberation struggle.

Toboti said the PAC was training guerrillas inside South Africa and others were being infiltrated.

No injuries were reported in Thursday's attack, but damage was caused to the police barracks. - Ano

# OPINION 2

## Simon Barber

SITimes 10/6/90

**A**SSISTANT Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen stunned his audience at a CIA-sponsored conference 10 days ago with his suggestion that the US must "tilt" towards the ANC. He now protests that he was misinterpreted.

By "tilt", he insists, he did not mean the Bush administration should henceforth show bias in favour of the ANC at Pretoria's expense. Rather, he was proposing to recognise the ANC as the most important of the opposition groups willing to negotiate.

Washington could not waste time on those, like the PAC and Azapo, who did not care to come to the table. Furthermore, by making this plain, US policymakers might even be able to prod such recalcitrants into changing their minds.

Though it will probably do little to improve Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's blood pressure, let us accept Cohen's clarification. Garble it as he might, all he really wanted to say was that US policy must be to encourage everyone into the negotiating process.

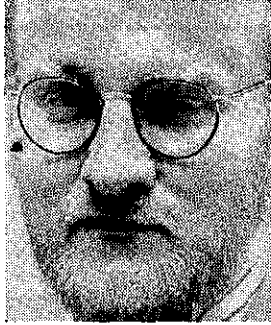
**A**S theory, his decoded view is unimpeachable. Given Washington's political status quo, of which Cohen himself is captive, it is also disingenuous. The "tilt" exists. Indeed, it is the centrepiece of the American approach.

US policy — that is to say the general American tendency once all the forces at play on this issue are resolved into a single thrust — is to promote a smooth, rapid, though not necessarily democratic, transition from Nationalist to ANC rule.

This is clear from the way in which the rationale behind US sanctions is not so subtly changing. As it happens, Cohen and the Bush administration are doing precious little to stand in the way.

The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's stated purpose was to encourage an end to apartheid and the start of "genuine" negotia-

### DATELINE WASHINGTON



## US tilts towards ANC on keeping boycotts

tions. Once the groundwork had been laid for the latter — through the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency, the removal of restrictions on political discourse, et cetera — the sanctions were to start coming off, their job done.

Its purpose serendipitously or otherwise attained, the Act's function is now to reinforce the ANC's constitutional and other demands, however maximalist they may be.

**I**F the Bush administration disagrees with this proposition, then logic and honour require that it fight for the suspension of all the Act's sanctions forthwith. This is especially

so now that the state of emergency, as imposed when the Act was passed, has been lifted and the Government has proved itself more than ready to resolve the issue of political prisoners.

That the administration lacks both honour and logic was amply proved this week by its response to the emergency's lifting.

On the one hand, it said, De Klerk had met "almost all" the conditions laid down by the ANC for full-scale constitutional negotiation. On the other, he was still a couple of conditions shy of satisfying the CAAA.

**I**N other words, the fulfillment of the ANC's terms for negotiation and the CAAA's conditions for the removal of sanctions are not, in the administration's view, coterminous.



HERMAN COHEN

To the contrary, Bush and his men effectively concede that even when the serious bargaining begins, sanctions must remain to stack the deck in the ANC's favour.

Were it not for the ANC's tardiness in responding to the Government's proposal on prisoners and its aggressiveness in seeking to rub out Buthelezi's following in Natal, De Klerk would have already fulfilled enough of the CAAA's requirements to permit Bush to call for the repeal of sanctions.

As it is, De Klerk has already more than satisfied the act in spirit. The administration is simply too craven to acknowledge this. It prefers to cave in to the ANC because of the latter's hold on Congress.

It prefers, therefore, to "tilt".

THE concern of a New York-based anti-apartheid activist at a recent forum on South Africa was palpable.

"If we allow F.W. de Klerk to run around distributing goodies from his bag, we are in danger of losing control of the process down there," she said.

The statement — honest, but breathtaking in its presumption — sums up in some small measure the ambiguity of much US response to South Africa in the wake of the De Klerk phenomenon.

The somewhat confused riposte to the latest flow of "good news" from South Africa highlights one of the fundamental aspects of US foreign policy: a high degree of moralism. But there is another quality: a lack of staying power — so the nation's collective concentration span tends to be limited and its memory short.

There are reasons for this. The US is one of the few nations in history who have had global power thrust upon them rather than actively pursuing it. Its political process also puts relentless pressure on its diplomats to come up with quick solutions to intractable problems — the price one pays for living in a "can-do" society.

### Theatrical

The result is that Americans do not have a taste for what could be called the politics of the long haul. They have none of the patience, pragmatism or guile of the Europeans.

All this is important when we try to understand the future course of relations between South Africa and the US.

The visit by Nelson Mandela to the US in 10 days' time is likely to be for the Americans both cathartic and theatrical. The Americans, above all, know how to throw a party and welcome a hero.

The physical presence of the courtly ANC deputy president symbolises to many Americans the fruits of what they see as their contribution to the struggle for liberty in South Africa.

There is a pervasive, if erroneous, belief among many Americans (at least those that think about it at all) that it was US sanctions which forced the National Party to compromise.

### Important

They will thus not only be hailing the world's most famous prisoner-statesman, but also patting themselves on the back.

But all parties come to an end and a most compelling question remains: What will the US do after Mr Mandela's triumphal tour?

The NP and the ANC, ironically, have probably come up with the same answer — nothing. It is this which the ANC most fears and for which the De Klerk administration should, again ironically, pray.

Namibia, for example, has to all intents and purposes disappeared off the Americans' radar screen

# Why the US will do nothing when the party's over

S/Times 10/6/90

(CBA) (CBA) (IA)



BUSH: Hopes to stay out of Africa

MANDELA: Sanctions must stay

DE KLERK: Prays US won't interfere

## Recently returned from a year at the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, Brian Pottinger reports confusion in the US approach to SA



and will probably only reappear in the future as one of those places school children are unable to point out on a map of the world during general knowledge tests.

The Namibian issue, to most Americans, is "solved" and therefore not worthy of attention. The indications are that most Americans are already beginning to regard the South African issue as solved or, even worse, "confused", by which they mean the old moral certitudes have become blurred.

Attention thus meanders to other areas: Israel, Latin America, the Baltic states and the Soviet Union.

This is the worst possible news for the ANC. Correctly, they see foreign pressure as an important adjunct to their attempts to obtain a rough equivalence of power with the De Klerk administration in

the pre-negotiating phase. It is critical to them then that the US holds out the credible threat of heightened economic or other pressures in the event of backsliding by the whites.

There is little evidence of this. The administration regards the De Klerk initiatives as on track, and sanctions themselves have become a bit of a fired torpedo. They would prefer, like Brer Rabbit, to lie low and say nothing.

### Rapid

The US anti-apartheid lobby will not wither away immediately. The deep repugnance of the system and its legacy, particularly by the US African-American community, should not be underestimated.

Piggy-backing on this genuine abhorrence of racist policies has come a group of activists who have made South Africa their

niche issue in domestic US politics — often with scant knowledge or interest in the dynamics of the country.

The Bush administration might, for appearances' sake, appear to tilt towards the ANC, and it certainly is not about to propose the immediate lifting of sanctions. But, beyond that, Mr Mandela is likely to get few concrete promises of support in the negotiations ahead.

That is as much, or as little, as the De Klerk administration can wish for. With a consummate understanding of nuance which is rapidly becoming the hallmark of his administration, Mr De Klerk is not publicly pressing for an immediate lifting of sanctions by the US.

Such a move, if adopted by US conservative lobbies, would merely precipitate a bruising and uninformed

fight in Congress over how far, exactly, South Africa has moved along the road to reform. The debate would inflame passions and further divide South Africans — best left well alone. There is time to get around to that later.

Of more importance to Africanists in Washington, it appears, is the long-term role of a non-racial South Africa on the continent.

Pressed by domestic economic issues, challenged to redefine its superpower role in a rapid-

ly changing world, confronted by insistent clamours for aid from the "newly underdeveloped" east and central Europe, the US would much prefer to leave Africa to be run by the Africans — among them South Africans.

And in that may lie South Africa's real future role — as regenerator of a dying sub-continent, international spokesman for a region and catalyst for a continental renaissance.

The Americans, certainly, are counting on it.



# It's one in the *ST Times* eye for *10/6/90* Horatio Nelson *(11A)*

By JEREMY BROOKS  
London

ONE Nelson is heading for recycling at Madame Tussauds while another may soon be installed in the waxworks museum's grand hall.

Plans are being made for a likeness of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at Tussauds, one of London's top tourist spots.

But namesake Admiral Horatio Nelson, of Trafalgar fame, will be melted down to make way for a café — and historians are none too pleased.

The Trafalgar Society, with 500 members, fired off a broadside to the museum in a letter this week complaining of the move.

"We would be very sad and disappointed to see it go," said a spokesman, referring to the grisly tableaux showing one-eyed, one-armed Lord Nelson dying on the Victory's deck.

But Tussauds remains adamant — the space is needed for a facelift.

While the Admiral's days are numbered, Mr Mandela will be a drawcard for international visitors, the museum claimed.

## Problem

Publicist Juliet Simpkins said: "We would very much like to have Mr Mandela represented.

"We wrote to the ANC's London office asking if a two-hour sitting with an artist could be arranged.

"The artist would be able to meet Mr Mandela in person, take his measurements and photographs. We are now waiting for a reply."

An ANC spokesman said the request was likely to be met, but time was a problem. "The earliest he could do it would probably be in October," he said.

South Africans are beginning to feature in Tussauds Hall of Fame again. Alongside royalty, celebrities and statesmen is a wax model of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

But Paul Kruger, Cecil Rhodes, and Jan Smuts have all been relegated to a storeroom.

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By DRIES van HEERDEN

**SOUTH AFRICA'S sports isolation may soon be over. Participation in the next Olympic Games and a resumption of rugby and cricket tours could be on the cards.**

These would be the first fruits of the political changes now taking place in the country.

The first step towards re-entry into world sport is likely to be the formation of one, non-racial umbrella body to speak for all sportsmen.

It will unify various organisations that have hitherto been divided by political rivalry.

Mr Johan du Plessis, president of the SA National Olympic Committee, said yesterday that he was confident a South African team would take part in the next Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992.

And the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said his organisation would strive to normalise the country's international sporting and cultural links.

The ANC was reviewing its position — and the selective lifting of the international sports boycott was one of the options under consideration.

This could pave the way to international rugby and cricket tours to and from South Africa and the arrival of other sportsmen in the country through the front door — thereby putting an end to controversial rebel tours.

### Favour

Crucial to the new deal is the forthcoming meeting between SANOC and the National Olympic and Sports Council — the main body representing non-racial sports organisations — to discuss unification.

Mr Du Plessis said yesterday: "We are strongly in favour of uniting with the NSC. We realise that local sportsmen and administrators should first speak with one voice before we can think of re-entering the international arena."

Mr Du Plessis has also held talks with Mr Sam Ramsamy, of the SA Non-Racial Olympic Committee, the body created to campaign for SA's international sporting isolation.

### Change

"SANOC understands that we are serious about ending the present divisions in South African sport," he said.

Yesterday, Mr Mthobli Thamzashé, general secretary of the NSC, confirmed that SANOC had requested a meeting.

"A positive mood is prevailing," he said. "There seems to be a change of attitude among white sports bodies. At least we all now realise that we must first get our house in order before we can start thinking about international competition."

Speaking at an NSC executive meeting this week, the ANC spokesman on sport, Mr Steve Tshwete, displayed a new flexibility on the part of

□ To Page 2



FIGHTING FIT... Nelson Mandela and wife Winnie in Europe at the weekend, where he denied that he was in ill health

# Fit Mandela keeps up pressure on SA

By IAN HOBBS  
Geneva

NELSON MANDELA yesterday brushed aside fears about his health and kept an early-morning appointment with freed Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and her son Gregory.

Mr Mandela pushed through his security cordon to give Mrs Gerhardt a boisterous welcome. He swept up the tiny wife of SA Navy spy Dieter Gerhardt in a huge hug that lifted her right off the ground — then did the same to her 13-year-old son.

Winnie Mandela gave the Gerhardts the same warm welcome, watched by anti-apartheid activists.

Mrs Gerhardt and Gregory then joined the Mandelas in private meetings with United Nations and other officials.

A beaming and fit-looking Mr Mandela insisted that Gregory should sit alongside him and chatted amiably with the boy, expressing delight when he said he wanted to become a surgeon.

### Collapse

The ANC leader played a key part in Mrs Gerhardt's release two weeks ago. She served just over seven years of her 10-year sentence for collaborating with her husband's spying for the Russians.

Earlier, Mr Mandela had strenuously denied reports that he was close to collapse on Friday.

He admitted he was tired after a punishing programme that gave him barely 12 hours of unbroken sleep since his departure from Johannesburg on Tuesday.

But he insisted that he was "not unwell" or suffering the effects of his recent cyst operation.

His non-stop, five-week tour of major cities in 13 countries would go ahead as planned, he said.

Before their meeting yesterday, bright and articulate Gregory Gerhardt said: "I want to ask Mr Mandela to help free my father."

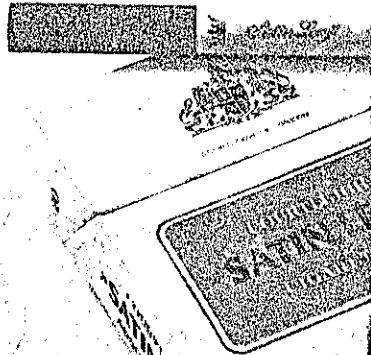
Dieter Gerhardt, former commander of the Simons-

six languages and totally free of bitterness — said they were confident most South Africans would come to accept that she and her husband had spied for Russia "as the only means we knew to contribute to the end of apartheid and peace in South Africa".

This weekend the 71-year-old deputy president of the

□ To Page 2

NOW  
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COURTLEIGH OF LONDON



GREAT MOMENT... Ruth and Gregory Gerhardt, who were overjoyed to meet Nelson Mandela

# A fit Mandela fights on

5/7me 10/6/90 (118)

□ From Page 1

ANC kept up his campaign against any relaxation of sanctions against SA.

With evidence growing that the 12-nation European Community is edging towards easing economic embargoes, Mr Mandela yesterday appeared in top form when he told more than 1 500 members of the Coalition of Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movements that he had a wonderful time in France and achieved success — "beyond our wildest dreams" — when President Francois Mitterrand told him "unequivocally" that sanctions would not be eased.

He said the Swiss government had also assured him that its lax attitude towards sanctions would end.

With wry humour, he said that while his tour was proving a "roaring success", the media in SA were trying to create the impression that his health and the tour had collapsed.

But while Mr Mandela looks cheerful, members of his delegation are desperate-

ly worried about the murderous pressure on him.

The weather across Europe is cool and wet, but Mr Mandela insists on sticking to a schedule that has already left people half his age around him looking ragged.

After fulfilling a strenuous schedule of meetings and ceremonies in Paris (including an hour in pouring rain in Freedom Square as he received the greetings of adoring Parisians) he boarded a chartered aircraft at dawn on Friday for Geneva — and drove straight from the airport to a convention of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr Mandela's argument that the end of the emergency should be acclaimed as a victory for the masses in SA was well received, but most European media also gave credit to Mr De Klerk. Many newspapers argued that

sanctions should now be eased.

Even the radical French newspaper Liberation reported that President Mitterrand was under pressure to propose a limited easing of sanctions at the EC heads of government summit in Dublin on June 25-26.

It is Mr Mandela's primary mission in Europe to influence the Dublin summit into maintaining the status quo.

Mr Mandela will argue his case tomorrow in Bonn with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany and then address the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Mr Mandela will meet the Italian government and the Pope in Rome at the end of the week, before spending two days in London with ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

On June 18, he leaves for Canada and the United States on a journey that will criss-cross North America non-stop for 10 days.

Thereafter, he will visit Dublin, London and four African states before returning to Johannesburg on July 18.

● White House Chief of Staff John Sununu said yesterday the Bush administration would consider lifting US economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Sununu said he believed President George Bush had the legal ability to remove sanctions, but no decision had yet been made.

"I think the president and Secretary of State (James) Baker will be reviewing this, and I suspect over the next few weeks there'll be an evolution of what the exact policy will be," he said in a TV interview with Cable News Network.

Sowetan 11/6/90

# Azapo draws up plan for unity

(11A)

By Mokgadi Pela

THE Azanian People's Organisation is working on a plan to unite leaders of liberation organisations to secure peace in the townships.

Azapo's publicity secretary Strini Moodley said it had become easy for groups such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, the Askaris and other rightwingers to exploit rivalry between organisations.

He said Azapo intended to invite leaders of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the trade union federations and other groupings to a consultative conference where agreement could be reached on ways to end the violence.

Moodley said last weekend's Maokeng Accord showed a move in the right direction had been started.

A meeting addressed by Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu recently reached agreement on discipline, tolerance and respect for the community and the value of human life.

# Hopes fade for early talks

24/6/90

SITimes

11A

DISAGREEMENT between the Government and the ANC is building up on how — rather than whether or when — to get to the negotiating table.

The critical questions of who will be allowed at the table, in what numbers and ratios, and how their opinions will be weighed up against the others, are sharpening into a point of serious contention as the prospects for an early start to negotiations dim.

By LESTER VENTER

This week Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen acknowledged that delaying tactics — for which the Government blames the ANC — mean that real negotiations probably won't start before early next year.

In the meantime, Government experts say, the two main parties and others have to sort out who gets to sit at

the table and how they get there.

The ANC wants a constituent assembly. This would entail an election where representatives would be chosen and would sit at the table in the proportion in which they were elected.

Because of the numerical dominance of blacks, this would mean the ANC would probably have the major say in the decisions of the constituent assembly.

The Government wants the questions of who and how many sit at the table settled beforehand by consensus.

## Frequent

A senior Government source said on Friday there should be "reasonable consensus" on which groups constituted political forces in SA. The Government believed all parties should be evenly represented at the table.

The Government also believed there should be no voting to make decisions at the table. Instead it felt that constitutional plans could be arrived at by consensus.

In a briefing earlier this week, Dr Viljoen spelt out the Government's arguments against a constituent assembly:

- A constituent assembly

was suitable for the birth of a new state. Here the state already existed with a constitution that had simply to be altered;

- An election for a constituent assembly would have to be on an open voters' roll. This would, in practice, anticipate one-man-one-vote negotiating decisions;

- An election was more suitable at the end of negotiations rather than at the beginning;

- An election for such an assembly would commit the contesting parties to policy positions which they would have to treat as a mandate and adhere to during negotiations.

In the six months between now and the likely start of negotiations, the Government and the ANC are expected to meet frequently to discuss a host of preliminary details — such as the venue, the size and shape of the negotiating table and the procedures for discussions and decision-making.

Dr Viljoen estimated that the negotiating process itself could take two years.

He said several homeland leaders were, at this stage, in favour of the ANC's idea of a constituent assembly.

CM Temp 4/6/80

11A

~~11A~~

From page 1

on Saturday Mr Mandela said he was upset by reports in SA saying he was ill and his tour in danger.

In fact, South African reports on the stress he has undertaken were subdued by comparison with splash news on the front pages of Swiss newspapers.

After Strasburg, the Mandela tour moves to Rome on Friday, where he meets the Pope and the Italian government before returning to London for two days of ANC executive business with the ailing president Mr Oliver Tambo.

He then heads for Canada and a gruelling criss-cross mission in the US.

After nearly two weeks in America he return to Europe to meet the European Community president, Irish Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, in Dublin, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London.

He will then visit five African capitals before returning to Johannesburg on July 18.

The European Community (EC), meanwhile, welcomed SA's decision to lift the state of emergency in most of the country.

The EC said the decision to ease the emergency powers should help create a climate for "substantive negotiations on the future of a truly democratic SA".

Sapa-Reuter reports from Washington that Mr Sununu, in giving his view on a possible lifting of sanctions by Mr Bush, said: "I think the president and Secretary of State (James) Baker will be reviewing this, and I suspect over the next few weeks there'll be an evolution of what the exact policy will be."

In a television interview with Cable News Network, Mr Sununu said: "I think in terms of the law, the legal ability to remove sanctions is there."

Mr Sununu's remarks contrast with the State Department's comments last week that the SA government, in deciding to lift the emergency, fell short of US requirements for an end to sanctions.

State Department spokesman Mr Robert Boucher said US law first required SA to release all its political prisoners, estimated at 2 000 to 3 000 by some groups, and to remove all emergency measures still in place in Natal.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to meet Mr Bush and Mr Baker in Washington on June 25.

## PAC meets UN group

THE United Nations fact-finding mission to South Africa held discussions with a delegation from the Pan Africanist Congress in Cape Town yesterday.

The PAC delegation was led by Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's Western Cape co-ordinator, Mrs Patricia de Lille, its foreign affairs secretary, and a PAC prisoner released this weekend from Robben Island, Mr Tyson Silah. *South African 11/6/79*

### Political (11A)

The UN team was led by Mr Abdulrahim Farah, the UN's under-secretary general for special political questions. *(S)*

De Lille said last night: "We had a wide-ranging discussion with them on current political issues and we also informed them of the view of the PAC on the current situation." - Sapa.

# Khotso is main speaker

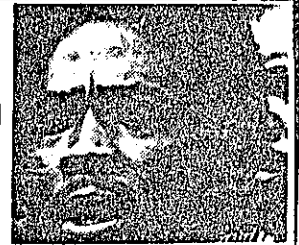
FORMER student leader Khotso Seatlholo will this week address three public meetings about events that led to the June 1976 uprisings.

Seatlholo is scheduled to speak at the University of Durban-Westville today. Tomorrow he will address stu-

dents at the University of Natal.

*Sowetan 11/6/90*

According to the publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr Strini Moodley, Seatlholo will address a major June 16 rally at Regina Mundi Church, in Soweto, on Saturday.



**Khotso Seatlholo.**

*(Handwritten mark)*

*(Handwritten mark)*



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor: inquests

368. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police have taken any action against Mr Sybrand Louis van Schoor as a result of the findings of the inquests referred to in the reply of the Minister of Justice to Question No 9 on 27 February 1990; if so, what action; if not, why not;
- (2) Whether Mr Van Schoor's firearm licence (a) has at any stage been revoked and/or (b) is to be revoked; if not, why not; if so, when? *Hansard 11/6/90*

B896E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)

Four cases of attempted murder are at present being investigated against the person concerned. A number of formal inquests will also be held in the foreseeable future. In view of this I do not consider it advisable to furnish any information which may possibly jeopardise the investigations or anticipate the judicial process.

Internal Security Act emergency regulations: ~~persons in detention~~439. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Hansard 11/6/90*

What total number of persons in each race group was in detention in each specified region in terms of (a) each specified section of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, and (b) the emergency regulations as at (i) the latest specified date for which information is available and (ii) 31 December 1989?

B1030E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) (i) 44 persons of all races country-wide on 5 June 1990. ~~32~~
- (ii) 25 persons of all races country-wide on 31 December 1989.
- (b) (i) 119 persons of all races country-wide on 5 June 1990. *Hansard 11/6/90*
- (ii) 61 persons of all races country-wide on 31 December 1989.

Firearms: applications ~~11/6/90~~447. Dr Z J DE BEER asked the Minister of Law and Order: *Hansard 11/6/90*

- (a) How many applications for firearms have been made by (i) Whites and (ii) Blacks in Welkom in each month since 1 January 1990 and (b) how many such applications were unsuccessful in each case?

B1039E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) and (b) Since 1 January 1990 until 30 May 1990, 1 260 applications for firearm licences have been received in Welkom. Nine of these applications were rejected. However, specific records of the different race groups of applicants for licences are not readily available.

SAP: security of ANC delegation ~~11/6/90~~455. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order:† *11/6*

Whether members of the South African Police were responsible for the security of the ANC delegation that held discussions with the State President from 2 to 4 May 1990; if so, (a) how many members of the Police were involved and (b) (i) how many hours of overtime did these members work and (ii) what remuneration did they receive for it?

B1053E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes, the South African Police was responsible for the safety of the ANC delegation, but at the same time for the safety of the public and also the members of the Government and officials who were involved in the negotiations.

- (a) On account of the particular nature of these duties it is not considered to be in the

*Hansard*  
11/6/90 public interest to make known the number of members who were involved. *(2) 11A*

(b) (i) and (ii) The duties that were performed form part of the normal activities of the South African Police and no separate expenditure was incurred.

**Police Reserve Force: recruits/retirements**

466. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: *(2) 11A*

(1) How many persons joined the Police Reserve Force at police stations in each province of the Republic in 1989;

(2) how many reservists retired from service in that year?

*Hansard 11/6/90*

B1087E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Natal 311  
Transvaal 608

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) 3 866  
(b) 430  
(c) 1 367  
(d) 287

	Whites	Coloureds	Blacks	Indians
(2) (a) (i)	2 075	162	775	36
(ii)	264	33	182	20
(iii)	45	34	825	9
(b) Deceased	124	24	227	24

**Pietermaritzburg unrest: policemen injured/killed** *Hansard*

488. Mr P C CRONJE asked the Minister of Law and Order: *(2) 11A*

(1) How many members of the South African Police were (a) seriously injured and (b) killed in action in unrest in the Pietermaritzburg district from 1 January 1990 up to the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether he will furnish information on the number of members of the (a) South African Defence Force and (b) KwaZulu Police Force who were (i) seriously in-

Cape Province *(2) 11A* 436

Orange Free State *Hansard* 114

(2) Natal *11/6/90* 356

Transvaal 834

Cape Province 623

Orange Free State 211

**SAP: enlistments/termination of service**

467. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order: *(2) 11A*

(1) How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Blacks and (d) Indians enlisted in the South African Police in 1989;

(2) how many persons in each race group had their service as members of the Police Force terminated in that year (a) on account of (i) resignation, (ii) retirement and (iii) expulsion and (b) for other specified reasons?

*Hansard 11/6/90*

B1088E

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**QUESTIONS**

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

**Gang warfare/drugs: persons arrested**

4. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) (a) How many persons were arrested in connection with township gang warfare in

the Republic during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available and (b) what steps were taken in respect of those so arrested;

(2) (a) How many persons were arrested for dealing illicitly in (i) dagga, (ii) Mandrax and (iii) other specified drugs during the above-mentioned period and (b) what steps were taken against those so arrested?

*(34) Hansard 11/6/90C12E*

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

I refer the hon member to my reply which I furnished during interpellation 1 of 18 April 1990.

# Mandela arrives in Rome <sup>Stor 15/6/90</sup> to meet Pope, govt leaders <sup>(11A)</sup>

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter, and Reuter

ROME — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived in Rome from Strasbourg last night for an audience with Pope John Paul II and talks with Italian government leaders today.

After his meeting with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, Mr Mandela will address a press conference before departing for the Netherlands — a last-minute inclusion in his schedule.

Last night Mr Mandela, on the fifth leg of his mission to Europe, said he was well pleased with the day's results at Strasbourg, where the European Parliament voted overwhelmingly in support of a motion that sanctions against South Africa must stay.

The EC will review its sanctions policy on June 25 in the light of political changes made in South Africa.

Mr Mandela missed a lunch with European Community development commissioner Manuel Marin yesterday and postponed another meeting for two hours in order to get some rest.

Before meeting the Pope in a private audience at the Vatican at 11 am, the ANC leader was scheduled to be welcomed at the city hall and to receive honorary citizenship of Rome from the mayor.

The rare honour was bestowed on him in 1983, while he was still in prison.

"The ceremony will take place in the Great Hall of Caesar and he will at last be able to receive the medal himself," the ANC representative in Italy, Benny Nato de Bruyn, said.

# Mandela could hit snags in Kohl meeting

GENEVA — Nelson Mandela's campaign for sanctions is likely to hit problems in Bonn today when he has a three-hour meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and senior West German cabinet ministers.

While the ANC deputy president will again be feted like royalty, he will find the Germans are into tearing walls down, not putting up new ones.

Bonn officials say Kohl has been deeply impressed by President FW de Klerk's steady delivery of his promises.

High-level West German political sources talk of the need for a "gesture" to be made to De Klerk when the 12 EC heads of state meet in Dublin on June 25-26.

IAN HOBBS

Mandela is due to address the European Parliament in Strasbourg this week.

In every speech he makes, Mandela says there is no reason why South Africans should not enjoy the same one-man-one-vote democratic values as Europeans.

Mandela has warned it would be a "tragic mistake" if European governments identified themselves with De Klerk because both were white.

He said the De Klerk five-year plan was as unacceptable as the Group Areas Act, and the ANC rejected outright any consti-

11A  
tution that would protect the interests of any specific minority group.

In a speech to Swiss anti-apartheid groups on Saturday, Mandela said he was upset by reports in SA saying he was ill and his tour was in danger.

But his own senior officials have admitted privately he cannot possibly maintain the pace of the five weeks of travelling and commitments he faces.

The Mandela tour moves to Rome on Friday, where he meets the Pope and the Italian government before returning to London for two days of business with ANC President Oliver Tambo.

# PAC does about-turn: Talks are 'inevitable'

ARGUS 11/6/90 (11A)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress, known for its radicalism and outright rejection of negotiations at this stage, has acknowledged the inevitability of talks and the irreversibility of political change in the country.

These surprise acknowledgements are made in the PAC's comprehensive economic policy document, believed to be the first major position document to be released by the organisation since its formation in 1959.

The document, "The Economic Policy of the PAC: An exploratory, diagnostic and contingency exposition", was unveiled by general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander at a dinner hosted by the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businessmen.

## Failure recognised

In it the PAC analysed the strengths and weaknesses of the broad South African liberation movement.

It concluded that the movement had "failed to overthrow the South African State through revolutionary means". This, the PAC said, made negotiations inevitable.

"The most important thing to consider, with respect to the political dispensations taking place in occupied Azania, is that whatever will be the outcome of a negotiated political accord the Africans sooner or later will be the beneficiaries."

The political change which had taken place in the country since February 2 was irreversible, and this was one of the strengths of the liberation movement, the PAC said.

But the PAC also listed some of the major weaknesses:

- The movement had failed to overthrow the government through revolutionary means. "The military force of the State is intact and is there to protect the political and economic interests of the European settlers."

- The PAC did not have a strong military presence either inside the country or in neighbouring states "to promote and protect the interests of Africans".

- The movement and its constituency lacked the necessary technical, professional and managerial know-how to run the country's economy, and were handicapped by a host of other deprivations.

- Blacks in the country did not speak with one voice, and hitherto sympathetic African states were "tired of waging war" with South Africa and wanted to see a negotiated political settlement.

Meanwhile, scores of activists have fled Vosloorus on the East Rand in the wake of new friction between supporters of the ANC and the PAC.

## Five dead

The peace agreement between the two organisations suffered a blow on Saturday when chanting youths — allegedly ANC supporters — ransacked the house of Mr James Mndaweni, president of the National Council of Trade Unions. No one was injured in the attack.

At least five people, including three members of the same family, died recently in bloody clashes between the ANC and the PAC.

ATLANTA - A tip from the US Central Intelligence Agency to South African authorities led to the 1962 arrest of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* said on Saturday.

The respected newspaper, in an early Sunday edition, quoted an anonymous retired "former intelligence officer" from the United States as saying a senior American intelligence operative in South Africa



**Mandela ... may have escaped prison.**

told him of the spy agency's role in helping South African police arrest Mandela on August 5 1962.

The unnamed source was quoted as saying there was no reason for continued secrecy about the CIA role in the black leader's arrest for plotting to overthrow white minority rule since the ANC deputy president was released last February.

## Security

Within hours of Mandela's arrest near Durban, the source said he was told of the agency's role by Paul Eckel, described as a senior CIA operative in South Africa. Eckel moved to Atlanta after retiring and died in 1986.

He quoted Eckel as telling him: "We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be. They have

picked him up. It is one of our greatest coups."

Former secretary of state Dean Rusk told the newspaper he was "completely blank" about the matter and had no idea if the CIA was involved in Mandela's arrest.

"I'm not aware that I was ever aware of this fellow Mandela," said Rusk, who is now a professor at the University of Georgia.

But the paper said interviewees in both the United States and South Africa described a CIA covert branch in Johannesburg that by 1962 "devoted more money and expertise to penetrating the ANC than did the fledgling intelligence service of the South African government."

## Contacts

The paper quoted Gerard Ludi, said to be a retired South African operative, as saying the "deep cover" agent reported to Millard Shirley, whom he described as the CIA's chief undercover agent in South Africa.

The retired US official said he raised the Mandela matter several years later with Eckel, who worked at the US embassy in Pretoria and later for the US National Security Council under President Lyndon Johnson.

He said Eckel told him that the CIA's information on Mandela's whereabouts came from a paid informant who had been trained to communicate with superiors through a series of indirect contacts.

The retired official was also quoted as saying he alerted then deputy secretary of state Henry Taska that Mandela was fundamentally an African nationalist even though he had worked with the South Africa's Communist Party. - Sapa-Reuter.

# CIA was party to Mandela's arrest

# Constitutional committee of ANC in first SA talks

CAPT 7/5/8 11/6/90 11A

THE constitutional committee of the ANC has met in South Africa for the first time.

The meeting took place at the weekend on the campus of the University of the Western Cape.

It was presided over by Mr Zola Skweyiya, the committee's chairperson and the ANC's secretary for legal and constitutional affairs.

The other participants were

Mr Kader Asmal, Mr Fink Haysom, Mr Z N Jobodwana, Ms Brigid Mabandla, Mr Nat Masemola, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, Mr Dullah Omar, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Louis Skweyiya, Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr James Stuart.

The committee received the reports on the work of five commissions it had set up.

It also discussed the release of some of its members from other responsibilities to enable

them to do research on a full-time basis.

The committee discussed the relocation in South Africa of ANC members living outside the country.

Also on the agenda were the identification of research areas

The committee thanked the government of Canada for the "generous assistance it rendered towards the realisation of such a meeting". — Sapa.

# Mandela's <sup>ANCUS 11/6/90</sup> health: Flurry <sup>(11A)</sup> of reports have aides flustered

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE, Political Staff

BONN. — Flustered ANC aides have tried to undo the damage caused by worldwide reports that Mr Nelson Mandela's heavy international tour schedule has taken its toll on his health.

They made late-night telephone calls on Saturday to establish the origin of reports that the ageing ANC deputy-president had collapsed on Friday — the fifth day of a gruelling six-week international tour.

And yesterday annoyed aides accused the media of failing to establish the truth of Mr Mandela's condition. They said anti-ANC media was deliberately trying to undermine his tour to "maliciously try to keep away the crowds".

Members of the ANC delegation explained for the first time on Saturday night that Mr Mandela postponed an appointment with the International Red Cross in Geneva on Friday because he was running late and wanted to be on time for an important appointment with the Swiss government.

## "ON VERGE OF COLLAPSE"

This was more than 24 hours after the European media reported that Mr Mandela was on the verge of collapse.

The cancellation set off alarm bells that Mr Mandela, 71, had fallen ill and fuelled speculation that he would be forced to cut short his tour.

Mr Mandela's aides conceded on Friday that he was run down and exhausted after a hectic programme.

But they were clearly unprepared for the alarming news flashes which followed and went to great trouble yesterday to explain that he had rescheduled the Red Cross meeting for Saturday and had fulfilled all other obligations.

The ANC leader vehemently denied reports that he was fatigued and instructed his team to get its act together.

In Paris Mr Mandela was said to have grilled the ANC's local organisers for preparing a murderous two-day programme that left him drained.

In Switzerland he cut down on his speeches and on a few occasions handed over to ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mandela illustrated his remarkable strength with a well-presented off-the-cuff speech to the World Council of Churches only hours after cancelling the Red Cross appointment.

## "FEELING TIP-TOP"

And he took the public relations function upon himself by explaining at great length to journalists that he was feeling tip-top.

Delayed communication on the ANC leader's health was not his camp's first blunder.

They clearly failed to brief him on the Swiss government's impartial position on sanctions.

At a press conference on Friday, Mr Mandela thanked the Swiss government for maintaining sanctions against South Africa. When told by a Swiss journalist that the country was one of only a few Western nations not to apply sanctions, he replied: "I did not know that. But the people of Switzerland have been supporting us and that is enough."



# Talks inevitable, says surprise PAC document

SAG 11/6/90 (11A)

The PAC, known for its radicalism and outright rejection of negotiations at this stage, has acknowledged the inevitability of negotiations and the irreversibility of political change in the country since February 2 this year.

These surprise acknowledgements are made in the PAC's comprehensive economic policy document — believed to be the first major position document to be released by the organisation since its formation in 1959.

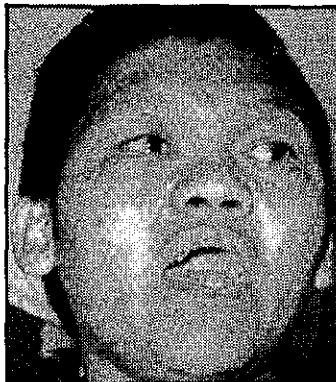
The detailed document, "The Economic Policy of the PAC: an exploratory, diagnostic and contingency exposition", was unveiled by general secretary Benny Alexander at a recent dinner hosted by the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businessmen.

In it, the organisation also analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the broad South African liberation movement.

It concludes that the movement has "failed to overthrow the South African State through revolutionary means". This, the PAC says, makes negotiations inevitable.

"The most important thing to consider, with respect to the political dispensations taking

The Pan Africanist Congress acknowledges, in a recent document, the inevitability of political negotiations in the light of the failure of anti-apartheid movements to overthrow the South African State, reports  
**KAIZER NYATSUMBA.**



**General secretary of the PAC  
Benny Alexander . . .**

place in occupied Azania, is that whatever will be the outcome of a negotiated political accord, the Africans sooner or later will be the beneficiaries."

The political change which has taken place in the country since February 2 is irreversible, and this is one of the strengths of the liberation movement, the PAC says.

Also on the positive side is

that the leadership of the liberation movement is now going to be based inside the country; homelands throughout the country are tumbling; and black workers have become highly mobilised politically.

## Settlers

But the PAC also lists some of the major weaknesses:

● The movement has failed to overthrow the Government through revolutionary means.

"The military force of the State," the PAC says, "is intact and is there to protect the political and economic interests of the European settlers".

● The movement does not have a strong military presence either inside the country or in the neighbouring states "to promote and protect the interest of the Africans".

● The movement and its constituency lacks the necessary technical, professional and managerial know-how to run the country's economy; and is handicapped by a host of other deprivations.

● Blacks in the country do not speak with a single voice, and hitherto sympathetic African states are "tired of waging war" with South Africa and want to see a negotiated political settlement.

# CIA had big role in Mandela arrest - US report

By David Braun  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) played an important role in the arrest in 1962 of Nelson Mandela, says a news report released in the US at the weekend.

Cox News Service claimed the CIA used an agent inside the agency to pass on precise details of Mr Mandela's whereabouts to the SA Police.

The news report quoted an unidentified retired official as saying that a senior CIA official had told him shortly after Mr Mandela's arrest: "We have turned him over to the South African Security Branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be."

The CIA has refused to comment on the report.

The same news report said that at the time of Mr Mandela's arrest, the CIA devoted more resources to penetrating the ANC and other South African nationalist groups than did South Africa's then-fledgling security service.

The CIA was said to have been willing to give assistance to the South African Government at the time because of concerns that the ANC could threaten the stability of a friendly Pretoria regime. The CIA also feared the stability of other African states would be threatened if nationalist movements expanded across South Africa's borders.

# Washington Post has praise for FW's steps

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

SA CIA

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk has surely earned a Washington welcome, the largest newspaper published in the US capital has said in a leading article.

Praising the State President for taking a new and vital step towards peaceful resolution of South Africa's racial problems by lifting the state of emergency in three of four of the country's provinces this week, the Washington Post said in its editorial on Saturday there need be no question about the principle of America playing host to the most farsighted and bold leader white South Africa had yet produced.

However, the influential

newspaper said to lift sanctions prematurely would not be helpful to the talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

"But the Bush administration can praise and encourage Mr de Klerk's efforts in other ways," it added.

The Washington Post said South Africa remained an unacceptably racist state, despite all the bold steps taken by Mr de Klerk. Blacks still lived oppressed and segregated lives in townships and homelands, and continued to die at the hands of government security forces.

Still, as Mr de Klerk tried to rein in more militant whites and Mr Mandela tried to calm black militants, a new and promising biracial centre had emerged.

# 1 000 at slain BCM activist's funeral

Sowetan 11/6/90



By Sowetan Reporter

WITH fists punching the air, Black Consciousness Movement activist ran three km to Doornkop Cemetery alongside the hearse carrying the body of slain Azanian National Liberation Army member Oupa Motsikwa on Saturday.

Motsikwa (21), a former leader of the Azanian Students' Movement, who left for military training in Libya, was "on a mission inside the country when he met his fate", according to the BCM.

He was shot dead in Dobsonville. The Azanian People's Organisation has blamed the "system" for his death.

## Ongoing campaign

Master of ceremonies at the funeral service at Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville, Mr Sandile Ntwasa, said Motsikwa died at a time when men of his calibre were needed.

"He was a socialist through and through and sacrificed his life for the freedom of his people."

Azapo political commissar, Dr Victor Dlamini, said Motsikwa's death was part of an ongoing campaign by imperialists and their agents to eliminate the BCM.

Motsikwa's funeral was attended by more than 1 000 people.

# UN team in talks with PAC, ANC

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The United Nations fact-finding mission — which arrived in Cape Town on Saturday — met the Black Sash, the Cape PAC and two members of the ANC's constitutional committee yesterday.

It is not clear whether the mission, sent to South Africa to monitor the Government's progress in dismantling apartheid, will meet President de Klerk.

The head of the mission, Abeldurrahim a Farah — UN Under Secretary-General for special political questions — said last night that a meeting with Mr de Klerk would be "helpful".

He would not say whether he would ask for a meeting. It is understood Mr de Klerk has not yet received a request.

## No comment

But Mr Farah is scheduled to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha tomorrow as well as a wide spectrum of politicians of all parties before he leaves South Africa on about June 20.

Mr Farah said he had no comment on yesterday's meetings.

The decision to send the eight-man mission to South Africa followed discussions which Mr de Klerk held with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar at the Namibian independence celebrations in March.

An official UN announcement last week said the mission had been sent to monitor the steps taken to dismantle apartheid — as set out in the UN General Assembly "Declaration on Apartheid", passed in December. The declaration sets much the same sort of conditions for taking part in negotiations as are contained in the ANC's Harare Declaration.

This led the Conservative Party to brand the mission as "blatant interference in South Africa's internal affairs".

# US Jews 'reassured' after meeting ANC leader

GENEVA — Leaders from United States Jewish groups met Nelson Mandela yesterday to discuss the ANC's stance on the State of Israel and declared the talks had exceeded their "fondest expectations".

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, told journalists after the 2½-hour meeting that Mr Mandela stressed the ANC's support for Israel's right to exist within "secure borders".

But Mr Siegman added that the ANC deputy president had criticised the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinians. Mr Mandela had also called on Israel to hold direct talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to settle the Palestinian uprising.

Mr Siegman, who co-ordinated the visit of the six Jewish leaders to Geneva, said the Jewish community should "actively and vigorously extend a warm welcome" to Mr Mandela during his 10-day trip to the US, which starts on June 20.

## Arafat

Several US Jewish groups recently warned that they will protest against Mr Mandela's visit. They accused the ANC deputy president of being anti-Israeli after he compared the struggle of Palestinians to that of black South Africans, and publicly embraced PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

Mr Siegman said the meeting had put an end to the concern over Mr Mandela's stance, although the Jewish delegation disagreed with his views on Israel/PLO talks.

Mr Mandela had said he would welcome an opportunity to visit Israel.

ANC representatives could not be contacted for comment.

The American Jewish Congress, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations were represented at the meeting.

# Mandela arrives in W Germany for talks

By Esmare van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

BONN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived in West Germany last night for two days of talks with influential political and business leaders.

Mr Mandela, on the fourth leg of his 13-nation tour, will meet West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, President Richard von Weizaecker and former chancellor, Willie Brandt.

Mr Mandela has already visited Botswana, France and Switzerland — and has described his meetings with the French and Swiss governments as highly successful.

Despite concern about his health after a gruelling schedule in these countries, he faces a full programme in West Germany before flying to Strasbourg for his crucial address to the European Parliament.

Mr Mandela, who relaxed at an undisclosed venue yesterday,

will today meet the chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Hans Jurgen Fulger, Social Affairs Minister Norbert Bluen, Development Affairs Minister Jurgen Waencke, as well as industrialists and African diplomats.

He is scheduled to address an anti-apartheid rally tonight and have dinner with Dr Brandt, honorary leader of the SDP.

Tomorrow he will meet and have lunch with Chancellor Kohl.

11/6/90

# New claim of CIA role in 1962 arrest

WASHINGTON. — The long controversy over whether the CIA played a role in Mr Nelson Mandela's August 1962 arrest has re-opened.

The respected Cox News Service at the weekend quoted an anonymous retired CIA officer who claimed a superior told him: "We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch."

The news service also quoted Mr Gerard Ludi, a retired SA intelligence officer, as saying that at the time of Mr Mandela's arrest, the CIA had an informer deep within the ANC's Durban leadership.

He said the CIA was willing to assist in Mr Mandela's capture because it feared a successful black nationalist movement in SA threatened Pretoria — then regarded as a friendly government — and might destabilise the region.

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution said interviewees in both the US and South Africa described a CIA covert branch in Johannesburg that by 1962 "devoted more money and expertise to penetrating the ANC than did the fledgling SA intelligence service".

The report is likely to be used by activists to demand some kind of compensatory gesture from the Bush administration.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said he was sure Mr Mandela bore no resentment. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter



JOHANNESBURG. —  
The Vosloorus township  
house of the president of  
the National Congress of  
Trade Unions (NCTU),  
Mr James Mndaweni,  
was ransacked by about  
100 armed people early  
on Saturday morning.

Mr Mndaweni was not  
at home at the time of  
the attack, but a friend  
of his was staying at the  
house.

"He saw the attackers  
coming. There were  
about 100 of them and  
they were armed to the  
teeth," said Mr  
Mndaweni.

His friend had man-  
aged to escape out the  
back door.

Vosloorus has been  
the scene of severe in-  
ter-organisational and

# Home of leading unionist ransacked by crowd

political violence re-  
cently.

Mr Mndaweni, who has  
been involved in negoti-  
ations between the ANC  
and the PAC in an at-  
tempt to bring peace to  
the East Rand township,  
said that the ANC had  
been singing provoca-  
tive songs about  
"Mndaweni and his

dogs" at a memorial ser-  
vice held in Vosloorus  
on Saturday night for  
three ANC members  
who lost their lives in  
the recent violence.

"It was clear at the  
memorial service that I  
was going to be at-  
tacked."

He said that at the  
ANC-PAC negotiations it  
had been agreed there  
would be a cessation of  
hostilities between the  
two organisations while  
the funerals took place.

Mr Mndaweni said the  
attack had created  
doubts.

"Whether the peace  
talks continue or not it  
would seem the violence  
and threatening of peo-  
ple's lives will contin-  
ue," he said. — Sapa

# PAC warns of violence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC and Nactu yesterday warned of possible violence in rejecting a Cosatu-ANC call for nationwide stayaway and protest action next week.

Both organisations said in separate statements yesterday that they had not been consulted about the Week of Action originally called by Cosatu to protest at Natal violence, the maintenance of the state of emergency there and the continued existence of the KwaZulu homeland. The PAC-Nactu stand against

participation has raised the spectre of confrontation between workers staying away and those going to work, particularly in the light of continuing violence between PAC and ANC supporters.

However, Nactu said Cosatu had assured the labour federation that a pamphlet it intended releasing would indicate that no one should be forced to join the stayaway.

ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada's only comment yesterday was: "We can only reiterate that what has been announced will go ahead."

Cosatu yesterday urged the PAC and other organisations to reconsider their opposition to national mass action against violence in Natal.

Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the union federation did not want to enter into a slanging match with organisations opposing mass action against the Natal violence.

Opposing the campaign could only benefit the "apartheid regime and those perpetrating violence against our people". — Sapa

Monday, June 11, 1990

# Mandela and Jewish leaders discuss Israel

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GENEVA. — Leaders from US Jewish groups met Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday to discuss the ANC leader's stance towards Israel and said the talks had exceeded their "fondest expectations."

Mr Henry Siegman, director of the American Jewish Congress, said after the two-hour meeting that Mr Mandela stressed the ANC's support for Israel's right to exist within "secure borders".

But the ANC deputy president had criticised the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinians and called on the government to hold direct talks with the PLO to settle the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories.

Mr Siegman, who co-ordinated the visit of the six Jewish leaders to Geneva, said the Jewish community should "join actively and vigorously in extending a warm welcome" to Mr Mandela during his 10-day trip to the US starting on June 20.

Several US Jewish groups recently warned they would protest against Mr Mandela's visit. They accused him of being anti-Israeli after he compared the struggle of

Palestinians to black South Africans and publicly embraced PLO chairman Mr Yasser Arafat.

Mr Siegman said the meeting had put an end to the concern over Mr Mandela's stance, though the Jewish delegation disagreed with his views on talks between Israel and the PLO.

Mr Siegman said that while Mr Mandela accepted Israel's right to exist within secure borders, he had said these borders should not encompass the Golan Heights, Gaza and the West Bank.

He added that Mr Mandela had said he would welcome an opportunity to visit Israel if invited by the government.

## 'Real celebration'

Mr Abraham Foxman, director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said: "I will probably raise my voice and proclaim he (Mr Mandela) is a friend. The meeting exceeded our fondest expectations. No Jewish organisation should have any reservations about the visit."

Mr Al Vorspan, senior vice-president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said Mr Mandela's visit should be a

"real celebration" of his freedom after 27 years in prison.

Mr Mandela is in Switzerland on the second leg of a six-week tour of Europe and North America to press the West to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

In New York, Mayor David Dinkins stood by his warning to Jewish groups against protests during Mr Mandela's visit, a spokesman said.

"Because of the role Mandela plays within the minds of many African-Americans and many people worldwide fighting for peace and justice, he is an international hero," he said.

Mr Dinkins had said that any anti-Mandela protests during the New York visit would be unwise and potentially harmful to black-Jewish relations.

"I think that it's sad and unfortunate and tactically very, very unwise because the man is an international symbol of freedom and especially so seen by persons of colour," Mr Dinkins said, referring to threatened protests in an interview with the New York Daily News. — Sapa-AP and UPI

## 'The Stick' unbanned

DURBAN. — The controversial anti-war film "The Stick" has been unbanned after two years of attempts to get it past the censors.

Producer Mr Anant Singh said yesterday it had been made with local audiences in mind. It had already been released around the world.

He said the censors had said it had "very high artistic merit", but declared it "undesirable" as "the SADF was presented as ruthless and indiscriminate killers". — Sapa

## Biko movie a smash hit in SA

*9/11/78*  
*Staff Reporter*  
"CRY FREEDOM", Sir Richard Attenborough's movie on Steve Biko and newspaper editor Donald Woods, has been a "spectacular hit" in South Africa, a spokesman for distributors UIP-Warner said yesterday.

Mr Jerry Stone said attendances at cinemas country-wide were "excellent".

*11/11*  
"We broke 45 daily house records and 11 weekly house records," he said.

On the Cape Flats, some cinemas had booked it for the third and fourth consecutive run.

Overseas, the movie was declared a "box office flop", said Mr Stone.

In South Africa security police confiscated the film during its premier last year.

# Mier: LP risks clash with ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party will find itself on a collision course with the ANC if it goes ahead with plans to re-table the contentious Mier legislation in Parliament this week.

The legislation, which provides for the sale of trust land in the Mier district bordering Botswana, has already been removed from the order paper twice as a result of the direct intervention of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

However, with Mr Mandela overseas, the LP decided to push ahead with plans to sell off the communal grazing land, despite strong opposition from a substantial segment of the Mier community.

Lawyers representing the community have been trying to get Mr Mandela to once again step in to halt the privatisation of the land — a move strongly favoured by the MP for the area and Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives, Mr Andrew Julies.

Should the LP once again bow to pressure from the ANC — or the Mier community — Mr Julies's political career will be in jeopardy.

The Mier legislation was originally scheduled to be tabled towards the end of January, but was withdrawn after Mr Mandela contacted LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse.

The legislation was again tabled last month — and once again withdrawn following the intervention of Mr Mandela.

However, the LP appears to have decided on a strategy of third time lucky.

Last week the party decided unanimously to push ahead with the measure — which is expected to be tabled on Wednesday.

The ANC has already warned that if the legislation is passed it will do everything in its power to prevent it being implemented.

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# Wealth redistribution is the overall aim

Under a future PAC government, "the African economic interests (would) move to an ascending position in the country as soon as possible".

Its economic policy aims to be corrective of past injustices and to be developmental.

After coming to power, a priority would be "the effective localisation of the ownership of the economic resources of the country" to minimise the role of international financial capital in the country's economy.

The State would take part in the country's economy, and the overall aim would be wealth redistribution "in favour of the indigenous African people".

The State would "act as a countervailing force" against

capitalist and market forces which did not accord with the PAC political/economic mission.

The PAC, which does not want "to promote an illusion that the State alone can develop the economy or start new economic organisations", would massively promote individually owned firms as well as co-operatives by blacks.

Privatisation of economic units currently owned and run by the State would not be encouraged unless it enhanced the PAC's mission.

In the private sector, workers would have the following constitutionally guaranteed and legally protected rights:

● To take part, through repre-

sentatives, in all the investment and financing decision-making processes, and to have access to relevant information.

● To hold certain percentages of companies' equity capital.

● To elect people to represent them in the companies' management teams. These people would be "managers accountable to top management and to workers at a shop-floor level".

● To appoint their representatives to the companies' board.

The implementation of this policy, the PAC says, is dependent on the nature of the change which would take place between now and the organisation's coming to power.

# Mandela *Sowetan* can lose *12/6/90* support - Woods

Foreign  
Correspondent

PERTH - The only possible future for South Africa lay in a full democracy with a system of one-person one-vote, the formerly banned newspaper editor, Mr Donald Woods, said here yesterday.

Interviewed on ABC Radio, Woods said that without insisting on one-person one-vote, Mr Nelson Mandela and his colleagues would lose all credibility with their followers.

## Fears (1/R)

"I believe that the ANC would lean over backwards to be as accommodating as possible to allay white fears," Woods said.

"They would find some formula within the democratic system, such as proportional representation, or a Bill of Rights or Senate representation.

"This would allow a blocking mechanism, not on the legislation of black majority rule, but rather on certain provisions which might underlie the fears of the white minority."

THE Constitutional Committee of the African National Congress met in South Africa for the first time at the weekend, the ANC confirmed yesterday.

The meeting, which took place on the campus of the University of the Western Cape, was presided over by Zola Skweyiya, chairman of the Constitutional Committee and the secretary for legal and constitutional affairs of the ANC.

The other participants were: Kader Asmal, Fink Haysom, ZN Jobodwana, Brigid Mabandla, Nat Masemola, Bulelani Ngcuka, Dallah Omar, Albie Sachs, Louis Skweyiya and two members of the national executive committee's subcommittee on constitutional affairs Pallo Jordan and James Staurt.

The meeting received the reports on the work of five commissions it had previously established and discussed the reloca-

# ANC talks on SA constitution

Sowetan 12/6/90

11A

tion in South Africa of its members who currently reside outside the country.

It discussed the release of some of its members from other responsibilities to enable them to undertake research on fulltime basis. The identification of research areas and the contact with other bodies and a possible exploratory meeting with the SA Law Commission, was also on the agenda.

The Constitutional Committee expressed its thanks to the Government of Canada for the generous assistance it rendered towards the realisation of such a meeting.

The meeting unanimously recognised that, in the present conjuncture, the Constitutional Com-

mittee's role has acquired a special significance in defining in greater detail the ANC's vision for a non-racial democratic constitutional order for South Africa. - Sapa



11A

# Ngxobongwana slates kitscops

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE mayor of Old Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, broke a long silence yesterday to launch a blistering attack on special constables whom he claims are responsible for murder, widespread torchings and theft in his community.

Mr Ngxobongwana, who has been uncontactable for several months, called for the summary removal of special constables and their replacement with SADF troops whom he said were "neutral and keep things under control".

The latest Crossroads violence was on Friday night when a woman was shot dead in her new Phase 2 home and two people were injured. Police confirmed the death, adding that 11 homes

in the development were torched over the weekend.

The woman, who was shot in the head, was identified as Ms Ethel Maqoqwana, 23.

No arrests have been made.

The long-standing Old Crossroads leader, against whom a six-month fraud investigation was recently dropped for lack of evidence, also replied to consistent demands for his removal from his arch-opponent and former headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

He was prepared to accept demands for an open referendum on the issue "if everybody agrees to sit around a table — but no outsiders, just Old Crossroads people".

He said Mr Nongwe himself had proposed that he stand for

mayor in October 1988. This made Mr Nongwe's current demands for his removal "strange".

Special constables have come in for heavy criticism from Mr Justice JH Conradie at least twice in the past 12 months.

Ten days ago the judge criticised police for arming an "unqualified, poorly trained and mentally ill-equipped person" as a special constable. He jailed Constable Mbulelo Gwemntu for three years for culpable homicide and declared him unfit to possess a firearm.

Brigadier Vic Haynes, head of police liaison, appealed for Mr Ngxobongwana to "be specific and bring us the evidence".

He said police were studying Mr Justice Conradie's judgment "at high level".



**BACK . .** Mr Ngxobongwana in a waterlogged part of the squatter camp yesterday.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

**UDF lashes out at  
boycotting students**

CAPL 7/12/15 12/6/90 (11A) 502

**NELSPRUIT.** — Students who refused to attend school would not be able to criticise a future government that employed educated whites, United Democratic Front general-secretary Mr Pope Molefe insisted at a Lowveld rally on Sunday.

At the rally in Thulamashe stadium in the Mala district near Nelspruit, the UDF leader called on the more than 7 000 residents in the rural community to support the African National Congress "Back to School" campaign.

"Students should recognise that if they don't arm themselves with knowledge now, they will not be able to blame the future government when it employs educated whites to occupy central positions," Mr Molefe warned.  
— Sapa



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

# Mandela: a leader created for use at home and abroad

Cap 7945 12/6/90 11A

THE film "Being There" is the parable of Chance the Gardener, an idiot savant who rises, quite innocently, to immense fame and influence because the powers that be sense in his simple-minded references to horticultural lore a Solomonic wisdom on the vexing issues of the day.

Isolated behind the garden walls of his employer for most of his conscious life, he in fact has no knowledge of the world beyond.

His infallibility rests in the desperate eyes of his beholders. When the truth ultimately begins to dawn on them, they dare not admit it.

Nelson Mandela may not be such an empty slate. That apart, it is worth pausing to wonder the extent to which he is the world's rather than his own creation.

Could it be that the Mandela to whom we must all now do obeisance was invented as he sat in his jail cell because the various parties to the South African drama needed a figure that did not exist in nature?

## ANC veterans liquidated

Mandela's claim to greatness — a claim, let it be said, that he has not made himself — rests principally on three things: his last words at the Rivonia trial, his long and nobly endured incarceration at the hands of the South African government and the testimony of those, both friend and foe, who saw him during that time and who have been in his presence since.

Of the first, it may be said that however fine



**MARTIN LUTHER KING:** "Reborn" as Nelson Mandela. The latter has been adopted by the civil rights movement.

Mandela's speech, the circumstances that led to its delivery involved a murderous conspiracy.

Staunch ANC veterans who opposed the resort to violence were subsequently liquidated for their views. As for the long confinement, it happened to him, he did not do it himself. That he endured it with dignity and without cracking may also be said of most



**LECH WALES:** Invited to address a joint session of Congress. Mandela is being accorded the same privilege.

of his fellow prisoners.

This brings us to the matter of testimony. Consider the witnesses. To be sure they now tell basically the same story, at least in public. This might seem persuasive. It is less so, however, when one stops to think about how the judgements were arrived at.

Pretoria, for example, is now determined, perhaps even more so than

the ANC itself, that Mandela be great and good. His authorised hagiographer Fatima Meer pointed out here the other day that "however they look at it, Mr Mandela is the best thing the government has and they had better look after him".

Specifically, she meant that Winnie's role in the death of Stompie Moeketsi and the subsequent murder of Dr Asvat should not be further pursued. The government has taken her point.

## Symbol of struggle

Confronted with a highly factionalised opposition, President De Klerk and his men are desperate for some kind of transcendent hero who can act as what the French, in Algeria, called a "valable interlocuteur".

Given his mythic status, the ANC's symbol of struggle over the past quarter century, they have seen little alternative to settling on Mandela. In the process, they have had to build him up among their own constituency just as the ANC marketed him as an international rallying instrument during his years in jail.

Their wish for him to

be the kind of leader on whom they could pin their hopes has long since convinced them that indeed he is that leader. As witnesses to his true character or intentions, they cannot therefore be trusted.

Abroad, the urge to invest Mandela with all but superhuman qualities is no less great. Out here, nobody is interested in the individual as he really might be. What people want is a saint, a sort of moral celebrity.

Woe betide the policymaker, politician, scholar or journalist who evinces the slightest scepticism. Mother Theresa is scarcely more sacrosanct.

## Praise of Fidel Castro

This is particularly true in the US where the civil rights movement has adopted Mandela as a sort of Martin Luther King reborn. The sentiment is summed up by Roger Wilkins, co-ordinator of Mandela's US tour, who declared in the New York Times that the ANC deputy president was "our cousin, our king".

The pun was apparently intended.

Such is the abyss into which racial politics

has fallen here that news organisations have felt obliged to sanitise their coverage of Mandela's activities and statements. The Washington Post, it is true, did remark upon the ideology of his first speech in Cape Town. That was a rare breach of protocol, however.

His praise of Fidel Castro as a beacon of human rights and embrace of both Colonel Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat (whom he has met now on three occasions) went largely unreported until members of the Jewish community started threatening to stage protests during his visit.

The last non-head-of-state invited to address a joint session of Congress was Lech Walesa. His invitation was made from genuine, across-the-board respect for a leader who had led the overthrow of a tyrannical regime without recourse to violence.

Mandela, on the other hand, is being accorded the same privilege, less from any consensus that he should receive it than out of fear of the domestic political consequences if he did not.

As it happens, very few of the congressional leadership were even consulted before the invitation was extended

by House Speaker Thomas Foley at the insistence of Congressman William Gray. To the contrary, the Mandela joint session was presented to most members as a *fait accompli*.

## Mandela being used

Not even Senator Jesse Helms, perhaps the ANC's most dogged critic on Capitol Hill, could bring himself to complain.

Perhaps it does not bother Mandela that he is being used. However, the extent to which he is letting this happen surely casts doubt on whether he is the historic leader he is alleged to be.

One may even be inclined to think that the movement he represents sees him as little more than a useful PR tool to be trundled out when needed but otherwise kept on a tight rein. President Bush might do well to think about this before the two meet.

Whoever runs the ANC clearly does not want him to spend a great deal of time at home. They have already blocked his inclination to make peace with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

And now, a septuage-

narian fresh out of surgery (however minor), he is supposed to undertake an itinerary that would exhaust a man half his age.

His 10-day schedule in the US alone includes no less than eight major rallies, not counting the New York ticker-tape parade and addresses to Congress and the UN General Assembly.

In one 48-hour period he must, among other lesser duties, speak at rallies in Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles, address a union convention in Miami and visit a car assembly plant in Detroit. He is granted not a single day off throughout.

This, say the organisers, ANC US representative Lindiwe Mabuzza among them, is an abbreviated version of what they originally had in mind, specially pared down for the sake of his health. Not, of course, that they admit his health might be a problem.

## Constitutional demands

Local ANC officials insist more loudly than anyone that he is as healthy as an ox, problems in Geneva notwithstanding.

Insanity. And to what end? Merely to ensure that sanctions stay in place to strengthen the ANC's constitutional demands?

That Mandela permits it is evidence at best of foolishness, but also of vainglory. That his colleagues seem determined to have him proceed suggests the only use they have for him is to parade him overseas like some seductive but ultimately expendable artefact.



**COURT VISIT . . .** Mr Jordan (in raincoat), Mr Tshwete (with pipe) and Mr Stuart (far right) with most of the 28 released Robben Island prisoners on their way to the Supreme Court to visit the trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and five others. Picture: OBEID ZILWA,

Releases are  
'bad news'  
for Harare 5

OWN Correspondent

**HARARE.** — Five men held in Harare's Chikurubi maximum security prison were yesterday reported to be "extremely anxious" that Pretoria has agreed to the release of 48 ANC prisoners from Robben Island without obtaining their freedom in exchange.

Mr Robin Hartley, a lawyer acting for the five, said he visited them last weekend and found them physically well, but showing signs of strain at what they believed was their forgotten plight.

"They are anxious because they feel these releases were made for political purposes without any corresponding arrangements being made for them," he said.

# ANC leaders get big welcome from trialists

Supreme Court Reporter

FORMER exiled ANC leaders yesterday morning received an enthusiastic welcome in the Supreme Court where Mr Tony Yengeni and his co-accused greeted them from the dock.

They were, however, required to wait for an hour due to the late arrival of the police convoy bringing Mr Yengeni and his co-accused, Ms Jenny Schreiner, Mrs Lumka Yengeni, Mr Michael Lumbambo, Mr Mbutu Nduku and Mr Wellington Nkwandla, to court.

When they entered the dock, they turned to face the gallery and with a clenched-fist salute said in unison: "Good morning comrade leaders."

The leaders, ANC information and publicity secretary Mr Pallo Jordan, national executive committee members Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr James Stuart and most of the 28 released Robben Island prisoners, greeted them in return.

Mr D P de Villiers, QC, for the defence, expressed regret at the delay

and said it was because of dissatisfaction by the accused last week over the quality of the vehicle in which they were brought to court.

They had been plagued by the cold and by exhaust fumes in their van.

The cross-examination of Major Andre du Toit — a security police expert witness — then continued and focused on his interpretation and comment on documents and cryptic notes allegedly found in Ms Schreiner's Wynberg flat.

Major Du Toit reiterated that notes written on toilet paper and found in the Parow police station cell where Ms Schreiner was detained in terms of Section 29, was a communication to ANC cadres outside.

Ms Schreiner had intended to smuggle the note — which included a list of names — out of her cell to tip off the ANC about the detention of its members, he said.

The trial continues today. Mr Justice S Selikowitz was on the bench. Mr W S le Roux and Ms J V Knoll were the assessors. Mr Hendrik Klerk, SC, with Mr Janie van Vuuren and Mrs Sandra Swart, appeared for the state.

11A

Capl. Tim 12/6/90

# ANC research centre is back in business

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE controversial decision to freeze all funds and activities of the ANC's "think tank", the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), has been revoked after a top level meeting at the University of the Western Cape.

In what amounted to an embarrassment for CDS national co-ordinator Mr Randi Erentzen, who sent out the "freeze" directive, Dr Abie Nkomo, chairman of the board of trustees, announced that it was back to business as usual.

The CDS is setting up 11 research commissions nationwide to investigate the restructuring of South Africa in a post-apartheid era.

Yesterday the chairman of the national co-ordinating committee, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, said the organisation was "obviously not impressed with the decision", but no disciplinary action was envisaged.

Dr Nkomo said after the meeting that Mr Erentzen's decision to suspend the payment of funds to regional committees had been based on the lack of actual research and the apparent duplication of functions within the project.

## Research assessment

The UWC meeting was held on Sunday and was attended by national executive members of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

The meeting officially appointed Dr Nkomo as chairman of the CDS's board of trustees, and announced that two Lusaka-based ANC academics, Dr Barney Mackay and Dr Manto Shabalala, would immediately help local research assessment.

The two doctors are joint co-ordinators of the until now externally-based South African Studies project (Saspro), which will merge with the CDS.

Dr Nkomo said the meeting had been guided "by the urgent need for research to be taken on policy options which could guide the national liberation movement in the transformation of South African society".

The meeting had noted the recent suggestion in the press that funds were being misappropriated and it had agreed that the perception that the CDS had large sums of money available for the purposes of research was incorrect.

"In fact the only money available was for the setting up of structures and not for actual research," said Dr Nkomo.

# UN delegates to meet officials

Soweto 12/6/90

THE United Nations fact-finding team in South Africa has met with members of the ANC, the UDF, the PAC and the Black Sash since Sunday, a spokesman for the group said in Cape Town yesterday.

They are scheduled to meet Government ministers today, but a meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha - loosely scheduled today as well - has been held over "until later in our tour.

They will see Mr Botha in Pretoria later.

CPA-Trip 12/6/90  
**Cachalia**  
in beloved  
country (119)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC stalwart Mr Mofei Cachalia touched down here yesterday after 25 years in exile — and immediately entered the political fray when he insisted sanctions should not be lifted.

A grey-haired, tired Mr Cachalia was met at Jan Smuts airport by a 50-strong crowd.

"I love this country ... when the plane landed, I experienced the finest feelings in my entire life," he said.

Dressed in a Nehru-style blue collarless outfit, Mr Cachalia described President F W de Klerk's reform initiatives as commendable.

"However, I remain committed to sanctions as a lever to pressurise the authorities." — Sapa

of state of Venda with regard to the ANC and Black trade unions. *Hansard 12/6/90*

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I respectfully suggest that the hon member have the question put on the Question Paper.

**Foreign companies: re-establishment after withdrawal**

\*4. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism:†

- (1) Whether any foreign companies who withdrew from South Africa for political reasons during the past five years have re-established themselves in South Africa since 2 February 1990; if so, how many;
- (2) whether he will furnish the names of the companies concerned; if not, why not; if so, what are their names?

*Hansard 12/6/90*

B1191E

†The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY AND TOURISM:

(1) and (2) It is not possible to furnish the desired information as no specific register is kept of the investments, disinvestments or re-investments of foreign companies in South Africa. If a foreign company itself establishes a place of business in South Africa, it is required in terms of section 322 of the Companies Act, 1973 to register as a foreign company. However, the practice generally followed is that a company which intends doing business in South Africa, forms a South African company as an own subsidiary company or in co-operation with others. In those cases it is virtually impossible to determine the relationship between the South African company and the foreign company as no distinction is made between incorporated companies which are locally or foreign owned. Disclosure of the beneficial shareholders of such companies is also not a requirement in terms of the Act.

Foreign companies registered in South Africa and locally incorporated companies which are under foreign control, are also not necessarily deregistered when they cease their business activities. The relevant company is normally used for other purposes, such as a share transfer office, or the shell which remains after the sale of the business assets is sold for conducting another type of business.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that not all foreign economic activities are conducted in corporate form and that use is also made of, amongst others, syndicates, partnerships, franchises and agencies, which are not subject to registration. *Hansard 12/6/90*

**Prisons of neighbouring states: SA citizens detained**

\*5. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether any South African citizens are at present (a) lawfully and (b) unlawfully detained in prisons of neighbouring states of the Republic of South Africa; if so, (i) how many and (ii) in which neighbouring states; *Hansard 12/6/90*
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B1192E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

It will for understandable reasons not be in the interest of the persons concerned to publish this information, but the Department of Foreign Affairs will be pleased to furnish available information to the hon member on a confidential basis. I can, however, assure the hon member that the South African Government at all times takes all conceivable steps to look after the interests of those concerned.

**ANC representatives: expenses paid from State funds**

\*6. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:†

Whether State funds were applied to pay for the (a) hotel expenses and (b) protection of the ANC representatives who stayed at Somerset West before and during the Groote Schuur talks between the ANC and the Government; if so, (i) what amount was spent in each case and (ii) from the funds of which State Departments? *Hansard 12/6/90*

B1195E

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

(a) (i) and (ii): R116 159,78 was paid from the funds of the Constitutional Development Service for accommodation and meals for ANC representatives and staff.

(b) (i) and (ii): The Constitutional Development Service was not responsible for protection. I wish to refer the hon member to Question No 455 for written reply.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, were these funds originally budgeted for?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the mandate of the Constitutional Development Service is to arrange and organise conferences. There is a general point under that vote which makes provision for accommodating subsistence expenses of persons attending specific conferences and discussions.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it correct — if I heard correctly — that he said that the South African Government did not take responsibility for the protection of the ANC members? [Interjections.] If I heard correctly, who was responsible for protection at their place of residence and elsewhere?

†The MINISTER: The hon member did not hear correctly, Mr Speaker, but I should like to be of assistance to him. The written question, Question 455 to which I referred, is a question put to the hon the Minister of Law and Order. The SA Police, which falls under him, was responsible for protection.

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, how many members comprised this delegation, and for how many people was this amount paid? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: I do not have exact numbers here, but the delegation consisted of 11 members. [Interjections.]

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he give us an indication as to whether in the course of these negotiations which the Government envisages, it is his Department's intention to pay the hotel accommodation of everyone who is invited by them to hold discussions with them on a new constitution? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the matter of the payment of accommodation expenses of persons attending conferences, depends on each case. In general, persons attending discussions or conferences must pay their own expenses. In this case, as was already the reply to a previous question, the security organisation concerned and the

Constitutional Development Service held the conviction that the task of protection, which was an extremely sensitive issue in this particular case, would be best served if the Government, through the Constitutional Development Service, took responsibility for the accommodation of these people. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, he has now indicated that this accommodation was paid for out of moneys budgeted for conferences. I would now like to inquire of the hon the Minister what percentage of the funds budgeted for conferences the cost of this accommodation comprises.

†The MINISTER: I thank the hon member for the compliment that he thinks that I carry so many figures in my head, but I do not carry them in my head. [Interjections.]

**West German Embassy: prisons service officers**

\*7. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Justice:† *Hansard 12/6/90*

(1) Whether the Government recently, after consultations with five suspended Non-White prisons service officers who were occupying a portion of the West German Embassy in Cape Town, indicated that these five, as well as approximately 400 other suspended and/or dismissed Non-White prisons service officers, would be reinstated in service; if so,

(2) whether the officers concerned have been reinstated in service; if so, (a) on what grounds and (b) when? *Hansard 12/6/90*

B1196E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) and (2)

The Government did not negotiate with the five suspended members of the Prisons Service who occupied a portion of the West German Embassy.

On 17 May 1990 I visited the Johannesburg Prison. This visit was arranged and planned during the previous week and had as an object a conversation with the warders. Amongst this large group of warders whom I met was also a large number of warders who had previously been suspended but had since then resumed their duties unconditionally. After the visit I released a statement to the effect that all other suspended members in the remainder of the country could apply for the lifting of their



## Long line-up for UN party

~~Political Staff~~ (11A)

CAPE TOWN — A number of political parties including the ANC, the DP and the NP welcomed the UN fact-finding mission's visit to SA yesterday.

However, the CP, which has refused to meet the six-member UN team, blasted the visit as blatant interference in SA's domestic affairs. 8 109 1216 190

The group has already met a number of non-government parties since arriving in Cape Town at the weekend, including the PAC, the ANC, the UDF, Solidarity and academics.

The UN delegation will meet a number of government ministers and senior government officials today and tomorrow. They will also meet Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who was originally stated to meet the UN group today, will now be seeing them in Pretoria on June 19.

Sapa reports that a Foreign Affairs spokesman said a meeting with President F W de Klerk would not be possible.

It also reports that Idasa executive director Alex Boraine issued a statement to the UN delegation saying sanctions ought to be maintained until De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could make a joint appeal for them to be lifted.

# Bonn clash of views

## Mandela and German businessmen disagree on sanctions

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE  
Political Reporter

BONN. — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and influential West German industrialists and bankers have crossed swords on the future of continued sanctions.

Mr Mandela strongly repudiated West German business for wanting to ease punitive measures as a reward for President De Klerk's bold reforms.

In turn, they emphasised the need for economic stability and upliftment to assist political reform and proposed the easing of cultural and sports restrictions on South Africa as a

political gesture to encourage further reform.

Mr Mandela and members of his 12-man delegation held a working lunch with about 30 members of the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce which represents top companies such as Siemens, Hoescht, the Deutsche Bank, BMW, Mercedes Benz and Volkswagen.

Emphasising that sanctions had been a powerful weapon in the anti-apartheid struggle and had resulted in far-reaching political progress, Mr Mandela told the meeting yesterday: "We want to appeal to German businessmen not to make it difficult for us to win the fight for peace in South Africa.

"To call for the lifting of sanctions now you are playing

into the hands of those people who are against peace in South Africa.

"The proper thing for you do to is respect the inspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa. It is not for you to say or decide what is good for us."

### Crossed border

In an introductory speech, Siemens board member Hanse-Gerd Neglein, speaking on behalf of the association, said political change in South Africa had "crossed the border" and should no longer be used as a political instrument.

"Sanctions, if they are effective at all, usually hit only the weakest members of a community as history and recent events have proved.

"We welcome the political change initiated by President De Klerk and yourself and we would like to encourage you, Mr Mandela, to put your full political weight behind the negotiation process."

After the meeting, Mr Mandela told journalists he was "quite certain" that the business community would consider the ANC's call for continued sanctions as the ANC would consider its stance.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that conservative congressman Mr Dan Burton has called on the House of Representatives to lift some sanctions as a gesture of goodwill to South Africa.

"Is it not time that we at least showed some support for the positive steps toward democracy that President De Klerk is taking?" he asked.



WELCOME MANDELA: Nelson Mandela waves to his supporters during a rally in front of the SPD party headquarters in Bonn.

## Africa on way to disaster, warns UN food agency

MARRAKESH (Morocco). — The head of the United Nations food agency has warned Africa it is on the path to destruction of its natural resources.

Mr Edouard Saouma, director general of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), told a conference that the continent faced "an extremely serious threat of accelerated, continent-wide environmental decline".

—In an opening speech to delegates from 51 states, he said there was a widening gap between agricultural production, which grew at two percent over the last decade, and popu-

lation, which grew at three percent.

At the three-day conference the FAO will outline a series of remedial steps for which it has budgeted \$527 million (R1 401-m) in 1990-91.

A FAO report issued to coincide with the conference said farmers in Africa could feed millions more people if they took better care of their land.

But they needed to see rewards before they could be persuaded to adopt environment-friendly cultivation methods, the report said. — Sapa-Reuter.

## 'I'll fly again,' says sucked-out pilot

LONDON. — A British Airways pilot says he is eager to fly again in spite of the chilling experience of dangling in the air for 15 minutes after his cockpit windscreen blew out at 7 000m.

"I feel all right, just a bit bruised. As far as flying again is concerned, my answer to that is emphatically yes," Captain Timothy Lancaster said from his hospital bed.

Captain Lancaster, 41, said he thought he was about to die when he was sucked half-way out of the jet in which he was flying 81 passengers from Birmingham to Malaga in Spain.

"I heard a bang as the window went. All I remember is being outside," he said. "I knew I had to stay alive. I said to myself, keep breathing. It wasn't easy at that height."

Captain Lancaster's co-pilot made an emergency landing at Southampton airport while two crew members held on to Captain Lancaster's ankles to stop him falling.

Captain Lancaster is recovering from a broken elbow, wrist and thumb, and frostbite in one hand. His jacket, lost during the incident, was found in a field in southern England. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Journalists scramble to cover tour by Mandela

ARGUS 12/6/90  
The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — Nearly 3 000  
journalists have applied for ac-  
creditation to report on Mr  
Nelson Mandela's visit to the  
United States.

Organisers of the 10-day,  
eight-city tour have been  
swamped with requests for in-  
terviews with the deputy presi-  
dent of the African National  
Congress.

The US State Department,  
which is helping the tour or-  
ganisers, has insisted that all  
journalists wishing to cover  
Mandela events in America ap-  
ply for special security clear-  
ance and accreditation.

## HEALTH

Concern about Mr Mandela's  
health has prompted the organ-  
isers to warn that the ANC  
leader's entire programme in  
the US must be regarded as  
tentative, and subject to last-  
minute cancellations.

"We have labelled everything  
tentative. It is apt to be  
changed because of health rea-  
sons or security reasons or lo-  
gistical reasons," the national  
co-ordinator of the US tour,  
Professor Roger Wilkins, said.

Mr Mandela is to arrive in  
Canada on Sunday for a three-  
day visit before flying to New  
York's J F Kennedy Airport for  
the start of his US tour.

He is to meet President Bush  
at the White House on June 25.

## US govt asked to supply plane for tour

WASHINGTON — Organisers of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's US visit are pressing the US administration to provide a plane to transport Mandela and his retinue on his 10-day, eight-city tour at American taxpayers' expense.

It is understood that they have also made indirect approaches to the Vatican asking to borrow the bullet-proof "Pope-mobile" to protect Mandela during street parades and mass rallies. *Bliss 12/6/90*

Eight days before Mandela is due to arrive in New York, it has still not been decided how he will be transported to Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Detroit, Miami, Los Angeles and Oakland.

*11A*  
SIMON BARBER

The ANC has reportedly rejected private sector offers of an aircraft as politically inappropriate. *(S)*

The US government is already footing the bill for what is described by knowledgeable sources as the largest security operation ever mounted by the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security for a visiting dignitary.

The expenses are such that there is speculation the department may have to request a special appropriation from Congress to supplement its budget.

Tough talk at Bonn meeting

11A

# Germans tell Mandela to lift sanctions

B/10am 12/6/90

BONN — Leaders of West German commerce and industry yesterday bluntly told ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela they felt the time had come to lift sanctions and asked him to start the process.

In a meeting at the Federal Chambers of Commerce Association in Bonn the captains of German industry said German trade with SA would make a better contribution to a settlement if it was freed from sanctions. They said economic growth and stability, not sanctions, were the key to the future.

The latest available figures show German exports to SA in the first six months of 1989 were worth DM3,16bn and imports from SA were worth DM1,6bn.

The majority of the German representatives appeared unmoved by Mandela's argument that they were playing into the hands of white supremacists by calling for an end to sanctions now.

Mandela warned that the majority of South Africans, black and white, would decide for themselves what was best for them. He told the Germans: "It is not for you to tell us what is good for us and what is not good for us.

"What right has anyone to say (to us) that 'sanctions are not good for you'. You have no legal or political right."

He said there had to be a "proper political solution" for the economy to thrive at all and the ANC maintained that negotiations to achieve democracy would fail with disastrous consequences if the pressure created by sanctions ended now.

But the bankers and heads of global

IAN HOBBS

businesses, ranging from Siemens AG, BMW and Mercedes Benz to the major mining and steel houses like Krupp, reacted coolly.

Siemens director and chairman of the meeting Hans-Gerd Neglein said afterwards his personal strong opposition to sanctions had not been swayed by Mandela. He completely rejected the ANC position on sanctions and hoped that Germany and the other EC governments would adopt the British position on all trade sanctions being scrapped, when the 12 heads of state met in Dublin on June 25 and 26.

"Our worldwide experience and recent history and developments show us that sanctions always have a negative effect. They never have a positive effect. They hurt the poorest section of the community, who need most help," Neglein said in an interview.

He said only a very strong economy "would be able to guarantee the catch-up process of the black community".

Neglein said he felt it would be better if the ANC compromised on sanctions at this stage. It would be a very important first move if the ANC made even minor concessions, such as lifting the ban on sporting and cultural contact with SA.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that talks between US Jewish leaders and Mandela in Geneva at the weekend have persuaded members of the Jewish community in New York to suspend plans to picket Mandela when he arrives in the city on June 20.

# ANC exile Cachalia back in SA

Sowetan 12/6/90



ANC stalwart Mr Molvi Cachalia arrived back in South Africa yesterday after 25 years in exile.

Cachalia immediately entered the political fray when he insisted that sanctions should not be lifted.

Grey-haired and tired, he was met at Jan Smuts Airport by about 50 supporters and family members who hugged and kissed him as he surveyed the surroundings.

Among the welcoming party was ANC information chief, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Professor Fatima Meer.

Dressed in a Nehru-style blue collarless outfit,

### SA Press Association

Cachalia described President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives as commendable.

"What has happened is commendable. Mr De Klerk is the only person who has gone so far in making such moves.

### Sanctions

"I hope he is able to take apartheid to its logical conclusion and completely scrap it.

"However, I remain committed to sanctions as a lever to pressurise the authorities here. The general public won't be satisfied if sanctions are lifted while apartheid is not completely scrapped. It could even lead to friction if such a thing hap-

pened," the ageing activist said.

Asked about his emotions when he landed, Cachalia said he experienced the "finest feelings ever".

"I love this country, I was born here, my parents are buried in this soil and my entire family is here. Therefore, when the plane landed, I experienced the finest feelings in my entire life."

The elderly activist was instrumental in gaining Indian support for a host of anti-apartheid campaigns in the 50s.

He was jailed and placed under house arrest on several occasions before fleeing the country in the early 60s. - Sapa.



Sowetan 12/6/90

(11A)

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela with the wives of the African Bonn Ambassadors during a reception in Bonn, the West German capital, yesterday, the first day of his visit to Bonn. Report on Page 2.

# Mandela may speak at UN <sup>ARGUS</sup> 12/6/90 assembly

The Argus

Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela may yet achieve the rare distinction for a private citizen of addressing a session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Arab members want the world body to hold an emergency session on the problem of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the event coincides with Mr Mandela's visit on June 22.

Some delegates said a move might be made to have him address the world body, rather than its special committee against apartheid, as is planned at present.

● A fund which it is hoped will eventually raise millions of rands for the African National Congress is to be launched in Canada next week when Mr Mandela arrives for a five-day visit.

It is the Canadian government's answer to a request for international aid from Mr Mandela earlier this year.

Canadian government policy is not to fund directly any political organisations in foreign countries.

● The US Congress is considering commemorating the week of Mr Mandela's visit as "South African Freedom Week".

● See pages 3 and 9.





# US security aid for Mandela visit

#1665  
12/6/90

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**The Argus Foreign Service**  
WASHINGTON. — The United States government is providing large-scale security and logistical aid to Mr Nelson Mandela during his 10-day tour.

Although the visit to the US is a private one and is being organised by the African National Congress and the anti-apartheid movement, the US government is helping considerably.

The security aid is being provided because of the vast crowds expected to turn out to see the deputy president of the ANC and his high-profile exposure during street parades and at gatherings.

A Washington official said there had been threats to harm Mr Mandela and at least one group was expected to mount a demonstration. Nothing was being left to chance in protecting him.

The logistical arrangements for the Mandela party have been something of a nightmare for the organisers. He is scheduled to visit eight cities in 10 days.

## Hectic schedule

In each of those cities he has a programme that would strain a person a third of his age.

The hectic nature of Mr Mandela's schedule has prompted some concerns for his health.

Professor Roger Wilkens, the national coordinator for the tour, said he had been struck by the number of people who, while they understood Mr Mandela's physical limitations, had nevertheless been saying: "He's got to see us."

"I reminded them that we are talking about a human being, not an ambulatory photo opportunity. This is a 72-year-old man, not a 27-year-old athlete.

"His job is to lead the struggle for social and political justice in South Africa, not to polish the egos and inflate the status of individual Americans.

"We can't allow ourselves to just eat him up."

CPA Truitts 12/6/90 (112) (112)

# German plea on sanctions

## Own Correspondent

BONN. — The enforcement of sanctions is the only way South Africa can achieve peace without bloodshed, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told the African diplomatic corps here that there was talk that sanctions may be eased, but warned that this would be unwise.

He refuted suggestions that the ANC wanted to wreck the South African economy. Mr Mandela said he and President F W de Klerk were "very serious" about achieving peaceful change.

"Because of the progress we have made so far we are hopeful that the more difficult phase coming will be crowned with the same success we have achieved so far.

"There is talk that sanctions may be eased — but we are against that.

"Sanctions is the only way open for South Africa to achieve peace.

## Mandela touring schedule changed

### Own Correspondent

BONN. — The destructive schedule for Mr Nelson Mandela's tour of Europe, North America and Africa is being redrawn to give him time to rest.

Mr Mandela has agreed that there must be stricter control of his time in America.

Delegation press spokesman Mr Ngwako Ramatlhodi said: "The problem is that we have been under pressure from an incredible number of people who are determined to meet Mr Mandela. He wants to give his time to the people who have supported our cause for so many years. But we just have to accept that he cannot see everyone."

It is the only way we can achieve peace without bloodshed.

"We have no intention whatsoever of reducing our economy into ashes. We want to preserve our economy.

"That is why the ANC has been urging the government to sit down and talk to us."

Mr Mandela said the credit for

what was being achieved in South Africa should be given to the ANC — not to Mr De Klerk.

At the same time, he said, Mr De Klerk deserved credit for having courage that distinguished him from his predecessors.

A spokesman for the African ambassadors assured him he was guaranteed their total support and

devotion and they were deeply honoured to meet him.

Mr Mandela was guest of honour at a lunch given by some of West Germany's biggest industrialists and mutli-national companies, like Siemens AG, which are already riding roughshod through sanctions.

The captains of German industry told him the time had come to lift sanctions — and asked him to start the process.

German trade with South Africa would make a better contribution to a settlement if it was freed from sanctions, they felt.

According to latest figures, German exports to South Africa in the first six months of 1989 were worth DM 3,16 billion (about R1,9bn) and imports from South Africa were DM 1,6bn (about R900 million).

Mr Mandela warned that the majority of South Africans, black and white, would decide themselves what was best for them.

He told the Germans: "It is not for you to tell us what is good for us and what is not good for us."

He added: "What right has anyone to say (to us) that 'sanctions are not good for you'. You have no legal or political right."

In the afternoon, he was introduced to Bundestag (parliament) members and had meetings with political leaders and dignitaries, including Dr Henning Scherf, deputy president of the Senate.

He also met former chancellor Mr Willie Brandt, now president of Socialist International and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Mr Mandela had private meetings with the opposition leader Mr Hans-Jurgen Folger, Dr Norbert Blum, the Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, and Dr Ernst Breit, deputy chairman of the Friederich Ebert Foundation, which channels substantial German aid to South Africa.

# Soviets won't desert ANC

Back in England after a sojourn in India Rudyard Kipling once wrote: "It is good to be back among your countrymen for you know when they are lying." A week in Moscow invokes a similar reaction.

Attending an academic conference "Africa in World History" I found it very hard to pin Soviet Africanists down on the new Soviet policy towards the process of transition in South Africa.

To be fair, most Soviet Africanists inside and outside government do not so much lie as avoid straight answers or sometimes simply do

*To an important extent ambivalent answers to a South African are due to the fact that few, if any, people actually know how the policy will evolve while the Soviet government is in such a deep-seated political and economic crisis.*

not know in which direction the policy will develop.

As in other complex political systems, Soviet foreign policy is the product of a cumbersome process in which a lot of in-fighting occurs between different bureaucracies before the leadership at the top ultimately decides.

To an important extent ambivalent answers to a South African are due to the fact that few, if any, people actually know how the policy will evolve while the Soviet government is in such a deep-seated political and economic crisis.

My first impression is that there has indeed been a global Soviet shift away from military aggressiveness and expansionism towards favouring political means to resolve regional conflicts.

At the same time, however, the Soviet government and people are

After a week in Moscow at a conference entitled "Africa in World History", HERMAN GILLOMEE reports on the Soviet policy towards South Africa.

unanimous in their resolve to strengthen Russia's international prestige. The Soviet Union has engaged in a strategic withdrawal from its outer empire in Eastern Europe but it is fully prepared to maintain its stake in some high-profile Third World conflicts of which South Africa undoubtedly is one.

To see an ANC-led government in South Africa would be a crowning achievement for Soviet foreign policy after the humiliating reversals in Afghanistan, Central America and elsewhere.

## Interim government

Secondly, the Soviets stress that a negotiated settlement, must be reached by white and black South Africans themselves and the Soviets will do nothing to interfere with this process.

While the ANC's public demand is for an interim government along the lines of pre-independent Namibia, there are interesting signals from the ANC's political wing that the movement is seriously considering the option — proposed in the Groote Schuur talks — of an interim government being phased in informally.

This will mean that the South African Government and state will be steadily broadened through joint study commissions and joint monitoring committees of the police in which the NP and ANC will be the main actors. In this way the ANC will steadily evolve towards the position of senior partner in a power-sharing government.

My third impression is that far from being disillusioned with ANC, the Soviets are confident that the movement has the ability and determination to prevail.

Africanists in Moscow scoff at the prediction that the ANC will split in the process of transition. They be-

lieve that the ANC is unique as a liberation movement with its strong tradition of collective leadership and the absence of any major splits since the PAC breakaway in the late 1950s.

The question is: What will the Soviets do if negotiations between the Government and the ANC break down? My distinct impression was that the Soviets will employ considerable resources to back up ANC demands.

When asked at a round-table discussion whether Soviet financial and military aid to the ANC has been cut off, a senior official laughingly replied: "Ask the ANC."

Most of the conference participants took this to mean that military aid had indeed ended. Yet when I pressed another prominent Africanist to interpret the remark he referred me to the ANC Newsbriefing of March 11 1990.

## Programme

At this time Mr Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of the ANC's military wing, disclosed that Umkhonto we Sizwe has initiated a programme to train officers for a future South African army.

Mr Hani added these significant words: "We will not at any stage be happy with a situation where leading officers of a future South African army are from the South African Defence Force. For a future army whose orientation is for a non-racial democratic South Africa, we need Umkhonto officers participating fully in the process of transforming the army."

I found Soviet Africanists unwilling to discuss military assistance in detail but the possibility cannot be discounted that a significant form of Soviet aid in the short to medium term future will consist of training ANC guerillas in the use of sophisticated weaponry and other skills.

For a military leader such as Mr Hani, this training is of crucial importance for he wants his men in the camps to return as soldiers rather than refugees. He also wants to undercut the claim of General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, that ANC operatives are too ill-equipped for incorporation into the South African army.

When I quoted this statement, a Soviet Africanist replied with a

*I found Soviet Africanists unwilling to discuss military assistance in any detail but the possibility cannot be discounted that a significant form of Soviet aid in the short to medium-term future will consist of training ANC guerillas in ... the skills required for their absorption in a regular army.*

wink: "Perhaps General Malan will not fit into a future army."

The control and composition of the army will undoubtedly be one of the most sensitive issues in the negotiations which lie ahead.

While the South African Government may accept majority rule with checks and balances, it will strongly insist on a white-controlled army for a considerable period of time after the political transition.

It wants this army to safeguard constitutional safeguards, by force if necessary. The military wing of the ANC, on the other hand, wants to put the integration and rapid transformation of the army on the agenda at the very beginning of the transition process.

If lack of trust between the government and the ANC prevents a compromise on this issue the Soviets can be expected to provide the necessary assistance to its allies in the South African struggle.

# UN group sees ANC, PAC

Sec 12/6/90 By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

(119)

CAPE TOWN — The United Nations' fact-finding mission, which arrived in Cape Town on Saturday, met the Black Sash, the Cape PAC and two members of the ANC's constitutional committee yesterday.

It is not clear whether the mission, sent to South Africa to monitor the Government's progress in dismantling apartheid, will meet President de Klerk.

The decision to send the eight-man mission to South Africa followed discussions which Mr de Klerk held with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar at the Namibian independence celebrations in March.

An official UN announcement last week said the mission had been sent to monitor the steps taken to dismantle apartheid, as set out in the UN General Assembly "Declaration on Apartheid" last year. The declaration sets out the same sort of conditions for negotiations as the ANC's Harare Declaration.

# CIA: Winnie is not so forgiving

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

BONN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela declined to comment to newsmen yesterday on media speculation that the CIA had played a crucial role in his arrest in 1962.

"Let bygones be bygones, let's forget about it whether it is true or not," he said when asked to respond to a report attributed to a retired CIA officer.

However Winnie Mandela, who has until now stayed clear of the press, remarked bitterly: "That is his viewpoint. Naturally this is a matter that has caused a lot of pain and tears over many years.

"I hope you can cast some light and maybe get to the bottom of this."

(11A)

12/4/90



Swept home . . . ANC veteran Ismail Cachalia (81) was greeted with hugs and kisses yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport when he stepped on to the tarmac after being out of the country for 25 years. ● Picture by Karen Fletcher

## TIC veteran welcomed by ANC leaders

By Montshiwa Mbroke

The people of this country have reached a point of no return, the chairman of the internal core leadership of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu, said in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Sisulu was addressing a large audience in the City Hall at a rally to welcome veteran ANC and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) member, Molvi Ismail Cachalia who returned to South Africa yesterday after more than 25 years in exile.

The 81-year-old Mr Cachalia was described by different speakers as having played an active role in the "Passive Resistance" campaign in 1946 where the Indian community was mobilised to resist the "Ghetto Act" which threatened the rights of Indian South Africans.

He had played a crucial role in building unity in the "Defiance Campaign" of 1952, and served as deputy-volunteer-in-chief under Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president.

Mr Sisulu said: "Molvi Cachalia comes from an illustrious family. He was among those who pioneered the struggle, working with that great giant, Mahatma Gandhi. It was at the close of the last century when they began this battle which is coming to fruition.

"He left the country during the dark and difficult days of the 1960s. We have now reached a point of no return and, with your efforts and dedication, we who were jailed for life, have been released and other leaders have been allowed to return from exile."

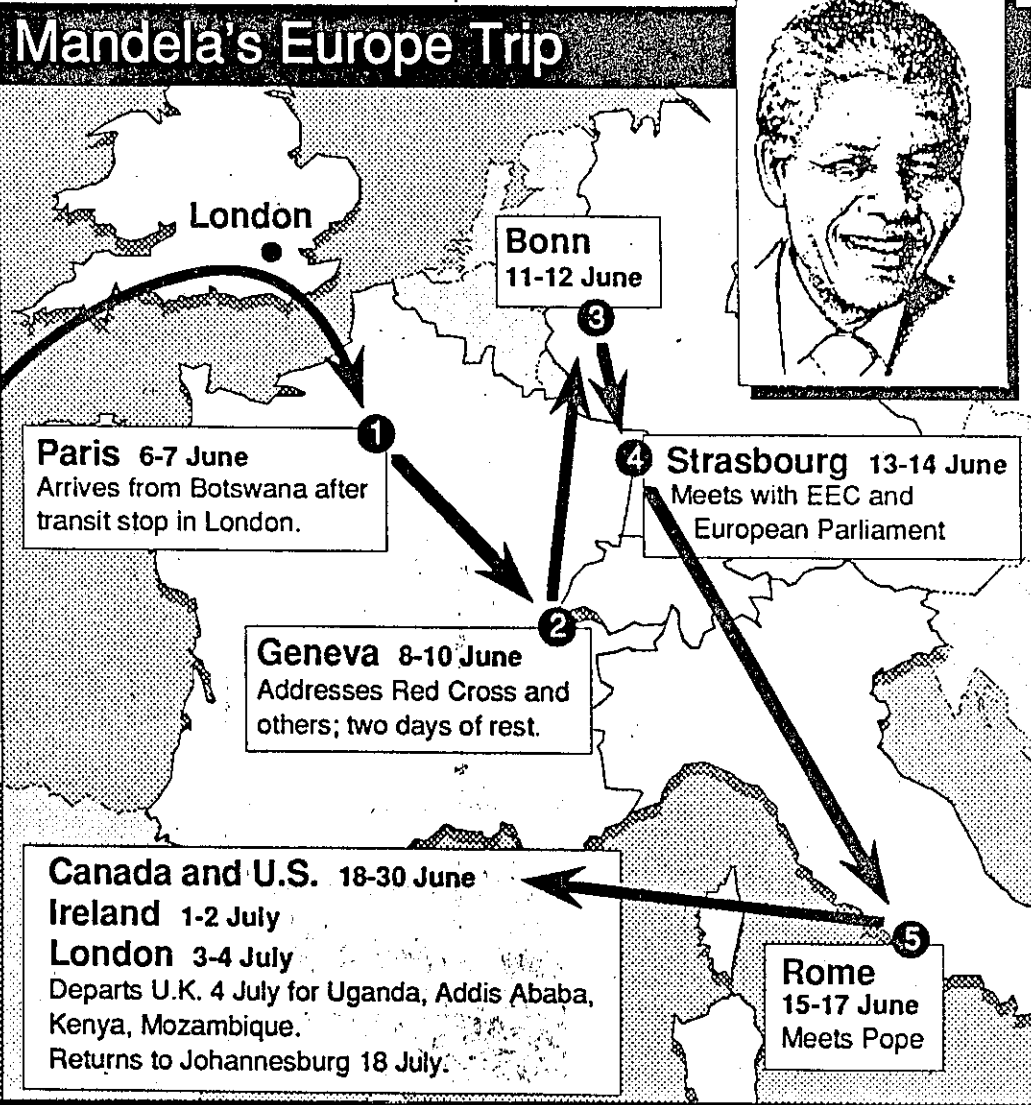
TIC president, Cassim Saloojee, described the occasion as "a joyous moment" and said Mr Cachalia symbolised all the tragedies inflicted by the apartheid system.

He said Mr Cachalia had left the country at a time of "awful repression".

Firoz Cachalia, a nephew of the veteran politician, said the TIC had "one remaining historical duty to do" and that was, with confidence, to join the ANC.

11A 2:30 5:30

AP/T. Dean Caple



Source: African National Congress

# Mandela remains firm on sanctions

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

PARIS — As President de Klerk moved another step towards satisfying European Community prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the partial lifting of the state of emergency would not change the ANC's stand on economic curbs.

Mr de Klerk's announcement on the lifting of the emergency was broadcast live in France on the television cable network CNN as Mr Mandela was holding discussions with French President Francois Mitterrand.

Last night, Mr Mandela said he had had no problem convincing President Mitterrand that sanctions should be maintained.

Dismissing reports that France and the European Community could decide to ease sanctions at an EC summit in Dublin at the end of the month as a "misunderstanding", Mr Mandela said: "The French president, government and people will stand behind us."

Mr Mandela welcomed the scrapping of the emergency regulations, but said there was no need for the measures to continue in Natal, as they had not stopped black-on-black violence.

After lengthy talks with President Mitterrand, Mr Mandela met the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties, the Mayor of Paris opposition leader Jacques Chirac, parliamentarians and French Prime Min-

ister Michel Rocard.

After his meeting with Mr Chirac, Mr Mandela said a system of minority rights was not needed in SA. "... We have proposed a Bill of Rights and that is enough."

The ANC delegation will leave for Switzerland today, the next stop on their 13-nation tour.

● South Africa could very soon be helping the rest of Africa out of its economic crisis and tripartite agreements with Europe would then be likely, a French Cabinet Minister said yesterday.

Co-operation Minister Jacques Pelletier, who is in charge of France's aid programme for Africa said SA was on the right track in its quest for political and economic stability.

The Conservative Party was totally opposed to the inclusion of members of Umkhonto We Sizwe into the SADF and voted against the Defence vote of the Budget to express its dissatisfaction with any move to do so.

Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal) said although there had been denials about the incorporation of MK members into the SADF, the door had been left open for communists to join the SADF sometime in the future.

The CP also objected to the scaling down of the SADF,

## CP opposes Defence vote over Umkhonto We Sizwe

which had made South Africa more vulnerable to attack.

He said the CP's opposition was not aimed at the Defence Force and Armscor, which had acquitted themselves well, but against the political heads of the SADF. He would have called for the reduction of the salaries of the Minister of Defence and his Deputy to 50 cents a year, but there was no provision for this,

so the CP would vote against the vote to express its opposition.

Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said the DP would support the vote in spite of the reservations it had about the allegations that had been made about the activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and the obstruction of the Harms Commission's investigation into that organisation.  
— Sapa.



## PAC will talk if conditions are met

The Pan Africanist Congress, which has now acknowledged the inevitability of political negotiations, was prepared to negotiate under certain conditions, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday. If wealth redistribution, the return of the land to the African people and a constituent assembly were likely to be achieved. In its first detailed economic policy document released to the press, the PAC acknowledged

Mr Alexander said although the PAC believed negotiations were inevitable, it did not think that something substantial would come out of them. the inevitability of negotiations and the irreversibility of political change. The document acknowledged that the broad liberation movement had failed to

The PAC, however, would overthrow the State through revolutionary means. participate in negotiations only

# PAC to reveal its plan for SA

11A

Some from 13/6/90 13/6/90

THE Pan Africanist Congress is for the first time to reveal details of the mechanics of a constituent assembly it says must be agreed on before negotiations take place with the South African Government.

The details are contained in one of three position papers dealing with a transitional constituent assembly, negotiations and the organisation's economic policy.

Tomorrow the PAC's position on the constituent assembly will be made public when general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander addresses the Foreign Correspondents Association.

## Guarantees

Alexander said: "The model guarantees that the people will have the final say, with their representatives being directly elected and answerable to



ALEXANDER

the masses on a non-racial basis".

According to the PAC document, negotiations can only take place once majority rule, the redistribution of resources, particularly land, and a constituent assembly are agreed upon with the ruling government.

The document states that the assembly will consist of 265 seats, with representatives being elected on a proportional basis.

"This means that one would vote for a political party and not specific in-

## Document to spell out organisation's formula for talks

dividuals in demarcated areas. The total national individual votes will be counted at the end of the elections to determine the winner.

"The party with 40 percent of the total national individual votes will get 40 percent of the 265 seats in the CA," says the document.

Once elected, "people's delegates" will appoint constitutional experts on a proportional basis.

"In effect, this will mean that 40 percent of the seats in the constituent assembly will appoint 40 percent of the experts to draw up a new constitution. The term of office of these experts will expire

when the constitution is adopted."

Before the constitution is presented to the assembly, delegates will be mandated to take it back to their supporters for comment and verification before it is tabled again in the assembly for final ratification.

"Our belief in voting for representatives of political parties is a way out of the quagmire of racial representation and constituencies based along racial lines.

"Residential areas are currently racially divided, and any demarcation of constituencies based on the current areas will clearly be racialistic," Alexander said.

**Mandela**  
*Soweto 13/6/90*  
**honoured**

DEPUTY African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela is to receive a honorary degree of Doctor of Law (LLD) at the University of Cape Town on June 28. (11A)

Sowden 13/6/90

# Congress move to honour Mandela

Foreign  
Correspondent

WASHINGTON - The US Congress is considering commemorating the week of Mr Nelson Mandela's American visit as "South African Freedom Week".

In terms of a resolution introduced to the House of Representatives late last week by Congressman Charles Hayes of Illinois, the celebration of South Africa Freedom Week would be an official salute to Mandela.

Hayes said the example set by Mandela, both by his actions before he was jailed, and now, after being released, were a testament to his unyielding commitment to freedom and democracy - values which Americans had cherished since the founding of the US more than 200 years ago.

"It is my hope that this Congress, the representative body of the world's most progressive democracy, will take time to officially recognise one of the world's foremost freedom fighters, Nelson Mandela," he said.

# ANC, PAC make peace

Soweto  
13/6/90

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they were informed by a Soweto City Council clerk at Avalon Cemetery that the cemetery would be closed on Saturday. Others said they had been informed by Putco (Soweto depot) that buses were not available as drivers would not be working. Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, the council's

● To Page 2

## Ignorance to blame - groups

THE ANC and PAC have made peace in Vosloorus and have agreed that violence in the township was caused by ignorance and intolerance.

Following two days of talks last week, the organisations have agreed to take practical steps to resolve the conflict.

Both parties expressed a commitment to finding a peaceful solution to the conflict and have agreed to address the root causes.

"The root causes of the conflict were identified as lack of tolerance for opposing views and the total absence of lines of communication between the different factions.

"That goes along with the transition from the

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

politics of illegitimacy to open politics," the ANC's Mr Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday.

While the PAC distanced itself from the recent killings in the township, both groups agreed that there should be a cessation of hostilities.

Both parties are to report back to their constituencies in Vosloorus about progress made and call for restraint.

Among issues agreed on are that:

- Freedom of association and expression be tolerated;
- The right to belong and organise for any group be respected;
- There should be no public vilification of each other; and that

• The autonomy of students' representative councils be recognised.

The organisations also agreed that communication between them should be established to facilitate the peace-keeping process.

Members of the two parties would also guard against forces trying to manipulate the situation for their own advantage.

Mr James Mndaweni, president of the National Congress of Trade Unions, said.

"The PAC and ANC feel that significant progress is being made in these talks to solve the problems at Vosloorus.

"We believe that a climate of political tolerance should prevail throughout the country," Mr Cyril Jantjies of the ANC said on behalf of both teams.



CYRIL JANTJIES



JAMES MNDAWENI

1850-1950  
One hundred years of tobacco excellence

London's famous  
Consulate cigarettes  
IN TINS

CONSULATE  
MULTI-COMPARTMENT  
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# Making capital from Mandela visit

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — American capitalists have been quick to take advantage of the visit to the United States by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Already the street vendors in Washington DC are carrying a variety of T-shirts which depict some or other Mandela theme.

The most popular, available in three colours, shows a picture of the deputy president of the African National Congress under the

words "Welcome home Nelson Mandela".  
Novelty stores are selling lapel buttons with Mr Mandela's face or the logo of the ANC.

Lapel pins in the shape of Africa in the green, gold and black colours of the ANC are also available.

The ANC some time ago granted permission to approved US promoters to sell the organisation's logo and colours on sweat-shirts, track suits and caps, but

until now these have been available on a limited basis.

By the time Mr Mandela arrives in the US next week a flood of novelties and souvenirs is expected to hit the streets, including miniature ANC flags and plastic likenesses of Mr Mandela on objects ranging from key rings to bedroom slippers.

Traders hope to do a brisk trade as thousands of people line the streets in various cities to watch grand parades.

ARGUS 13/6/90 11A

## ANC, PAC peace pact after clashes on E Rand

### The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have signed an agreement committing their members on the East Rand to political tolerance and respect for the other organisation's right to exist and canvass members.

At a Press conference at the offices of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg yesterday, the PAC and the ANC announced that after talks extending over three days to discuss the violence which recently erupted in Vosloorus outside Boksburg and claimed at least two lives, the two organisations had finally reached an agreement.

The two organisations committed themselves to: Recognition of people's freedom of association and expression; recognition of people's right to belong to either organisation and to organise politically; political tolerance; no public vilification of each other; and recognition of the autonomy of students' representative councils.

The agreement, the PAC's James Mndaweni and the ANC's Kgalema Motlanthe told the Press conference, would be fully implemented at Vosloorus. People found breaking the agreement would be dealt with by their organisation.

### NEGOTIATIONS

In a document still to be discussed and adopted by its grassroots members, the PAC has spelled out its position on political negotiations and a structure of the constituent assembly it would like to see introduced.

The document, entitled "Pan Africanist Congress Position Document on a Negotiated Political Settlement," will be unveiled by PAC general secretary Benny Alexander to the Foreign Correspondents Association in Johannesburg today.

"The question of a negotiated political settlement in occupied Azania," the PAC document says, "arises out of the struggle for national self-determination and liberation by the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited African majority against white settler colonialism."

11A

# Labour Party urged not to pass Mier land Bill

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress and the United Democratic Front have urged the Labour Party not to pass the Mier Rural Areas Bill which is to be tabled in the House of Representatives today.

The Bill, if it becomes law, will mean that community-held land on which about 5 000 people have lived for generations in the Northern Cape will be privatised and sold to individual owners.

### BURNING ISSUE

At a Press conference yesterday, the Mier Residents Association (MRA) said it had sent a letter earlier in the day to President De Klerk asking him to intervene in the matter.

The British consulate was also briefed about the issue, the MRA said. In statement, Mr Reggie Septem-

ber, regional convener of the ANC, said land was a burning issue for the majority of South Africans.

The ANC was committed to developing a just and equitable land policy.

"What the Labour Party aims to do by this Bill is pre-empt this process. We condemn their actions in the strongest possible terms. If this Bill should go ahead and become law we will be forced to do all in our power to make it unworkable," he said.

Mr September said that any prospective buyer of land in Mier would want security of tenure.

"If I was one of these buyers, I would not buy. It's grossly immoral and insensitive. Any future government will be duty-bound to listen to the residents of Mier and the Mier Residents Association," he said.

● Today's tabling of the Bill is the third time that the legislation will go before the House of Representatives.



## ANC constitution plan available in Afrikaans

Education Reporter

Argus 13/6/90 (11A)

THE constitutional guidelines of the African National Congress have been translated into Afrikaans.

The University of the Western Cape's Afrikaans department was approached by ANC activist Mr Johnny Issel to translate the document so that it could be used in areas where Afrikaans was still dominant, the UWC Bulletin reported.

Department head Dr Julian Smith and lecturers Mr Hein Willemse, Dr Ikey van der Rheede, Ms Ria Olivier, Mr Lary Popkas and Mr Harold Lesch each translated sections and Mr Willemse and Ms Olivier were responsible for final checking.

The project was completed in just over a week and Namaqualanders were among the first to be handed the translated document.

"It is significant that UWC was approached to translate the constitutional guidelines. The Afrikaans department is honoured to have fulfilled this long-awaited task," Dr Smith said.

## Vlok mum on ANC guard

MR Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said it was not in the public interest to say how many policemen were on duty to protect the ANC when they were in Cape Town for the Groote Schuur talks with the Government last month.

He had been asked questions about the police's protection of the ANC delegation by Mr PJ Groenewald, the Conservative Party MP for Stilfontein.

Vlok said the SAP were responsible for the safety of the ANC delegation, the public, the members of the Government and officials who were involved in the negotiations.

Soweto 13/6/90

11A

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# We need to show tolerance-Seathlolo

Sowetan 13/6/90

11A

FOURTEEN years after the Soweto riots the Azanian Students Movement, the student body of the Azanian People's Organisation, has called for the "struggle to be intensified at all levels" and has reaffirmed its stand on non-negotiation with the Government.

At a meeting organised this week by Azasm at the University of Natal in Durban, Mr Khotso Seathlolo, ex-leader of the 1976 Soweto Students Representative Council which was at the forefront of the protest against the imposition of Afrikaans in black schools, said the Black Consciousness Movement did not believe the time was right for negotiations with the South African Government.

"We believe we can-

not negotiate until all are considered equals. De Klerk says certain conditions must be fulfilled - such as the guarantee of minority rights in South Africa.

"A non-racial society will not be a part this. We will not be partners with De Klerk and his racist policies."

## Condemned

He condemned the South African Government's economic policy: "We are speaking on behalf of those who can't afford bread, of the ordinary nurse and teacher who are struggling to pay off their housing loans.

## The poor

"De Klerk says the poor must rely on economic growth. But South Africa has been having economic growth anyway and what has it done for the ordinary people?

"We can't tell the poor that they have to wait for the benefits of the economy to trickle down to them."

Speaking on the split amongst the black liberation movements, Seathlolo called for

tolerance of "dissenting views."

"Today it is very dangerous for anyone to hold a particular political view. It is a time that we are at each other's necks and those who cannot argue their case, argue physically.

"It would be interesting if we could relive the spirit of 1976. Then there were dissenting views and they were allowed.

## Appeal

"My appeal to all is that only through debate can we come up with the right ideas. There needs to be tolerance."

He said the Black Consciousness Movement "had never preached racism." He said the term "black" was used as "a positive term of identifying ourselves".

"We understand 'black' to mean those who are economically and politically discriminated against as a united group."

To commemorate June 16, Azapo will be holding a mass meeting on the day at the Vedic Hall, 12 Carlisle Street, Durban, at 12.30pm.

Education  
report rally  
to be held  
tomorrow

Star  
13/6/90

Staff Reporter

The National Teachers' Unity Forum will hold a mass rally in kwaThema on the East Rand tomorrow to report back on the organisation's recent meetings with Gene Louw, Minister of Home Affairs and National Education.

The rally, organised in conjunction with Cosatu and the ANC, will be held at the kwaThema Stadium and will start at 9 am, a National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) spokesman said last night.

The spokesman urged all Neusa members to attend the rally.

He said Neusa will stage an education workshop at Wits University on June 23.

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11A Star 13/6/90

# ANC and PAC sign 'tolerance' pact

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday signed an historic agreement, committing their members on the East Rand to political tolerance and respect for the other organisation's right to exist and canvass members.

At a press conference at the offices of the South African Council of Churches in Johannesburg, the PAC and the ANC announced that after talks extending over three days to dis-

cuss the violence which recently erupted in Vosloorus outside Boksburg and claimed at least two lives, the two organisations had finally reached an agreement.

They committed themselves to the following principles:

- Recognition of people's freedom of association and expression.
- Recognition of people's right to belong to either organisation and to organise politically.
- Political tolerance.
- No public vilification of each other.

The agreement, the PAC's

James Mfidaweni and the ANC's Kgalema Motlanthe told the press conference, would be fully implemented at Vosloorus.

In an attempt to inform the two organisations' grassroots members about the agreement, the ANC delegation to the talks would meet the executive committee of the Congress of South African Students to "explain in detail the principles".

The PAC delegation, on the other hand, would meet the executive committee of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation for the same reason.

The executive committees of the two students' organisations would then meet not later than tomorrow, and would in turn report back to their constituencies on or before next Tuesday. A meeting of all students in the township is to be convened before next Friday to explain the details of the agreement.

The ANC and the PAC further agreed that a civic association in the township was to represent everybody, regardless of people's political affiliations, that all political organisations had the right to approach the civic association on any issue, and that the association could in turn consult political organisations on civic matters.

## PAC spells out its terms

By Kaizer Nyatumba

In a document still to be adopted, the Pan Africanist Congress has spelt out its position on political negotiations and a structure of the constituent assembly it would like to see introduced.

It will be unveiled by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander in Johannesburg today.

The PAC believes a peaceful resolution of the political conflict in South Africa is to be pursued whenever possible, the document says.

This would be possible only if

"straightforward majority rule", redistribution of resources and a constituent assembly were the outcome of such negotiations.

The constituent assembly would consist of 265 seats, and elections on a common voters roll would be based on proportional representation.

"Upon acceptance of these three conditions ... we would accept and believe that the regime is committed to a peaceful resolution of the conflict, and these would be the principles around which a negotiated settlement can be arrived at."

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weekend.

This year the Eisteddfod will

the Kosmos folksong group from Laerskool Fairlands, the Junior

on Friday and Saturday at 7 pm. Booking is at Computicket.

## DP to continue pondering options

### Political Staff

Democratic Party MPs who met yesterday in a special caucus meeting to assess future options after the Umlazi defeat have postponed decisions on any new strategies and are to continue their discussions at further meetings.

Sources said there was a "frank" exchange of views on the reasons for the Umlazi fias-

co, but that the meeting was "positive and civilised" and without bitterness.

MPs did, however, "unburden themselves", as one put it.

Some indicated there was a strong feeling that the troika leadership was now hampering the party, but that there was no firm decision on recommending any change.

Also up for consideration

were several options — including moving closer to the National Party or moving closer to the ANC.

Some MPs believe the DP should forge links with both the ANC and the NP, arguing that the party has a measure of credibility with the ANC and that the NP would need DP support in any referendum among whites.

*CNT Times  
13/6/90*  
**Warring  
groups sign  
peace accord**

**JOHANNESBURG. —** Delegates of the PAC and ANC in the Witwatersrand region yesterday announced they had reached an agreement to resolve their conflict in Vosloorus where five people were killed three weeks ago.

A committee of six ANC and six PAC members was formed to monitor the implementation of the peace accord, the press was told.

The two organisations agreed on the principles of freedom of association and expression, political tolerance, and not to vilify each other in public. — Sapa

# US: We don't owe Mandela an apology

CAH Times 13/6/90 11A

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON — An unusually defensive White House yesterday refused to endorse suggestions that Mr Nelson Mandela was owed an apology for being arrested in 1962 reportedly on information supplied by an undercover CIA agent.

President George Bush's spokesman, Mr Marlin Fitzwater, bristled at questions over whether the issue would be raised when Mr Mandela visits the White House in two weeks.

Mr Fitzwater said the administration did "not recognise the validity of the report".

The alleged betrayal occurred while John Kennedy was president.

"Don't beat me up for what the Ken-

nedy administration did," he said. "I don't like it when people question our motives in regard to blacks or Mr Mandela in relation to something the Kennedy administration did."

At the same time, though, Mr Fitzwater heaped praise on Mr Mandela for his fight against racial prejudice in South Africa.

He said Mr Bush hoped to demonstrate that "our attitude to Mr Mandela is one of total support".

Mr Fitzwater was also questioned about the administration's growing, behind-the-scenes alarm about the chaotic planning for Mr Mandela's ten-day stay in the US.

"We are providing security and, beyond that, we will work with him on whatever planning he wants to do."

## Meiring on health care

"HEALTH institutions are under pressure financially and therefore it is of the utmost importance that we do everything possible to maintain standards of service," Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Cancer Association's annual meeting in Milnerton, he appealed for improved population control, warning that continued urbanisation could result in "us being smothered".

He urged public figures, academics and the media to avoid petty politics when discussing the financial problems of health institutions.



ONE TIME 13/1/90

# Domestic workers union LP agree to meet

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

**THE** Labour Party and the South African Domestic Workers Union (Sadwu) yesterday agreed to hold joint meetings about the position of domestic workers.

The LP and Sadwu held a surprise meeting yesterday after the union had strongly criticised a Labour Party advertisement for stating that domestic workers were already entitled to unemployment insurance benefits.

In a joint statement, issued by Ms Maggie Witbooi of Sadwu and Mr Petrus Meyer, the MP for Vredendal, they said they met yesterday "to discuss the rights of domestic workers in particular".

They said the meeting arose from the LP advertisement and "possible confusion that could arise from it.

"Both sides accepted each others bona fides.

"The LP's only interest is to acquire the rights of domestic workers and not to form its own or opposition unions.

"We agree that we should get together in future to discuss progress with each other and to see how how we can complement one another's struggles.

"The LP salutes the role that domestic workers have played in contributing to the building of the country's human, social welfare and economic wealth," the joint statement said.

# Mandela claims sanctions 'victory'

CMT Timp  
13/6/90

11A



From IAN HOBBS

**BONN MEETING ...** Mr Nelson Mandela with West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

BONN. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he believed he had talked West German leader Mr Helmut Kohl out of reconsidering West German support for sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Mandela admitted to a press conference that at the start of their two-hour meeting in Bonn, Mr Kohl "was for a review of sanctions".

The ANC deputy president added: "But I think, without speaking for him, that he is now prepared to reconsider the matter."

Mr Kohl, who honoured Mr Mandela with what West German officials described as the "rare tribute" of a photo call inside his office, refused to comment directly on sanctions.

In a brief statement, the chancellor said only that his meeting with Mr Mandela had been "interesting and constructive, particularly in view of the forthcoming European summit".

A statement issued by the Bonn government said the talks with Mr Mandela had been held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere, deliberately avoided the sensitive subject of sanctions.

The statement gave no hint that Mr Kohl had changed his well-known private attitude that the EC should jointly ease sanctions.

A senior political official in Bonn said that Mr Kohl was indicating that he did want a review of sanctions — but he would not break ranks with Germany's EC partners.

The official said he was confident Mr Mandela had helped Mr Kohl to reluctantly accept Foreign Minister Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher's view that apartheid laws and restrictions were still in force

To page 2

From page 1

and it was premature for Germany to even consider acting outside the EC against sanctions.

In his press conference, Mr Mandela said he had advised Mr Kohl that lifting sanctions would be regarded by the majority of South Africans and the international community as interference that would disrupt the process of negotiation.

He said his visit to Germany had been "on the whole, satisfactory". This was chilly compared to his description of his visit to France last week.

But he seemed satisfied, at least, that there was no longer any possibility of Mr Kohl seeking drastic easing of trade barriers — or giving any support to the British call for all trade sanctions to be lifted.

Confirming that there was conflict within the German coalition over sanctions, Mr Mandela said that, unlike Mr Kohl, Mr Genscher had solidly supported the ANC argument that sanctions must stay.

Mr Mandela said he had also questioned Mr Kohl on "serious" claims that West Germany had provided South Africa with blueprints to build hunter-killer submarines.

He said Mr Kohl replied that the government had "taken action" in regard to the submarine blueprints and a case — a re-opened government inquiry — was now underway.

Mr Mandela and Mr Kohl also discussed aid to help resettle about 20 000 ANC exiles now wanting to return to South Africa.

There was an embarrassing interlude when a German journalist persistently asked Mr Mandela to comment on "rumours" in Germany about his wife Winnie, who was on the platform.

ANC foreign secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki interrupted to say if the man would specify the rumours, Mr Mandela — whose eyes were blazing — would answer.

Mr Mbeki said the "rumours" probably concerned a case underway in South Africa — and it was improper to charge Mrs Mandela with rumours.

Mr Mandela hugged his wife warmly at the end of the press conference and revealed that they were enjoying their first anniversary free and together since his arrest 28 years ago.

Mr Mandela will make possibly the keynote speech in his campaign for sanctions to be retained when he addresses the full European Parliament in Strasbourg today.

CMT Timp's 13/6/90 (11A)

THE Labour Party needs a bruising clash with the ANC and its deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela about as much as the Democratic Party needs another Umlazi by-election.

With the LP rapidly shedding its traditional support to the ANC/MDM alliance, one would imagine the party would think twice about becoming embroiled in a controversy with Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela has already intervened twice to dissuade the LP from going ahead with its plans to privatise trust land in the Mier region of the Kalahari — and thereby dispossess residents of land farmed communally for generations.

### Consultation

But with Mr Mandela on his European tour, the LP has unanimously decided to force the Mier Rural Areas Bill through Parliament tonight.

The LP's decision — taken without any proper consultation of the residents in the area — is puzzling.

The selling-off of the lion's share of the communal trust land to individuals might carry certain short-term benefits for the MP for the area and the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Andrew Julies, but the harm it will do to the image of the LP and its relations with the community and the ANC must surely override any immediate gains that might flow from such precipitate action.

This is especially true at a time when the LP's support in its traditional stronghold, the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area, is rapidly shrinking while support for the ANC/MDM alliance is growing within the coloured community.

### Explosive

According to the findings of a Human Rights Trust survey published last month, support for the LP among coloured voters in the area had dropped to a mere 8%. Support for the ANC/MDM had grown to 41%, for the National Party to 31% and for the Democratic Party to 19%.

# LP would do well to take a long-term view of Mier

*CMT 1/17/90  
15/1/90*



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Under the circumstances, one would expect the LP to tread more carefully on politically explosive measures like the Mier Bill.

The controversial Bill provides for the sale of farms in the remote Mier area in the Kalahari, the second largest of some 25 "coloured reserves" scattered about South Africa.

However, most residents of the area strongly oppose the move because it will deprive the community trust land granted generations ago by the British Crown.

### Enough problems

Watchdog organisations note that if the legislation is signed into law by President F W de Klerk, it could set the precedent for similar laws affecting residents of other reserves like Leliefontein and the Richtersveld.

Thousands of people could be dispossessed in the process.

One would think that the LP has enough problems at the moment without wanting to com-

pound these with charges of forced removal — especially now that the "new" National Party is striving to mend its ways on this front.

Apart from setting the LP on a collision course with the ANC, the manner in which the LP has decided to push for short-term sectional gains does not reflect a commitment to democratic practice.

The LP has not attempted to hold a referendum on the issue or set up an independent commission of inquiry to test the feelings of the Mier community. However, it seems intent on ignoring the fact that more than 900 of the estimated 1 400 adults in the area recently signed a petition opposing the Bill.

The ANC has let it be known that should it come to power the land sold off now would be expropriated and no compensation paid.

The LP would do well to take the longer view before ramming the contentious measure through Parliament.

# Hopes pinned on Mandela's US tour to raise millions for the ANC

WASHINGTON — The ANC hopes deputy president Nelson Mandela's US tour will raise millions of dollars in donations to strengthen its political infrastructure in SA.

The movement's chief US representative Lindiwe Mabuza said yesterday that money contributed to two specially established charities was needed for a series of overtly political purposes.

These included setting up a new ANC newspaper, buying access to radio and television, opening fully equipped offices throughout SA, purchasing vehicles and

providing welfare for unskilled returnees.

Overall, Mabuza said, the ANC needed between \$100m and \$200m, though tour organisers did not expect anywhere near that to be raised during Mandela's visit.

Without such funding "in a few months time, people will begin to be critical of our work, or our lack of it, because we don't have resources".

The trip's national co-ordinator, civil rights campaigner Roger Wilkins, said two tax-exempt organisations had been set up to receive donations, Democracy for SA, which is managing the Mandela tour, and

the Mandela Freedom Fund.

In addition to soliciting contributions, Democracy for SA had granted exclusive licensing rights on behalf of the ANC for use of Mandela's likeness on T-shirts and other memorabilia to ProServ, a company founded by tennis star Arthur Ashe to represent professional sportsmen.

Once tour expenses had been met, Democracy for SA would transfer profits to the ANC "to further the goal of a unitary, non-racial democracy in SA".

SIMON BARBER

While Democracy for SA would not pay tax on any profits, donors would not be permitted to deduct gifts from their taxable incomes. Those whose wished to make deductible contributions could do so the the Mandela Freedom Fund.

These donations would theoretically be used "to conduct a literacy campaign, resettle refugees, and to provide education, skills development and medical care to the SA people" — many of which services were "already supported from ANC funds".

Tour organisers are, meanwhile, uncertain how Mandela will travel between the

eight cities on his itinerary, although it will not be on a commercial airliner.

On Tuesday the US administration rejected organisers' request to provide an aircraft after they had turned down the offer of a jet by Coca-Cola.

Wilkins said the ANC had rejected any support from US companies deemed by the American Committee on Africa, a sanctions lobby, to be active in SA. This included Coca-Cola.

He said he did not see the government refusal as a slap in the face.

● See Page 3

# EC poised to endorse Mandela on sanctions

STRASBOURG — The impact of Nelson Mandela's European tour will be tested for the first time today when the European Parliament (EP) votes on a motion for sanctions against SA to be gradually lifted.

What might have been a close vote is now expected to turn into a rout in favour of Mandela's most passionate warning yet that lifting sanctions would be catastrophic for peace in SA.

The ANC deputy president was welcomed to the 12-nation EP yesterday as a statesman.

In a special ceremony, EP President Enrique Crespo handed Mandela the Andrei Sakharov prize for humanitarian action.

Mandela, greeted on entering the assembly by a standing ovation and deafening applause described by MPs as unprecedented in the history of the 12-nation Strasbourg Parliament, went straight to the point.

He said nothing should be done to diminish the pressure of sanctions, which had obliged the white population of SA "to accept the necessity and inevitability of change".

He urged the governments represented in Strasbourg and "the peoples of the world" to heed the seriousness of his warning that they had to maintain sanctions.

He said "any movement backwards" would undermine progress and threaten the process of negotiation.

Mandela said he sought no advantage for the ANC in his pursuit of democracy, peace and progress for all in SA.

"We do not pursue any goals which would result in some emerging as winners and others as losers."

He said the ANC recognised Presi-

IAN HOBBS

dent F W de Klerk and his NP colleagues as people of integrity who spoke honestly when they said they wanted an end to apartheid. The ANC was prepared to work with them to achieve "a just and lasting negotiated settlement".

At a later media conference he disclosed, for the first time, that the ANC had held secret talks with unnamed members of the white right-wing "to soften their hostility to De Klerk".

PETER DELMAR reports internal ANC leaders appeared nonplussed at this statement and said they were trying to contact Mandela about it.

Internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu said the ANC spoke to so many groups, among them Afrikaners, that they were not always sure what their political affiliations were. "It is likely some of these (right-wing) people were seen, but not in an organised way."

## Ousted

Right-wing spokesmen said they knew of no such approach from Mandela which, if it had happened, would have been extremely naive.

A senior CP source said he could "absolutely guarantee there have been no discussions between the ANC and the CP".

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said there was a possibility De Klerk could be ousted unless "effective encouragement" was given for the changes he had made.

He believed it was time the EC lifted the ban on new investment in SA.

# ANC role vital, says Mandela

**STRASBOURG - Mr Nelson Mandela disclosed yesterday that the ANC was talking to conservative politicians in South Africa to gain their support for the process of negotiation.**

Addressing an international Press conference after a speech to the European Parliament, the ANC deputy president said his organisation was playing a responsible role to convince all South Africans to support negotiations.

"We are appealing to whites to support Mr de

## Own Correspondent

Klerk. We are even having discussions with some members of the right wing to soften their hostility towards Mr de Klerk.

"The ANC is playing a responsible role of taking it upon itself to mobilise the entire population of South Africa to accept a negotiated settlement," he said.

Mandela did not reveal the names of the right wing politicians with whom they had been in contact. He disclosed this information in an effort to

convince the EP to assist the ANC financially.

He appealed for "buckets full of money" to assist an estimated 20 000 exiles who would soon return to their country, to help political prisoners soon to be released and to re-establish the ANC's organisational structures in South Africa.

"Without a viable and strong ANC able to bring millions of our people into the political process of a negotiated settlement, there is little chance that this process will succeed," he said.

Mandela said he hoped the international community would not withhold funds because it regarded the ANC as a political party.

"We have never in the first place been a political party. We were established as a parliament for the black people in our country.

"Our organisation has got people of different political affiliations. We are united by our resistance to racial oppression.

"But now we have assumed an even more important role," he said.

From XOLA SIGONYELA  
PORTELIZABETH.

— The Eastern Cape's first non-racial ANC branch of Langa/Northern Areas, encompassing African, coloured and white residential areas, was launched in Uitenhage last weekend.

A second branch, in KwaNobuhle township where a recent peace pact brought to an end nearly three years of political conflict, was also established at the weekend.

In Langa, the Eastern

# ANC launches mixed branch

South 14/6 - 20/6/90 (11A)

Cape regional executive of the ANC was present during the first election of the non-racial executive.

The area covered in the branch includes Uitenhage, which has a powerful rightwing, and a Conservative Party MP.

Earlier, about 400 card-

carrying ANC members packed the KwaNobuhle community hall to launch their branch.

The regional chairperson of the ANC, Mr Benson Fihla, outlined the history of the ANC, which he described as the history of the oppressed people of South Africa.

He said the Freedom Char-

ter was the basic policy of the ANC and gave direction to the movement and its members.

"The organisation runs a systematic programme of political education which aims at arming its membership with knowledge of the nature of the struggle for national liberation."

He said that, in the course

of the national democratic revolution in which the ANC was involved, every one was called upon to maintain the highest standard of discipline.

"The ANC is a national liberation organisation which embraces all classes and other social groups of the oppressed people, to unite them against oppression," he said.

## Members

Members elected onto the KwaNobuhle branch executive were: Daniel Songwiq (chairperson), Zola Makas (vice-chairperson), Mxolis Gawe (treasurer), Nceb. Madlavu (general secretary), Linda Qolohle (assistant secretary), Eddie Zinto (organiser) and Boy Mge Mlamli Davids and Themba Dyasi (additional members)

Elected onto the Langa branch executive were Vuyo Kwinana (chairperson), Peter Swartz (vice chairperson), Merry Japhta (general secretary), Geinuhlanga Gxowa (assistant secretary), Jeff Dupri (treasurer), Jury Harris (organiser), and Siphwe Dube L Manziya and Bonakel Zealand (additional members). — PEN



**VISITORS:** ANC National Executive member Steve Tswete and recently released Robben Island prisoners showed their solidarity with Yengeni trialists this week. (1A)

South 14/6 - 20/6/90



# ANC leaders gather for historic South 14/6 - 20/6/90 NEC meeting

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG.— Most of the 34 members in the ANC leadership will gather here next Wednesday for an historic meeting of its National Executive Committee (NEC) — the first inside South Africa in more than 30 years.

The NEC, the ANC's major decision-making structure outside of congresses, is expected to discuss, among other things, further negotiations with F W de Klerk's government.

Reports of the Working Group, set up by the ANC and the government at the Groote Schuur talks, will be tabled at the meeting.

The key report deals with amnesty for political prisoners and the return of exiled ANC members — believed to number more than 20 000 people.

According to sources, agreement has been reached by the Working Group on indemnity for most categories of exiles.

A "sticky point", however, is indemnity for serving and high-ranking members of Umkhonto and amnesty for certain categories of political prisoners convicted of what the government terms "criminal offences".

High on the agenda is the consolidation of the ANC's internal structures and a progress report on the planned recruitment of millions of members.

# Militant youth celebrate June 16 (11A)

By REHANA ROSSOUW

THE Western Cape Youth Front (WCYF) has warned the police not to take action at their June 16 celebrations on Saturday, threatening to declare a "week of war" if they did.

National Youth Day will be observed on Saturday. The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and other organisations have planned countrywide celebrations where the youth will reinforce the call for tolerance among different political organisations.

For the first time, the emphasis will shift to a day of celebration and not a day of mourning for the students who lost their lives on June 16, 1976.

## Grievances

The WCYF — an alliance between Sayco, the South African National Students Congress, the Congress of South African Students and the National Union of South African students — have planned a day-long celebration in Saldanha Bay.

The Youth Day programme includes

*South 14/6 - 20/6/90*  
a march to the municipality and police station to hand over local grievances, a rally, sports events and a cultural evening.

Speakers include ANC leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Cosatu education officer Mr Alec Erwin and Mr Norman Mashabane, the Sayco executive member who recently led a South African youth delegation to the Soviet Union. *South 14/6 - 20/6/90*

"It was decided that National Youth Day be peaceful and disciplined; hence our slogan Organisation, Discipline and Action for Peace and Power," said

a WCYF spokesperson at a press conference on Wednesday.

"We commit ourselves completely to the process of peaceful negotiations outlined by the African National Congress.

"But in the event of any unprovoked police action, we shall defend ourselves and a week of war shall be declared."

WCYF leaders had been contacted by the police and told to ask for permission for the march and open-air rally.

# PAC 'responsible' for lead-up to Soweto shootings

7/26/76  
14/6/90  
MP

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — A Pan Africanist Congress member, Mr Themba Hlatshwayo, has claimed that the organisation was responsible for the events which led to the Soweto shootings of June 16 1976.

At a Press conference held at the PAC's office in Johannesburg yesterday to "put June 16 into perspective", Mr Hlatshwayo said Mr Justice Curlewis's ruling at the end of the Bethal trial, which followed the shootings, was evidence that the PAC had been responsible for what happened on that day.

Mr Justice Curlewis had linked all the activities surrounding June 16, including the planning and implementation, to the PAC, Mr Hlatshwayo said.

In support of his argument, Mr Hlatshwayo said the late PAC president Robert Sobukwe had been charged as "co-conspirator number one" at the Bethal trial, while incumbent PAC president Zephania Mothopeng was held responsible for the subsequent exodus of youths from the country.

Mr Hlatshwayo said he had been asked as an ordinary PAC member to represent Mr Mothopeng while he was away on an African tour. He said June 16 was regarded as a day belonging to a particular organisation.

The PAC had thus found it necessary to claim responsibility for the day "to a large extent".

At another Press conference in Johannesburg an hour later,

South African Youth Congress (Sayco) general secretary Mr Rapu Molekane reacted to Mr Hlatshwayo's claim.

"We do not want to claim days," said Mr Molekane.

"We believe that June 16 is a day of the South African youth. Maybe it is true to say that at that time there was minimal political activity in the country, and June 16 occurred as a result of students' activities.

"The PAC has the right to make claims. It is important to note, however, that the majority of the youths who fled the country after June 1976 joined the African National Congress in exile."

Sayco, which is to join the ANC's Youth Wing, is an ANC affiliate.

ANC Umsa <sup>1/11/70</sup>  
agree to liaise

JOHANNESBURG <sup>1/11/70</sup>

The ANC and the black United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) agreed yesterday to liaise on a range of issues.

Umsa president, Mr Tom Boya, said these included the housing needs of returning exiles as well as squatters and backyard dwellers.

Also discussed was the harassment of black town councillors by alleged supporters of the ANC and UDF. — Sapa

# 'Mandela spoke to Boshoff and Jooste to gain support'

Staff Reporter

The rightwingers with whom Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, held discussions to try to gain their support were Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, and Chris Jooste, a former member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's executive.

Mr Mandela said in Strasbourg on his 13-nation European tour yesterday he had appealed to whites to support President de Klerk. He said the ANC had had discussions with members of the right wing to "soften their hostility" towards Mr de Klerk.

Mr Mandela would not disclose the names of the conservative politicians to whom he had spoken, but sources have confirmed Professor Boshoff and Dr Jooste were among them.

Neither could be reached for comment last night.

Professor Boshoff's wife, Anna, told The Star: "There's has been no formal thing. It could have happened. I would not be able to say."

Star 14/6/90.  
11A  
Professor Boshoff is the son-in-law of the designer of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd. A former theology professor, he was once chairman of the Broederbond. He founded the Volkswag when the National Party opted for power-sharing with blacks.

He is a staunch advocate of a white homeland and has said if the Afrikaner does not want to be "sucked in and swallowed by the black multitudes" he must secede from South Africa geographically, economically and constitutionally.

Professor Boshoff was a member of the steering committee that organised the right-wing rally last month where the so-called "third freedom struggle" of the Afrikaner was launched.

Dr Jooste was formerly a member of the AWB's executive, the "grootraad". He and three other leading AWB members were suspended from the grootraad after they had sent a letter to the movement's leader, Eugene TerreBlanche, calling for his resignation.

Soccer hooligans . . . Five West German soccer fans were Tuesday for fighting and vandalism in Milan during the worst outbreak of World Cup hooliganism. They were also banned from any of the 12 World Cup cities during the rest of the month-long

under a plea-bargaining arrangement.

Picture by Associated Press.

# An engine for all African economies

11A Sta 14/6/90

A South Africa freed from sanctions and at peace could bring prosperity to southern Africa, writes Richard Dowden.

Nelson Mandela is currently travelling through Europe and North America asking for sanctions to be maintained against South Africa until the African National Congress feels change has become irreversible. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, is fond of pointing out that the last thing South Africa needs is to have its economy wrecked by sanctions.

South Africa is not exactly bleeding to death from the effects of sanctions but, if its economy is to expand at a rate sufficient to fulfil the economic expectations that will come with more political freedom, it will need an injection of confidence. That will not happen until sanctions, a symbol of world disapproval of apartheid, are lifted.

The minds of Western leaders are so concentrated on finding the politically correct moment to lift sanctions that no one is looking at a more important long-term question for Africa: Can a South Africa, freed from sanctions and at peace with itself and its neighbours, bring development and prosperity to the whole of southern Africa?

The quid pro quo of a successful political settlement in South Africa is not just the end of apartheid, it could also in-

clude the end of a number of particularly destructive regional wars.

More than 100 million people live in southern Africa, many of them in abject poverty. In Mozambique and Angola there is famine again this year. Could the region be transformed into a prosperous community driven by South Africa's economic might?

Although every country south of the Congo river has maintained trading links with South Africa in some form these have been constrained and clandestine. Subsidiaries of South African companies have operated more openly but their links with South Africa are still sensitive.

## Quid pro quo

From 1978, South Africa invited its neighbours to join a "Constellation of States", a concept of political and economic co-operation between Pretoria and southern African countries that offered trade and co-operation in return for an acceptance of apartheid.

They refused and instead set up the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) whose aim was to improve co-operation between its members and thereby reduce their dependency on South Africa. Pretoria responded by backing rebel movements in the two regional

states, Angola and Mozambique, thus helping to destroy rail and road links to the coasts, the vital economic arteries of the SADCC members.

Some people believe that southern Africa's economic weakness is entirely caused by South African aggression, a theory contradicted by the fact that African countries a long way from South Africa, such as Ghana, suffer from the same problems as some of its neighbours.

Botswana, South Africa's nearest neighbour, meanwhile, is one of the few prosperous nations in Africa with a growth rate of over 8 percent.

Nevertheless, Pretoria's regional policy of destabilisation helped to keep Angola, Mozambique and, indirectly, Zimbabwe and Zambia, weak and underdeveloped.

Isolated and paranoid, the military men of Pretoria sought to create a wasteland around South Africa to keep the ANC at bay. From the early 1980s, they poured arms and supplies into the Unita rebel movement in Angola and the Renamo rebels in Mozambique and raided Maputo, Gaborone and even Lusaka at will.

However, Anglo American

has already invested in Zimbabwe and Zambia and sees prospects opening up in tourism and mining in Mozambique. Its partner company De Beers owns Namibia's diamond mines and jointly owns Botswana's.

In a recent speech Gavin Rely, Anglo's chairman, said: "It is not only a question of the size of South Africa's economy . . . but the commonality of problems which South Africa shares with the region and indeed sub-Saharan Africa, high birth rates, rapid urbanisation, job creation and other basic needs.

## Shared problems

"The resources and the specific expertise that South Africa can deploy in the region are tailor-made to the sort of problem solving which will promote further development," he added.

Many companies in South Africa regard the end of South Africa's isolation as a challenge to trek into the rest of Africa. South African Breweries, for example, already doing good business in Africa, can look forward to even better trade once the taboos are gone.

South African businessmen, some of whom are already to

be found as far north as Kinshasa or Abidjan, are gearing up for a more open, aggressive pitch at Africa's markets.

Several transnationals, such as Shell and BP, who have to base their Africa operations in London and their South African operation in South Africa, will now be able to combine the two. Although some have pulled out of South Africa because of disinvestment pressure, the situation is not irreversible. But it is not only the private corporations that are preparing to move.

Ian McRae, the chief executive of Eskom, the parastatal South African electricity company, for example, has a vision of South Africa transforming the rest of Africa.

Africa has a way of swallowing up grandiose plans devised for its betterment, especially by people removed from its realities, but Mr McRae counts himself an African. When the people of Soweto refused to pay their electricity bills he went to talk to them, alone and at night, to find out what the problem was and if he could solve it.

He believes electrical power could be the catalyst in the region and is already working on a scheme to unite Africa as far north as the Equator in one power grid. Although 60 years old and heading a company of some 55 000 employees Mr McRae sounds like an enthusi-

astic young man with a big idea.

He has a sheaf of letters from senior officials in neighbouring states, which he proudly, but coyly, produces, to support the idea of southern African economic community.

"We have, as a region, to join hands to face a united Europe," one wrote.

Expressing accord, another senior official from a Frontline state has written: "On a southern African economic community I would like to assure you that I am anxious to achieve these goals."

There are no official signs that SADCC is even contemplating the economic impact of a free South Africa on the region but six months ago Zimbabwe approached Eskom for the first time.

## Map drawn

To demonstrate his dream Mr McRae has drawn up a map of southern Africa with proposed power lines linking the Congo River in Zaire to Uganda and Kenya, Zambia to Malawi and Mozambique and southern Angola to the Transvaal through Botswana.

Mr McRae's vision may or may not be realisable, but it invokes a fundamental truth about the new South Africa. It is African, with a future in Africa. — The Independent News Service.

# ANC prepares to win power in SA via the ballot box

The ANC is changing from a guerilla movement to a political party. It is a complex process, requiring patience and careful planning. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

The African National Congress, responding to the challenge and opportunity of its unbanning on February 2, is metamorphosing from an outlawed organisation to a political party.

Where it once waged guerilla war in the hope of seizing power, it is now preparing to win power through the ballot box and "to mobilise the people, black and white, to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".

The transformation is not simple. One of the problems is to combine the different experiences and traditions within the ANC into a single whole.

Speaking in the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, spokesman Mohammed Valli identifies the main elements: the exiled movement, with its headquarters in Lusaka and more than 40 offices throughout the world; the underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe; the pro-ANC organisations, notably the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which propagated the ANC cause in South Africa before the ban was lifted; and the vibrant fraternity of men who kept the ANC's traditions alive in prison.

## Building anew

"We are building anew," said Mr Valli. "The rallying cry is: 'Every democrat an ANC member. Every ANC member an organiser'."

The ANC's immediate objective now is to establish branches throughout the country. But that does not mean the surfacing of, say, underground cells as branches or the transplantation of the departments of the exiled movement to South Africa.

To achieve its task, the ANC has established an "internal leadership core" under the veteran ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, to oversee the process. It has divided the country into 12 regions, appointing a regional convener to each and mandating them to establish branches and start recruiting members.

Recruiting by steering committees started even before the formal establishment of branches, Mr Valli said.

A million membership cards were printed before the first branch was established.

To join, aspirant members have to sign a pledge of loyalty and to pay an annual membership fee of R12 or R1 a month. An immediate target figure of two million members has been mentioned, with more optimistic ANC organisers talking of an eventual total of four million. Either total would exceed the more than 1.5 million members of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's

rival Zulu-based Inkatha movement.

Under the slogan, "Join the ANC", the campaign will seek to win over not merely ordinary citizens and community notables, but "those who have served or are serving in the army, police and administration of the apartheid system".

Mr Valli refuses to speculate on the number of recruits the ANC has drawn into its ranks so far. The aim is not to race ahead but to forge a powerful organisation with registered, disciplined and accountable members.

There is, however, one immediate target date: December 16, when the ANC will hold its first national congress inside South Africa since 1958.

The ANC wants its branches operative by then, so that delegates to the watershed congress — to be held in Bloemfontein, where the ANC was founded 78 years ago — will be democratically elected and the congress the "most democratic" in its history. Beyond the congress lies, if the ANC has its way, elections to a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Patrick Lekota, convener of the southern Natal region, has a particularly challenging problem in recruiting members in Inkatha-dominated territory, which he defines as outlying rural areas where pro-Inkatha chiefs are firmly in control.

"We have to figure it out," he admits.

The ANC has, of course, another rival: the Pan-Africanist Congress.

## Boldly

Like the ANC, the rival Pan-Africanist Congress has begun a recruiting drive. It has moved ahead boldly, setting up branches by the score.

Benny Alexander, general secretary of the PAC-Internal, declares: "We have done very well." The PAC has established 90 branches in the less than four months since it was unbanned, he says. Another 200 are pending.

The ANC's South African Communist Party is, theoretically, a potential rival to the ANC's bid to become a mass-based political party.

The danger of the ANC and the SACP competing for members — "fishing in the same pool" — is minimised by two factors: dual membership and different recruiting policies.

The present acceptance of dual membership of the ANC and SACP will, it seems, continue, and where the ANC seeks to become a mass movement, the SACP will be selective, seeking "quality" rather than quantity.

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African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela, with his wife Winnie, waves from a balcony of the Strasbourg town hall yesterday.

## Crucial EC vote on sanctions

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

STRASBOURG — Nelson Mandela yesterday delivered an emphatic plea to a packed European Parliament (EP) assembly for the maintenance of full sanctions against South Africa.

The African National Congress deputy president received a standing ovation from the parliament, in which all 12 European Community (EC) countries sit.

The EC is to review its sanctions policy at a summit in Dublin in two weeks' time.

The EP will today vote secretly on a proposal by a right-wing independent, Marco Pannella of Italy, that sanctions be eased.

Mr Mandela's plea for the maintenance of sanctions has left the race wide open and informed

sources predicted a close vote.

Mr Mandela, who received the EP's Sakharov Prize for "freedom of the spirit" in 1988 when still in jail, told the influential body the international community had an obligation to assist oppressed South Africans in their struggle against apartheid.

"Sanctions were imposed as a powerful means of ensuring the end of the apartheid system. This result has not yet been achieved. It is therefore only logical that the existing sanctions should be kept in place," Mr Mandela said to thunderous applause.

### Prepared

Mr Mandela highlighted the success of the initial Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the ANC early last month.

He said the ANC was prepared to co-operate with the Government to reach a just and lasting negotiated political settlement, which should be based on the principle of one person, one vote in a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Dr Beyers Naude, who attended Mr Mandela's address, warned yesterday easing sanctions would be dangerous and should not be considered before the Nationalist Government had clearly and unequivocally spelled out its vision of a new democratic dispensation.

The South African church leader said even the re-establishment of cultural ties with South Africa as a first step towards normalising relations with the country should be carefully considered.

Mr Mandela is to visit the Netherlands on Friday and Saturday. This brings the number of countries he will visit during his international tour to 14.

Tomorrow he will visit Rome, where he has been granted an audience with the Pope.

He will meet the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, in London at the weekend before touring Canada and the United States.

Sapa-AP reports Mr Mandela will speak to the people of New York in the Yankee Stadium next Thursday and to the American people at a "town meeting" televised as an ABC network special later that night.

## MPs in punch-up over Mandela visit

STRASBOURG — French rightists in the European Parliament and a Belgian Socialist came to blows yesterday over Nelson Mandela's visit to the assembly earlier in the day.

Witnesses said Jose Happart, a Belgian Socialist, was first spat at by Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front, then punched by Bernard Antony, another French extreme rightist.

The incident in the members' restaurant began when Robert Krieps, a Luxembourg Socialist, made a remark to a table of right-

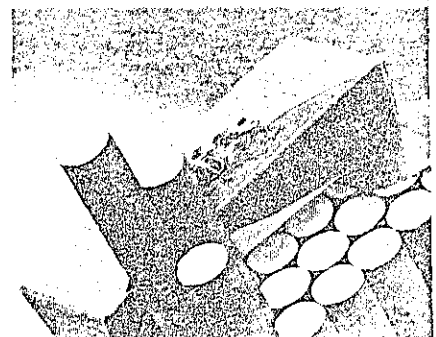
wingers regarding their absence from the chamber during Mr Mandela's 45-minute speech.

A witness said Mr Le Pen did not recognise Mr Krieps and asked a security guard to remove him from the restaurant. Mr Happart then called Mr Le Pen names.

Mr Le Pen spat twice at Mr Happart who returned to the table he shared with Mr Krieps. The witness said Mr Antony then came over, demanding that Mr Krieps identify himself. Upon his doing so, Mr Antony grabbed Mr Krieps by the collar and hit him. — Sapa-AP.

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# Test for Mandela when EC votes

From IAN HOBBS

STRASBOURG. — The impact of Nelson Mandela's tour of Europe will be tested for the first time today when the European Parliament votes on a motion for sanctions on South Africa to be progressively lifted.

What may have been a close vote is now expected to turn into a rout in favour of Mr Mandela's most passionate warning yet that lifting sanctions would be catastrophic for peace in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, who was welcomed with a standing ovation and deafening applause, went straight to the point.

He said nothing should be done to diminish the pressure of sanctions, which had obliged the white population of South Africa "to accept the necessity and inevitability of change".

He said "any movement backwards" would undermine progress and threaten the process of negotiation.

Presenting the ANC as peacemakers, Mr Mandela said that he sought no advantage for his organisation in his pursuit of democracy, peace and progress for all the people of South Africa.

"We are striving to proceed in a manner and towards a result which will ensure that all our people, both black and white, emerge as victors."

He said the ANC recognised President de Klerk and his colleagues as men and women of integrity who spoke honestly when they said they wanted an end to the apartheid system.

The ANC was prepared to work with them to achieve "a just and lasting negotiated settlement."

But he told the European MPs the reality was that apartheid was still in place and the pillars of the "murder-

June 14, 1990 3

From page 3

ous racist" system were intact.

South Africa was still ruled by a white minority government, police repressions was part of the daily lives of blacks — and his people continued to die in Natal as a direct result of the apartheid system.

He said it was vitally important not to forget that many white "compatriots" refused to accept that their minority rule had to come to an end.

"Many of these are armed," he said. "They are to be found both within the army and the police".

"These armed and trained groups pose a direct threat to the negotiations which are so necessary in order to arrive at a speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy."

He said this meant sanctions and the "struggle against apartheid must continue."

Mr Mandela made no direct mention of an anti-sanctions motion, tabled by the independent Italian MEP Mr Marco Pannella and supported by at least 80 other MEPs.

Journalists here said a surprising number of socialist MEPs, mostly from Portugal, Spain, Greece and Belgium, were having second thought on sanctions.

Some — at least before Mr Mandela's impressive speech — had indicated that they wanted sanctions reviewed or eased.

To page 3

Chet T. 14/6/70 (111)

Parliament and

## Mier: LP 'has not abandoned the poor'

IT WAS not true that the Labour Party did not care for the poor, the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Andrew Julies, said yesterday.

There was unemployment and poverty in Mier and unfortunately, also would-not-works, but it was not realistic to try and rectify the situation by denying established farmers ownership rights.

Opening the debate on the Second Reading of the Mier Rural Area Bill, he said he wanted to rectify some misconceptions about Mier and the controversy surrounding it in the press.

The bill aims at ratifying the sale and rental of farms and plots.

It also aimed to promote private land tenure. There was no question of privatisation, but it was the clear purpose to create as many possible owner-farmers in agriculture, Mr Julies said.

— Sapa

Capt T. Nika 14/6/90

# Black, yellow and green for ANC bank

Staff Reporter

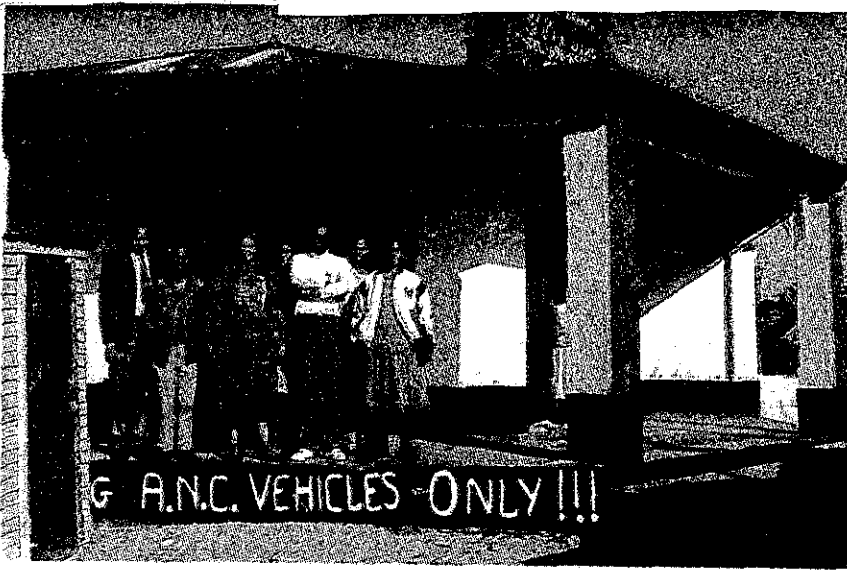
THE ANC has started operating as a financial institution in Athlone, from a building sporting the liberation movement's colours.

But the "African National Co-operation" is not part of the African National Congress nor is it trying to pass itself off as an "ANC bank", the co-op's director, Mr Victor Nika, said yesterday.

The ANC colour scheme seems to have gone down well with the community, with 30 agents busily signing up African National Co-operation members who pay a R5 membership and R50 security fee to qualify for co-op aid. Mr Nika said he had had no opposition from the ANC.

Mr Nika said the co-op had repeatedly applied to be registered by the registrar of financial institutions, but was advised to register as a welfare organisation, which it was now in the process of doing.

The African National Co-operation did not have much capital at present but was hoping the state would make good its promise of state aid to the underdeveloped sector, Mr Nika said.



**WE'RE YOUR (B)ANC . . .** African National Co-operation director Mr Victor Nika, front row, second from the right, with members of his staff outside the co-op's offices in Athlone yesterday.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

# MPs in brawl over Mandela

*CAP-Tues 14/6/90*  
STRASBOURG. — French rightists in the European Parliament and a Belgian socialist came to blows yesterday over the visit to the assembly by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Witnesses said Mr Jose Happart, a Belgian socialist, was first spat at by National Front leader Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen in the member's restaurant, then hit by Mr Bernard Antony, another French extreme rightist.

They said Mr Happart replied by kicking Mr Antony in the groin.

Mr Antony was said to be short of breath for a while, but finished his meal. Neither side lodged a complaint.

— Sapa-AP

# SA Youth Congress out to prove a point

stc 14/6/90 By Kaizer Nyatumba

(11)

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) and its affiliates intend to prove on Saturday that Soweto youth is not abandoning the African National Congress and joining the Pan Africanist Congress.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Sayco general secretary Rapu Molekane said the congress, which is expected to merge soon with the ANC's youth wing, had planned its major June 16 rally in Soweto to prove that the ANC was not losing support to the PAC.

The rally, to be addressed by ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and Sayco president Peter Moka-ba, will be held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre at 10 am.

The PAC's major rally of the day will be held at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, at the same time.

Asked why the ANC and the PAC had not organised a joint rally, Mr Molekane said that Sayco wanted to prove the inaccuracy of a recent survey which found that Soweto youth were deserting the ANC.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the National Council of Trade Unions will hold a joint rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on June 16 "in commemoration of the most eventful year in the revolutionary struggle", the movement's Mr Themba Hlatshwayo said yesterday.

Hlatshwayo said other organisations were invited to join because the PAC was not averse to people who were not PAC members.

### Struggle

"The day should not be seen as an isolated event but as part of the ongoing revolutionary struggle. This was the year when the masses moved from passivity into activity", he said.

Sapa reports that Sayco yesterday said that

## Everybody is welcome, says PAC

*Sowetan 15/6/90*  
The June 16 anniversary this year will be used as a platform to reinforce the call for tolerance amongst different political organisations.

And for the first time, the emphasis will also shift to a day of celebra-

tion of what has changed in South Africa - and not only a day of mourning for the students and pupils who lost their lives on June 16 1976.

"The public undertakings that have been made by leaders of organisations on the need to respect the right of organisations to exist and to compete for support will be echoed all over the country."

DESPITE belaboured pleas for unity among black political organisations, three major June 16 commemoration services will be held within a radius of five kilometres of each other in Soweto on Saturday - by the three mainstream political groups.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and Sayco president, Peter Mokaba, will address a joint Cosatu/Sayco/ANC national rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre starting at 10 am.

Khotso Seathlolo, the student leader who led the protests leading up to the events of June 16 1976 with Tsietsi Mashinini, will address an Azapo service at Regina Mundi.

Both Sisulu and Seathlolo will be addressing their first June 16 commemoration services. Sisulu was released from life imprisonment on October 15 last year. Seathlolo was freed on April 12 this year after 10 years behind bars.

The National Council of Trade Unions has organised another rally at Orlando Stadium.

The publicity secretary of Sayco, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said Sowetans will obviously have to choose which service to attend.

### **Watershed**

"I think June 16 should be a watershed for political tolerance. The ANC rallies will also be a platform to encourage tolerance and peace among political organisations, and to popularise the national stayaway that is called for the beginning of July in solidarity with the people of Natal and other areas that are plagued by apartheid violence.

"What these different services mean is that we re-inforce and emphasize the need for the different organisations to operate freely in any part of the country," Mankahlana said.

# June 16 rallies to encourage tolerance

(1/18)  
Soweto  
15/6/90

By ALI MPHAKI

Hall in Garankuwa.

On the West Rand: Bekkersdaal Stadium, Toekomsrus Catholic Church and Kagiso Community Hall.

Other areas include Ratanda Hall near Heidelberg, Seshego Stadium, Bushbuckridge Stadium, Kimberley Open Arena Stadium, Bisho Stadium, Bridgestone Stadium near Oudtshoorn.

Bongane Stadium in Kynsna, Lingelihle Stadium in Cradock, Dan Qeqe Stadium in Port Elizabeth, Diazville

Stadium in Saldanha Bay, Umtata Independence Stadium, Sasolville Stadium in Maukeng, Rockland Stadium in Bloemfontein.

Maritzburg Ecumenical Lay Centre, Maakune Hall in Moshira in Sekhukhuneland, Phiritona Stadium near Heilbron, Charles Mopeli Stadium in Mangaung village, Qwaqwa at 10am.

The Azapo services will be at the Moletji Moshung Anglican

Church in Seshego, Mankweng Community Hall, Mahwelereng Community Hall, Lebowakgomo Methodist Church, Mphahlele Hall in Gamphahlele.

Nkowankowa Hall, Mphephu High, Thohoyandou, Kwaggafontein Hall, St Anne's Catholic Church in Atteridgeville, Rio Cinema, New Brighton and Thabong Hall in Kroonstad where an Azapo branch will also be launched.

Seathlolo said he was saddened by the division in the black community with people aligning themselves into camps which refused to co-operate.

"In 1976 we stood united. Today the black community is divided. That is a sad fact of life today," Seathlolo said.

The Jabulani Amphitheatre rally will also be characterised by cultural performances, with Afro-rock groups like Sakhile, Stimela and others.

The other Cosatu/Sayco/ANC rallies will be held at the Vaal's Sharpeville George Thabe Stadium, Tokoza Stadium, Sinaba Stadium in Daveyton, Wattville Stadium, Huntersfield stadium in Katlehong, Duduza Community Centre, Kwa-Thema Hall in Springs.

In the Pretoria area services will be held at Saulsville Stadium, St Peter's Seminar Centre in Hammanskraal, Soshanguve Giant Stadium and Medunsa.

## ANC expects the UN to keep up pressure

THE ANC expected the United Nations to "recommend keeping pressure on the government for the foreseeable future" as far as sanctions were concerned, ANC executive committee member, Mr. Terror Lekota, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting the visiting UN fact-finding mission earlier in the day, Lekota said the ANC's main thrust in the meeting had been to stress that pressure should be maintained by sanctions.

If sanctions were removed, the ANC would have no recourse but to fall back on the armed struggle, he said.

*Soulman 15/6/90*

11A  
The ANC had, however, drawn the UN team's attention to the "disruptive nature of violence in the Natal region", which was complicating the implementation of the UN's Declaration against Apartheid.

"We pointed out that it was imperative that this violence should be arrested," he said.

Leader of the UN team, Mr Abdulrahim Farah, conceded after the meeting that the process of dismantling apartheid had begun.

He would not comment on the sanctions issue, however, saying it was "not the UN's area".



Sowetan 15/6/90

# Sit-in parents get ANC support

Sowetan  
15/6/90  
Sowetan  
Correspondent

THE ANC has thrown its full support behind eight Soweto parents who are "sitting in" at the offices of the Department of Education and Training in Johannesburg.

The parents entered their fourth day in the DET building yesterday and have refused meals and are only eating dried fruit and fruit juices.

The Soweto Education Co-ordinating Committee (Secc) has warned that this could build up to a full-scale hunger strike.

The parents will not leave until a definite date has been set for the delivery of much-needed textbooks to schools.

Yesterday morning head of the ANC's internal leadership core, Walter Sisulu, visited the parents, who are SECC members.

The DET restricted the visit to three people - Mr Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube of the Federation of Transvaal Women and Tembi Mutloatse of the SACC.

Sisulu said that the shortage of books had been an acute problem for many years and there was "no excuse" to not provide basic learning tools for schoolchildren.

"The parents demand is for books. They are not demanding that books be delivered tomorrow. All they want is an assurance that they will be supplied at a certain date.

"This matter must be handled systematically by the Department and it is no good for the Department to continue using the same static arguments."

# Getting down to business

11A (E) (E)  
F/M 15/6/90



Max Sisulu heads the ANC's economics department, which is due to set up an office in Johannesburg next month. He spoke to the FM's Amarnath Singh.

**FM:** What does the ANC mean by "restructuring the SA economy" — and could you outline practical steps to achieve this?

**Sisulu:** The need to restructure the SA's economy arises out of the fundamental crisis in this economy. It is an economy that has been racked by the distortions of the apartheid system, problems in the sphere of domestic economy and the changing and destabilising international environment. It has not been able to meet the needs of a great mass of the people.

To alleviate poverty and the mass deprivation of the black people, the ANC would follow an economic strategy that aims to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power. This strategy calls for the active restructuring of production and investment to meet basic needs, to expand employment, to redistribute incomes and to provide social services.

Furthermore, the restructuring of production would take into account the need to transform SA's international economic linkages. The aim would be to increase competitiveness and develop dynamic linkages with domestic industries and markets.

**How would the ANC go about increasing "equality of income distribution"?**

Our policy is one of redistribution through growth. This means that we want to widen the pool of employed labour. To do this we will take steps to stimulate investment and, more important, to redirect investment flows from speculative ventures into industrial sectors. Coupled with this will be the strategy of increasing indirect income by enlarging the social security net.

We would also focus on existing labour practices with a view to achieving and maintaining an acceptable living wage for all.

**What would breaking up conglomerates entail — scrapping holding companies?**

This would entail more than the scrapping of holding companies. It requires an assessment of a number of factors: the capital structure of companies, the controlling interests and the market; that is, size of company, number of players, domestic, regional and international dimensions, strategic contribution to GDP, access and control of finance capital and labour practices. Our policies will be guided by the overall economic goals of redistribution through growth.

**Will foreigners invest here if they have to**

**fulfil conditions like increase employment and follow "acceptable" union practices?**

Foreign investors will invest if it is profitable to do so. In many countries, foreign investors participate where they have to fulfil stringent wage and labour conditions. Such conditions can in fact reduce uncertainty and increase stability for foreign investors.

**Would an ANC government subsidise loss-making nationalised enterprises or marginal mines to keep up jobs?**

The ANC's economic policy would be along cost-efficient lines and not on the basis of subsidies to bolster bureaucracies. However, we would have to give consideration to strategic enterprises in which private enterprise is unwilling to invest. But priority will have to be given to cost-efficient enterprises.

The case of mines is rather more complex. Here not only domestic market conditions, but also the international market needs to be taken into consideration. Due to the volatility and the strategic nature of mining, a set of stabilisation mechanisms and policies will need to be put in place. These will aim to minimise the impact of changes in world prices and demand on the domestic economy. Such mechanisms could include a stabilisation fund, cartels and the formation of a State minerals marketing authority.

Nevertheless, the important criterion in all sectors will be long-term cost efficiency. **How would you "encourage domestic savings" — with high interest rates?**

It is a fallacy to think that interest rates are the only mechanism available to influence savings. One of the critical variables in the saving function is income. Attempts will have to be made to increase real disposable income.

To this end, policies will have to be aimed at decreasing inflation, increasing the level of contractual savings and other, more innovative, savings mechanisms, like co-operative banking structures. In addition, the incidence of taxation will need to shift away from the individual towards the corporate sector. In recent years, an increasing burden of taxation has fallen on individuals through indirect taxation.

**How could wage levels on the mines be improved significantly without compromising their viability?**

The ANC would initiate measures to improve wage levels as well as the non-wage conditions of mine workers in consultation with the National Union of Mineworkers. This would include rooting out racist labour practices, policing mining health and safety, as well as paying attention to the living conditions of migrants and their families.

These steps would be taken without weakening or making less efficient the mining industry. We recognise and will seek to enhance the role of the industry as a job cre-

ator, foreign exchange earner and raw materials supplier. To this end, stabilisation policies will be considered.

**How would you control inflation?**

First, we need to establish the cause of inflation. Some of the major causes, in my view, are: the reliance of the SA economy on imported capital goods with an ever-declining rand; the ease with which firms faced with escalating costs transfer this burden on to the consumer; government's ongoing subsidisation of capital imports as evidenced by the large losses on the forward cover book and erratic fiscal and monetary policies on the part of government.

Instead of pursuing the much vaunted policy of trimming State expenditure, our focus would be on redirecting it towards more productive ends. Moreover, we would avoid the practice of using borrowings to finance current State expenditure. Subsidisation of capital imports via the mechanism of the preferential forward cover rates will have to be reviewed on the basis of its impact on domestic stability.

In addition, astute monetary policy will be pursued to regulate and control the actions of the financial sector, rather than the pursuit of arbitrary monetary targets.

**Why should State intervention and economic control under the ANC succeed when the East Bloc experience evidently shows they fail?**

Any discussion of possible increased involvement by the State in the economy is smeared as "socialistic." Any discussion of a mixed economy is similarly smeared as "covert socialism." Though this may be a useful way of propagandising against something that one may find unacceptable, it is neither correct nor very honest.

There is a debate — among those who believe that a capitalist economy is the only way to go — about the extent to which the State should intervene within the economy.

There are some on one extreme who argue that the State should have little or no role in the economy and that market forces will result in the best possible redistribution of resources in society. There are others who argue that, though capitalism is the best economic system, it does not make sense to leave everything to market forces as the market is very bad at certain things. For this reason, they would advocate a capitalist system with a high degree of State involvement in the economy.

State involvement can mean anything from progressive taxation to a high level of social services provided by the State. The social democratic countries are obvious examples of the State intervening through the provision of an extensive social security net. I assume you do not regard all the social democratic countries as being failures. If so, then you do not have a case against all types of State intervention in the economy. ■

# Star-spangled banners

Nelson Mandela and his entourage must be hoping for a warmer welcome in North America than the reserve and hard-headedness they encountered in Europe. In fact — with a reported 3 000 journalists having applied for accreditation to the ANC camp — they will be hard put to make coherent statements about sanctions and the armed struggle. Those people will be over them like flies!

It will be strange for Mandela to find such gross adulation in the heartland of capitalism. His fraternal feelings must surely be reserved for Fidel Castro rather than George Bush. But that is not the only strange facet of his trip.

It is extraordinarily long — six weeks — for a major leader to be absent from his country at such a critical stage of its history. Now that his nominal foe, F W de Klerk, has again seized the high ground by lifting the State of Emergency — except in Natal — it is, clearly, in that province that

peacemaking enterprise should be applied by the Congress.

Then there is his punishing schedule: eight cities in 10 days. The impression is that this is a timetable pitched for maximum fund-raising potential, irrespective of what it might do to Mandela's health and peace of mind. And just as there is little he can get in Europe that he wants, there is little in America that he does not already have.

Finally, while the US jamboree can hardly fail as a media circus, there are some unpleasant possibilities. One is the American dimension of craziness which will make security a nightmare; another is that Mandela's steely repose might be disturbed by penetrating questions relating to ANC detainees and economic policy. And Mandela carries with him everywhere that shadow, his wife.

Back home, he has a lot to do — unless the ANC swiftly sends him off somewhere else again. ■

**Restless ranks** (11A)

The Labour Party (LP) is on the verge of a split over dissatisfaction with Allan Hendrickse's leadership, according to party dissidents. But Hendrickse loyalists reject the claims as "grumblings" by MPs who want nothing more than better seats on the gravy train.

Dissidents say they will propose a motion of no confidence — possibly this week — in Hendrickse and the rest of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

The strength of the opposition group is being kept secret, but a source claims it's big enough to take control of the House. If this happens, the group is expected to demand an extraordinary party congress in an effort to oust Hendrickse and other senior officials from their posts. There seems little doubt that if this happens, Hendrickse and his followers will break away. Alternatively, if the dissident group is not confident of gaining majority support at a party congress, it may form a new party.

Labour's official spokesman, Peter Hendrickse, declined this week to respond to anonymous claims by the dissidents. "If people have something to say they must stand up and say it."

**Hendrickse**

However, other MPs loyal to Hendrickse say that while there definitely are a number of dissidents within the party, their grievances are personal and have nothing to do with party policy. "Some of them simply want seats on the Ministers' Council so they can push up their pensions," says one source.

The anti-Hendrickse elements disagree. They allege that Hendrickse is becoming increasingly autocratic and claim that he favours family members in appointments to senior positions in the party. He is also accused of taking unilateral action against MPs and office bearers who stand up to him.

His supporters deny this. They say he has the "overwhelming" support of the rank and file and that all his actions as leader are in terms of the party's constitution.

The dissidents' claims to have "ANC links" are also disputed by Hendrickse loyalists. As far as they can determine, the group comprises MPs from both the Left and Right of the party, which proves the personal rather than ideological nature of the rebellion.

There is little doubt, however, that the party's fortunes have turned dramatically in recent months. Results published last month of an opinion poll conducted by the Port Elizabeth-based Human Rights Trust show a total collapse of the party's support base in

FIM 15 16/90 (11A) (S) its eastern Cape heartland (*Current Affairs* June 1 1990).

The LP in general and Hendrickse in particular are also coming under increasing extra-parliamentary pressure because of their apparent determination to push through an "own affairs" law that will effectively dispossess "coloured" farmers of their communal land in the Mier area in the northern Cape (see box). ■

## WHITE-ANTING THEIR HERITAGE

FIM 15/6/90

The Labour Party is pushing ahead with "own affairs" legislation to sell "coloured" communal trust land in the northern Cape, in spite of resistance by the community and the personal intervention of ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela.

The Mier Rural Area Bill provides for the carving up and sale of the land that was granted to the local community in the 19th Century by Queen Victoria.

There are currently about 4 500 people living in the Mier area, which borders on the Kalahari Gemsbok Park. It is one of 23 "coloured reserves" held in trust by government and administered by a locally elected management board. In terms of "own affairs" provisions in the Constitution, ultimate jurisdiction rests with the House of Representatives.

Resistance to the Bill by the Mier farmers and intervention by Mandela has already forced the withdrawal of the Bill twice this year. But now the LP appears determined to go ahead. A meeting between community representatives and the "coloured" Minister of Local Government Andrew Julies late last month failed to resolve the issue.

The community opposes the move because it believes it dispossesses farmers of inherited rights. They were also not consulted and believe they are being "sold out" to vested interests within the community. Groups monitoring government action against rural communities believe the Bill may also be a test case to see if the other "coloured" trust areas can also be sold.

# US fans pay \$50 000 to dine with Mandela

WASHINGTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had better be ready for the social whirl when he gets here: fans are reportedly being asked to shell out up to \$50 000 just to bask in his presence at exclusive parties.

In New York, he is to lunch with Orion Pictures CEO Arthur Krim. Guests are expected to hand over cheques of between \$1 000 and \$5 000. This will be followed by an invitation-only buffet at the Tribeca Film Centre hosted by actors Robert de Niro and Eddy Murphy. Price of admission: \$2 500 a head. *B. N. M. 15/6/90*

Murphy himself has pledged to hand

SIMON BARBER

over \$20 000. De Niro hopes to raise \$250 000.

In Boston, Mandela's second stop, a black-tie dinner has been arranged at which half the 300 guests will pay \$5 000 a plate. The rest will pay only \$5.

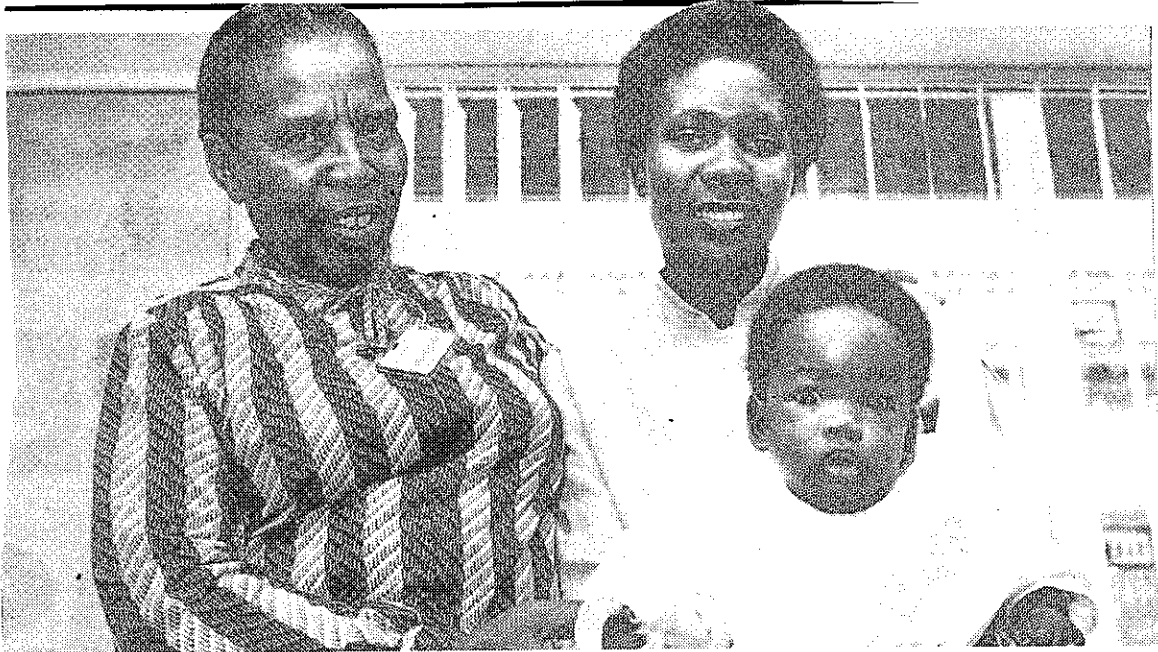
Tickets to a reception in Los Angeles are being sold for between \$1 000 and \$50 000, one newspaper reported.

Admirers looking for a cheaper thrill can pay between \$5 and \$25 to attend a rally at New York's Yankee Stadium, or \$10 to see him at Tiger Stadium in Detroit.

(11A) Those who simply want to see Winnie Mandela can attend a concert in her honour at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Prices range from \$15 to \$50.

The funds will go to defraying the costs of the trip, estimated by national co-ordinator Roger Wilkins at \$400 000. Profits will go to the ANC to "further the goal of a unitary non-racial democracy in SA".

Meanwhile, businessman Marvin Davis, former owner of 20th Century Fox, has offered to fly Mandela to the US in his private Boeing 727. The Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston is providing accommodation worth \$70 000.



Three generations of women in exile return ... (from left) Gertrude Shope, Themble Majola and her baby Malibongwe. *W/Mail 15/6 - 21/6/90.* 11A Picture: AVIGAIL UZI

## It's time for women to unite, say ANC 12

TWELVE African National Congress women returned from exile last week with the resolve to revive the ANC's Women's League, draw up a women's charter and form a national women's organisation embracing all races and ideological persuasions.

These women, who have served the ANC in Lusaka, Tanzania, Maputo, Zimbabwe, Angola and Madagascar, have already planned August 9 as the day on which the league will be launched — a day which will be called South African Women's Day.

"The time for women to unite and take forward the liberation struggle is now," says Nosiviwe Mapisa, a spirited cadre who spent six years in exile

**By CASSANDRA MOODLEY**

and serves on the women's secretariat.

The 12, who hold responsible positions in the organisation and its armed wing, see women's emancipation as an integral part of the liberation struggle but, said Doris Sikhosana who sits on the ANC's international desk, they "want to ensure the gender issue is not submerged by the national struggle".

ANC national executive member Ruth Mompoti says: "We believe women should liberate themselves. We must confront the issues affecting women, ensure they are taken up by the organisation and aim for more women to hold responsible positions in the or-

ganisation."

Included in the programme of action is the formulation of a charter for women's rights — to be drawn up by the women of South Africa.

In helping structure a new society, the ANC women see themselves tackling economic, literacy, education and health issues. They also plan to play a major role in ending internecine violence in the country, already having formulated a position on the Natal violence at a recent consultative women's workshop in Lusaka.

"Women are the foundation of every African community — they suffer the most during any violence," Mompoti says.

# ANC and PAC in accord that may bring peace (1/1)

w/ Maul 1576-216190

THIS week's peace pact between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress — following recent bitter clashes on the East Rand in which several people died — could herald the elimination of long-standing disagreements between the two organisations.

On Tuesday, the rival groups signed an agreement saying "anyone found disrupting the peace process will be condemned and ostracised".

The ANC's Transvaal regional co-ordinator, Kgalema Motlanth, said: "If the PAC, for instance, finds an ANC member causing trouble, this

will be reported through communication channels that have been set up."

Conflict between the two organisations recently claimed five lives in Vosloorus. The home of National Council of Trade Unions president James Mndaweni was fire-bombed last week.



# Youth wing attacks PAC policy

By LEON MABER and CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE youth wing of the Pan Africanist Congress has set itself on a collision course with the PAC leadership — publicly rejecting the national executive's exploratory economic policy document in its entirety.

The document looks at the failures of South Africa's present economic system and sets out strategies for achieving a new economic policy. It also examines the weaknesses and strengths of the liberation movements and the government. *W/Mail 1516-21/6/90*

What emerges from the analysis is that the outcome

of a negotiated settlement will be a plus for the resistance movement — “the limited outcome of a negotiated settlement will mobilise African people, bantustans will not survive and the present South African government will not be able to step back to old style repression”.

The new policy -- still under discussion by the Congress's national leadership -- was unveiled earlier this month by general secretary Benny Alexander at a conference of the African Council of Hawkers and Infor

11A  
● To PAGE 4.

# ANC lifts freeze on research centre

W/Mant 15/6-21/6/90

11A

By GAYE DAVIS

A WEEK-LONG freeze on the activities of the African National Congress think-tank, the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), has been lifted and the initiative, almost derailed in a welter of accusations of inefficiency and misuse of funds last week, now appears to be back on track.

This follows a day-long meeting at the University of the Western Cape on Sunday to discuss the CDS and its future role. The meeting was attended by CDS trustees and co-ordinators plus representatives of the ANC, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions.

One of the first decisions was to lift the suspension of projects and funds, as ordered last Monday by CDS national co-ordinator Randy Erentzen — a move which sparked an outcry among academics and others involved.

According to the chairman of the CDS board of trustees, Dr Abbey Nkomo, those at the meeting were satisfied the

freeze was imposed due to lack of research and apparent duplication of projects — as opposed to "irregularities".

The meeting had noted press reports alleging the misuse of funds.

Nkomo said the perception the CDS had "huge sums" for research was incorrect. Money it received was for setting up structures, rather than research.

It is widely known the CDS has a potential R28-million pool to draw on finance research for political, economic and social issues with a view to planning a post-apartheid future. So far it has received about R500 000, according to CDS co-ordinators.

CDS national co-ordinating committee member Bulelani Ngcuka said this week CDS projects would continue.

Immediate steps were being taken to formally establish the CDS as a research centre based at the University

of the Western Cape, with a core of five or six full-time researchers, Ngcuka said.

At present the CDS consists of little more than an office housing the national co-ordinator and study commissions spread across the country.

In addition, two prominent ANC academics, Barney MacKay and Dr Manto Shabalala, would help establish a working committee to administer the CDS and oversee its activities. Committee members would tour South Africa to discuss problems with CDS workers in various regions, he said.

MacKay and Shabalala, both of whom left South Africa in the early Sixties, were formerly with the ANC's Lusaka-based Southern African Studies Project, which will now merge with the CDS.

Research items on the CDS' agenda included constitutional proposals, local government, the land question, economic and educational issues, he said.

# Youth wing attacks PAC's economic policy

11A

mal Business. In a strongly worded statement, the Azanian National Youth Unity claimed the "contemptible" document directly opposed PAC policy. Comparing itself to the "watchdog" African National Congress Youth League of the 1950s, Azanyu said: "It is a document which is, presumably, the work of an element who, in his utter despair, decided to switch on to the pay-roll of the CIA.."

Alexander yesterday said he had delivered the contents of the document to the Achib meeting "on behalf of the president (Zeph Mothopeng)". Azanyu, through its general secretary Carter

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●From PAGE 1

Seleke, doubts that Mothopeng is aware of the publicising of the document.

Alexander is quick to point out that this does not imply a change in the PAC anti-negotiations position. "We are merely assessing the strengths of the liberation movement and promoting the failure of negotiations," he adds.

Yetr Seleke criticises the documented assessment and sees it rather as promotion of a policy change. "The author of the document claims we are militari-

ly weak, and therefore we have to negotiate. That calls for a complete change in policy."

The document also states that workers should not lead the struggle for economic and political liberation and concedes that the PAC embraces all classes. It adds that if the workers were to lead the struggle it would cause division

"The leadership of the African workers still owes allegiance to the nationalist leaders," the paper reads.

Widespread nationalisation, decentralisation of the economy and redistribution of land are also advocated.

FULL-TIME TUTOR/SENIOR

Daily Mail day

# Mandela to meet Pope as ANC tour moves to Italy

AN645  
5/6/90

Political Staff

ROME. — African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela meets Pope John Paul II and Italian government leaders today on the fifth leg of his international tour.

A highlight of the six-week tour, which takes him to 14 countries on three continents, will be an audience with the Pope in the Vatican.

On a visit to Southern Africa last year, the Pope avoided South Africa although he was forced to skip through the country because of engine trouble with his aircraft. He has since indicated his willingness to visit South Africa.

Mr Mandela, on his one-day private visit to Italy, also will visit Prime Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti and deputy prime minister Mr Claudio Martelli.

He will address a Press conference before departing for the Netherlands — a last-min-

ute inclusion in his schedule.

President De Klerk held discussions last month with President Andreotti, a Social Democrat, during an official working visit to Italy as part of a nine-nation tour of Europe. He did not meet the Pope, who was on a three-day visit to Malta but who normally receives visiting heads of State.

Mr Mandela wrapped up a two-day visit to the European

Parliament yesterday during which he received an exceptionally warm hearing.

His passionate plea for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa was enthusiastically received by the European Parliament in which all 12 European Community countries sit. The EC will review its sanctions policy on June 25 in the light of political change in South Africa.



# LP under cloud over allowances

ARGUS 15/6/90 11A

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ADVOCATE-GENERAL Mr Justice Piet van der Walt has cast suspicion on the Labour Party for what he finds could have been an attempt at enrichment at the expense of the State involving MPs' constituency allowance claims.

He finds that allegations made about certain unnamed MPs "if true, are indicative of a possible attempt at improper or unlawful enrichment at the expense of the State and, perhaps, even of fraud".

Mr Justice Van der Walt also chides the House Committee of the House of Representatives for failing to get to the bottom of the matter.

## New probe urged

In his report tabled in parliament yesterday, he recommends the matter be fully investigated afresh by a new committee or a disciplinary committee of the House of Representatives.

His investigation stemmed from a complaint from an unnamed MP concerning a claim made by the then Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

Mr Ebrahim alleged certain Labour Party MPs had been instructed by the party to claim their constituency allowance cheques and pay them into party coffers to help pay for printing costs, including the printing of 1989 calendars.

A House committee investigated the claim, but it found the allegations were based purely on hearsay.

However, the Advocate-General's investigation found that early last year the Secretary of Parliament had disallowed nine claims for constituency allowances — MPs are allowed claims of up to R10 000 a year

for stationery and other expenses, but must submit a full account.

Claims for the printing of pamphlets are not allowed, nor may claims be made for party stationery.

Five of the claims exceeded R1 000 and three were for R6 775,20, R2 900 and R1 400.

Each of the three had an invoice attached from ABC Press (Pty) Ltd for printing costs.

Mr Justice Van der Walt said these three claims were "clearly not" for constituency expenses.

The Advocate-General established from ABC Press that the Labour Party owed it R18 575,20 in December 1988 for printing calendars and pamphlets. The amount for pamphlets was R756.

ABC Press said the total amount due was divided into seven, allegedly at the request of a Labour MP, and seven invoices were sent to seven MPs.

The report said three of these invoices were the same as the ones submitted in allowance claims for R6 775,20, R2 900 and R1 400.

## Claims disallowed

The Labour Party had paid the full bill of more than R18 000 in March last year.

Mr Justice Van der Walt then wrote to the MPs whose claims had been disallowed.

Most said the matter had been investigated and they had submitted their claims in good faith.

One denied making a claim.

Mr Justice Van der Walt said: "However, I have a photocopy of a claim for R750 for stationery ... signed by the member concerned."

Another MP — who had submitted one of the three claims highlighted in the report — "said he would like to consult members of his caucus before replying to me in detail".

## Women's League will work for unity

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress will soon launch its national Women's League whose priority will be to forge unity among South African women of all races, a senior member of the ANC's Women's Section announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference, Mitah Seperepere said the ANC Women's League, which was banned with the ANC in 1960, would be re-launched in the country on August 9.

A formal conference to inaugurate the Women's League would be held in October.

Mrs Seperepere, a national executive committee member of the ANC's

Women's Section, was one of 12 ANC women who arrived in the country last Friday to revive the Women's League. They include national executive committee members Gertrude Shope and Ruth Mompati.

The Women's League, the ANC women said, would seek to improve the role of women in the struggle and in South African society, to forge unity among South African women of all races and to launch campaigns to publicise women's demands.

A rally, to be addressed by Mrs Mompati and Mrs Shope, will be held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on Sunday to welcome the women. It will start at 10 am.

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# R130 000 for grand nosh with Nelson

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Guests at exclusive formal dinners with Nelson Mandela throughout the United States will pay up to \$50 000 (about R133 000) for the privilege of dining with him.

Glittering fund-raising dinners at \$25 000 (R67 000) a plate are being arranged for the deputy president of the African National Congress in New York, Boston and Los Angeles.

At a reception in Los Angeles, tickets will cost between \$1 000 (R2 700) and \$50 000 (R133 000).

## Main goal

The dinners and receptions, mostly hosted by big-name stars of the entertainment world, are intended to raise money for the Mandela Freedom Fund, the kitty established by US anti-apartheid activists for the ANC.

The African National Congress in the US has appealed for between \$100 million and \$200 million from the international community to help the ANC settle in South Africa.

It is clear that one of the primary goals of Mr Mandela's US tour is to raise as much money as possible.

The organisers of the 10-day Mandela tour have declined to say what their fund-raising objectives are, but American newspapers have reported that each of the eight cities to be

visited by Mr Mandela has been asked to collect upwards of \$1 million (R2,66 million).

Fund-raising activities range from charging a small fee to hear Mr Mandela at a mass rally to the sale of authorised Mandela tee-shirts, bronze busts, buttons, pins, posters and hats.

Several American entertainment stars have also pledged generous donations, including actor Bill Cosby, comedian Eddie Murphy, who has promised \$20 000 (R53 000) and Robert DeNiro, who is trying to raise \$250 000 (R665 000).

In Boston, 150 couples with deep pockets have been invited to a black-tie dinner at \$5 000 (R13 300) a plate, and another 150 couples at the same function will be charged only \$5 (R13,30) a plate.

## Sponsored

Among the corporate sponsors of the tour are Reebok, which will donate thousands of tee-shirts for sale at Boston rallies, Ackerly Communications, which will donate \$100 000 in billboard space for greetings along Mr Mandela's motorcade route in Boston, and the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston which is donating \$70 000 in accommodation to the delegation.

Mr Mandela is being flown from Europe to the United States in a Boeing 727 belonging to Mr Marvin Davis, a former movie tycoon.

# Mandela arrives in Rome <sup>Stor 15/6/90</sup> to meet Pope, govt leaders <sup>(11A)</sup>

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter, and Reuter

ROME — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived in Rome from Strasbourg last night for an audience with Pope John Paul II and talks with Italian government leaders today.

After his meeting with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, Mr Mandela will address a press conference before departing for the Netherlands — a last-minute inclusion in his schedule.

Last night Mr Mandela, on the fifth leg of his mission to Europe, said he was well pleased with the day's results at Strasbourg, where the European Parliament voted overwhelmingly in support of a motion that sanctions against South Africa must stay.

The EC will review its sanctions policy on June 25 in the light of political changes made in South Africa.

Mr Mandela missed a lunch with European Community development commissioner Manuel Marin yesterday and postponed another meeting for two hours in order to get some rest.

Before meeting the Pope in a private audience at the Vatican at 11 am, the ANC leader was scheduled to be welcomed at the city hall and to receive honorary citizenship of Rome from the mayor.

The rare honour was bestowed on him in 1983, while he was still in prison.

"The ceremony will take place in the Great Hall of Caesar and he will at last be able to receive the medal himself," the ANC representative in Italy, Benny Nato de Bruyn, said.



# Rightwing leaders deny meeting ANC

Star 15/6/90  
Pretoria Bureau

A report of a secret meeting between right-wing leaders and members of the African National Congress in Johannesburg was yesterday greeted with "shock" in right-wing circles — and a denial from one of the men allegedly involved.

Although Chris Jooste, former deputy leader of the Boere-Vryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom

Movement), said he would be interested in meeting the ANC in his personal capacity to "hear about the future from their own mouths", he had no knowledge of the reported meeting two weeks ago.

He was named as one of the participants.

Kays Smit, chief secretary of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

said yesterday he was "shocked" by the report.

He said the AWB would "never consider meeting the ANC".

"We see them as our enemy — you don't talk to your enemy, you fight him."

Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, was unavailable for comment, according to his colleagues.

## NEWS



Now hear this . . . a marshal instructs the crowd of about 7 000 coloured parents, teachers and children who marched through Johannesburg yesterday to submit their grievances to the House of Representatives office. ● Picture by John Hogg.

## Mass protests underline the turmoil in black education

By Janet Heard, Stan Hlope and Shehnaaz Bulbulia

South Africa's black education system is threatened with collapse amid unprecedented mass protest action.

Various education departments have been hit by marches, pickets, sit-ins, strikes, and mass rallies by teachers, principals, parents and pupils.

These have led to attempts to negotiate with top Government officials.

A uniform long-term demand by black teachers is the call for one single education system.

Yesterday, events staged by

Indian, coloured, African and even white groups included:

● After a visit to eight parents "sitting in" at the offices of the Department of Education and Training (DET), ANC leader Walter Sisulu signalled that the ANC was planning to get involved not only in the textbook shortage which resulted in the sit-in, but in the growing national education crisis as a whole.

The parents rejected the response by the DET that their demands would be addressed when schools returned to normal.

● At a press conference, the Congress of South Africa Stu-

dents (Cosas) announced that schools would stay open during the holidays as part of a defiance campaign.

● In Lenasia principals led a 3 km march involving more than 1 300 Transvaal Indian teachers, pupils and parents to the local office of the House of Delegates (HoD) to express their "total dissatisfaction".

● Affiliates of the white teacher body, the Teachers' Federal Council (TFC), are split on the TFC's decision to suspend co-operation with the Minister of National Education, Gene Louw.

There are rumours of a possi-

ble split within the TFC following Mr Louw's decision to meet the non-racial National Teacher Unity Forum a few weeks ago.

● About 7 000 coloured parents, teachers and children marched to the regional offices of the House of Representatives in central Johannesburg and submitted a list of grievances which resulted in the teachers staging a two-week "chalks-down". The teachers decided to continue the strike until July 10.

● The DET has asked Soweto teachers to collect their salary cheques from their area offices after midday today.

BACKGROUND

CIA casts long shadow over Mandela's US tour

The total bill for Nelson Mandela's 10-day tour of the United States could top R1 million, the organisers of his programme say.

Professor Roger Wilkins, national co-ordinator of the visit by the deputy president of the African National Congress, which starts in New York on June 20, told a press conference in Washington he estimated the total cost of the visit would be between \$300 000 and \$400 000 (R800 000 and R1 060 000).

The bulk of the cost would be paid by organised labour in America and from funds donated by individuals, organisations and corporations, he said.

Organised labour in the United States and individuals are footing the large bill for the visit by the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, next week. A report alleging CIA involvement in Mr Mandela's arrest is casting a shadow over the tour. **DAVID BRAUN** of The Star's Washington Bureau reports.

Professor Wilkins said money offered by companies doing business in South Africa, such as Coca-Cola, had been flatly refused.

He said it was difficult to assess how much money would eventually be needed for the tour as needs and staff grew by the day.

Two separate funds have been set up by the US organisers for Mr Mandela's trip.

The first, the Democracy for South Africa Fund, has been created specifically to raise money for tour expenses. The second, the Mandela Freedom Fund, is a registered US charity to raise tax-deductible dol-

lars for use by the ANC in South Africa.

The ANC's chief representative in Washington, Lindiwe Mabuza, said the ANC would probably eventually require between \$100 million and \$200 million (R267 million and R534 million) for its work in preparing for negotiations.

She said the money was needed to repatriate about 20 000 South Africans who had been exiled as well as to set up an ANC infrastructure.

The infrastructure needed in-

cluded new national headquarters; regional, divisional and local offices; office equipment; vehicles of every description; and an ANC newspaper.

Allegations that the US Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for tipping off the South African security forces as to the whereabouts of Mr Mandela when he was arrested three decades ago are starting to throw long shadows over the ANC leader's forthcoming tour of America.

Black Americans and anti-

apartheid activists are furious at the way the White House this week shrugged off the allegations, saying that the Bush administration could not be held responsible for anything that may have occurred during the Kennedy administration.

Activists believe President Bush should apologise to Mr Mandela if the allegations are founded. Mr Bush told reporters on Tuesday he had no comment on the report and that he had not looked into it.

Professor Wilkins said he

found the answers given by Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, to questions on the alleged CIA involvement in Mr Mandela's arrest "totally unacceptable".

Mr Fitzwater earlier this week took exception to being cross-examined on the issue, at first refusing to comment on intelligence matters and then storming out of the press briefing room at the White House.

He later returned, saying he should not be hammered for something that may have oc-

curred during the Kennedy years.

Professor Wilkins said he found it astonishing that the White House was prepared to accept the legacies of presidents in different centuries, such as those of Washington and Jefferson, but that it was so quick to distance itself from a presidency of only three decades ago.

He said the report of the CIA's involvement in Mr Mandela's arrest did not appear to be out of character for the CIA people in the 1960s, when attempts were made by the agency on the lives of Patrice Lumumba and Fidel Castro.

between the two organisations, it was by no means the first pact

... that, Inkatha and Cosatu concluded a peace treaty at the Durban Supreme Court in Septem-

few months, or even weeks, from now.

One thing is clear: the leaders of

# ANC advocates a mixed economy

After a three-day workshop between the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in Harare last month, delegations from the two organisations drew up recommendations on a post-apartheid economic policy.

The recommendations in the document, which has yet to be discussed and adopted by Cosatu and the ANC, were based on the observation that the South African economy was in a crisis and was consequently unable to meet the needs of the country's people.

The document advocates a mixed economy in which the State would play a leading role. Mass-based organisations and trade unions would, however, also be involved.

The document recommends that an ANC government makes taxation "more equitable and effective in many areas".

The expected expansion of income and employment would widen the tax base over time, and the burden of taxation would be shifted from individuals to corporations.

A future non-racial and democratic ANC government would play a leading role in the reconstruction of the country's economy, according to recommendations made to the ANC.

KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports

15/1/90

An ANC government, says the document, was not to borrow money from abroad to finance State expenditure, but would instead have to manage the overall budget and the budget deficit in accordance with its objective of socio-economic reconstruction and the re-distribution of income and wealth.

No details are given of how the State will raise money to finance its activities.

The document comes out in favour of the ANC's policy of nationalisation. The State, it is recommended, would retain existing nationalised industries and would be prepared as a matter of fundamental

policy to re-nationalise privatised State assets. New public corporations would also be set up in areas where they would be necessary.

Foreign investment in activities which led to increased employment and the development of local technological capabilities would be encouraged. However, foreign investors would be required to follow labour practices acceptable to the trade union movement.

An ANC government's first priority would be meeting the basic needs of the population such as food, housing, pensions, welfare and employment.

Recognising that land distribution was "a central national grievance", an ANC government, it is recommended, should commit itself to the immediate return of land to those removed from black freehold farms and the repossession of land by certain categories of labour tenants, as well as the redistribution of land and relocation of people by a land claims commission with grass-roots participation.

READERS' VIEWS

# Will ANC-PAC truce hold?

In what must certainly rank as a development of major political significance, two of the country's oldest anti-apartheid organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, have taken a bold practical step in the hope of ending the violence between their members.

On Tuesday, in the glare of the local and international media spotlight, representatives of the two organisations signed an agreement committing their members in the East Rand township of Vosloorus to political tolerance and respect for the other organisation's right to exist and canvass members.

Although this was the first such agreement which had been signed between the two organisations, it was by no means the first pact

In what is widely seen as an historic move, the ANC and the PAC this week signed an agreement committing their East Rand members to political tolerance and non-violence towards each other. Will the agreement hold? KAIZER NYATSUMBA, a political writer on The Star, looks at the agreement.

aimed at ending inter-organisational violence.

Over the past two years the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have been locked in talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha in an effort to terminate the violence which has left thousands of people dead in the townships of Natal.

Those talks eventually foundered.

Before that, Inkatha and Cosatu concluded a peace treaty at the Durban Supreme Court in September

1988. It did not hold.

Neither, sadly it seems, will the PAC-ANC treaty signed this week at the offices of the South African Council of Churches offices in Johannesburg.

Admittedly, the ANC-PAC agreement appears to be much tighter than the Inkatha-Cosatu agreement of 1988.

But based on past experience this agreement will be forgotten in a few months, or even weeks, from now.

One thing is clear: the leaders of

the various political organisations are committed to ending violence between their followers.

They have all, ranging from Inkatha president Chief Buthelezi through to PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, condemned inter-organisational violence and called for it to end.

But, as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela found out after urging the people of Natal to "throw your weapons into the sea", mere calls for peace by leaders are far from being enough.

It is members of these different organisations who will have to become reconciled.

They must learn that other organisations have an equal right to exist and that people have an inalienable right to belong to the organisation of their choice.

The young people in the townships around the country are generally very intolerant of opposing views.

A whole culture of intolerance was cultivated and nurtured in the townships during the 1984-86 unrest, when no dissenting views were entertained.

The situation has not changed much.

Moreover, those in the various ANC-affiliated youth organisations now believe themselves and their organisations too strong to need any peace talks with rivals.

Former journalist and University of South Africa political science lecturer Phil Mtimkulu, who specialises on black politics, shares this view.

The different organisations, Mr Mtimkulu said, had lost control of the youths who, while belonging to these organisations, did not recognise their leaders' authority.

"The agreement is a step forward," Mr Mtimkulu said, "but unfortunately it is unlikely to last long. It is the first agreement of its kind between the organisations. Their leaders have in the past addressed the issue through the press."

## ANC advocates a mixed economy

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# Right-wing denies ANC talks

Staff Reporter

**THE** Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday reacted with scorn to reports that right-wing groups had met with senior ANC officials, saying the ANC was its "natural enemy".

Said AWB spokesman Mr Kays Smit from the AWR's headquarters at Ventersdorp: "You fight the ANC, you don't speak to them."

The cat was set among the right-wing pigeons by Mr Nelson Mandela when he told a Strassburg news conference this week that the ANC had been talking to right-wing organisations in South Africa — and had asked them to soften their hostility towards President F W de Klerk.

An ANC source identified the right-wing

figures as Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff and Mr Chris Jooste, formerly of the South African Bureau for Race Relations (Sabra).

The meeting took place in Johannesburg two weeks ago and representatives from the ANC included Mr Reg September and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the source said.

The ANC's Western Cape media spokesman, Mr Trevor Manuel, said yesterday he was unable to put a reporter in touch with Mr September, the ANC's Western Cape coordinator.

Mr Jooste, contacted in Pretoria yesterday, said he was retired and no longer involved in politics. He denied all knowledge of such a meeting.

A woman who answered the telephone at

the Pretoria home of Prof Boshoff, who recently retired as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, said the professor was out of town and could not be reached.

Mr Smit said: "We won't speak to the ANC because we won't negotiate about the things which are ours."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was also quoted yesterday as saying the CP had not and would not meet with the ANC.

The Boere Bevrydingsbeweging (BVB) said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday it had no intention now or in the future of holding discussions with the ANC.

"We also want to say that the Boer people will not accept an ANC-ruled government over us and, least of all, an ANC president."

CAPE TOWN 15/6/90  
Mier issue taken to Supreme Court

AN action to stop the controversial move to sell off the land in Mier was instituted yesterday in the Northern Cape Supreme Court in Kimberley.

The legal step was taken by two Mier residents, Mr Nicolaas Vilander and Mr Jan Smith, against the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Andrew Julies, the management committee of Mier and the people scheduled to buy the land.

This follows the decision of the House of Representatives on Wednesday night to pass the Mier Rural Area Bill despite the opposition of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC in the Western Cape and other anti-apartheid groupings.

The Supreme Court action calls on Mr Julies to review his decision to privatise the trust land in Mier on the grounds that the sub-division of the land in the area was illegal in terms of the Rural Areas Act. It also alleged that the House of Representatives had leased out the communal land in Mier illegally since 1980.

The lawyers acting for the Mier Residents' Association sent a letter to Mr Julies on February 16 this

year, warning him that the sub-division and sale of the land in the area was illegal.

Mr Julies did not reply to the letter, but the bill passed on Wednesday night has retrospective provisions which attempt to legalise previous decisions about the sub-division of land in the area.

However, the Supreme Court action could render the bill ineffective.

Yesterday, the ANC in the Western Cape in a statement issued by its regional co-ordinator, Mr Trevor Manuel, said no amount of justification by the Labour Party could wish away the "callous" Mier bill.

In a retrogressive move, LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had chosen to dispossess the rural poor to quell the disquiet in his own party, it said.

It added that President FW de Klerk should now be held to his commitment to address the Land Act and he should not sign the bill.

"If all else fails, this retrogressive legislation must be rendered unworkable by mass action," the statement said.

# Buthelezi and Mangope 'not factors in SA'

Own Correspondent

ROME. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made his first sharp attack during his European tour on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Chief Lucas Mangope, denouncing them as government puppets.

He said both the Inkatha leader and the Bophuthatswana president were now playing diminished roles in events in South Africa.

The ANC deputy president said Mr Mangope had been overthrown by the people of Bophuthatswana but was then put back in power and kept there by the South African government.

"I don't think he is any factor at all in what is going on in South Africa," Mr Mandela said, and added: "Buthelezi is in no better position than Mangope."

He said Chief Buthelezi worked with the government in projects "which we don't believe are in the interests of the black people of South Africa".

Asked why he had not made a generous gesture when he met the pope yesterday and dropped the ANC's policy of armed struggle, Mr Mandela said this depended entirely on the South African government.

As long as the government continued to use violence the ANC would have to respond in kind. But he said the ANC wanted peace.



# Violence in SA raised at ANC meeting

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

THE African National Congress (ANC) yesterday held a meeting with leaders of the self-governing homelands at its Johannesburg head office.

At the meeting, held at the request of the homeland leaders, "a range of issues, including the future of the homelands and the on-going violence in the country" were discussed, according to a statement released by the ANC after the meeting.

All the self-governing homelands but Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu were represented by their leaders at the meeting which was chaired by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

## Women return

Meanwhile, the ANC will stage a rally in Soweto tomorrow to welcome home 13 members of its women's section who returned to the country a week ago.

The rally, to be held at Jabulani Amphitheatre from 10 am, will be addressed by ANC national executive committee members Ruth Mompoti and Gertrude Shope and ANC returnee Maviyi Manzini, as well as the co-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Albertina Sisulu.

Musicians Thembi Mtshali, Tsidi Leloka and Bayete will perform at the rally.



St 16/6/90

## NEWS

# FW feels time for games is over but ANC says the ball is still in his court

PRESIDENT de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela disagree on two issues in the run-up to negotiations — sanctions and the armed struggle. Mr de Klerk has toured Europe, and Mr Mandela is in the process of doing so, trying to enlist European support for their respective views.

The leaders of the European Community are expected to give their verdict at the important EC Heads of State summit in Dublin on June 25. But how far has Mr de Klerk gone in fulfilling the prerequisites set by the African National Congress for negotiations?

Mr de Klerk, arguing from the premise that South Africa is "irrevocably on the road to far-reaching constitutional change", contends that the time for sanctions is past and that continued armed struggle is inimical to a negotiated settlement.

Mr Mandela disagrees, arguing that the process of change is not yet irreversible and that sanctions and the armed struggle must be maintained until it is. On the

armed struggle Mr Mandela adds a corollary: its final cessation cannot be brought about by the ANC unilaterally but only through a mutually binding ceasefire.

Whatever their differences, however, the two men agree on the need to establish a "climate for negotiations".

The ANC-initiated Harare Declaration permeates the thinking of Mr Mandela and his fellow ANC leaders. It proclaims: "It is essential before any negotiations take place that the necessary climate for negotiations be created."

### Five conditions

Mr de Klerk, perhaps influenced by the declaration's terminology, speaks of "endeavouring to create a climate for negotiations" and declares that "the time for political games is past".

The Harare Declaration lists five conditions it considers essential for creating the right climate for negotiations.

They are: the unbanning of all prohibited organisations; release

### PATRICK LAURENCE

of political prisoners and removal of restrictions on individual activists; lifting of the State of Emergency and the repeal of security legislation circumscribing political activity; cessation of political trials and executions; and removal of troops from the townships.

Mr de Klerk has gone a long way towards meeting the conditions since Friday, February 2, or — as right-wing zealots have dubbed it — "Red Friday".

He has lifted restrictions on outlawed organisations, including the SA Communist Party and the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He has, of course, released Mr Mandela and literally scores of lesser known political prisoners, adding 48 former prisoners to the list hardly more than 10 days ago.

He has partially lifted the State of Emergency, leaving it in place only in Natal where civil strife between pro-ANC and pro-Inkatha

forces has assumed the proportions of the Lebanese conflict.

A moratorium has been declared on all executions and "terrorism" has been taken has been taken off the list of capital offences, except in times of war.

A general amnesty is thought to be in the pipeline following the establishment of a joint Government-ANC working committee to advise on two critical issues: a definition of political offences and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity for political offences "inside and outside South Africa".

Mr de Klerk has signalled his readiness to implement its proposals. The ANC, however, has delayed its response until July 10.

Its decision to do so is seen in Government circles as a tactical manoeuvre to delay implementation until after Mr Mandela has completed his current tour of Europe and the United States. Its fear is reckoned to be that implementation will complicate Mr Mandela's task of persuading Eu-

ropean and American leaders to keep sanctions in place.

Except in Natal, troops have been largely removed from the townships.

Measured by the criteria of the Harare Declaration, Mr de Klerk has thus gone a long way towards creating a "climate for negotiations". The ANC, however, thinks he has not gone far enough.

### Precondition

There are indications that it will press for the lifting of the emergency in Natal as a condition for negotiations, on the grounds that it inhibits "free political activity" there, a precondition set by the Harare Declaration.

As a pro-ANC man in the thick of the Natal struggle observes: "Our perspective is that the emergency is not contributing at all to peace but is providing a cover for the security forces, warlords and vigilantes to crush us."

The ANC's position is inimical to Mr de Klerk's standing with the white electorate. It projects

him as a man who is buckling under pressure from the ANC, as an appeaser rather than a statesman trying to avoid — in his words — "an Armageddon".

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht strikes a chord in an increasing number of whites when he accuses Mr de Klerk of making concessions in a bid to satisfy the ANC.

Mr Treurnicht, who talks unabashedly of white *lebensraum*, asserts of the ANC: "They are going to tell him (De Klerk) to give, give, and they are going to take."

The Umlazi by-election on June 6, where there was a 27 percent swing to the CP, sounded a warning bell: defeat at the polls for President de Klerk in a white election or referendum — to which he is committed — can no longer be dismissed as absurd.

The CP and its allies on the ultra-right may not be able to halt the tide of history, but they may well ensure that it will be red with blood when it swirls forward.

Ste 16/6/90 (114)

# Please fund ANC — FW

F. W

LONDON — South Africa has indicated that it would welcome European government funding for the African National Congress to help it re-establish itself as an organised political force in South Africa.

In yet another dramatic illustration of the South African Government's volte-face, President F W de Klerk is understood to have recently encouraged European leaders to fund the ANC.

Less than a year ago, European funding for organisations in South Africa thought to be sympathetic to the ANC was threatened by Government seizure.

The message Mr de Klerk gave European leaders on last month's European tour was that money was needed to bring home between 20 000 to 40 000 South African exiles, according to diplomatic sources in London, Brussels and Cape Town.

## Security

The Government's concern is that the exiles — many of them trained guerillas — would present a serious security problem if they returned to the country without homes and jobs.

The sources said Mr de Klerk had indicated that they should help the ANC to set up structures inside the country and function as a fully fledged political party.

But he emphasised money should go to all formerly banned black political organisations.

A South African diplomat suggested that money should be used to buy com-

## RICHARD DOWDEN in London PETER FABRICIUS in Cape Town

puters and other equipment needed to run a political organisation, and help with training in the electoral and democratic processes.

The South African Government also encouraged Western countries to give Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, an accolade worthy of a statesman during his current European tour.

The National Party Government needs to negotiate with a coherent organisation, not just leaders buoyed by nationalist sentiment.

It is understood to be concerned that unless Mr Mandela is more closely linked to his supporters by a structure, any negotiated settlement he and other ANC leaders thrash out will not stick.

The De Klerk Government also recognises that a well-organised ANC could bring discipline to the townships.

This week William Waldegrave, British Minister of State at the Foreign Office, announced a grant of £10 500 to the ANC in the form of "practical material support designed to help the organisation function as a political party". The government also gave £2 784 to the Pan Africanist Congress, which has rejected negotiations with the SA Government, and £4 681 to Inkatha.

The West German Government has also confirmed that it will help to establish exiles, probably with houses and perhaps with jobs.

West German diplomatic sources said they were unable to confirm how much aid would be provided.

# ANC Women's League launched by exiles

The Argus Correspondent

Argus 16/6/90 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress will soon launch its national Women's League whose priority will be to forge unity among all South African women.

Speaking at a press conference to introduce 13 senior members of the ANC Women's Section who returned to South Africa last Friday, Mrs Mittah Seperepere said the ANC Women's League, which was banned with the ANC in 1960, would be re-launched in South Africa on August 9.

Mrs Seperepere, a national executive committee member of the ANC's Women's Section, was one of 12 ANC women who arrived in the country to "re-build the ANC" and revive the Women's League. They include NEC members Gertrude Shope and Ruth Mompati.

"We feel the doors that have shut us out of our country have now been opened and it is now important to bring all the women of South Africa in

one unit so we can all speak with one voice.

"We feel it is time the government of South Africa implements the decisions of the talks about talks held in Cape Town in May, so that we, as well as all other exiles, will be back in the country not as people granted immunity or indemnity, but as South African citizens," said Mrs Mompati.

## UNITY AMONG WOMEN

The ANC Women's Section, Mrs Mompati said, would have to start from scratch to mobilise and canvass members, just as the South African Federation of Women, which the ANC Women's League was affiliated to, would.

It was not yet clear whether the federation would continue to exist or would be re-constituted.

The Women's League would seek to improve the role of women in the struggle and in South African society, to forge unity among South African women of all races and to launch campaigns to collect women's demands.

# So what was really under Nelson's bed?

THE South African Police have refused to release any details about the "dangerous murderer" they were allegedly seeking behind vases and inside drawers at Nelson Mandela's Soweto homes while he is on a 13-nation overseas tour.

The SAP this week stood by their claim that they were looking for a wanted murderer when they searched the African National Congress leader's homes.

But allegations made by Umkhonto we Sizwe members present during the searches seem to point to a "mystery" killer who is either a midget, dwarf or child.

MK spokesman Gibson Makhanda was reported last week as saying that police officers peered behind a flowerpot, in drawers, behind mirrors and in a toilet cistern during their search for a murder suspect who would have to be extremely diminutive to conceal himself in such cramped spaces.

Careful consideration of Mr Makhanda's allegations about police opening letters and perusing "every document they laid their hands on" could give another valuable pointer to the identity of the murder suspect: he is a spaghetti thin anorexic.

ANC members also alleged that police officers referred to "goggas" (guns) while conducting the searches. But the SAP's liaison chief, Brigadier Vic Haynes, said last week that the searches were for a murder suspect, not for firearms.

This week the Saturday Star set out to get some clarification and perhaps a description of the elusive "mystery murderer", who has apparently been on the run since 1988. This is what the police had to say:

## Police check vases for 'killer'

SUE OLSWANG

Lieutenant Marimuthoo of the Soweto police said: "Unfortunately I have no information as I was not here last week. Captain Ngubeni has the information, but he is not here. If you leave your number he will come back to you."

Captain J Ngubeni returned the call within an hour. He said: "Head office may have some knowledge about this. You must speak to Major Crewe at media liaison in Pretoria. I would first have to find out from them. You will get everything from Head Office. Speak to Brigadier Haynes."

### Warrant

Major Reg Crewe, however, was also "away" and our inquiry re-routed through a Lieutenant Barkhuizen, who said: "Didn't you see the media coverage last weekend and the comments made by Brigadier Haynes?"

"It was said the houses were searched by members of the Murder and Robbery Unit, who were looking for a suspect in a 1988 murder case. The houses were searched on the strength of a warrant.

"Unfortunately I have no other information here. You could try the Murder and Robbery Unit, but I don't think they'll give you more. You could also speak to Brigadier Haynes,

but he will only be here in the afternoons this week."

When Brigadier Haynes was eventually tracked down and asked for details, he said: "I will have to check with Soweto. I will check whether they want to make details available and then come back to you."

He came back to us later and said: "I've checked with them but they are not prepared to release anything at this stage. Captain Tienie Halgryn said he will keep tabs and we will contact you as soon as they are willing to release the identity."

The next step was to contact Colonel Frans Malherbe, spokesman for the Witwatersrand police. He was brief in his response: "That is Soweto. Phone Soweto."

Certain that the police must have some idea of the person they were looking for, we tried the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. His official spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, had this to say: "I can only refer to the police statement issued on the morning of the searches.

"It was clearly said that the houses were among those searched after information was received. The police were told a suspect could be in one of the houses searched.

"It was also clearly stated that the suspect had nothing to do with the Mandela family. The information received was that the suspect would try to hide in one of the houses during the Mandela's absence."

But when asked why police looked behind vases and inside mail, Brigadier Mellet retorted: "I cannot comment. I wasn't there so I can't comment — people can say all sorts of things happened. The SAP stands by the statement made on the morning of the searches."

So, be warned. There is a tiny, string-like murderer on the loose...

(11A) / Side 1 16/6/90

# ANC's economic blueprint

## How it proposes to redistribute income, wealth

The ANC's and Cosatu's economic plans for a post-apartheid South Africa were released yesterday. Saturday Star special writer CHRIS MOERDYK reports on the 11-page document that evolved from the two organisations' workshop on Economic Policy held in Harare in April this year.

TAX and agricultural reforms, nationalisation and the "dismemberment" of the concentration of economic power in the hands of the country's major industrial conglomerates are a few of many necessary steps needed to bring peace and economic revival to South Africa.

According to ANC and Cosatu economists, present-day South Africa is in a state of fundamental economic crisis, largely brought about by the "distortions of the apartheid system" as well as domestic production problems and a changing and destabilising international environment.

And, they say, none of the current strategies of the incumbent Government are likely to alleviate "poverty and mass deprivation".

To address these problems, a future "non-racial and democratic state" would have to follow an economic policy that aims to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power.

According to the recommendations, this strategy calls for the active restructuring of production to meet basic needs, the expansion of employment and the redistribution of incomes, wealth and economic power.

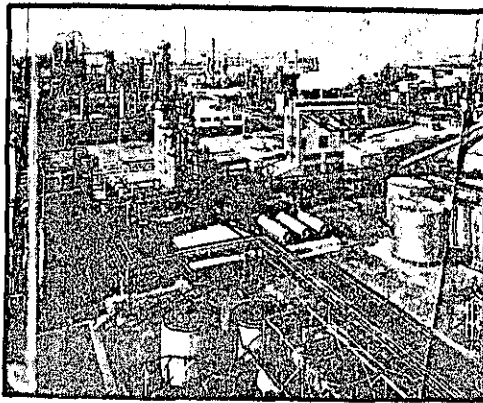
"Within the context of a mixed economy the state would assume the leading role in the reconstruction of the economy in order to facilitate the realisation of its developmental objectives."

This would necessitate some form of overall macro-economic planning and co-ordination, in which the state would involve mass-based organisations in planning, with the criteria for state involvement being "efficiency and effectiveness".

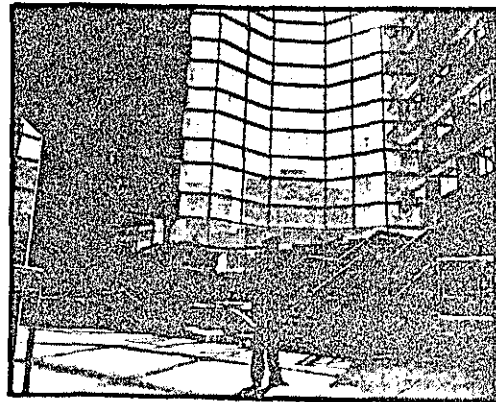
ANC and Cosatu economists recommend that the financing of the reconstruction of a mixed economy should fall on domestic savings — including personal savings.

"Foreign capital should support domestic savings and not be seen as a substitute."

Nationalisation, they say, should be an essential part of the economic reconstruction



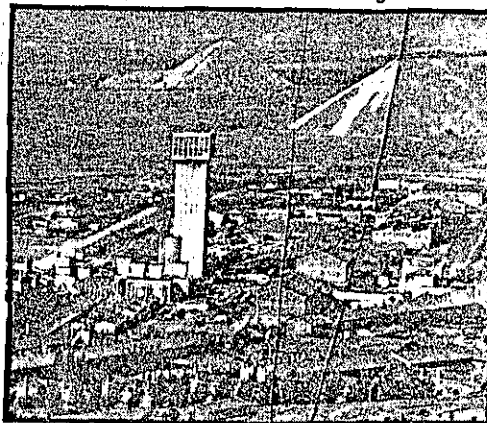
**NATIONALISATION:** This is essential for economic restructuring. State assets that have been privatised will be re-nationalised. Existing State organisations would be retained and new ones set up where necessary. Collective ownership and co-operatives would be encouraged



**CORPORATIONS:** The extreme concentration of economic power is detrimental to growth, so there would be a re-distribution of wealth, incomes and power. Certain corporations would be dismembered into units and the tax burden would be shifted to corporations.



**FISCAL POLICY:** in which mass involvement. Borrowing current State capital for reconstruction on domestic sources



**MINING:** Workers demands would be acknowledged and discrimination removed. Strategic State investment in mines, the stabilising of mineral prices through cartels and the creation of a State Marketing Authority to handle all marketing of minerals with other producer countries.



**LAND RE-DISTRIBUTION:** A Land Commission would be established to oversee re-distribution of land and relocation of people. Land would be returned to those removed from freehold farms and land would be repossessed for certain categories of labour tenants.



**WOMEN:** "Women relegated to back action would be the problems outside the work, women as reg"

programme. The new government should retain existing nationalised industries and should be prepared as a matter "of fundamental policy" to re-nationalise privatised state assets. It should also set up new state corporations where necessary.

"Nationalised industries would operate within strict budgetary controls and they would not become vehicles for the enrichment of a large bureaucracy. In addition to these measures, the (new) government would also facilitate forms of collective ownership including co-operatives."

The democratic forces, say the economists, do not recognise, and find morally reprehensible, the present government's attempts — through privatisation, deregulation and other legislative means — to weaken the new state's ability to intervene to restructure the economy.

With regard to mining, they believe that demands of mine workers should be acknowledged. Measures should be initiated to root out racist labour practices on the mines.

The new government should investigate the use of fiscal poli-

cy to encourage venture capital in new mines and the possibility of the state making strategic investments in mines should also be considered.

"In view of the declining and volatile nature of mineral prices, the policy of stabilising mineral prices through the formation of cartels would be seriously considered. The formation of a State Minerals Marketing Authority would be investigated. Such an agency would control all minerals marketing and enter into marketing agreements with other producing countries."

The document also referred to the "recent shift of De Beers control to Switzerland" as a serious development. "Potential disinvestment of this type should be an urgent item in negotiations."

The new state should also undertake tax reforms to make taxation more equitable and effective in many areas.

"At present the tax burden is carried disproportionately by individuals through both personal direct taxation and indirect taxation. The new state would begin the process of shifting the

burden of taxation, especially towards the corporations."

The economists also see the existing "extreme concentration of economic power" as being detrimental to the achievement of balanced economic growth in the interests of all the people of South Africa.

A new government, they say, would have to investigate this concentration of economic power with the objective of promoting a more efficient and effective use of resources.

"Where feasible, a policy of dismemberment of (industrial) conglomerates into units would be pursued to make the operation of conglomerates more compatible with the overall development objectives of the state."

According to the ANC and Cosatu recommendations, the issue of state expenditure and overall fiscal policy is particularly important with regard to current macro-economic imbalances including inflation and balance of payments deficits.

"A future non-racial democratic government would not replicate the recent practice of using borrowings to finance cur-

rent state expenditure.

"The overall budget and budget deficit would be managed according to criteria determined by the state. Those criteria will be in accordance with our objectives of socio-economic reconstruction and the redistribution of income and wealth."

The current capital market say the two organisations, do not sufficiently direct investment into productive activities nor into crucial areas of infrastructure, such as housing which a new government would want to develop.

"The new government would seek to rationalise and restructure the financial sector and develop new institutional arrangements for both the primary and secondary bond markets."

"Current financial deregulation policies and monetary policy exacerbates the problems of the present financial system. To correct this requires direct state intervention, including stabilisation."

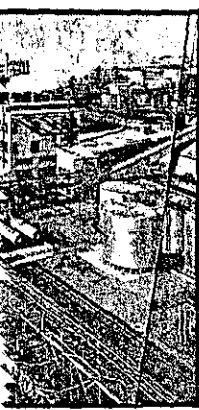
The organisations' economists also recommend pursuing economic change control measures in order to retain domestic savings within the country and to pro-



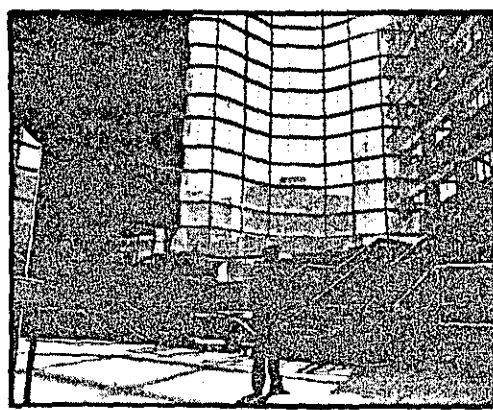
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# economic blueprint

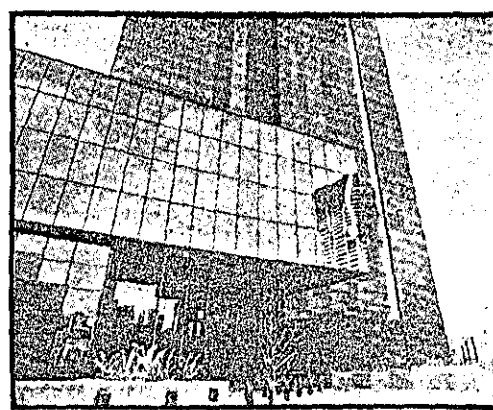
## redistribute income, wealth and economic power



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ages), retraining and the deployment of resources from apartheid-oriented projects into employment-creating economic activities.

A (new) government should encourage the trade unions to play a role in employment creation through collective bargaining over resources for employment creation and by encouraging the direction of pension and provident fund investment capital towards productive investments in employment creating activities.

Government would also bear ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare and pensions. This would be exercised in the context of the negotiated provision of welfare benefits between capital and labour, and of private provision by those groups able to provide for themselves.

"The possibility of a national compulsory retirement scheme, underwritten by the state, would be investigated."

In the only section of the document that refers to the plight of a specific sector of society, the economists believe that one of the legacies of apartheid and its economic system is discrimination against women.

"Women have been marginalised and relegated to being victims of unemployment and low wage employment. The new state would strive to promote the rapid integration of women into economic activity and promote the removal of gender inequalities in employment. A programme of action would be mounted by the state to address the problems of gender discrimination in and outside the workplace and to provide support for women, especially in areas such as ante and post-natal care."

The ANC and Cosatu economists believe SA agriculture is facing "a major crisis both in the advanced capitalist sector and in the black rural areas".

Land distribution, they say, is a "central national grievance" and raising agricultural production is vital to the future economic prospects of the country.

A future government should, among other things, commit itself to:

- The immediate return of land to those removed from black freehold farms and the repossession of land by certain categories of labour tenants.
- Redistribution of land and relocation of people by a land claims commission with grassroots participation.
- Promoting various forms of production, including small-holder production, co-operatives and joint ventures.
- Providing a secure food supply at affordable prices.
- Promoting rapid unionisation and encouraging rural community organisations to redress historical injustices and protect jobs and worker rights.
- State intervention on environmental issues to sustain the long-term production capacity of land.

ty to encourage venture capital in new mines and the possibility of the state making strategic investments in mines should also be considered.

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The organisations' economists also recommend pursuing exchange control measures in order to retain domestic savings within the country and to pre-

vent destabilising speculative capital flows. In essence, the current exchange controls would continue in modified form.

They believe that foreign investment on terms consistent with developmental goals, should be encouraged.

Foreign investors should particularly be asked to invest in activities which lead to increased employment and the development of local technological capabilities. They would, however, be required to follow labour practices acceptable to the trade union movement.

The state and the trade union movement should also be legislatively empowered to ensure that foreign investors reinvest productively to promote continued growth.

ANC and Cosatu economists believe that the current state strategy of seeking to create employment through deregulation and privatisation is not a solution and should be opposed.

They say employment creation should be addressed through public works programmes (of which housing projects hold distinct advan-

# Join us or die, residents

## Inkatha man alleges killing, burning by ANC cadres

BOB FREAN

Star 16/6/90

DURBAN — An Inkatha Youth organiser from Ulundi alleges that African National Congress members in Nhlahlakale township near Greytown have run a recruitment campaign and have killed, burnt and maimed people and burnt the houses and threatened people who refused to join.

The man, Toti Zulu, who has gone to Greytown to study the violence, says that ANC men with AK-47 rifles have blocked off the part of the township so that Inkatha and non-aligned people cannot get to Greytown.

This left Inkatha supporters and non-aligned people with no alternative but to take steps to free their passage. "We Inkatha people are sounding this warning because we respect the law."

He alleges that ANC people have forced residents to pay from R100 to R300, and told the residents that the money would be used to buy firearms to "eliminate" Inkatha supporters or township councillors.

Mr Zulu said that the following Inkatha members or non-aligned people have been killed for refusing to join the ANC:

- James Chemane, whose family has left out of fear;
- S Xaba, an Inkatha member and township councillor;
- a Mr Zuma, a non-aligned member; and
- a Mr Ngunzane, an Inkatha member.

### Refused to pay

● A pupil, Wilcliff Dlamini, and Dumisane Dladla were wounded. The shop and two vehicles belonging to the mayor, Joachim Ndlovu, were burnt down because he refused to pay the money, Mr Zulu said, adding that AK-47 rifles have been used several times in attempts to eliminate the Inkatha chairman T Zondi, and committee members D Dladla and M Zakhwe.

Major Pieter Kitching, police liaison officer in Maritzburg, has confirmed some of the deaths and shootings but said that there was no record of Wilcliff Dlamini being wounded.

He could not say whether any hit squads were responsible.

Meanwhile Solomon Mzolo, of Maphanga Road, Nhlahlakale, appeared in the Greytown Magistrate's Court on Tuesday charged with two counts of illegal possession of weapons and two of possession of ammunition. His arrest followed a routine police search of the township.

He was charged with the possession of a 6,35 mm pistol and a home-made firearm which takes 9 mm cartridges. It was loaded.

Ammunition for both these weapons and an AK-47 rifle cartridge were allegedly found.



SEE, I DID IT!: Myriam Meier proudly shows off her new flying licence. And proud!

## Gang beat innocent man

LONDON — A gang of youths took their own revenge when a girl claimed that she had been raped: they stripped naked a 19-year-old student then tortured him while the "victim" watched, a court heard last week.

But they had picked on an innocent man. The girl had lied.

Victoria Greenslade (18) had willingly consented to sex with fellow college student Brian Tozer but told her boyfriend she had been raped for fear he would find out about it, Winchester Crown Court was told.

She told the four-strong revenge squad formed by John Gilfedder where they could find Mr Tozer — sitting alone by his grandmother's grave — and went with them to watch the 10-minute attack.

Mr Anthony Davies, prosecuting, said that Mr Tozer, of Roman Road, Andover, blacked out three times after

he was stripped naked, then given karate chops, punched and kicked

Gilfedder (20), and three teenagers pleaded guilty and were sent to a young offenders' institute for 12 months.

Judge Alexander Lauriston QC said the decision not to prosecute Miss Greenslade "seems very strange indeed. I hope that Victoria Greenslade now realises the evil and wickedness of the lies she told".

Miss Greenslade, now four months pregnant by her new boyfriend, said: "I was worried what John would do if he found out I had been with another man.

Mr Tozer, a builder, said: "She came round two days after I was beaten up to say sorry. But I was too angry to forgive her. I asked her why they did it and she said it was a joke. Some joke. I am still having medical treatment."

— Daily Mail, London.

## At age 53 she has her

FOR 53-year-old Myriam Meier her pilot's licence this week was a lifetime dream come true.

Mrs Meier, wife of Myriam Meier, the general manager of Swiss Air Johannesburg, said that at the age of 15 she had yearning to be in the air.

"At 15 I decided I would like to become an air hostess, but unfortunately when I left school I did a secretarial course.

She said when she and her husband arrived in South Africa last year she said to her: "This is where you can make your dream come true."

MANAGEMENT COLLEGE



# Mandela mission 'successful'

CJ Press 17/6/90

NELSON Mandela, midway through a world tour to persuade governments to maintain sanctions against South Africa until apartheid is abolished, said on Friday he felt his mission so far had been successful.

He told a news conference in Rome after talks with Italian leaders and Pope John Paul that his ANC delegation was "very encouraged indeed".

Mandela said he did not share the pessimism of some observers that the European Community (EC) might decide at its Dublin summit on June 25 to dismantle sanctions against the South African government.

Rome takes over presidency of

the EC on July 1 for six months. Mandela said Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and the ANC "see eye to eye" on sanctions, agreeing that European countries should maintain the measures for the time being.

"We came out of our meeting with Andreotti satisfied that we have his ear and this is the same position with the rest of the countries we have visited," Mandela said. "We have come away with the feeling that our mission is successful."

Italian officials said Andreotti pledged to keep the ANC informed of any changes of attitude within the EC on sanctions.

They did not report Andreotti as making any firm commitment on the question.

Mandela has previously visited France, Switzerland and West Germany. But despite public acclaim in Paris and Bonn, he won no commitment from leaders there to maintain the international trade embargo.

He said he did not wish to speculate on the possibility of the EC going against the ANC recommendations.

"I have had discussions with heads of state and what they say is something I cannot doubt.

"We want to make it clear we do not think it necessary to re-

ward De Klerk. In our view he has done nothing to deserve any reward. The initiative for the peace talks that are taking place today has come from the ANC alone," he said.

Earlier, Mandela had a 25-minute private audience with the Pope at the Vatican and asked him to take a clear position in support of sanctions.

Mandela said he realised the Catholic Church was not in a position to impose sanctions itself.

The Pope "indicated they were putting moral pressure to induce the South African government to abandon apartheid."  
- Sapa-Reuter.

# Schools decide to ignore holidays

By SOPHIE TEMA

(IA) (20)

C/Press 17/6/90  
be deemed to be on unpaid leave.

Schools officially closed on June 15 and reopen on July 10.

At a Press conference in Soweto this week, Cosas executive members said the decision not to close schools was supported by all education organisations and the pupils.

Cosas said the move followed the breakdown in education in the PWV areas as a result of the failure by the Department of Education and Training (DET) to provide pupils with textbooks.

The executive said parents and others concerned had also supported the Cosas move.

The executive told the Press conference the move was to prepare pupils for the examinations they hoped to write from July 3, whereafter schools would go into a short recess from July 13 to August 1.

The executive said this was also part of a defiance campaign against the

DET for not having yet provided pupils with books halfway into the year.

Cosas said there was a gross shortage of books in black schools and quoted instances where 10 pupils had to share a single textbook.

It said the demand for basic learning materials which the DET failed to supply resulted in Cosas calling on school principals to absent themselves from their schools and report to the department offices in Booyens to press authorities into supplying books.

"we again requested all principals to submit lists or requisitions of their demands and in the meantime report to the DET offices daily to indicate the seriousness of the situation.

"Principals had until now not shown their commitment towards the education crisis but we still would not agree to expel or suspend principals from the schools and we stand by our principals.

"Cosas recognises them as principals

and heads of schools and all we asked them to do was to disband the Principals' Council which was set up by the DET and join teachers' organisations."

In a statement, Cosas said: "The government has deliberately denied students an opportunity to learn. The first semester has gone by and no adequate stationery or necessary requirements have been made available.

"If education is brought to a standstill it will be as a result of the negligence of the government and the DET. We therefore call on both departments to supply all students with books immediately."

Cosas said the DET should also consider the shortage of desks and other furniture in schools, overcrowding in classrooms and the number of damaged classrooms and broken windows.

See Page 2



FORGING FRIENDSHIPS . . . Mandela with Dutch President Ruud Lubbers

## All the deputy president's men

5 Times 17/16/90

11A

THE success of Nelson Mandela's sprint across Europe has been assured by a small, competent and devoted delegation of 12 men and women — including his wife, Winnie.

By IAN HOBBS: The Hague

Everyone from Winnie down refers to the courtly Mr Mandela respectfully as the "old man" or "Madiba".

Ngoaki Ramathodi, the merry intellectual in charge of press matters, said: "We all feel the aura of Mandela. We are South Africans who are being treated with respect wherever we go. This is the new South Africa and soon all our people will share it around the world. "It is immensely satisfying. Perhaps that is

why we are all able to work so hard and still feel elation rather than exhaustion."

After Mr Mandela, the undoubted key figure in the delegation is Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's smooth-but-tough foreign affairs spokesman.

Mr Mbeki, who has formed personal relationships with many European political leaders and heads of state in the past decade, has worked 20-hour days as the composer-in-chief of the ANC deputy president's sometimes stunning speeches to key European audiences.

Two of Mr Mandela's oldest friends and confidants, ANC treasurer general Thomas Nkobi and Natal academic Ismail Meer, provide close companionship and share his judgments on political strategy and analysis.

Playing the role of doctor and friend is Mandela's personal physician, Dr Prem Naicker.

Dr Naicker, who went into exile in 1967 and trained in Britain and Moscow, was outraged and disgusted when some South African and European media claimed Mr Mandela was seriously sick on the first leg of the tour.

He maintains that Mr Mandela has the body and drive of a man half his age.

### Privilege

Dr Naicker grumbled: "My least worry is Nelson Mandela. It's the others. They all suddenly discover aches and pains on long and arduous tours like this."

The two men closest of all to Mr Mandela are his polished security and protocol secretaries, burly Basil Mavuso and Kingsley Makhubela.

With the constant danger of an attack, the two highly trained men work with European anti-terrorist and special branch forces to maintain a 24-hour watch.

Mr Mavuso, whose easy-going personality belies his threatening muscle power, went into exile from Soweto during the 1976 uprisings.

Mr Makhubela, who now lives in "the parliament" — Mr Mandela's house in Soweto — said: "We obviously have to be on our guard at all times. But this is not just a job to us. It is a privilege."

### Tremendous

Winnie, looking more relaxed than she has in years despite the heavy programme, is accompanied by her personal aide, Lusaka-based ANC intellectual Agnes Lieta.

Meanwhile some European Community governments were still wavering on the sanctions issue yesterday as Mr Mandela ended his triumphal 10-day tour of the continent in the Hague before jetting to London for weekend with ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

There are clear indications that some of the 12 European Community countries will act individually to "reward" President FW de Klerk by offering him "gestures" on sanctions.

But Mr Mandela yesterday insisted he had won "tremendous support" in every country he visited for his argument that sanctions must remain in place for the sake of the rest of Africa.

He said all the governments had also agreed to give substantial aid to help repatriate and resettle 20 000 ANC exiles.

# ANC top of pops at Soweto rally

11A  
8 Times 12/6/98

By MANDLA TYALA

THE ANC attracted a reported 70 000 crowd at a June 16 rally at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium yesterday, while rivals PAC and Azapo drew smaller audiences.

It was the first time in the 14 years since the 1976 Soweto riots that the main resistance groups were able to commemorate the day lawfully and openly. No violence was reported.

Spokesmen for ANC-aligned youth groups went out of their way to deflect charges that they were hard-liners and did not wholly support their older leadership's participation in talks with President F W de Klerk.

They vowed to intensify

"mass action to strengthen the ANC's position at the negotiating table".

The gathering was also addressed by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and international singer Miriam Makeba, who held aloft a metre-long candle she said had been given to her 16 years ago by East German youths to pass on to their South African counterparts.

**DOMINIC JONES** reports that in troubled Welkom, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche led 150 khaki-clad supporters in a protest against the detention without trial of two suspected AWB bombers.

# Only US elite will dine with Mandela

S/Tues 17/6/90

By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

POLITICIANS, celebrities and other high-rollers who have not yet received their invitations are facing an unpleasant fact this weekend: they are not going to meet Nelson Mandela.

And it's caused more than a few hard feelings because, for the foreseeable future, the benchmark for being "in" will be whether you've pumped the great man's hand.

For some the price of getting close to Mr Mandela has been high — R60 000-a-plate for dinner.

For others, R25-a-head rallies in Detroit and Oakland will have to do. For the rest, T-shirts, satin Mandela "tour" jackets or bronze busts will be as close as they will ever get to the man.

People are able to forgive the organisers for all but shutting out the white establishment, but what's made them sore is that no one from Mr Mandela's supposed constituency — the poor and downtrodden — has any hope

of meeting him. 11A

Brooklyn, where many blacks live, will only see Mr Mandela through the tinted glass of his limo as he sweeps past on his way to Manhattan.

Harlem, however, is to be treated to a speech at African Square.

"What's sad about the situation is that it was an opportunity for nobler ideas to come forward, but there is a feeling that it has been reduced to political hardball," Dawad Philip, editor of Brooklyn's largest black newspaper said.

But now that the cacophony of requests and pleadings has died down a schedule has been released, Press accreditations arranged for more than 3 000 journalists and an official licensee, ProServ, appointed to keep Mandela momentos "tasteful".

# ANC invited to join Wits body

SIT <sup>times</sup> 17/6/90

By FELICITY LEVINE

(HA)

(SR)

THE ANC has been invited by Wits University to serve on a special committee to advise on student policy. Wits vice-chancellor, Professor Robert Charlton, said yesterday the organisation had been invited to nominate two

members for a 12-person ad hoc committee to advise the senate on university "admissions and exclusions".

"We feel the time has come to let the ANC participate in university practices," Professor Charlton said.

The 12-person board would include eight representatives of the senate and students, two members of the ANC and two representatives from the National Education Crisis Committee.

"Failures among black students are very high, so I hope the presence of the ANC on the committee will put a stop to accusations of discrimination," said Professor Charlton.

Mr Mohammed Valli, secretary of the ANC interim leadership corps, said the two members had not yet been chosen.

Professor Mike de Vries, rector of the University of Stellenbosch, said yesterday the move was "dangerous".

"It's unwise to allow an outside body to prescribe to a university or to take part in policy-making."

# Negotiations controversy hits PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress is embroiled in a dispute about whether it should soften its stand on negotiations with the Government.

At the centre of the controversy are two policy documents presented recently by internal general secretary Benny Alexander.

One is an economic policy document in which Mr Alexander reportedly concedes weaknesses in the organisation and acknowledges the inevitability of joining the negotiation process.

The other is a position paper that spells out conditions for negotiations. These are that the Government must concede:

- Straightforward majority rule;
- Redistribution of resources, particularly the land; *S/Times 17/6/90*
- A constituent assembly based on "one-person-one-vote on a common voters' roll of Azanians 18 years and older".

Both documents represent a shift in the PAC's long-held position that the Government should step down and hand over power to the black majority.

By MANDLA TYALA and  
TERRY van der WALT

The PAC has recently described as a betrayal the African National Congress's decision to enter into negotiations with the Government and insisted that State President F W de Klerk should "surrender".

Mr Alexander, the administrative head of the internal PAC, has found himself taking flak not only from Africanist formations inside the country but also from a group which claims to represent the sentiments of the external PAC.

He said yesterday he was not unduly perturbed by the attacks because the documents were only circulated for discussion.

Mr Alexander said the PAC's position had not changed and the documents did not contain preconditions for negotiations, but pointers to why the PAC believed the Government had not changed.

Meanwhile, a London-based member of

the PAC's national executive committee and the Natal regional chairman this week claimed there was a clique in the organisation which was hampering its efforts to gain broad-based support and recognition in the new political climate. (11A)

The two officials denounced as "impostors" members of the organisation including those in the PAC internal wing who had been making inflammatory and war-mongering statements such as "one settler-one bullet".

In an interview in Durban, Prince Velekhaya Shange, PAC Natal chairman, said there were "Trotskyites" in the PAC who were striking fear in the hearts of whites instead of creating goodwill and assuring them of a secure future in the country.

He said foreign funding was drying up. There were instances where churches and benevolent societies were not prepared to give money to the PAC although they gave freely to other liberation movements.

# Mandela: A tale



ALL SMILES ... but Helmut Kohl believes sanctions should be lifted



ALLIES ... Nelson and Winnie with Foreign Minister Gensche.

ALWAYS a stagey city, Paris was at its stagiest when Nelson and Winnie Mandela began their world tour in the French capital.

They strode across the wide stage of a famous Parisian landmark at a slow and stately pace to meet President and Mrs Mitterrand — all against the backdrop of an illuminated Eiffel Tower and to the sound of 100 violins playing "Nkosi Sikelele-l'Afrika".

There were ringing speeches and symbolism aplenty designed to recall that this was the capital city of the Rights of Man, receiving the world's best known ex-political prisoner who became man of the moment.

### Message

That this megastar treatment has not turned Mr Mandela's head, and that he retains his dignity, directness and charm, says almost as much for his psychological solidity as does his apparent lack of prisoner's bitterness.

Handed the stage in Paris, Mr Mandela used it to great effect in putting over his message: "Keep up sanctions pressure", and "Don't abandon us in the last mile of our marathon".

It is a theme he later hammered home in addressing other audiences. At the European



Parliament in Strasbourg last Wednesday, lifting of sanctions: European Comm. summit in Dublin. this month would disaster, and he ex, confidence this would happen.

So, to what extent Mr Mandela's mission neutralise that of President De Klerk in and elsewhere?

De Klerk's visit obviously much low-key — no strings and lights Eiffel Tower. But were unexpected and some meet minds. The 'Big C' the Botha days gave to a De Klerk that lot of diplomatic was made. France

Industrial Council Wage Rates



OPINION 2

# A tale of two cities



Nelson and Winnie with Foreign Minister Genscher, who believes sanctions should stay

MYSTERY ... Francois Mitterrand didn't make promises

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## Despite megastar treatment, he kept his dignity in PARIS says Desmond Colborne of the South Africa Foundation

Parliament in Strasbourg last Wednesday, he said lifting of sanctions at the European Community summit in Dublin later this month would be a disaster, and he expressed confidence this would not happen.

So, to what extent did Mr Mandela's message neutralise that of President De Klerk in Paris and elsewhere?

De Klerk's visit was obviously much more low-key — no singing strings and lights on the Eiffel Tower. But there were unexpected smiles and some meeting of minds. The 'Big Chill' of the Botha days gave way to a De Klerk thaw, and a lot of diplomatic mileage was made. France is seen

as holding a swing vote on sanctions policy in the European Community.

"Which way France jumps," said a British expert, "would be crucial".

### Bankrupt

But given the almost cosmic significance bestowed on Mr Mandela's visit to Paris and, given Mr Mitterrand's reputation as a master of ambiguity, France, despite its rethink on the sanctions issue, might prefer not to jump just yet — not in Dublin anyway.

President Mitterrand has just completed a visit to countries in the Indian Ocean area, where South

Africa's economic influence is particularly palpable.

He returns to France to participate in the Franco-African summit at a time of deepening Afro-pessimism. Africa is seen as economically and politically bankrupt, drowning in debt and demography.

President Mitterrand is surely aware that if these alarming African trends are to be reversed, South Africa must play the role of economic locomotive.

Other European politicians, such as the former chairman of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, are saying that "South Africa's role is to be Europe's development partner in Africa".

It's a message I, too,

was able to put over on major French television programmes recently and the idea is gaining ground.

Despite all this, however, the glorification of Mandela is such that when he appeals to Europeans and others to maintain sanctions, his appeals are difficult to resist — for the time being, anyway.

And if this deprives President De Klerk of an immediate and visible reward for his political courage that he can show to his wavering electorate, many a European leader would regret this.

### Braving

But they would add that whatever is said at the Dublin summit, sanctions, like the cultural boycott before them, are crumbling, withering on the branch.

At a practical level, normal diplomatic and economic relations are being restored between South Africa and other

countries. Leading politicians in Europe court Mr Mandela's presence and the photo opportunities it gives them.

But they are also braving the boycotters and going out to South Africa to "see for themselves". Visiting the country at the moment is France's Secretary of State for Humanitarian Aid, Bernard Kouchner, on the first official visit by a deputy minister since 1975.

### Adieu

France's rugby bosses visited recently — possibly to discuss a tour.

And business missions are also on the move. An important group visiting Namibia, and also South Africa, arrives next week, led by former Minister Jean-Pierre Prouteau, now French business's "Mr Africa".

Given all this, no wonder a major French news-magazine was able to give this verdict: "Sanctions-adieu".

SI Times 17/6/90

38: R 29.41

38: R 36.45

NELSON MANDELA was made welcome for two days as an official guest of the Bonn government.

Although his presence was reported in the media and space was given to his call for continued sanctions against South Africa, at no stage, however, was he headline news.

This was not for want of sympathy with him, let alone because he failed to impress. Quite the contrary. It was simply that issues nearer home loomed larger. The German question swamped everything.

The key issue at all meetings, needless to say, was the question of sanctions. While the liberal SPD endorsed the standpoint taken by the ANC, the Christian Democratic Union repeated its known reservations on this score.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself had never been a believer in the coercive measures taken by the European Community in 1986 and he now agrees with those who feel that the conditions laid down at that time for their repeal have been fulfilled — if not to the last letter, then certainly in substance and in spirit.

He concurs that President De Klerk needs support against his domestic detractors. Chancellor Kohl believes a new non-racial order in South Africa would have no chance of survival if its economic health were impaired.

Given the inevitability of a black-led administration in the country, he feels it makes no sense to worsen the social and economic



## Sympathy, not big headlines greeted the ANC leader in BONN, says Rudolf Gruber of the South Africa Foundation

*SI Times*  
problems it would inherit merely in order to harass the existing government.

There would seem to have been no meeting of minds between Nelson Mandela and Helmut Kohl on this subject, though the latter undertook to bear in mind what he had been told when preparing his position for the EC summit in Dublin at the end of June.

Economic Co-operation Minister Jurgen Warnke, whom Nelson Mandela had approached for assistance in repatriating and housing 20 000 ANC exiles, took an even more forthright view.

*(11A)* Token

What was the point, he asked, of spending public money on such a purpose when the jobs which the returnees would need for their livelihood could not come into being for want of foreign capital or investor confidence? It was like driving a car with one foot on the accelerator and the other on the brake pedal.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in contrast, is inclined to leave matters as they are. Trade sanctions, he claims, no longer hurt. They were never more than token

*1716190*  
measures anyway and South Africa has overcome them.

International bank loans are admittedly another matter, but it was the market and not governments which withheld lending facilities from Pretoria, he feels.

*(S)*  
Contrary

Companies with assets in South Africa could still invest their profits and could even import fresh capital in the form of plant and equipment when their commercial viability required such a move. That this was not happening, was a reflection of investor confidence.

Mr Genscher believed apartheid had to be recognised as the primary agent for disinvestment, and its removal was thus the first priority. The best hope for such an outcome by peaceful means was Nelson Mandela and, since he too was politically at risk, the best course was to refrain from any action that would weaken his position.

Even if Nelson Mandela were not the next president, a black man would certainly hold that office and, since

the black majority was overwhelmingly in favour of sanctions, it was counter-productive and contrary to self-interest to oppose it on this score.

President De Klerk had indeed shown courage, and deserved recognition and support for what he had done; but such a response should not be at the expense of his opposite number. But Mr Genscher feels he has already been given his endorsement in the form of his recent overseas trip.

Provided Paris takes the same view, Mr Genscher is likely to carry the day. His adherence to sanctions is not based on immutable self-interest.

*(S)*  
Element

If a weighty majority in the EC Council of Ministers were to side with London and Lisbon on this issue, that would be a new element to take into account.

Between retention and repeal, any intermediate stages are conceivable. A compromise which yields ground on the substance while retaining the shadow, or vice versa, could thus well emerge.

THERE are many issues which, if used imaginatively, can bring together the people of South Africa - particularly blacks.

One such event was the touching story of the Mathibela twins, Mpho and Mphonyana.

After three years, one of the little girls Mphonyana has died, but she has left something behind her other than her lovely twin sister, Mpho.

She has left the type of community organisation that started me thinking about nation building.

### Birth

The story behind the birth, the separation and the death of one of the twins should give creative people pause to reflect about our united experience.

There must be the gem of a metaphor in the life of Sophie Mathibela, a one-time domestic servant who mothered the famous Siamese. Their father has not been seen, for reasons which are also perhaps part of the life

# The need for a unifying issue

Sowetan 18/6/90 (11A)

of a black man, since their birth.

On Saturday this week, Mphonyana will be buried in a style fitting this wonderful story. Mrs Maggie Nkwe and those who formed the Mpho-Mphonyana Trust Fund will be assisted by me and the *Sowetan* to make this a memorable affair for Mphonyana, for Mpho and for the children of this country. We will not be able to invite all children to get to the funeral. Together with the trustees in Klerksdorp, we have arranged a fitting funeral for the well-known and adorable twin Mphonyana.

The twins gave the conceptualisation of something I thought could lead to the com-

ing together of blacks.

I know this is naive to ask, but why is it so difficult for black political organisations to have a single issue or event to bring them together?

### Children

When the children sacrificed their lives for us on June 16, 1976, they did not expect us to remember the day annually with so much fervour. Those who died, like Hector Petersen; those who were maimed and damaged during and after that fateful day; and those who were exiled, must feel strengthened when they see or hear about the commemoration service.

The entire world looks upon the struggle

for justice in South Africa as the struggle for the oppressed, the poor and the suffering throughout the world, throughout history. That is the type of responsibility we bear.

Something within these silent spectators must die with despair for the division and the hate that the struggle and days of commemoration in particular seem to ignite amongst our people.

The tragedy is that the black experience has many such symbolic issues and events for unity.

The more reason then that it is so shameful for us to compare what happened at the Jabulani amphitheatre with what happened at Orlando stadium and Regina Mundi. The

more disgraceful that we should be trying to read something sinister or not quite respectable or politically "relevant" into the way some of the services were handled.

### Sick

I tend to get quite sick of such political petilogger, although I guess I should be sensitive about its causes. I think we need to be ruthless about our continuing infighting. There are people out there who are watching and monitoring the strange and self-destructive way in which the struggle among blacks seems to express itself. There are people who will use, with the greatest of ease, such infantile divisions.



ON  
THE  
LINE

Aggrey  
Klaaste

While the democratic diversity of political viewpoints is natural and even acceptable, I sometimes wonder if South Africans have the time or can afford the luxury of acting this way. One can excuse the younger people for displaying passionate views.

It is inexcusable for adults, who have the history of this country, of Africa and the history of the world behind them, to act this way.

I do not care if certain groups used musical groups to attract people to their rallies. I do not mind if there were two or 2 000 people in any of the rallies. The fact that

people put their mind to organising a day of remembrance for those who sacrificed their lives for us is enough. It is not as if we are expected to compete in expressing our commitment. It is not as if there will be prizes given to the political organisation that had the most "successful" rally.

Wherever you go after the services which, God bless us, were not violent, you hear childish comparisons made by adults who should know better. You hear scandalous remarks piled on one organisation or another about their particular effort.

Hector Petersen must be turning in his grave.

# Thousands flock to June 16 services Unity plea ignored by political rivals

**RIVAL political organisation continued to hammer each other at June 16 commemorative services despite calls for unity over the past few weeks.**

The Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto burst at the seams on Saturday as close to 70 000 people crammed in to commemorate South Africa's Youth Day.

About 5km away, 12 000 people were commemorating the day at Orlando Stadium, while close to 5 000 attended another commemoration service at the traditional June 16 venue, Regina Mundi.

The lack of space at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, with hundreds jostling and pushing to gain entry, saw ANC speakers lambasting other organisations like the PAC, "for having booked larger venues when they did not command a large following."

The president of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Peter Mokaba, speaking at Jabulani, said the PAC was not only unable to fill Orlando stadium, but had

**By ALI MPHAKI**

done nothing to dismantle apartheid.

"They (PAC) want to teach us how to fight when they never fought," he said.

Mokaba said the PAC was complaining that by talking to the Government the ANC was selling out the people of South Africa.

## Selling

"If the ANC is selling out the people of South Africa, why is the PAC not buying them?" he asked.

"We are not organising commemoration services in competition with other organisations, but as a demonstration of the people's determination to continue with the fight against apartheid," Mokaba said.

The amphitheatre reverberated with ululations and shouts of 'Amandla' when exiled singer Miriam Makeba took the stage to thank the ANC for organising her a visa to come home.

The ANC internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said June 16 had made Soweto a great symbol of resistance and defiance in the hearts and minds of many.

He said although the people were stronger today than they were in

1976, there was a need to strengthen the ANC, "swell the ranks, create branches and ensure that they function vigorously."

He appealed to the white youth, the army and the police, to join hands with the ANC in the process of peace and transformation of power.

An exiled ANC Women's League member, Mrs Gertrude Shope, told the cheering crowd that they should respect the views of other people. She said she was very sad to hear that the youths who in 1976 were holding stones and dustbin shields fighting against the police, were now fighting each other.

At Orlando stadium, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu)

president James Mndaweni, said there could be no genuine negotiations if the regime was going to choose its own partners in negotiations.

## Interests

He said Margaret Thatcher and George Bush were doing everything possible to have negotiations in this country and "how can we now act on their interests?" he asked.

He said the ANC leadership has since January 1987 met with the Government and "and we do not know what was being discussed. Should we now jump on the bandwagon? We stand for majority rule and self-determination."



After 31 years in exile, Miriam Makeba commemorated her first June 16 inside the country on Saturday at Jabulani Amphitheatre. Noting the sacrifices made by the South African youth in the struggle, she presented them with a candle given to her by the youth of East Germany. Picture by MBUZENI ZULU.

# Policemen fear they won't fit in the new SA

CAPE TOWN — With the lifting of the emergency — except in Natal — the police will now be able to distance themselves from many of the excesses committed in the name of the emergency.

But many policemen are worried that the label "enemy of the people" will stick.

Up to now the police force has been plagued by a poor image and morale has dropped alarmingly, a situation exacerbated by staff shortages and poor service conditions.

## **Not a cure-all**

This is expected to be alleviated by State President Mr F W de Klerk's promise of an extra 10 000 men in the next 12 months and more money to stop disgruntled men resigning.

But it might not cure all ills. As one policeman said: "It wasn't only the money — we're worried about our future too." Other sources indicated that policemen might soon start leaving to get what they believe are more secure jobs in the private sector.

Senior police sources believe that the "De Klerk package" is so good that it will entice former policemen back to the force. But they say they are not aware of fears of the future.

Men lower down the ranks, however, say that the topic of the force in a post-apartheid society is being increasingly talked about around coffee

## Many put off by ANC talk about 'restructuring'

**AS policemen throughout the country rejoice at the thought of greatly improved pay scales, many are being plagued by a new worry: what will the future hold for them in a post-apartheid society?**

**STEPHEN WROTLESLEY reports.**

tables, in clubs and at braais.

"I don't think anyone has left yet because of their fears but certainly it is being talked about," one major said.

"What is needed is some firm statement on our future role and what security there will be for policemen."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, declined through his press secretary, Brigadier Leon Mellet, to comment on these fears and referred to an earlier statement in which it appeared that he is to have a head-on confrontation with the ANC on the future structure of the police.

## **Witch-hunt fears**

Police fears have also become a major issue since former hit-squad boss and police captain, Dirk Coetzee, said he was now a member of the ANC and that it might one day be a "privilege" to lead a Nuremberg-style investigation in South Africa.

Serving policemen say that such talk smacks of the possibility of witch-hunts that could be used

as vendettas against "good" policemen.

They claim many "bad cops" have already been rooted out. They fear that a witch-hunt for more "bad eggs" could lead to suspensions, dismissals, persecution or even prosecution of reliable, hard-working men and women.

## **ANC's plans**

They claim that they had to enforce apartheid legislation because it was on the statute books.

But as one said: "In a post-apartheid society, will we be punished for having enforced those laws?"

This week, the ANC's constitutional guru, Mr Albie Sachs, said the police would be reconstructed under an ANC government. "It's absolutely fundamental to have a police force that's respected by the whole community. We've never had that."

A reconstructed police force would consist of present black members of the police, honest white policemen, new recruits and members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the movement's armed wing, and ANC security personnel.

"I've been assured that there are honest white policemen who want to get on with the job and who have often been frustrated by the way in which the police force has been hijacked to maintain apartheid and persecute opponents of apartheid."

But Mr Vlok, commenting on a report by deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, that MK was to amalgamate with the police, said: "The police neither now, nor in the future, intends to accommodate Umkhonto we Sizwe in the force. The only members of the ANC who ever joined the police were former terrorists who turned their back on the ANC and afterwards provided valuable information to the police."

Many policemen appear to be looking at the burgeoning security industry as a way to a new career.

A further problem in the police force is the large number of men with right-wing beliefs who see legislation they were proud to enforce being removed from the statute books and their powers fading away.

## **Prohibited**

Because they are prohibited from joining the AWB while serving as members of the force, some plan to leave.

There are suggestions that specific security firms might be established to employ these men as an alternative force.

Established security firms said they had no knowledge of this.

Star 18/6/90

# Light at end of tunnel, says Mandela

11A

By David Braun,  
The Star's Foreign Service

OTTAWA — Nelson Mandela started his North American tour with a message of hope yesterday, saying that light could be seen at the end of the tunnel.

"We have come to tell you that beyond the horizon lies a future South Africa that will be as glorious as it is humane, opposed to all human abuse, non-retributive ... a democratic and nonracial system that will benefit all people, both black and white," he said at a welcoming ceremony at a Canadian forces air base outside Ottawa.

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, have been invited to Canada at the personal request of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

## Red carpets

Mr Mulroney and his family were present at the foot of the stairs of the aircraft to welcome the Mandelas to Canada.

The official ceremonies were akin to those put on for a visiting head of state, with an honour guard, military band, red carpets and scores of Canadian flags fluttering around the reception area.

About a thousand people, including a small contingent of African National Congress members, were at the airport.

In his welcoming remarks, Mr Mulroney said Mr Mandela had emerged as an authentic hero in the overpowering human tragedy that had engulfed South Africa under apartheid.

"Your remarkable liberation from prison, after so many years, rekindled hope that one day a democratic South Africa

would rejoin the community of nations," he said.

Mr Mulroney said Canadians were never without hope for Mr Mandela and for South Africa. Canadians prayed that the perilous but hopeful process Mr Mandela and President de Klerk had embarked on would lead South Africa to true, pluralistic democracy, he said.

In his reply, Mr Mandela said he had come to thank the ordinary people of Canada for what they had done in the struggle against apartheid.

He said: "We are here to give you and your nation new tasks in the struggle against apartheid and for the transfer of South Africa into a united, democratic and nonracial country ... We have come to say keep up the offensive against the system of apartheid."

● Mr Mandela has postponed his visit to the Soviet Union, The Africa News Organisation (Ano) reports from Moscow.

Ano said the visit had been postponed because of "the intensive preparatory work" for the 28th congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party next month.

The visit will take place at a later stage and Ano said Mr Mandela will be awarded the 1990 Lenin Peace Prize.

● The ANC's national executive committee will hold its first meeting inside South Africa next month, Ano reported from Lusaka at the weekend.

Ano said that the meeting would take place between July 12 and 16 to prepare for constitutional talks with the South African Government.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said NEC members would start arriving in South Africa this week.



Well-wishers ... Nelson Mandela greets onlookers after his arrival in Ottawa yesterday for a three-day Canadian visit.

● Picture by Associated Press.



# 'Mandelomania' set to erupt

NEW YORK — Nelson Mandela will have Americans at his feet this week, fighting for a glimpse of him, hanging on his every word, buying T-shirts, jackets and caps bearing his name and donating millions of dollars to his cause.

Millions of Americans are waiting to cheer a man unseen and hardly heard from for more than a quarter of a century, a man who emerged unbroken from jail in February.

During a 13-day US tour starting on Wednesday, he will receive a red carpet welcome at

New York's Kennedy Airport and a ticker tape parade down Broadway. (S) (11A)

He will meet President Bush at the White House, and has invitations to address the United Nations, a joint session of Congress and a mass rally at Yankee Stadium. (S) 18/6/90

His schedule is packed as tightly as a visit by Pope John Paul or Soviet President Gorbachev — 34 events, in eight cities from coast to coast starting in New York and ending in Oakland. — Sapa-Reuter.

# ANC rally of 50 000 dwarfs rivals

18/6/90  
By Thabo Leshilo (11A) (84)

Sowetans this year commemorated Soweto Day with separate services for each of the three major groups within the liberation movement.

The African National Congress rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre attracted more than 50 000 people, while the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress rallies, held at Regina Mundi and Orlando Stadium respectively, were attended by only about 3 500 people each.

At Regina Mundi, the traditional June 16 venue, speakers condemned negotiations with the Government and called for seizure of power and the establishment of a socialist order.

Khotso Seathlolo, who led the 1976 student uprising, said the events had set in motion a process the white minority regime could not stop. Negotiations were an attempt by the Government to halt that process.

SA Youth Congress leader Peter Mokaba told the Jabulani rally that the keynote of the

ANC's programme was the demand for a "constitutional assembly to decide the constitution for a democratic South Africa".

However, the Government seemed bent on appointing "puppets and vigilantes" to the assembly, he warned. The meeting was also addressed by singer Miriam Makeba.

Speakers at the PAC rally called for an end to inter-organisational violence and appealed for unity. Similar calls were made at the other rallies.



Star 18/6/90

# ANC intensifies <sup>(11A)</sup> bid to recruit whites

By Marguerite Moody

The drive by the African National Congress to win the support of whites is picking up in most areas of recruitment, according to a spokesman.

"The ball has been set rolling and the ANC is coming alive in most communities now," Barbara Hogan, recently released political prisoner and one of the organisation's convenors in the Johannesburg region, told The Star.

Although she would not speculate on the number of white recruits the ANC had drawn into its ranks so far, Ms Hogan said many whites had shown interest since the organisation's membership drive started on May 9.

She said the ANC's immediate objective was to establish branches throughout the country and so it was concentrating on areas where there was a traditional ANC base.

In Johannesburg, the recruitment drive focused on eastern and western suburbs, including Yeoville, Bellevue,

Hillbrow, Berea, Mayfair, Brixton, Parktown and Melville.

At least 100 members had to be signed up in an area before a branch could be established.

"Once we have formed a basic workforce, we can start moving into other more politically conservative areas.

"However, anyone who shows sympathy with the principles of the Freedom Charter can join up. We don't want to come across as only preaching to the converted," she said.

Members have to be over 18. Annual membership is R12 or R1 a month.

She called on whites to take the ANC seriously as a personal option.

"Many whites are sitting on the fence to see what will happen before they commit themselves.

"Whites are reeling from the impact of sanctions at the moment. They also carry a tremendous psychological burden arising from guilt feelings, which influences the way they think politically and socially."

# June 16 commemorations proceed without incident

(11A)

LINDEN BURNS

(11A)

MORE than 70 000 ANC supporters attended Saturday's June 16 commemoration rally at Soweto's Jabulani stadium where ANC internal head Walter Sisulu praised the youth for its role in the "liberation struggle".

Former exiled singer Miriam Makeba also addressed the Jabulani crowd.

About 3 000 people attended a PAC rally at Orlando Stadium, while 1 500 Azapo supporters met at the Regina Mundi Church. The police presence in Soweto was low-key and no incidents were reported.

In Welkom's Thabong Township, 2 000 people attended an ANC rally while 150 Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) supporters met in a community hall.

Azanian Youth Congress (Azayo) vice chairman Kamo-helo Moroe told the gathering: "the BCM doesn't hate whites, but we don't expect whites to liberate us in this country".

6/16/90

18/6/90

In Atteridgeville about 1 800 ANC supporters heard a UDF speaker warn homeland leaders Lucas Mangope (Bophuthatswana) and Mangosuthu Buthelezi (KwaZulu) that the people would remove them from office.

The PAC also came under fire at the rally for its stand against a negotiated settlement.

In Natal about 5 000 people met at Maritzburg's Wadley Stadium, while a clash between Inkatha and the ANC was averted at an ANC rally in KwaMashu.

A police spokesman said the deaths of four policemen in separate incidents during the weekend were not related to June 16 rallies and meetings.

There are two sets

8/0am 18/6/90 (11A)



Deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela met Pope John Paul, above, at the Vatican on Friday before moving on to the Netherlands, where a cheering crowd, top, welcomed him to Amsterdam. 8/0am 18/6/90 Pictures: REUTERS

## Mandela in London for talks with Oliver Tambo

LONDON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrived in London late on Saturday afternoon from the Netherlands for a short rest and talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo before going to Canada.

Spokesmen for the organisation rejected reports saying Mandela was due to have an unscheduled and private meeting at the weekend with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. (11A)

Most of Mandela's delegation flew straight to Canada from the Netherlands and it was understood he would be following yesterday or today.

ANC delegation members said Mandela was only in London in transit and would not make any public appearances.

ANC external affairs director Thabo Mbeki flew straight to London from Rome on Friday to meet British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd on Saturday in preparation for Mandela's first meeting with Thatcher on July 3.

Mandela has expressed confidence throughout his European tour that he has persuaded governments to stick to sanctions until apartheid has gone. — Sapa.

# NP considering talks charter to allay fears

CAPE TOWN — Government is considering asking participants in negotiations to agree to a set of common values at the outset, in an attempt to allay white fears about change.

The idea of a list of common values was first raised by President F W de Klerk during the election campaign last year.

The list includes commitment to a multiparty system, an independent judiciary, a free media and a free enterprise system.

The principles form what would be the NP's bottom line in negotiations.

Prior to the Umlazi by-election, government spokesmen were loath to spell out these principles as a bottom line as they did not want to be seen as dictating to other participants.

However the dramatic swing to the right in Umlazi convinced some senior government members that this list of "bottom line" principles was necessary to allay white fears of change.

Proponents of this idea argue that the values expressed in this list should be acceptable to any group entering negotiations in good faith and should not be interpreted as government trying to dictate to others what form an eventual negotiated constitution should take.

While the list has not yet been finalised, the idea of drawing up such a charter has been canvassed with some foreign governments and has reportedly received a favourable response.

Because the list for the most part contains principles to which most parties, with the exception of CP and the PAC, have publically committed themselves, government strategists anticipate little difficulty in getting parties to commit themselves to

MIKE ROBERTSON

such a set of common values at the outset of negotiations.

However a major stumbling block could be government's insistence that the list contains a commitment to a free enterprise system.

ANC and SACP members are likely to interpret this as an attempt to prevent it pursuing socialist goals.

SACP chief Joe Slovo has repeatedly said the ANC/SACP alliance's economic proposals were in many ways similar to those advocated and pursued by the NP when it came to power in 1948.

The NP had employed socialist mechanisms such as nationalisation and general government intervention in the economy to improve the lot of its supporters. To expect the ANC not to use similar mechanisms to improve the lot of blacks in SA would be unreasonable, Slovo argued.

Meanwhile a government spokesman yesterday rejected suggestions that the NP was backing down on its commitment to test support for a negotiated constitution in a referendum for white voters.

It was reported yesterday that as a result of the setback suffered by the NP in the Umlazi by-election, government had decided it would be too risky to hold a whites-only referendum.

The spokesman said that NP had made a commitment to white voters in its 5-year Action Plan to hold a referendum and had no intention of not honouring it.

Other race groups wanting to hold a referendum would have to use separate voters rolls.

**UK funding for  
black parties**

17/02/1970  
EDYTH BULBRING IIA  
THE British government will fund black SA political organisations to the tune of £75 000 this year in an attempt to assist their preparations for negotiations.

Embassy spokesman John Sawers confirmed yesterday the Fund to Assist Political Parties Prepare for Negotiations had been in operation since March and was being administered by Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

Of the £75 000 budgeted until March next year, equipment valued at £10 500 had been given to the ANC, £4 681 to Inkatha and £2 784 to the PAC.

# ANC sees problems in pre-talks stage

Staff Reporter

THE pre-negotiations phase between the African National Congress and the government has run into problems, says ANC executive member Mr James Stuart.

He warned that the ANC would not enter into discussions with the government until all obstacles preventing negotiations had been removed.

He said "everyone in the ANC was getting annoyed with President De Klerk and his Cabinet" over their failure to remove these obstacles.

"The blame lies with them. We demand that all political prisoners be released, that exiles have the right to return and that the Internal Security Act and other security laws be repealed."

Mr De Klerk knew what the ANC's demands were, said Mr Stuart.

"We want it to be clearly understood that there will be no negotiations until these obstacles have been removed."

He said sanctions remained an important weapon which the ANC could not surrender unconditionally.

"It remains our most important guarantee that the process we have embarked on will become irreversible. I do not want to detract from the character of Mr De Klerk, but the question of sanctions will remain in place until we reach a point where the masses of people in our country can take part in government."

The ANC could not drop its call for continued sanctions when it was still being oppressed, when even the pre-negotiations stage had run into trouble, he said.

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# Message of hope

## Nelson Mandela sees light at the end of the tunnel

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**OTTAWA.** — African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela started his North American tour with a message of hope yesterday, saying that the light could be seen at the end of the tunnel.

"We have come to tell you that beyond the horizon lies a future South Africa that will be as glorious as it is humane, opposed to all human abuse, non-retributive... a democratic and nonracial system that will benefit all people, both black and white," he said at a welcoming ceremony at a Canadian Forces air base outside Ottawa.

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, have been invited to Canada at the personal request of Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney.

Mr Mulroney and his family were present at the foot of the stairs of the aircraft to welcome the Mandelas to Canada.

**Honour guard**  
 The official ceremonies were akin to those put on for a visiting head of state, with an honour guard, military band, red carpets and scores of Canadian flags fluttering around the reception area.

A crowd of about 1 000, including a small contingent of African National Congress members waving the organisation's colours, were at the airport.

The crowd cheered and sang

### Canadian tour may be cut if ANC leader tires

**From DAVID BRAUN**  
**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**OTTAWA.** — Organisers of Mr Nelson Mandela's three-day tour of Canada have warned the deputy president of the African National Congress may have to curtail his appearances because of fatigue.

"We are taking his fatigue into account," Mr Jabu Jube, of the African National Congress in Toronto told the Toronto Star.

Mr Mandela would, however, definitely appear at Toronto City Hall and at a rally in the city's Queen Park, he added.

In Ottawa, officials in the

loudly when the white Canadian Forces jet, part of the prime minister's flight sent to Europe to fetch the Mandelas, taxied to the red-carpeted podium.

The band played the themes from *Chariots of Fire* and from *Rocky*.

In his welcoming remarks, Mr Mulroney said Mr Mandela had emerged as an authentic hero in the overpowering human tragedy that had engulfed South Africa under apartheid.

"Your remarkable liberation from prison rekindled hope that one day a democratic South Africa would rejoin the community of nations," he said.

Mr Mulroney said Canadians were never without hope for Mr Mandela and for South Africa. In the process of playing a role against apartheid, Mr Mandela's cause had emerged to the forefront of Canadian concerns and policies.

He added that Canadians prayed the perilous, but hopeful, process on which Mr Mandela and President De Klerk had embarked would lead South Africa to true, pluralistic democracy.

In his reply, Mr Mandela said he had come to thank the ordinary people of Canada for what they had done in the struggle against apartheid.

He said: "We are here to give you and your nation new tasks in the struggle against apartheid and for the transfer of South Africa into a united, democratic and nonracial country."

Canadian Department of External Affairs have appealed for public understanding if Mr Mandela cannot make all of his engagements.

They pointed out he was scheduled to make eight public speeches in 50 hours in Canada, a gruelling schedule for anyone half his 72 years.

He is to speak to a joint sitting of parliament during his visit — the first such address by a person who is not a head of state or government.

He has a hectic schedule in three Canadian cities before touring eight cities in the United States.



**GREETINGS:** African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney being greeted by an enthusiastic flag-waving crowd in Ottawa.

### Fresh challenge to Iliescu as new parliament sits

**BUCHAREST.** — Opponents of Rumanian President Ion Iliescu have challenged his government again by demonstrating in central Bucharest on the eve of sessions of the two houses of the country's new parliament.

Several hundred people blocked traffic on Magheru Boulevard, the flashpoint for last week's violence, for about five hours last night.

But early today traffic was flowing again and the protesters thinned out to a few dozen on the pavement near Bucharest University.

A large detachment of riot police in buses and trucks waited several hundred metres away, but did not intervene.

At the height of the demonstration Interior Minister Mr Dorel Ursu called for calm and offered to talk with the protesters.

The three days of violence in Bucharest last week was the country's most serious crisis since the December revolution, and forced the postponement until today of sessions of the new assembly and senate.

President Iliescu's National Salvation Front won a two-thirds majority in the two houses in elections last month.

Police broke up a marathon demonstration in Magheru Boulevard on Wednesday, but protesters retook the area hours later, and then attacked

key government buildings.

President Iliescu, saying a fascist coup attempt was under way, summoned help from thousands of pro-government miners, who beat up people they suspected of opposing him, and ransacked the university and opposition party offices.

Six people were killed and hundreds injured in the mayhem, the government said. More than 1 000 were detained.

A key opposition figure, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, warned yesterday that Rumania could be heading for civil war unless it steered away from what he called dictatorship. — Sapa-Reuter.

### English hooligans beat up TV crew

**CAGLIARI.** — English soccer fans beat up a Japanese television reporter and cameraman here, police said.

They punched and kicked Mr Juzuru Saito and Mr Isoyama Katsuni, both from the Japan Broadcasting Corporation NHK-TV, smashed their camera and broke Mr Saito's spectacles.

A police patrol rescued the Japanese.

It was not known how many fans attacked the crew, and there were no reports of any arrests.

Most of the 200 "high-risk" English fans and nearly all the 8 000 Dutch fans in Sardinia for the World Cup left after Saturday night's match between the Netherlands and England.

**PELTED RIOT SQUADS**  
 Police used teargas and batons to disperse 2 000 English fans before the game after dozens of them pelted riot squads with bricks and rocks.

Enormous security to guard against World Cup violence in Cagliari has upset not just the English fans — prostitutes say it is ruining their business.

They claim the 4 000 police patrolling Cagliari to prevent violence by English hooligans have made it impossible for them to pick up customers in the streets.

"There are too many checks. People are frightened of being recognised and so we don't have work any more," a prostitute identified only as Sandra B wrote to the local newspaper. — Sapa-Reuter.

### 'Green' plastic coming

**LONDON.** — Shampoo bottles that self-destruct, plastic bags that disintegrate once thrown away and medical appliances which dissolve after use will be made soon by British scientists. The development promises to reduce the dumping of millions of tons of non-degradable plastics every year. — The Argus Foreign Service.

# Shifting the ANC's nerve centre presents problems

ARL:US 12/6/90

11A

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

MANY an early morning caller has been told by the operator answering the African National Congress' switchboard in Lusaka that key members of the movement had not yet arrived.

This is not because they are late-sleepers or ducking telephone calls, said ANC executive committee member Mr James Stuart.

His working day, like that of his five other colleagues on the ANC secretariat, starts with a meeting.

"The secretariat's task is to organically integrate the movement's various sectors, attend to urgent matters of the day and to ensure that the ANC's various departments are doing their work."

## Daily meetings

Other members of the secretariat are ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Henry Makgoti, Mr Sindiso Mfenyana and Mr Tony Mogalo.

"We meet every morning to discuss matters of the day and to exchange views on whatever might be on the table.

"Of course, we also prepare for meetings of the national executive committee. The working committee of the NEC meets once a week and the NEC itself meets two or three times a year."

The changing political situation in South Africa and the legalising of the ANC has seen to it that the NEC has met on at least five occasions.

Having a headquarters in Lusaka and a growing office in Johannes-

burg has brought with it communication headaches.

"Everything has to be duplicated. You have to do a lot of faxing and telephoning. There are serious technical limitations in a developing country like Zambia, but on the whole everything is working satisfactory."

## Nerve centre

Depending on the progress the ANC makes in negotiating the removal of obstacles in the way of negotiations with the government, the majority of NEC members will probably be based in Johannesburg which is destined to become the ANC nerve centre.

All this has brought extra expenses for the ANC whose budget has increased by 100 percent.

Mr Stuart said the annual ANC budget ran into several million US dollars.

"I have no real idea of how much it is ... it's between 150 and 200 million dollars a year."

Foreign funding was not drying up. But the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations on February 2 by President De Klerk had created the wrong impression among progressive forces, he said.

"They understand the idea of supporting us. One does not have to impress it on them. However, there is a conception that there is no further need to support the movement externally because it's forces are returning to South Africa."

Agreements for financial assistance from Eastern European countries have had to be re-negotiated since the political changes there.

"So far nobody has renegaded. Hungary is the exception. It's really simple opportunism on the part of the so-called progressives in Hun-



James Stuart

gary in establishing links with South Africa. Thank God nobody else has followed Hungary's example."

He appealed to South Africans to support the ANC which required and would continue to need all kinds of assistance "for as long as apartheid has not been dismantled".

He was aware, he said, that the majority of South Africans were unable to make more than a nominal contribution.

"I'm appealing to companies and professionals who are in a much more fortunate position than black

people to assist us in this transitional period," said Mr Stuart.

The size of the ANC's budget may sound staggering, but exiles were not living in luxury, he said.

ANC exiles living in Zambia are given an amount of 2 000 kwacha every month. A kwacha is equal to about 30c and a chicken can be bought with 200 kwachas.

"Life is very hard and we survive on the barest essentials. We count every penny. Anyone who believes exiles live in luxury is falling for one of the biggest hoaxes."

Telephones, said Mr Stuart, were priceless possessions. "I don't have a telephone. It's difficult to get one in Lusaka."

Medical care for about 3 000 ANC members in Lusaka is free. The movement has a clinic in Lusaka which is staffed by ANC doctors and paramedics.

Maintaining this facility is expensive, but "you cannot measure everything in terms of money".

## Balancing books

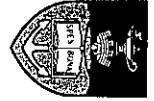
Similarly, the ANC's civil defence system which was developed at the time when enemy agents were sent to Lusaka on assassination missions is expensive to maintain.

Balancing the movement's books is no easy task, even if the ANC keeps proper books and accounts.

"We have professional auditors — it's not like running a kindergarden. It's a bit more complicated than that. We keep proper books.

"I can say with great confidence that we've had no serious cases of embezzlement or misuse of funds. I must also refute, in the strongest terms, that some members of the leadership of the ANC have businesses or private banking accounts. It's not possible."

POLITICS







# ANC drive for white support 'picking up'

AR&S  
18/6/90  
117

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The drive by the African National Congress to win the support of whites is picking up in most areas of recruitment, according to a spokesman.

"The ball has been set rolling and the ANC is coming alive in most communities now," said Miss Barbara Hogan, a recently-released political prisoner and one of the organisation's convenors in the Johannesburg region.

Although she would not speculate on the number of white recruits the ANC had drawn into its ranks so far, Miss Hogan said a lot of whites had shown interest since the organisation's membership registration drive started on May 9.

## Traditional base

She said their immediate objective was to establish branches throughout the country and so it was concentrating on areas where there was a traditional ANC base.

In Johannesburg, the recruitment drive focused on eastern and western suburbs, including Yeoville, Bellevue, Hillbrow, Berea, Mayfair, Brixton, Parktown and Melville.

"These are areas where we could recruit a lot of members to establish a workforce, after which branches can be formed," said Miss Hogan.

At least 100 members had to be signed up in an area before a branch

could be established.

"Once we have formed a basic workforce, we can start moving into other, traditionally more politically conservative areas.

"However, anyone who shows sympathy with the principles of the Freedom Charter can join up. We don't want to come across as only preaching to the converted."

To join, members have to be over 18 and have to pay an annual membership fee of R12 or R1 a month.

Miss Hogan called on whites to take the ANC seriously as a personal option.

"Many whites are sitting on the fence to see what will happen before they commit themselves. However, a lot are also showing sympathy to the ANC's objectives, and this augurs well for the future.

"Whites are reeling from the impact of sanctions at the moment. They also carry a tremendous psychological burden arising from guilt feelings, which influences the way they think politically and socially.

"The sooner whites learn to feel at home in South Africa and feel part of the broader population, the faster the healing process will be in this country.

"By joining the ANC, whites can discover what South Africa is really about and they can have peace of mind," she said.

● See page 3.

## UN mission meeting the ANC, PAC today

The visiting UN fact-finding mission will meet the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress in Johannesburg today. Stc. 18/6/90

A UN spokesman said they will also meet representatives of the Urban Foundation, members of the Institute of Race Relations, South African Chamber of Business, as well as the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

Tomorrow the team travels to Pretoria to see Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, and later will meet civic leaders.

Yesterday, the UN delegation met representatives of the alternative press, including Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail. On Saturday they met editors of The Star, Beeld and Business Day, and representatives of the SABC.

In a separate development at the weekend, team member and head of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Sotorios Mousouris, met representatives of the South African Olympics Committee. The team plans to return to New York on Wednesday. — Sapa.

6 Star 18/6/90 7

# ANC-NP government is possible

Despite its present rejection of a joint government with the ANC during the period leading to the adoption of a new constitution, the Government might later accept such a proposal, according to the findings of a Cape Town-based research organisation, **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

At the appropriate moment during the negotiations process, the Government will propose a joint administration of the country by the ruling National Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC), with the possible inclusion of other black political organisations such as Inkatha.

This was the opinion of the Cape Town-based International Research and Information Services (Iris).

But, Iris said in its recently released findings, which have been researched in depth by eminent political experts under the heading "A 10-year Scenario for South Africa", this did not rule out the possibility of a joint NP-ANC presidency "or some similar arrangement" for South Africa.

This information, the report said, had been given in confidence to Iris researchers by "highly reliable and very senior sources".

In its report Iris said its optimistic outlook for the future was based on the proposition that the NP and the ANC had need of one another "in ways that may become increasingly symbiotic".

This implied that the two lifelong foes would soon "recognise their mutual dependence in creating a constitutional framework in which conflicts can be peacefully and politically arbitrated and regulated".

## In jeopardy

The report said if Mr de Klerk lost his support from a part of the white population because of his reforms, then his "whole initiative, and indeed the possibility of a relatively peaceful accommodation" would be in jeopardy.

This, however, was not very likely because the NP enjoyed support from Democratic Party (DP) members who would do everything in their power to hold off the Conservative Party (CP).

If the negotiations stayed on course, the violence in the country abated and the international community awarded Mr de Klerk "a few carrots in the form of lifted sanctions", then the chances that the CP backlash would be defeated and the ultra-right marginalised were pretty good.

The Government's main negotiating partner, the ANC, was not without problems of its own, according to the report.

The organisation, which presently enjoyed between 50 percent and 60 percent of the support of the blacks, stood to lose its supporters to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on its left.

## Support divided

The report put the PAC's support at between 20 percent to 25 percent, and said the remainder of black support was divided among Azapo, Inkatha and other smaller organisations.

The chances of a negotiated settlement, said the report, were "fair".

If the mutually dependent ANC and NP reached an agreement and their combined support base spanned 75 percent to 80 percent of the prospective electorate, then the chance that the new constitution would succeed "as a regulator of political conflict at least for the crucial earlier phase" was high.

The report said it was possible that the good relationship currently being enjoyed between Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela could spread among the members of the NP and the ANC themselves.

If that were to prove the case, then it was not unlikely that a Constitutional Negotiation Forum (CNF) could be established by May 31 1991, with a new constitution finalised and adopted "as early as 1992".

# ANC Women's League welcomes home exiles

MUSIC, poetry and "join the ANC" pleas marked yesterday's ceremony to welcome 13 members of the African National Congress Women's League, who returned from exile last week.

ANC sympathisers who attended the ceremony at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto heard different speakers exhorting them to join the organisation.

Mrs Mavivi Manzini, who heads the committee to rebuild the league, said: "Every woman is expected to be an organiser, but to join the league they must first join the ANC."

She said the league has set a programme of action to deal with the ANC-Inkath. violence in Natal.

11A  
Internal and international tours will be organised for Natal women to tell of their suffering. They will be encouraged to take action locally to solve the situation and not wait for our national leaders.

"We will also canvas

for the removal of the South African Defence Force from the area."

The head of the ANC Women's League in Zambia, Mrs Gertrude Shope and ANC executive member Mrs Ruth Mompati also addressed the meeting.

# Hero's welcome awaits Mandela



Nelson Mandela.

**By Sowetan Correspondent**

A HERO'S welcome awaits Nelson Mandela in the United States, where the black nationalist leader will lobby for continued sanctions against South Africa and millions of dollars in support for the anti-apartheid movement.

Since his release on February 11 after more than 27 years in prison, Mandela has been cheered at rallies across Africa and Europe.

A jubilant reception is expected in the United States for the deputy president of the African National Congress. He is especially revered among blacks who waged the civil rights battle of the 1960s.

President George Bush and Congress will receive Mandela in Washington during his eight-city, 10-day visit, which begins Wednesday in New York and features parades, rallies and a speech at the United Nations.

The other cities on his itinerary are Boston, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

Mandela's chief mission is to lobby the US government to maintain the limited economic sanctions imposed in 1986 after protests of South African policies of apartheid, or forced segregation.

He also may have an effect on US politics. The *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* reported

last week that the Bush administration has intensified efforts to reach a compromise with Congress on civil rights legislation, partly to avoid debate that would coincide with Mandela's visit.

The administration has said employers would be forced to adopt racial hiring quotas by the legislation, which is aimed at making it easier for workers to bring and win discrimination cases.

American politicians,

movie stars, businessmen and black organisations all are scrambling to share in the glow of Mandela's fame.

## Pressure

"The blacks in the United States have been in the front lines of the struggle against apartheid," he said recently. "The US government itself would not have taken the steps which they have adopted if there was no pressure from the masses of Americans."

American public pressure has contributed to the withdrawal of more than

half of the 300 US companies that were operating in South Africa since the mid-1980s. Many US universities and municipal governments have withdrawn investments in companies that remain.

Some Western governments have indicated a fresh willingness to reconsider sanctions against South Africa in view of reforms instituted by De Klerk, who brought about Mandela's release.

Since his release, Mandela has praised Cuba's Fidel Castro, embraced Palestine Libera-

tion Organization leader Yasser Arafat and visited Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, the man for whom one of Mandela's grandsons is named.

Yet Mandela has proven a skilled enough politician to win the endorsement of US Jewish groups despite his support for Arafat.

Sowetan 18/6/90 11A

# Mayor's home under 'hail of gunfire'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

PEACE initiatives in Old Crossroads were dealt a severe blow at the weekend when the homes of the mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and a senior committee member, Mr Alfred Geli, came under a "hail of gunfire".

The attack came hours after a date was provisionally set for talks between rivals, former chief headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and Mr Ngxobongwana, to be chaired by the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning, Mr Hernus Kriel.

July 10 has been set as the provisional date for peace talks.

Neither Mr Ngxobongwana nor Mr Nongwe could be reached for comment last night.

Reliable township sources said the "hail of gunfire", on Friday night included automatic weapons.

Nobody was reported injured in the attack but police were handed empty shotgun, R4 and .22 cartridges allegedly found near the scene, reliable township sources said.

Shotgun pellet marks were found on the wall of Mr Ngxobongwana's home which had several windows shattered, they added.

It was reliably learnt that senior members of the Old Crossroads Town Committee were being hosted at a braai at Mr Ngxobongwana's home on the night of the attack.

There was an unconfirmed report of a 16-year-old youth having been shot dead.

A police spokesman said no incidents of "unrest or intimidation" had been reported to him for the entire weekend.

~~11/17~~  
~~11/17~~  
**Low-key**  
**UK visit**  
*Opp + Tim*  
*18/6/90*  
**for**  
**Mandela**

**Own Correspondents**

LONDON. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela departed for Canada yesterday morning after a brief private visit in London with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

"I met Mr Tambo here and he is recovering very well — very well indeed," Mr Mandela told reporters at Heathrow airport.

Mr Tambo is recovering from a stroke he suffered last year.

Asked whether he had met anyone else, Mr Mandela said only: "Let's confine ourselves to Mr Tambo."

He flew into London on Saturday evening after a triumphant visit to the Netherlands where as many as 10 000 people jammed the central square of Amsterdam to see him.

ANC secretary for international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki met separately with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on Saturday.

The Foreign Office did not disclose any details of the conversation.

● The twelve European Community (EC) foreign ministers will agree unanimously today that Mr De Klerk must be given active encouragement to continue with the demolition of apartheid.

But worried EC officials say that is the only certain point of consensus and the 12 EC countries are on the brink of an explosive and damaging dispute over sanctions.



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

NELSON MANDELA arrives this week in America as the reincarnation of Dr Martin Luther King. Whether this disturbs him or not is, like his real views on almost any subject, a mystery. I hope I am wrong but my own suspicion is that he will play the role required of him, both by his adoring hosts and by the political organism of which, as he himself has intimated, he is but an obedient cell.

This is worse than tragic. Unlike King, he does not appear to believe that the arm of the universe is long and tends to justice. He says it must be helped along by violence (albeit of a disciplined variety). Furthermore, he has offered no sonorous dream to stir the moral imaginations of his countrymen. Instead, unwittingly or otherwise, he is contributing to a nightmare.

At the Versailles conference in 1919 the victorious Allies imposed on Germany the vengefully onerous terms that paved the way for Nazism. It took another war and yet more millions dead to prove the folly of such a policy. The second time around the Western allies set out to build democracy on the ruins. There has been no European war since.

America and a good many of its partners — though not, interestingly, the Germans — now effectively propose to pursue the Versailles option on South Africa. It is insufficient that apartheid is defeated and that the government has irrevocably committed itself to building a new, all-inclusive na-

tion. White South Africans must be punished for what they did and for their inability to turn Botshabelo into a leafy Washington suburb overnight.

To be sure, this is not the US Government's official policy. Neither, one would like to think, is it Mandela's. It is, however, the overall effect of what each is doing and failing to do. Neither seems willing or brave enough to rectify it.

Let us be blunt about why the US will retain the most punitive of its existing sanctions on South Africa until the bitter end...

**Scapegoats**

It will not be because policymakers fear recidivism on Pretoria's part or accept Sampie Terreblanche's moronic argument that the removal of sanctions will somehow wreck negotiations. Neither will it be because, the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act's conditions having been met, Congress believes the ANC still needs foreign help to press its constitutional demands. It will not even be because great armies of activists stand to lose their *raison d'etre* and meal tickets.

These reasons suffer the defect of logic. No, sanctions will remain pressed on by the dead weight of historical grievance. However fully they atone, white South Africans will be made to do penance not

only for the vile injustices of their own past but for those, real and imagined, of American, indeed Western, society generally.

For slavery and Jim Crow. For the lynch mob. For the death of a black teenager at the hands of white hoodlums in Bensonhurst, New York. For the poverty and hopelessness of the ghetto. For a Supreme Court hostile to affirmative action. For a federal prosecutor whose only means to topple Washington's corrupt mayor was to lure him into smoking crack on camera. For Africa's idealised Iron Age having been rudely interrupted by colonists and missionaries. For history books that fail to recognise the debt to sub-Saharan cultures owed by Plato and (I do not jest) pre-Conquistador Mexico. The list grows by the day.

White South Africa has long been the whipping boy for all such slights and more — indeed, for the whole increasingly sorry state of race relations in America. This is not going to cease simply because President F W de Klerk does the right thing, or because cooler heads in the administration or Congress recognise the dangers he faces if his courage goes unrequited.

Why? Because even the coolest head has to think about domestic passions first and not only for selfish political

reasons. There is ugliness abroad and, for men like New York's mayor David Dinkins, tranquillity to consider. Fanned by super-charged rhetoric and appeals to paranoia, pent-up frustrations spawn ever deeper hatreds. If kicking a country with little immediate connection to national security can help keep things from boiling over, so be it.

# Mandela playing out a role that's more than tragic

Chrl. Times 19/16/90  
IIA

Into this mess comes Mandela.

**Quasi-deity**

Sunday's New York Times published a sampling of black opinion along his American parade route. "Whatever the pope means to catholics," said a Baptist minister from Detroit, "that's what Mandela means to us... shall we march, shall we walk, shall we sit, shall we stand? We're waiting to hear what the watchman will say to us."

A professor from the Massachusetts Institute for Technology spoke of Mandela as black America's new general come to visit his demoralised troops. "It has been a long struggle with mostly defeats. It's nice, for once, to be on the winning side. We are a safer people because Mandela and the ANC are strong."

Dr King's widow, Coretta, attributed to the ANC deputy president almost mystical powers of redemption: a quasi-deity made flesh to give hope to inner city youth and all the other "victims" of racism.

"Now we have the physical manifestations as we can touch and feel the people who have been involved in the struggle and they can feel us. For the children who will be here and who will get a chance just to get a glimpse of this man... it's very important."

Such outpourings challenge Mandela to reveal whether he really is "a man of integrity, honest, a worthy interlocutor" as the South African Government so desperately wants him to be — or merely the "honourable man" Mark Anthony called Brutus.

Will Mandela exploit American emotion and encourage the Versailles option? Clearly, that is what his handlers wish. What else can one conclude from their decision to delay any agreement on the release of political prisoners until after Mandela had ensured such a step would not result in any easing of sanctions? They fear for their political position if the world stops despising

Pretoria.

They need the hatred to continue to entrench and fund their claim to be the sole, legitimate inheritor of power. For the same reason, they dare not admit that a state of war no longer exists between themselves and the South African Government.

**Hardening stance**

Or will the watchman have the courage to disappont his hosts and forsake short-term political advantage to transcend historic enmities, however valid, and to preach reconciliation as did King? Can he even, as a lawyer and politician, simply acknowledge that De Klerk must be given some operating room on his own side if he is to make further concessions at the negotiating table?



Nelson Mandela makes his way through a crowd after arriving in Ottawa on Sunday for a three-day stay before moving on to America.

One influential black journalist, the Washington Post's Juan Williams, has had the nerve to express concern. "If a steady diet of ticker-tape parades and hosanna-like tributes gives Mandela the sense that he holds control of US policy," he wrote last Sunday, "it could push (him) in the direction of

hardline negotiation. And an inflexible bargaining stance could destroy the fragile opportunity that now exists to achieve a political settlement and give blacks full rights as citizens of South Africa."

This is a lonely voice of sanity. The omens are not good that it will be heeded.

**LETTERS**

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

## Account for crimes prior to peace

From KAREN CHUBB, National Executive, Black Sash (Mowbray):

THE ANC has stated publicly that our future should be built on a basis of forgiveness. But for the injuries of the past to be healed, acceptance of responsibility must precede forgiveness of past wrongs. Unless we expose, face and openly acknowledge the full ex-

not only ourselves but also future generations.

For this reason the Harms and Hiemstra commissions play a crucial role. A full and public disclosure of the extent of covert activities, harassment and murder is vital if there is to be any trust in the future. Unless all those responsible for these crimes are identified and held accountable.



no whites  
because no  
publicity <sup>CAT 7mfs</sup> 19/6/90.

From BARNEY DESAI, <sup>(117)</sup>  
Co-ordinator, W Cape  
Region, Pan-African-  
ist Congress. (Salt  
River):

THAT H Harris (Letters, June 13) is "surprised" to learn that the PAC is non-racialist perhaps answers his last question to me whether "any white people currently belong to the PAC?"

We have barely been unbanned for five months and our policies have received little or no exposure through the mass media and therefore, to my knowledge, we have no "white members".

When I addressed the conference which reconstituted the PAC internally in March I said it was a "blatant lie" and that none other than our president, Zeph Motopheng, had said (and again repeated to the assembled delegates) 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".

We have also held that genuine negotiations for a new South Africa/Azania can only take place when apartheid is dismantled and not reformed.

We also demand, among other preconditions, that all political prisoners be released forthwith and that all exiles be allowed to return without preconditions.

When apartheid is really dead, Harris can be assured that the PAC will be very much more alive.

At the Bloemfontein conference I cautioned that the slogan "one settler one bullet" is inconsistent with our aims. No mature liberation movement has ever had as its stated policy their intention to drive white people into the sea.

The difference, as I perceive it, between Azapo and PAC is that we allow persons of the human race to participate in shaping the future of our country. We reject exclusiveness in this process.

However, we remain firmly committed to self-determination for the indigenous people of our country.

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# PAC has no whites because no publicity

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# Cape Times



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## ANC rebel 'gunned down'

UMTATA. — One of the eight ANC dissidents who made headlines on his return to South Africa recently has been killed.

Mr Sipho Phungulwa, 28, who escaped from an ANC punishment camp in Tanzania, apparently died after an angry visit to the organisation's Umtata offices, Transkei police confirmed yesterday.

General S Damoyi, head of the security police, said the body of Mr Phungulwa was discovered in Ngangalizwe location outside Umtata.

He had been shot with an automatic weapon. General Damoyi said his department was not involved in the investigation which was being treated as "an ordinary murder case".

*NY Times 19/6/89*  
South African intelligence sources said they understood that Mr Phungulwa and an unidentified companion called at the ANC office in Umtata on Friday or Saturday to discuss the organisation and its leadership.

The two then disappeared. The second person was still missing but was believed to be alive.

ANC headquarters in Johannesburg said it was looking into the report.

Mr Phungulwa was one of eight former guerrillas who returned to South Africa in April after the government legalised the ANC and freed Mr Nelson Mandela.

The eight said they were incarcerated in Dakawa punishment camp in Tanzania because they militated against what they called unde-

mocratic practices by the ANC.

They told a news conference that the ANC had tortured and killed rebels and suppressed political dissent during the years it was banned in South Africa.

Mr Mandela admitted in April that some dissidents had been tortured, but said those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.

An ANC spokesman in Umtata, Dr Zola Dabula, confirmed that a man had approached the York Street offices on Friday to demand a meeting with the ANC's regional committee, but that the meeting had not taken place. — Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reuter.

# Mandela talks to Thatcher — on the phone



CALL ...  
Mrs Thatcher

11A  
C.M. - T.M.P. 19/6/90  
Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela spoke on the telephone for over 40 minutes during his low-key trip to London, it was revealed last night.

A Downing Street spokesman admitted that the call had taken place "over the weekend". However, he declined to reveal who had initiated the discussions, or their content.

He said "no meetings" had taken

place between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mandela.

It is understood that the call took place on Saturday, shortly after ANC foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki's meeting with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd.

Mr Mandela's trip to London was billed as a strictly private visit to see ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, convalescing after suffering a stroke last year.

● Sanctions 'vital to struggle' — Page 2

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"NO mama, I don't believe you," the servants giggled when Minah Nkosi told them she, also a black, was a guest in a white home.

Nkosi was strolling with her hostess, Jessie Jameson, when they met the off-duty maids chatting on a grassy verge in the prosperous whites-only Johannesburg suburb of Edenvale.

"Then apartheid is over," one exclaimed when Nkosi convinced them that not only were she and Jameson friends, but that the white woman had stayed in her own black township home.

After 40 years of race segregation, the South African Government has at last sat down with the African National Congress to discuss ending apartheid.

But while President F W de Klerk has tea with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, ordinary South Africans rarely socialise across the racial divide.

## Barriers

The law restricting movement between black townships and white suburbs has been scrapped, but stubborn psychological barriers persist and blacks and whites rarely entertain one another at home.

Nkosi and Jameson belong to a Christian group called Koinonia (fellowship), trying to break down those barriers.

They and other Koinonia members recently met at the home of a white couple, Reg and Maureen Jager, for a "braaivleis" or barbecue.

"Blacks from work used to help me out at home sometimes, but it was awkward when we sat down to eat," said Reg Jager, whose wife belongs to Koinonia.

"But this is different," he added, glancing at black faces tucking into meat and salad around his garden table.

The visitors came from Tembisa, 10km from Jager's home.

## Welcome

The black townships of South Africa are strange, unknown places for most whites. They are almost never visited and usually they are invisible from white cities. Whites know of them only through newspapers when there are outbreaks of anti-apartheid violence.

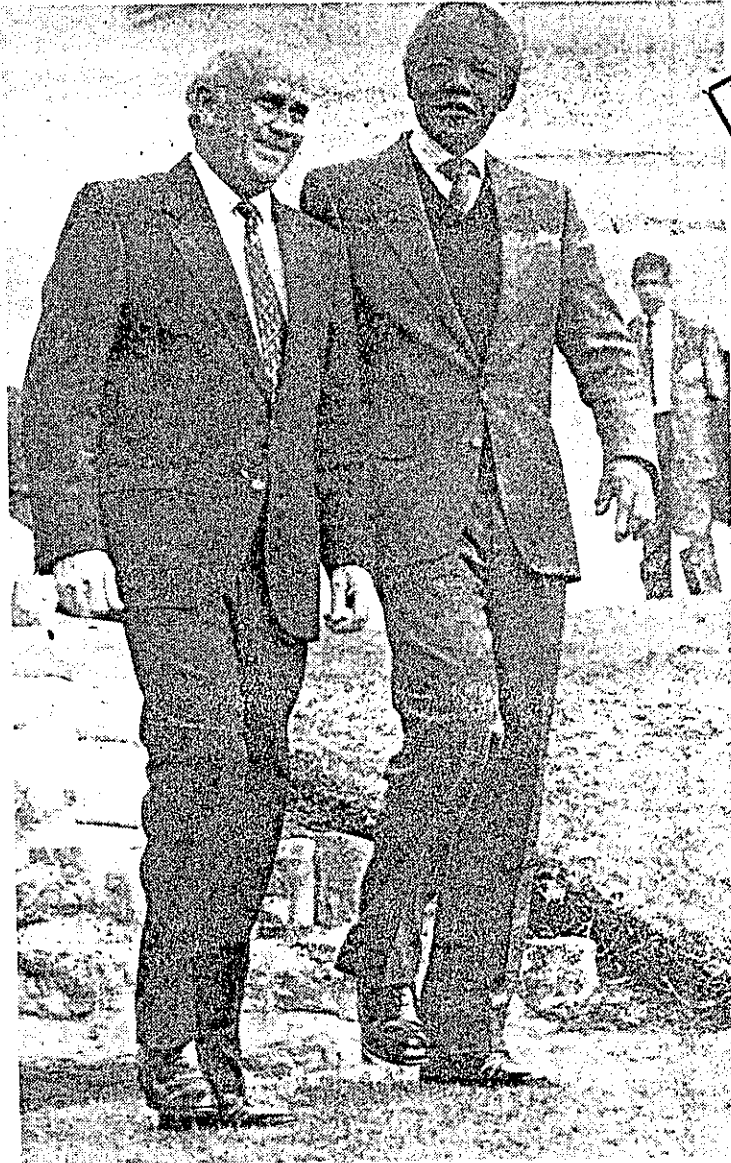
When Maureen went off to spend her first weekend in Tembisa with 60 other whites, her con-

# Straddling the racial divide

Sowetan  
19/6/90

11A

FOCUS



While Mandela and F W de Klerk enjoy tea at Tuynhuys, few South Africans ever socialise across racial barriers.

servative husband refused to get involved. Her mother cried in fear for her safety and her nine-year-old son exclaimed: "Gosh, mom, you've got courage."

But she returned home unscathed and struck by the warmth of the welcome she had received.

She was also appalled by the conditions in which black people live in the areas allowed them under racial zoning laws. The tiny homes are overcrowded and commonly lack basic facilities such as electricity and bathrooms.

She invited her hosts, Peter and

Genevieve Matsobane, back to Edenvale.

"I was a little bit dubious about how my husband and children would react," said Maureen.

## Hardening

"But Reg handled the situation with great ease. I was surprised by how similar they were with their philosophical approach to life."

A few years ago, Jager, a pharmaceutical salesman, and

Matsobane, a plumber, would have been enemies.

"Jager served for more than two years as an army conscript while Matsobane served in the then-outlawed Pan Africanist Congress.

Jager blames military service, compulsory for all white males, for hardening his attitude towards blacks.

Matsobane is not bitter about the past, although he said he was arrested and tortured by police.

"We must just forgive and forget. I think most blacks have done that," he said.

Jager was amazed to hear Matsobane say he now shares his admiration for reformist president De Klerk and would vote for him if he carries out his promise to give blacks the vote.

Matsobane and the other blacks seemed quite relaxed in the comparative luxury of Jager's house and garden. Their children played together happily by the swimming pool.

## Awkward

The blacks were struck by the quiet of Edenvale compared with Tembisa, where 16 people often cram into a four-roomed house and privacy is virtually unknown.

While conversation began awkwardly with talk of black and white social customs, the party was soon laughing over the past.

"A few years ago if you had a gathering like this you would be called a communist," said Jessie Jameson.

"And we would have been called 'sell-outs'," said Nkosi.

In the warm afternoon sunshine, both possibilities seemed as hazy as the smoke rising from the barbecue. - Sapa-Reuter.

# Body of dissident found in Transkei

# ANC rebel murdered

Soweto 19/6/90

11A

Sapa-Reuter

An African National Congress dissident has been killed after visiting the organisation's Umtata offices, South African intelligence sources said yesterday.

They said the body of Siphon Phungulwa (26), who had escaped from an ANC punishment camp in Tanzania, was found in Transkei on Sunday. He had been shot with an automatic weapon.

The sources said they understood Phungulwa and an unidentified companion called at the ANC office in Umtata on Friday or Saturday to discuss the organisation and its leadership.

The two then disappeared. The other person was still missing but was believed to be alive, the sources said.

ANC headquarters in Johannesburg said it was looking into the report. Police in Umtata could not be reached.

## Leader

Phungulwa was one of eight former guerillas who returned to South Africa in April after the Government legalised the ANC and freed its most prominent leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The eight said they were incarcerated in Dakawa punishment camp in Tanzania because they had mutinied against what they called undemocratic practices by the ANC.

They told a news conference that the ANC had tortured and killed rebels and suppressed political dissent during the years it was banned in South Africa.

Mandela admitted in April that some dissidents had been tortured but said those responsible had been



## Back again

Soweto 19/6/90

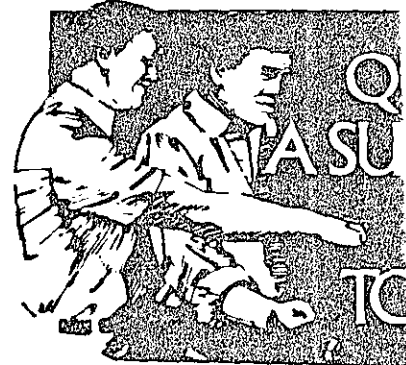
11A

The chief of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, and the organisation's general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, arrived back in South Africa yesterday. Accompanying them were several ANC national committee executive members who are in the country for a meeting with the Interim Leadership Corps, which represents all regions in South Africa. The three-day meeting in Johannesburg, which begins on June 22, will focus on the movement's issues.

disciplined and expelled from the movement.

The eight said they thought their lives were now in danger and their only safeguard was to publicise abuses by the ANC, which denied it the right to speak on behalf of South African blacks.

They planned to form a committee of relatives of people who had died or disappeared in exile and to appeal to the United Nations, Amnesty International, the Organisation of African Unity and church groups for help in finding those missing. - Sapa-Reuter.



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# The Creative Act

Sowetan 19/6/90

A SERIES ON COMMUNITY PLAY-MAKING FOR EVERYONE



Benjy Francis

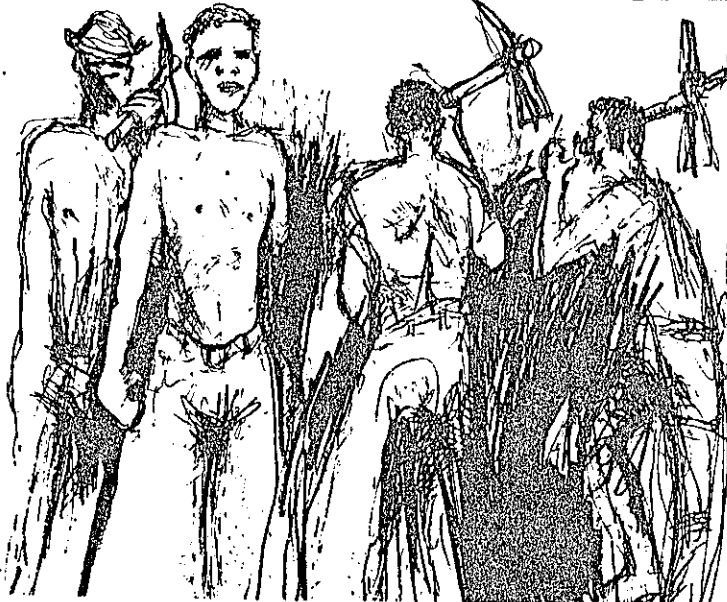
This is the third installment in the Afrika Cultural Centre's introduction to its series on play-making. Look out for The Creative Act page in Sowetan every Tuesday in the coming weeks. The Creative Act will discuss the methods, problems and issues involved in the making of theatre.



Bheki Peterson

Culture and democracy are without doubt the most abused concepts within South African life and politics. Everyone (within the spectrum of politics) purports to fight for democracy and one of the key concepts used in defining what democracy is or is not, is culture and so-called cultural differences. And most times when culture is referred to, it is as if culture is something biological, something that you are born with and cannot contribute to or alter. When we talk of culture we tend to link it vaguely with some forgotten tradition or custom or some past moment that, for whatever reason, we think we should remain faithful to. Such an understanding of culture is limited. The issues involved in grasping the social origins and functions of culture are varied and complex and we can only introduce the topic today.

## UNDERSTANDING CULTURE



In trying to understand culture we prefer another approach, one that is more historical and dynamic. Let us start by noting that we should see culture as a process by which we give meaning to our humanity and existence. At the centre of existence is our struggle to produce the means of life. We need food to eat, shelter to live in, clothing to protect us, artistic practices to teach and entertain us, love and companionship to satisfy our humanity and sociality, and many other needs. The struggle to acquire the means of life is essentially on two levels (also known as the twin struggles): Firstly, we struggle with the environment (nature) we live in, working on it and transforming it through our labour, ingenuity and tools into forms that will meet our human wants or desires. We till the soil, cultivate crops, build houses and create spaces for learning, recreation and worship.

We realised, in time, that the task of controlling nature could be made easier by entering into relationships with other people: that we could divide labour amongst ourselves and share resources and skills. This realisation opened the way for our second struggle, that between man and man. In coming together as people, whether as a family, community or nation, we developed complex relationships and world-views that govern when and what we produce, as well as how we share the means of life. We also developed moral, ethical and aesthetic values and created social and political institutions to help us make sense of ourselves, of our communities and of the world at large.

and other people are not always harmonious. We tend to move between the extremities of harmony and conflict, love and hate, abundance and poverty, peace and war. Today very few of us actually produce what we eat or sleep in what we have built but most of us are constantly engaged in one type of labour or another. To make matters even more complicated, those of us that are involved in labour have very little say and control over what we produce and how it is distributed. When you look at other things that we do not have much say in, such as where we stay, what is taught in our schools, and so on, you realise the complexity of our lives and the historical changes that we have been through. We will be addressing some of these issues in our series over the coming weeks for they are part and parcel of our cultural practices.

tion, our culture. The totality of the practices and beliefs that we create while engaged in the twin struggles make up a society's culture. Culture, when viewed in the context that we are suggesting, informs all our everyday activities. It is embedded not only in our arts and literature but also in the way we walk and talk, in the sciences, in education and health and in everything else that has touched us in our historical journey. Because of its presence in everything we do we generally describe culture as a way of life or as the collective expression of the way a community organises its life. History teaches us that culture is dynamic and progressive. It is not frozen in time, rather it is able to change in response to changing circumstances. We find ourselves constantly in the process of discovery, of unravelling or demystifying the world through conscious thought, action and feeling. We must, then, understand Culture as a Creative Act.

So you can see how through the twin struggles we create the basis for our social behaviour and organiza-

We observe that our relationships with nature

## How to work through the series.

Each week we will set posers and tasks for you to work through practically. To Act is to Do! Each week you should take this page into your work space (any space that allows the group privacy and movement to explore creative ideas) and engage in the tasks set out. Discuss The Creative Act page and evaluate its content and suggestions. The series will lead you, as you work with your group, to create your very own play. If you have comments, questions or want back-copies of The Creative Act write to us at: The Creative Act P O Box 42705, Fordsburg 2033. You can also call us at (011) 638-3034.



## BUZZZZ WORDS

In the Buzz words space you will find explanations of difficult or new words used in our series. You may know some of the words but we will be using them in new ways. This week's buzz words are:

- moral: beliefs that are concerned with the goodness or badness of behaviour and character
- ethical: a consideration of moral issues
- aesthetic: the appreciation of beauty in life and especially in art
- embedded: firmly rooted
- demystify: to reinterpret something in order to bring clarity and understanding.

### Tasks

Pick out some working implements that we use to transform our environment, explore their functions through actual physical action. Comment on its inventiveness or otherwise. Can you trace back or research some early African implements? Share your information with the group and compare your responses. Identify some moral, ethical and aesthetic values. Discuss those and see if you can trace their source. You may share some of your discoveries with us. Enjoy a some present-day issues that disturb a measure of loss of control in our eyes. How do we counteract these through creativity? Have a lively debate!

### Next Week

We will continue our exploration of culture looking at its elements and contemporary expression.

#### FORTHCOMING EVENTS AT THE ACC

Saturday 23 June 1990: H.I.E. (Ohio) Seminars in African Performance: Summit Topic: From Black Theatre to Worker Theatre, Towards a Critical Appreciation.

4-6 July 1990: half-year workshop on African Theatre.





(11A) (19) (16) 19/6/90

# Mandela, Thatcher discuss sanctions over the phone

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

LONDON — British premier Margaret Thatcher and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela held talks at the weekend to discuss their clashing views on sanctions, a spokesman for Mrs Thatcher's office said yesterday.

The spokesman said the two leaders, who have been at loggerheads about the merits of continued sanctions pressure on South Africa in the light of President de Klerk's bold reforms, discussed the issue at length during a 40-minute telephone conversation.

Both leaders had expressed eagerness to meet soon, but de-

clined to give further details.

However, a spokesman for the ANC in London was unaware of any discussion between Mr Mandela and Mrs Thatcher.

Mr Mandela arrived in London on Saturday night for a brief reunion with ANC president Oliver Tambo after a gruelling five-nation European tour before leaving for Canada and the United States yesterday.

Mr Mandela, on a six-week international tour to call for the maintenance of sanctions, is due to meet Mrs Thatcher in person for the first time early next month during a 36-hour trip to Britain. Mr Mandela has said the ANC is keen for better relations with Britain.



# ANC dissidents in hiding

Oct 19/6/88 By Craig Kotze (11A)

African National Congress dissidents in South Africa have gone into hiding since the assassination of one of their number in Transkei after a visit to the ANC's Umtata offices last week.

It is believed the nine remaining dissidents, including two children, fear an ANC death squad has been formed

Sipho Phungulwa (26) was reportedly shot dead by two gunmen in a car after

the taxi in which he and another dissident, Nicolas Dyason, were travelling was forced off the road. Mr Dyason fled and is still believed to be hiding in Transkei.

The ANC has denied involvement in the killing.

Transkei police commissioner General N S Sipambo said Transkei's security police chief had no knowledge of the incident.

**N**ELSON Mandela arrives this week in the US as the reincarnation of Martin Luther King. Whether this disturbs him or not is, like his real views on almost any subject, a mystery. I hope I am wrong but my own suspicion is that he will play the role required of him, both by his adoring hosts and by the political organism of which, as he himself has intimated, he is but an obedient cell.

This is worse than tragic. Unlike King, he does not appear to believe that the arm of the universe is long and tends to justice. He says it must be helped along by violence (albeit of a disciplined variety). Furthermore, he has offered no sonorous dream to stir the moral imaginations of his countrymen. Instead, unwittingly or otherwise, he is contributing to a nightmare.

At the Versailles Conference in 1919, the victorious Allies imposed on Germany the vengefully onerous terms that paved the way for Nazism. It took another war and yet more millions dead to prove the folly of such a policy. The second time around, the Western Allies set out to build democracy on the ruins. There has been no European war since.

**T**he US and a good many of its partners — though not, interestingly, the Germans — now effectively propose to pursue the Versailles option on SA. It is insufficient that apartheid is defeated and government has irrevocably committed itself to building a new, all-inclusive nation. White South Africans must be punished for what they did and for their inability to turn Botshabelo into a leafy Washington suburb overnight.

To be sure, this is not the US government's official policy. Nor, one would like to think, is it Mandela's. It is, however, the overall effect of what each is doing and failing to do. Neither seems willing or brave enough to rectify it.

Let us be blunt about why the US will retain the most punitive of its

# Mandela may have a dream, but it could become a nightmare

SIMON BARBER in Washington

existing sanctions on SA until the bitter end. It will not be because policymakers fear recidivism on Pretoria's part or accept the moronic argument that the removal of sanctions will somehow wreck negotiations. Nor will it be because, the 1986 Anti-Apartheid Act's conditions having been met, Congress believes that the ANC still needs foreign help to press its constitutional demands. Nor even will it be because great armies of activists stand to lose their *raison d'être* and meal tickets.

These reasons suffer the defect of logic. No, sanctions will remain pressed on by the dead weight of historical grievance. However fully they atone, white South Africans will be made to do penance not only for the vile injustices of their own past but for those, real and imagined, of American, indeed Western, society.

For slavery and Jim Crow. For the lynchmob. For the death of a black teenager at the hands of white hoodlums in Bensonhurst, New York. For the poverty and hopelessness of the ghetto. For a Supreme Court hostile to affirmative action. For a federal prosecutor whose only means to topple Washington's corrupt mayor was to lure him into smoking crack on

camera. For Africa's idealised iron age having been rudely interrupted by colonists and missionaries. For history books that fail to recognise the debt to sub-Saharan cultures owed by Plato and (I do not jest) pre-Conquistador Mexico. The list grows by the day.

**W**hite SA has long been the whipping boy for all such slights and more — indeed, for the whole increasingly sorry state of race relations in the US. This is not going to cease simply because President F W de Klerk does the right thing, or because cooler heads in the administration or Congress recognise the dangers he faces if his courage goes unrequited.

Why? Because even the coolest head has to think about domestic passions first, and not only for selfish political reasons. There is ugliness abroad, and, for men like New York's mayor David Dinkins, tranquillity to consider. Fanned by supercharged rhetoric and appeals to paranoia, pent-up frustrations spawn ever deeper hatreds. If kicking a country

with little immediate connection to national security can help keep things from boiling over, so be it.

Into this mess comes Mandela. Sunday's New York Times published a sampling black opinion along his American parade route. "Whatever the Pope means to Catholics," said a Baptist minister from Detroit, "that's what Mandela means to us ... shall we march, shall we walk, shall we sit, shall we stand? We're waiting to hear what the watchman will say to us."

A professor from the Massachusetts Institute for Technology spoke of Mandela as black America's new general come to visit his demoralised troops. "It has been a long struggle with mostly defeats. It's nice, for once, to be on the winning side. We are a safer people because Mandela and the ANC are strong."

King's widow, Coretta, attributed to the ANC deputy president almost mystical powers of redemption: a quasi-deity made flesh to give hope to inner city youth and all the other "victims" of racism. "Now we have the physical manifestations as we can touch and feel the people who have been involved in the struggle and they can feel us. For the children who will be here and who will get a

chance just to get a glimpse of this man ... it's very important."

Such outpourings challenge Mandela to reveal whether he really is "a man of integrity, honest, a worthy interlocutor" as the SA government, so desperately wants him to be — or merely the "honourable man" Mark Antony called Brutus.

Will Mandela exploit American emotion and encourage the Versailles option? Clearly, that is what his handlers wish. What else can one conclude from their decision to delay any agreement on the release of political prisoners until after Mandela had ensured such a step would not result in any easing of sanctions? They fear for their political position if the world stops despising Pretoria.

They need the hatred to continue in order to entrench and fund their claim to be the sole, legitimate inheritor of power; for the same reason, they dare not admit that a state of war no longer exists between themselves and the SA government.

Or will the watchman have the courage to disappoint his hosts and forsake short-term political advantage to transcend historic enmities, however valid, and to preach reconciliation as King did? Can he even, as a lawyer and politician, simply acknowledge that De Klerk must be given some operating room on his own side if he is to make further concessions at the negotiating table?

**O**ne influential black journalist, the Washington Post's Juan Williams, has had the nerve to express concern.

"If a steady diet of ticker tape parades and hosanna-like tributes gives Mandela the sense that he holds control of US policy," he wrote last Sunday, "it could push (him) in the direction of hardline negotiation. And an inflexible bargaining stance could destroy the fragile opportunity that now exists to achieve a political settlement and give blacks full rights as citizens of SA."

This is a lonely voice of sanity. The omens are not good that it will be heeded.



# Mandela's future SA

## ANC deputy-leader spells out his 'vision' to Canadians

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
OTTAWA. — South Africa must be inspired by Canada's recent ability to compromise over its constitutional status when it comes to negotiating its own constitution, Mr Nelson Mandela has told the Canadian parliament.

In an historic address to a joint sitting of the Canadian House of Commons and the Senate — the first non-head of state or government to do so — African NATIONAL Congress deputy-leader Mr Mandela yesterday outlined his broad vision of the future South African constitution.

Mr Mandela repeated the plea he made throughout Europe earlier this month, asking the Canadian parliament to ensure sanctions against South Africa were not lifted or relaxed until apartheid had been ended.

After signing the guest book and an hour-long private meeting with Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney, Mr Mandela addressed the assembled chambers in the Commons.

The members and people crowding the overhanging public galleries gave him a three-minute standing ovation when he mounted the rostrum in front of the Speaker.

He said it was a privilege to be asked to address parliament, which was an example of democracy to which South Africans aspired.

That he had not had the opportunity to do the same thing in his own country, even as a guest (of the South African parliament), emphasised the iniquity of the apartheid system.

"We wish to see every South African enjoy the right to vote and having the possibility to be elected to all organisations of government without discrimination on the basis of race, colour or sex," he said.

Mr Mandela said the bitter experience of repression and oppression had created a determination that South Africa should be a thorough-going democracy in which the rights of all its citizens would be inviolable and they would have equality before the law.

Accordingly, in South Africa's democratic constitution, there should be an entrenched Bill of Rights enforced by an independent judiciary.

As reflected in the Freedom Charter, the ANC was committed to all South African citizens being given equal rights to their language, culture and religion.

"These provisions, among others, will address the issue of so-called white fears while meeting the aspirations of the

people of South Africa as a whole," he said.

Mr Mandela said he also visualised a constitution whereby power would be devolved to regional and local levels of government so as to give the broadest possible participation of the people in the government of themselves.

He was, however, opposed to the idea of federating South Africa. It was not acceptable that the ANC should recognise the fragmentation of South Africa as a given fact on which a new reality would have to be built.

### Legitimate

Mr Mandela said part of the process of negotiating a settlement would have to be the election of a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution, as was done in Namibia.

This would ensure democratic means were used in the search for a democratic result and it would also ensure the result of the negotiations enjoyed legitimacy.

Mr Mandela said a new political system had to go side by side with freedom from hunger, want and suffering.

● At a state banquet for Mr Mandela last night, Mr Mulroney pledged \$5 million (R13.5-m) for the repatriation and resettlement of South African exiles and for the reintegration of political prisoners into their communities.



THANKS: ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges the cheers of the Canadian parliament after his historic speech in Ottawa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is on the right. 11/6/90 (114) 12...

# Dissident dies: Fears of ANC death squad

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC dissidents inside South Africa fear for their lives and have gone into hiding after the assassination of one of their number in Transkei after visiting the ANC's Umtata offices last week.

It is believed that the nine remaining dissidents — including two children — fear an ANC death squad has been formed to eliminate them.

Mr Sipho Phungulwa, 26, was shot by two gunmen after the taxi in which he and another dissident, Mr Nicolas Dyason, were travelling was forced off the road near Ngangelizwe suburb last week.

Mr Phungulwa was shot in the neck. Mr Dyason fled and is believed to be hiding in Transkei.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said if the report was true, "such an act would never have been sanctioned by the ANC."

Transkei police commissioner General N S Sipambo said he and other top policemen had no knowledge of the incident.

Mr Phungulwa and seven other former ANC fighters who mutinied against alleged ANC torture and maltreatment in camps outside South Africa returned home in April.

● See page 3.

## National executive group in SA to review strategy

A 12-MAN delegation of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) arrived in SA yesterday afternoon to review the movement's strategies.

On arrival Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the strengthening of the ANC would be one of the issues discussed. (11A)

Hani and his associates are to participate in a joint working committee meeting with the interim leadership corps (ILC) which represents all regions in SA.

"We want to ensure the ANC becomes the strongest organisation. We will also look at all strategies of the ANC to make a clear call and give clear instructions to our people," Hani said. 6/10 am 19/6/90

Hani said the NEC, the ANC's policy-making body, would convene a meeting to review the organisation's restructuring in the country.

The three-day meeting would take place in Johannesburg and begin on Friday, an ANC spokesman said.

"I am going to speak about all strategies, including the armed struggle if there is no ceasefire," Hani said.

Among the ANC team was Simon Makana, its chief representative in the Soviet Union.

On fears that the Soviet Union was "backsliding" from its ANC support, he said: "The Soviet Union generally believes that the problems in SA should be solved by South Africans themselves. There is still assistance, materially and morally. They are still committed to the dismantling of apartheid." — Sapa, ANO.

B1 Day 19/6/90

11A 304

# ANC hands UN team a list of obstacles to talks

AN ANC delegation led by executive members Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo yesterday submitted to the UN mission an expanded list of political and legal obstacles to meaningful constitutional negotiations, including foreign funding curbs, media restrictions and alleged bias by the SABC.

A four-page document listing obstacles to "free political discussion" was submitted to the 10-member UN fact-finding mission on apartheid during a meeting at the ANC's internal head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC and the UDF jointly listed a number of laws they said were designed to curb freedom of political expression: the Internal Security Act, two foreign funding acts and the Affected Organisations Act which makes it an offence for the UDF, as

PETER DELMAR

an affected organisation, to receive monies from abroad.

The memorandum accused the SA government of lacking the courage to act against white paramilitary forces and of being unwilling to deal with lack of police discipline.

It described the Harms Commission of Inquiry into politically motivated crimes as being "toothless".

## Watchdog

The maintenance of the state of emergency in Natal, it said, boosted the SAP's morale but did not prevent attacks on UDF communities.

In addition to urging an end to media restrictions, the memorandum noted there was no statutory basis for appeal against unequal radio and television coverage, and proposed an independent and impartial watchdog

be set up to monitor and "guide" the SABC.

The memorandum said only when elections for a Constituent Assembly had taken place could it be said that irreversible change had occurred.

Meanwhile, a top-level Sacob team yesterday urged the visiting UN team to give SA recognition for the positive changes which had recently occurred within the country.

Sacob spokesman Ken Warren said last night the UN team was well-informed about SA.

A chamber statement emphasised the need for a strong economy to underpin economic change.

The UN team also met members of the SAIRR, the Urban Foundation, the PAC and Nactu yesterday.

And in a surprise development yesterday, Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party requested a meeting with the UN team, becoming the first right-wing group to do so.



The leader of the UN fact-finding mission, under-secretary Abdulrahim Farah of Somalia, left, greets general Raymond Parsons while the UN team's deputy leader, Sotiros Mousouris of Greece, shakes hands with deputy president Denis Paxton at the start of a two-hour discussion yesterday.

# ANC policy aims at a 'common market'

11A  
KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — THE ANC is developing a policy on economic and other inter-state relations in southern Africa — and in terms of it SA could become part of a regional "common market" with a common currency. *15/12/70 19/1/71*

But, with SA becoming the powerhouse of the region as Africa opens up and sanctions are lifted, its large conglomerates cannot expect to reap increased benefits at the expense of the poorer nations in the region.

This is the essence of a letter by the ANC's chief representative in the UK and Ireland, Mendi Msimang, published in *The Independent*.

Writing in reaction to an article last week on the role of a post-apartheid SA as a "catalyst for economic growth" in the region, Msimang said "the condition for such a role cannot be a domestic political settlement that is simply acceptable to our people in SA".

Rather what was called for, he said, was a "fundamental recasting of SA's foreign policies ... into one which is indubitably based on a structure of equal and non-exploitative relations" between nations of the region.

19/6/90

# future SA

## it his 'vision' to Canadians



**THANKS:** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges the cheers of the Canadian parliament after his historic speech in Ottawa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is on the right.

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### Gunman mows down 13 then kills himself

JACKSONVILLE (Florida). — A man whose car had been repossessed gunned down customers and employees at a financing agency, killing eight people and critically wounding six before committing suicide, police said.

"He just started walking through the building and shooting," Sheriff James McMillan said.

The gunman used a semi-automatic rifle and a .38 revolver.

"It was just a terrible, terrible, senseless thing," said Mr McMillan.

The shootings occurred inside the General Motors Acceptance Corp. building, the car-financing arm of General Motors.

Most of the shots apparently came from the rifle. — Sapa-AP.

### Special praise for FW in ANC leader's speeches

The Argus Foreign Service TORONTO. — Mr Nelson Mandela gave special praise to President F W de Klerk in three of his speeches in Canada yesterday.

The deputy-president of the ANC told a joint sitting of the Canadian houses of parliament that the recent talks between the ANC and the South African government were a victory for all South Africans.

"We are determined to implement the agreement that resulted from those negotiations, and we believe the government is of the same view."

Mr Mandela said it would be only fair to indicate that he and the ANC saw Mr De Klerk and his colleagues in the leadership of the National Party as men and women of integrity.

The fact that an agreement had been reached with the government at Groote Schuur

demonstrated the bona fides of the De Klerk leadership.

At a Press conference, Mr Mandela said there was a will, from the point of view of the ANC as well as the government, to reach a negotiated settlement as soon as possible.

At a rally in Toronto, Mr Mandela said he had to emphasize he did not at all question the integrity of President De Klerk and his colleagues and he accepted the government would abide by the agreement it made with the ANC in Cape Town in May.

But he said it was important that Canada double, and redouble, its efforts in applying pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.

Apartheid remained firmly in place and not until it had been irrevocably ended would it be safe to lift sanctions, he said.



# F W is 'dragging his feet on removing obstacles'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

NEGOTIATIONS about the political future of South Africa would take place within the next year if the process between the African National Congress and the government succeeds, says the ANC's constitutional committee member Mr Pallo Jordan.

He warned, however, that the talks-about-talks phase had reached a stage where the government was dragging its feet in removing obstacles to negotiations.

"Two weeks ago, a colleague of mine, the head of the legal and constitutional affairs department of the ANC, was held for two nights at Jan Smuts airport. Later he was given 72 hours to be out of South Africa."

His colleague was not one of the 38 people given indemnity by the government, but he had complied with all the requirements for returning home, Mr Jordan said.

"The government was notified and given all the particulars well in advance."

Mr Jordan said he had been held up at Jan Smuts too. "I thought that it was just a routine matter, but I was delayed for three hours and missed my connecting flight to Cape Town."

## Obstacles

"I don't know whether this is inefficiency or petty harassment. The point is that it's the South African state which is responsible for these inordinate delays. It seems to me that they not creating a climate conducive to negotiations."

"It seems that more obstacles are being placed in our way at a time when they should be removed."

Mr Jordan, the director of the movement's information and publicity, was in Cape Town recently to attend its constitutional committee's first meeting on South African soil.

"We thought it was a very important meeting. The fact that it took place on South African soil said much for the times we are living in."

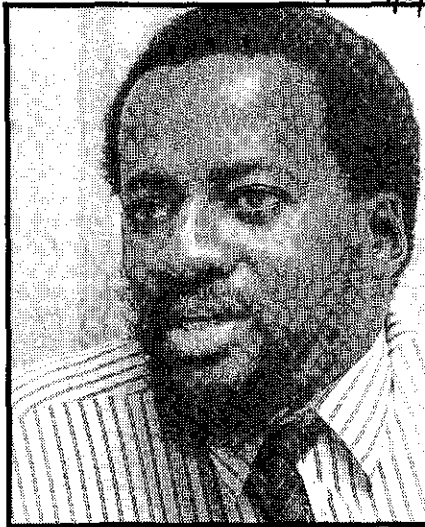
"If the processes that are unfolding succeeds one sees a situation in which there will be serious negotiations about the future of our country within a year or so," he said.

The ANC had to be equipped with credible constitution models, options and concrete proposals to sweep away apartheid.

"You can't do that just with a couple of slogans strung together. Government is a very delicately balanced set of instruments and in taking it apart you have to take account of that delicacy."

He said the ANC did have a specific constitutional model "to talk about".

"It's our view that a new constitution



Pallo Jordan

must come from the people of South Africa and not from a group of pundits or even from an ANC conference."

The ANC, however, had a few definite ideas of what a new constitution should look like.

The movement was wedded to the idea of a constituent assembly where a new constitution could be worked out, he said. The envisaged assembly would be elected by all voters eligible to vote in non-racial election. The mechanics of such an election still have to be worked out.

"The advantage of having these elections is that they will test who represents whom. People who are voted in will have a mandate and those who don't receive sufficient votes won't be there. Consequently the deliberations or decisions taken by such an assembly will be legitimate."

The Freedom Charter was an ANC programme and the movement would take it to a constituent assembly and say 'this is how we say the future should look,' he said.

"If a huge, thumping ANC majority is voted in it means the voters like the Freedom Charter. In this case we'll say: 'This is the people's choice'."

"The Freedom Charter is a programme, it's not a blueprint. It won't necessarily be applied a day after the elections. It will have to be phased in and adapted to changing circumstances."

If voted in with a big majority, the ANC would insist that the inequities in South Africa must be addressed.

"They are of such a fundamental character that you cannot deal with them by tinkering with the pieces of apartheid. You need radical surgery."

He said that 87 percent of land was in the hands by 17 percent of the population.

"That is an absurd inequity."

"As result of racial privilege, stacking the decks in their favour and using their powers as exclusive holders of po-

litical power in this country, white business enjoys a virtual monopoly in this country. That's also an absurd inequity. We can't live with that."

Another inequity, he said, was that 75 percent of all companies registered on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were controlled by a handful of companies.

"These are some of the issues which are going to be addressed. Certain gentlemen who sit on the boards of directors of these companies may not like this, but that is what the people of South Africa would have voted for. We would expect them to respect it."

He urged Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, former leader of the House of Delegates, to quit Parliament.

"If I were Rajbansi or Hendrickse, I would move for the closure of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives while the going is good. What are they trying to do? If they are hanging on for a golden handshake they can forget about it."

He said President De Klerk was stuck with a number things which were of the National Party's own making. It would be extremely dangerous for him to close these two chambers as such a move would send shockwaves through the entire structure.

"I'm saying Raj and Hendrickse must see the writing on the wall and should get out now."

He said that the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) should realise that Afrikaans was not the exclusive property of people of Dutch descent.

"There are millions of people of mixed descent who speak Afrikaans, love it, enjoy speaking it, and are interested in its preservation. It's a language spoken by South Africans. Afrikaans will survive as long as there are people who speak."

## Psychological problem

He said of fears of a possible right-wing backlash against President De Klerk: "The British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd (who talked about this last week) has his own problems. He has explain to the rest of the world the set of options taken by the Thatcher government over the years."

"The difficulty Maggie Thatcher and other Conservative governments before her have in common is their inability to think of South Africa in any other terms than as a white man's country. This is a big psychological problem which they have."

"Once you begin from that premise then questions of a white backlash are paramount to your thinking. The fact of the matter is that we are talking about less than 17 percent of the population."

"I find this idea that 'Mr De Klerk has to be supported because he'll be toppled' quite absurd. If he wants to take care of business, and forever put this fear of being toppled behind him, all he has to do is to introduce real democracy."

PLUS 19/6/90

11A

# Mixed response to ANC economic plan

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, and GRAHAM LIZAMORE, Staff Reporter

NEW economic proposals by the African National Congress — spelled out in a document — have provided a fresh assessment of its post-apartheid vision, but key doubts remain, politicians and economists say.

The joint ANC/Cosatu document, arising from a workshop on economic policy in Harare in April, says tax and agricultural reforms, nationalisation and the "dismemberment" of concentrated economic power in the hands of industrial conglomerates are a few of many steps needed to bring peace and economic revival to South Africa.

It blames apartheid for many of the country's economic ills and says none of the government's strategies is likely to alleviate "poverty and mass deprivation".

The document recommends increasing equality in incomes, wealth and economic power through redistribution, the restructuring of production to meet basic needs and the expansion of employment.

It advocates overall macro-economic planning by the State, but involving mass-based organisations.

ANC and Cosatu economists suggest reconstructing a mixed economy should be financed by domestic savings — including personal savings — and that nationalisation should be an essential part of the reconstruction.

The proposals have evoked wide reaction from politicians and economists.

The government has yet to digest the report.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, who was fully engaged yesterday in responding to two days of debate on the Budget, said he had not had time to study the report in depth. However, he has made the government's position clear.

Speaking in the Budget debate — in which he accused the ANC of naivety in its attempt to use sanctions as a "trump card" — Mr Du Plessis warned against the impression created by talk of nationalisation, reparation, redistribution "or similar high-sounding euphemisms".

Were businessmen, he wondered, "really encouraged to plan ahead and to invest when lying under a cloud, not only of nationalisation rumblings, but also, and more gravely, of the mindless destruction, physical and economic alike — such as is damaging the confidence both here and abroad — that is playing itself out under the ANC's paternal eyes?"

Veteran Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz's reaction was mixed.

## Objectives

He found some "very sound proposals" in the statement and "many aspects one can agree with", but felt there were some aspects which were "counterproductive to the creation of wealth, growth and even to redistribution".

Mr Schwarz believed there should be a thorough debate, not so much of the objectives, over which there was a high degree of common cause, but about the methods to achieve them.

He added: "There are some sound fiscal principles in the document, such as the commitment to no funding of current expenditure from loan capital, but in regard to the deficit before borrowing,

the document is somewhat vague and one is fearful that with the demand on them to fulfil expectations, this could result in unacceptable levels, and very substantial inflation.

"The major problem is that if you remove discrimination in State services and try to close the income, wealth and skills gap — which should be done — then if you do not tread carefully, you will enter an era of high inflation, which would have a destructive effect on the economy, and not help the people who will need to be helped."

He said: "The document is correct when it says apartheid has distorted the economic system and that action has to be taken to correct that, but we have to be careful that the correction of the distortion does not create further distortion."

## Nationalisation

"The issue of nationalisation is still a major one. Even though the ANC advocates nationalisation, it recognises the need to attract venture capital and that no-one is going to provide it and be a pioneer if he cannot anticipate getting adequate rewards for the risk he takes.

"While the threat of nationalisation and major state intervention hangs over them, the venture capital investors are not likely to be encouraged.

"On the question of redistribution of income and economic power, one needs to be careful that this does not frighten off people," Mr Schwarz said.

Professor Brian Kantor, of the Department of Economics at UCT, said he did not see the document as terribly radical.

"It is consistent with policies in mature industrialised countries. There is not much to argue about the goals the ANC has set. It is the means or the tactics that will have to be used to achieve these ends that will have to be found," he said.

He said it was important that the ANC/Cosatu workshop had identified the importance of foreign investment.

"This is now a time for cool heads and debate on how they expect to attract foreign investment," he said.

## Disaster

However economist, Dr Cedric Nathan, also of UCT, dismissed the document as a Marxist guideplan for economic disaster.

He said government interference in economics was outdated, inefficient and kept everyone, except the politicians, poor.

He warned that re-distribution led to greater inefficiency because capital left the country and the value of productive resources declined.

"In the end there will be nothing to re-distribute," he said.

Referring to the ANC/Cosatu document he asked what was meant by increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power?

"Do they want equality of income or equality of opportunity?" he asked.

He warned that too heavy corporate taxation would bankrupt companies and the government would lose out on taxes anyway.

Commenting on the ANC/Cosatu desire to attract foreign investment in activities which led to increased employment, Dr Nathan said: "You can ask for the moon but it doesn't mean you will get it. Investors look at risks and expect returns. On the basis of this document the ANC can forget about foreign investment and start worrying about disinvestment."


ECONOMICS

AKS 19/6/90

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# New Yorkers set to greet Mandela today

*Sometan 19/6/90*

11A  


**Foreign Correspondent**  
**NEW YORK** - When Nelson Mandela steps off a borrowed private jet today, the man many regard as a modern civil rights hero will be greeted by New York City at its best - and its worst.

There will be a ticker-tape parade and traffic jams; sober diplomatic meetings and pushy media circuses; adoring

crowds and hostile protesters; speeches of sweeping scope and T-shirt proclamations.

For the deputy leader of the ANC, released in February after 27 years in South African jails, it will be his first view of the United States.

And for the city, disrupted at times by its own racial, ethnic, political and economic animosities, it could be a rare moment of self-appraisal.

"The fact that this is the first stop gives the

average New Yorker a great sense of pride," said Jean Owensby, a local spokeswoman for Mandela's national tour.

"If there's a time to come together, this is it."

In a city so big, togetherness is a relative thing. A Bronx rabbi, Avi Weiss, announced that he would hold a prayer vigil to protest Mandela's friendly relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

But planning for the visit has mainly drawn cooperation.

## Rally

There are the small details, such as the Trans Lux Corp's donation of 160 km of ticker tape. And there are the major efforts, such as producer Bill Graham's volunteer work organising a concert and rally for 60 000 people at Yankee Stadium.

Like Mandela, "I came out of a suppressed society," said Graham, a Jew born in Berlin. "There is something about freedom of expression that's always meant a great deal to me, and a great deal to all of us."

Mandela also will raise money at star-

studded fund-raisers - including one with Robert De Niro as host - and lobby for his cause at a session with business leaders.

He will address the United Nations General Assembly and submit to interviews, including 90 minutes with ABC's Ted Koppel.

## Tour

The proceedings will be similar in the other cities on Mandela's 10-day tour, which is part of a 13-nation, six-week tour of the world.

Gatherings are scheduled at Tiger Stadium in Detroit, the Los Angeles Coliseum and the Oakland Coliseum.

## Speeches

Bostonians are planning a luncheon at the John F Kennedy library, and a public reception at Boston Commons.

In Miami, he is to address the convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. In Atlanta, he is expected to stop at the Martin Luther King Jr Centre, and will receive an honorary degree from a group of black colleges.

# Biko seminar shows rumblings in BCM

11A  
Sowetan 19/6/90

A week-long seminar on black consciousness leader Steve Biko opened in Harare on Sunday, but it has provoked rumblings of discontent within some quarters of the movement in South Africa.

Mr Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape, deputy president of Azapo, said the organisers of the seminar had not consulted his organisation or any of the BCM groupings.

He added that although some of the BCM members had been invited, the invitations had arrived too late to allow them to travel to Harare.

"We have no alternative but to suspect this was deliberate," Mokoape said by telephone from Durban.

"We are sincerely worried that the conveners of this seminar have a hidden agenda."

He added: "We are worried that they wish to disinter Biko and remould him and carry him to the negotiation halls of Groote Schuur," he said. "We cannot un-

## SOWETAN Correspondent

der any circumstances collaborate in that effort.

"For us Biko remains an exemplary revolutionary, a true hero of our people."

Mokoape did not mention any names of people involved in the organisation of the seminar but that it was under the auspices of Sapes - a political educational body based in Harare. - Sapa

# Sanctions 'vital to struggle'

OTTAWA. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela told the Canadian parliament yesterday that easing international pressure on South Africa after only minimal reforms would jeopardise the long struggle for equality by his country's black majority.

"So many have suffered for so much," Mr Mandela said in an emotional address interrupted several times by applause.

"Any move at this stage towards lifting or lessening international pressure would create a situation in which white South Africa would feel comfortable with the minimal changes that have taken place," he said.

Mr Mandela arrived here from Britain on Sunday at the start of the North American leg of his world tour.

He urged Canadians to keep up

the offensive against apartheid which he says continues to ravage his country. "An entire people has known what it is to recognise the fact of defeat while rejecting the demand that it surrender," he said.

But he said he believed President F W de Klerk and his government were honestly committed to change.

South Africa needs a new constitution that will dismantle the oppressive apartheid system, he said.

He called for a partnership among all races to create a new future and strengthen society and the economy.

In his address, Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney pledged his support.

"Mr Mandela, you can count on Canada in the months and years ahead, as you have in the past, as

you build a country in which the democratic hopes and dreams of all South Africans can be realised, whatever their color or whatever their creed," Mr Mulroney said.

Canada has welcomed changes already made by Mr De Klerk but insists on further reform before sanctions are lifted.

Mr Mandela leaves Canada for New York tomorrow at the start of an eight-city US tour.

Mr Mandela's visit to Moscow has been postponed for at least a month, according to a report from the Novosti Press Agency.

The Soviet news agency said that the change of plan was most likely due to intensive preparatory work for the forthcoming Communist Party congress — not by complications in relations between the USSR and the ANC. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

# E Germans gave ANC forged SA money — claim

CAH-Tripits

19/6/90  
From KIN BENTLEY

11A (10)

LONDON. — ANC members operating inside South Africa used expertly forged rands provided by the East German secret police, the Stasi, says the latest edition of Africa Confidential.

And it adds that South African military intelligence allegedly continues to receive income from ivory-smuggling.

Africa Confidential says ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela's current tour of Europe and America "is motivated largely by a search for funds, cut off by the collapse of East European support".

It says in the past ANC funds from the World Council of Churches, the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) and others were "supplemented by forged rands provided by the East German secret police, the Stasi".

"The general policy was to use SIDA funds for expenditure in the frontline states, WCC and other funds for use in the rear bases, and forged notes inside South Africa only."

And, Africa Confidential says, "on the subject of illicit funds, SA military intelligence appears still to be receiving income from its No 1 racket: Ivory-smuggling".

Parliament and Politics

## 'Defence must be in hands of majority'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC military chief of staff Mr Chris Hani arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on a scheduled flight from Lusaka with several members of the ANC national executive.

"It is essential that the defence of South Africa is in the hands of the democratic majority who owes its allegiance to the country and not to colour," Mr Hani, 48, said.

Mr Hani and all but three members of the ANC national executive will be participating in a joint working committee meeting with the Interim Leadership Corps (ILC).

The meeting will begin here on Friday. — Sapa

# SA 'guarding' ANC rebel SURVIVOR

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Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON.** — A former ANC guerilla who claims to have watched a fellow dissident assassinated last Wednesday is being kept in safe custody by South African security police.

Mr Nicholas Dyasop says he can identify the killers of Mr Siphon Phungulwa.

Mr Phungulwa was shot dead near an Umtata bus-stop by a man with a Scorpion machine-pistol. The assassination happened soon after the men had visited an ANC office in Umtata.

The ANC distanced itself from the killing, saying it would not have been sanctioned by the organisation.

According to information given to the security police Mr Dyasop was wounded in the attack.

Mr Dyasop had spent several days in flight before being given refuge in South Africa.

ANC sources have strongly rejected claims that its members were responsible for the killing, which has reportedly sent shockwaves through the ranks of dissident members.

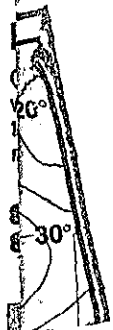
An ANC spokesman said that two men who had said they were dissidents visited the organisation's Umtata offices on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Denying that the organisation had had anything to do with the shooting, the spokesman questioned why South African intelligence sources were involved in releasing information on the incident.

A spokesman for the South African security police said two men trailed the two victims before gunning down Mr Phungulwa soon after they disembarked from a taxi.

The two men had allegedly been identified as having spoken to Mr Phungulwa and Mr Dyasop in the ANC offices.

An intelligence source, however, said the men had taken the two rebels on a car ride. The car had stopped by a roadside and Mr Phungulwa was shot at point-blank range with a pistol as he got out.



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# SACP is to be launched

Sowetan 20/6/90 11A

THE South African Communist Party will be launched publicly as a legal political party on July 29, it was announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a media conference the party's objectives were to build a strong mass party, "democratically answerable to both our membership and to our broader working class constituency".

At the launch rally in Soweto the internal-based leadership and party perspectives will be presented to the public.

The SACP's rela-

tionship to the African National Congress would not change much, he said.

"We will continue to work together on common issues. SACP people who are activists in the ANC will continue their work."

The party fully supported the negotiation initiative and the perspectives contained within the Groote Schuur Minute signed after historic ANC-Government talks in Cape Town early in May.

Asked about his personal security, Slovo said he felt insecure, as an 'obvious target for the lunatic fringe'. - Sapa.



JOE SLOVO

## Trump slump

MR Donald Trump, the cash-starved property mogul who last Friday defaulted on \$73m of bank and bond interest payments, is negotiating a radical reorganisation of

Youth on murder charge

sta 20/6/90

(A)

## Mandela 'won't use ANC line in US'

It was fairly certain that the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, would not be talking about nationalisation while he was in Washington, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said yesterday.

"I cannot see what the ANC will attain by its nationalisation propaganda. I'm sure he will not be talking about this while he is in Washington," Dr Marais said during the second reading debate on the Income Tax Bill.

Referring to a complaint from Casper Uys (CP Barberton) about the expensive, double-page newspaper advertisements for the proposed VAT, Dr Marais said the department had an advertising budget of R10 million for the next 18 months, of which 40 percent would be used to educate people on the new system.

"This has been talked about for a long time, and we are working with a marketing project," Sapa.

Sta 20/6/90

(11B)

(11A)

## ANC 'ignored' Buthelezi pleas

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC leadership for not heeding his call to stop the killings in the Umzumbe area in Natal.

He said in a statement in the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi that his people knew the attacks were coming and he had urged the ANC not to go on any more "killing sprees" on the South Coast.

"On June 14 ... I made an urgent and heartfelt plea to Dr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr 'Terror' Lekota to intervene and ensure that the planned attacks ... did not take place.

"Tragically, my appeals fell on deaf ears. Dr Mandela maintained an aloof, far-away silence."

# Mitterrand supports Mandela

Spec 20/6/90  
By James Tomlins,

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — President Francois Mitterrand yesterday came out publicly in support of Nelson Mandela's request to retain sanctions on South Africa.

In an interview with the prestigious newspaper Le Monde, Mr Mitterrand made his position clear for the first time since meeting President de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

Asked whether he supported sanc-

tions, Mr Mitterrand said: "The moment has not yet come to lift them."

Asked whether he had thought about lifting or relaxing some of the sanctions, he replied: "I have certainly given the matter thought. The measures taken by De Klerk to end the state of emergency and release political prisoners are significant steps. I congratulate him. But the sanctions were taken to force the end of apartheid, and at the moment apartheid still exists."

11A

# 'ANC man gave order to shoot dissident'

By Craig Kotze and Sapa-Reuter

African National Congress dissident Siphon Phungulwa was shot dead in Umtata last week by a gunman apparently given orders by an ANC guerrilla trained by the victim himself.

This claim was made yesterday in an affidavit by another ANC dissident, Nicholas Dyasop, who said he escaped during the shooting and is now in hiding in the Cape.

ANC headquarters in Johannesburg said yesterday it was trying to check the report.

## Returned

A spokesman said: "If there was any killing, it certainly wouldn't have been sanctioned by us."

Transkei police could not be reached for comment.

Mr Phungulwa and Mr Dyasop were among eight former guerrillas who returned to South Africa in April after the Government legalised the ANC.

Mr Dyasop said in a faxed copy of an affidavit that the killer had met a "Kaizer" in the ANC offices to apparently identify the two men.

Mr Dyasop also named a second man who allegedly shot at Mr Phungulwa as Ntobeko Jim.

The document is to be handed to the Transkei Commissioner of Police.

Mr Dyasop said he and Mr Phungulwa went to the Umtata ANC offices on June 11 to introduce themselves to ANC people. They were told to return on June 13.

"When Siphon saw Kaizer, they talked like old friends.

"Siphon later told me he had trained Kaizer when he infiltrated South Africa in 1980," Mr Dyasop said.

He said a young man entered the offices and spoke to Kaizer.

"When they were talking, very business-like, this young man kept looking in our direction," said Mr Dyasop.

Both dissidents left and noticed a parked Peugeot, he said.

A man in the driver's seat stared at them. They caught a taxi to Ngangelizwe township and were followed by the Peugeot, he said.

One occupant was the driver they had seen earlier and the other was the man who had stared at them in the ANC offices.

"When they saw us, they became very excited and told us to get into the car. Then the one on the back seat came out of the car. He was very close to Siphon.

## Missed

"I saw him aiming at Siphon. He was trying to hide the weapon but I could see it was a Scorpion machine pistol.

"He was very tense, he even missed with the first shot. It was the second shot which got Siphon in the leg. I was too far to disturb him (the gunman), so I ran away.

"The gunman missed me with two shots ... they did not chase me but I could hear more shots and cries from Siphon," said Mr Dyasop.

Speaking to The Star yesterday, Mr Dyasop said he reported the incident to the Transkei police the same day, but investigations seemed to be slow.



SACP general secretary Joe Slovo addresses the media in Johannesburg yesterday at the party's first official Press conference in SA for 40 years. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

*B1 Daily 20/6/90* (SA) (11A)

## SACP to go public at mass rally

THE SA Communist Party is to be officially launched as a political party at a mass rally in Soweto on July 29 at which the identities of its internal leadership will be made known for the first time.

Announcing this yesterday, the SACP reaffirmed its support for the ANC and recommitted itself to a communist SA.

Reading out a statement on behalf of the SACP, general secretary Joe Slovo said the party had learnt from the recent overthrow of Stalinism that socialism could not flourish without democracy. The SACP, he said, was committed to a multiparty democracy in a united, non-racial SA.

Slovo said the SACP was also committed to full freedom of speech, worship and the Press. Political pluralism, Slovo said, was valid for a present and future SA.

However, meaningful emancipation for all could not be achieved without a "major redistribution of wealth and without affirmative social and economic programmes".

On co-operation with the ANC, Slovo said the SACP recognised the ANC's lead-

PETER DELMAR

ing role in the immediate future and considered itself an independent party. He described differences between them as "non-hostile and non-competitive".

The main difference was that while the SACP had a programme of socialist transformation, the ANC did not.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports that Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said yesterday the SACP would be a key player in resolving the anarchy which was attendant in the birth of a new SA.

Leon said in Parliament during debate on the Police Amendment Bill he was deeply concerned that genuine reform emanating from Parliament was not being matched by gestures or steps outside it.

It was crucial, he said, that the SACP make it known whether its recent more moderate statements indicated a change of heart or merely a change of tactics.

© Comment: Page 10

# Washington's red carpet awaits Mandela

WASHINGTON — From the barber to the president, denizens of this city where the rich and famous come and go are preparing a royal welcome for legendary ex-prisoner Nelson Mandela.

The US capital, with its blend of local black-majority sensibilities and national power politics, will go all out to honour Mandela's lifetime fight for racial equality in SA and make this a highlight of an eight-city tour from Harlem to Hollywood.

Mandela's visit has a strong emotional resonance in Washington, which has a black populace of about 70% and a long federal history of debating and finally

13 10 am 20/6/90  
passing civil rights laws ending the US's own racial segregation practices.

He arrives on Sunday for a three-day visit during which he is expected to urge President George Bush at a White House meeting to maintain economic sanctions against SA.

"I can't wait until he gets here, to see him," said a man in the street who identified himself as a barber.

For Washingtonians, Mandela's presence as the towering hero of a black freedom struggle is more moving than any specific political message he might deliver.

119  
When Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968, protests and riots by Washington's blacks left much of central Washington a burnt-out wasteland.

Although US blacks have made many gains since then, burned-out shops and buildings are still visible in many poor black neighbourhoods, and Mandela will be visiting a city troubled by drug abuse and street crime.

He leaves Washington on June 27 to visit Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California, before leaving the US on July 1. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Key Market Movements

# EC report suggests new look at funding of SA anti-apartheid groups

A HIGH-level report submitted to the EC has proposed a reorientation of its R80m a year in funding to SA organisations.

And diplomatic and fund sources said yesterday if the suggestion was adopted, several ANC-sympathetic organisations and newspapers could be placed at risk.

The confidential report, compiled locally by the nine EC member states represented in SA, proposed a "developmental" rather than a human rights and welfare approach in the light of changing circumstances, one source said yesterday.

Submitted by EC ambassadors in April, it also reflected a feeling among member

countries that political favouritism existed in the distribution of the funds by the SA Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Kagiso Trust, the source said.

As a consequence, the report also proposed that the EC become more involved in the administration of the funds.

Achmat Dangor, director of the Kagiso Trust, which has administered R50m a year for the past four years, rejected the charges of favouritism, saying the trust benefited 312 projects, 95% of which were "non-aligned".

One diplomatic source said the human

TIM COHEN

rights organisations and the five newspapers funded by the EC would be affected if the re-orientation took place.

The newspapers were the Natal-based New African, the New Nation, Umafrika, Vrye Weekblad and the Cape Town-based South.

The Association of Democratic Lawyers, the National Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Association of Democratic Journalists are among the organisations that have received funding from the

Kagiso Trust.

Dangor said yesterday conditions were not yet right in SA to disclose the trust's beneficiaries.

He also refused to allow Business Day access to the audited reports of the Kagiso Trust, but issued a public challenge that the trust would publish its audited reports in the same newspaper, on the same day that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement published its reports.

The amount of funds provided to the trust was expected to increase by about 10% next year.

He said because of changing circumstances in SA, funding of certain organisations was no longer necessary.

He estimated the three newspapers funded by the Kagiso Trust — the New African, Vrye Weekblad and South — would be only 25% funded by the trust in the next two to three years.

The New African yesterday said in a statement that Buthelezi had attempted to stop the EC from funding it because of its reporting on events in Natal.

The newspaper, which received about R750 000 last year from the Kagiso Trust, had applied for a similar amount this year.



## Transkei police follow lead in killing of dissident

TRANSKEI police are investigating the possibility that ANC dissident Siphon Phungulwa left the ANC's Umtata offices with two men shortly before he was gunned down by unknown assailants last week. *by Dany 20/6/90*

Confirming this yesterday, a Transkei police spokesman said police were searching for Phungulwa's companion at the time of the shooting — Nicholas Dyasop — who is also one of the ex-ANC members who returned to SA earlier this year alleging torture at the hands of the organisation. *11A*

However, Sapa reported yesterday that according to SAP spokesman Lt

PETER DELMAR

Nina Barkhuizen, two men who spoke to Phungulwa at the ANC offices on Wednesday trailed them to a taxi rank where Phungulwa was shot and killed with a Scorpion machine pistol.

Dyasop had been given refuge in SA after being in hiding since the attack.

An ANC spokesman in Umtata, Zola Dabula, confirmed yesterday that two men, allegedly Phungulwa and Dyasop, had visited the ANC offices seeking a meeting on the day of the killing.

The ANC was still investigating, Dabula said.

## Kasrils returns in time for talks

By Peter Delmar

MOST of the 35 members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) gather in Johannesburg today for its first internal meeting in decades.

The meeting is expected to review ANC strategy and internal structures.

NEC members based outside SA and from various regions in SA have been arriving in Johannesburg this week for the talks which will be followed by a three-day tactical meeting with the interim leadership corps.

Among yesterday's arrivals were Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) high command member Ronnie Kasrils, who returned to Johannesburg for the first time in 27 years. MK chief of staff Chris Hani returned to SA on Monday for this week's meetings. Kasrils, 53, walks with a cane after a car accident which left him hospitalised for the past three months. Because of his treatment in a London Hospital, he said he had been out of touch with recent military developments.

Asked about the ANC's armed struggle, he said he had only been aware of media reports that some Umkhonto attacks had occurred.

Although his indemnity expires in August, he hoped his return would be permanent. He was awaiting instructions on his future role in the ANC.



ANC national executive committee (NEC) members gathered at the organisation's Johannesburg offices yesterday to prepare for tomorrow's historic NEC meeting. Some of the NEC members pictured are, from left: secretary-general Alfred Nzo; Joe Slovo; Olive Ndlovu; Ronnie Kasrils; Girlie Pitoll; Mac Maharaj; Umkhonto we Sizwe member Laurence Sekwalo; Gertrude Shope; Baleka Kgositsile; and Nosiviwe Mapisa-

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



# Mandela fever in US

Incredible security for ANC leader's visit to America

**From RAMSAY MILNE**  
**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**NEW YORK.** — Mr Nelson Mandela's arrival in New York today has provoked the largest media blitz on a single subject since the mass public hysteria that surrounded Colonel Charles Lindberg's historic solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927.

In top gear will be a huge security operation that includes 12 000 police, sharpshooters on rooftops — and a special bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" in which the African National Congress deputy-leader will travel.

**Traffic jams**

The "Mandela Mobile", with room for four people, is a specially-designed lorry with a bullet-proof enclosure that will enable Mr Mandela to stand up to acknowledge the applause of the many thousands of people expected to line the route.

At each event he attends, special agents, using tracker dogs, will carry out hourly anti-bomb sweeps of the surrounding areas. They will also use special electronic detectors to screen TV cameras and other media equipment.

Since early yesterday, TV and radio stations have broad-

cast hourly warnings of a huge traffic "grid-lock" in New York's crowded streets and urged motorists to use public transport instead.

When Mr Mandela steps off the aircraft at New York's J F Kennedy Airport, he will be greeted formally by Mayor David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, and, in an unusual gesture, by the Governor of New York, Mr Mario Cuomo, a Catholic, who did not offer a similar courtesy to Pope John Paul II during his visit in 1979.

Thousands are expected to greet Mr Mandela at the airport and to crowd the streets as his motorcade wends its way to his first stop, a Brooklyn high school with a predominantly black enrolment, where he will make the first of his many speeches during the day.

The best and biggest honour New York can offer — a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade, usually reserved for national heroes — will be the highlight of Mr Mandela's day.

The same squadron of helicopters that will fly over Mr Mandela's motorcade as it leaves the airport, will hover above Manhattan's "Canyon of Heroes" as he and his entourage are showered with ticker-tape.

The security operation, labelled "Operation Topaz", is

the biggest effort undertaken for a visiting dignitary.

In all, more than 12 000 policemen will keep an eye on every move Mr Mandela makes.

He is scheduled to speak at three huge outdoor rallies during his three-day visit to the city.

He will address the United Nations on Friday, when he is expected to deliver a speech that organisers of his visit have described as "one for the history books".

More than 5 300 journalists are covering Mr Mandela's eight-day United States visit. In addition to New York, Mr Mandela will visit Boston, Washington, where he will address a joint sitting of Congress, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

**R1 330 tickets**

In a city where controversy is part of everyday life, it is inevitable that the Mandela visit should provoke some controversy.

Rock promoter Bill Graham, who has been co-ordinating a huge rally planned for New York's Yankee Stadium, abruptly resigned because he said he had irreconcilable differences with other organisers.

However, the rally will go ahead as planned.



**WELCOME:** New York is in festive garb as it prepares for Mr Nelson Mandela's arrival today. The Renegades, a Trinidad and Tobago steel band, practise for the welcome ceremony outside the City Hall.

## And voices of dissent . . .

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**NEW YORK.** — The first dissenting voices have been raised here against Mr Nelson Mandela's US visit in what what so far has been a crescendo of praise and jubilation for the ANC leader.

In an atmosphere in which any criticism of Mr Mandela would appear to be heresy, two major New York dailies today published editorials warning against the "left-wing rhetoric" that has heralded Mr Mandela's visit and the ANC's continuing communist links.

In a sudden spate of letters, other New Yorkers described tomorrow's ticker-tape parade for Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, as an "insult" to Ameri-

ca's war dead, for whom a Fifth Avenue parade is regarded as a national honour.

The influential Wall Street Journal, in a warning against "Mr Mandela's Friends", said that from tomorrow Mr Mandela will for millions of Americans "sit as a man of courage and moral stature".

But it warned that "the bright lights will wash out most of the complex issues that swirl around this man and his country".

The big-circulation New York Post said that communism had been rejected by many of the peoples upon whom it had been imposed and questioned whether Mr Mandela had come to terms with most of the world's rejection of

the doctrine.

The paper added: "Nelson Mandela — for all his striking dignity — has yet to demonstrate an ability to halt even black-on-black violence, let alone narrow the gap between the ANC and the De Klerk government."

A letter in one New York paper said: "Nelson Mandela shares the same philosophy as Yasser Arafat. He also has close ties to Libyan madman Muammar Gaddafi.

"Winnie Mandela's bodyguard is found guilty in the death of a black teen in her house.

"Now we will be giving the Mandelas a ticker-tape parade. Gbd help us."

# Top ANC man hints at flexibility on sanctions

B Day 20/6/90

(S)

(11A)

AS THE ANC prepared for the start today of its first national executive committee meeting inside SA in 30 years, a leading member indicated possible areas of flexibility on key tactical issues included sanctions.

Aziz Pahad, also a member of the working committee established in terms of the Groote Schuur minutes to work out details about the release of political prisoners, said it was in the interests of both the ANC and government that the negotiation process proceeded as quickly as possible.

Apart from ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is ill, and deputy president Nelson Mandela, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Thabo Mbeki, who are travelling in North America, the entire NEC plus the internal leadership core are scheduled to meet in Johannesburg for at least three days.

Asked whether the ANC was prepared to consider making concessions on sanctions in response to government steps since February 2, Pahad said although it had not yet been discussed, the ANC might in the future look at the possibility of certain forms of sanctions being lifted.

Initial candidates would most likely be sport, cultural and educational sanc-

ALAN FINE

tions. He added the ANC had already shown less hostility to certain forms of interaction between SA and the rest of the world.

Examples included the attendance by the National Manpower Commission at the Harare International Labour Organisation seminar last month, and the current World Cup television coverage. "We are not bloody-minded about it," he said.

## Delays

However, he added, the ANC remained convinced that economic sanctions still had a role to play.

The timing for the lifting of such sanctions could be determined by circumstances which required that the process of change be "genuinely irreversible".

He denied the implication by President F W de Klerk earlier this month that the ANC was responsible for delays in finalising the work of the working committee.

De Klerk said government had accepted the report (details of which remain confidential), but Nelson Mandela had asked for time until July 10.

Pahad and other ANC leaders were unable to explain the significance of that date. But he said the ANC had proposed certain minor changes to the wording and was now awaiting government's response.

On other obstacles to negotiations as set out in the Hahare declaration, Pahad said the ANC would continue to campaign for the complete lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of security legislation. Such steps were important for the object of creating a climate for negotiations.

However, he declined to say that the failure of government to totally meet these demands would necessarily cause a breakdown in the process. "It depends on the circumstances," he said.

He said the increasing communication between government and community representatives — such as had occurred in Welkom — was an important sign of progress.

"If these communication networks can function effectively they will be an important basis for dealing with violence," Pahad said.

A government source said government was still examining to what extent it would be able to remove aspects of security legislation seen as obstacles.

# A 'soldier' returns

AR645  
20/8/90  
11A

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA in Johannesburg

**Y**ESTERDAY I came face-to-face with the chief of staff and deputy commander of the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), "Chris" Martin Thembisile Hani.

## PROFILE

I had expected to see a strong and serious-looking, muscular man, and so when I was ushered into the ANC's office and was received by a man who seemed to fit the picture I had in mind I thought he was Mr Hani. As it turned out, that man, Tokyo Sexwale, was the diminutive Mr Hani's companion and bodyguard.

Mr Hani himself, a 48-year-old man who did not look as fearsome as the government had painted him to be, was talking to colleagues in the ANC's boardroom, and just about everybody wanted to engage him in a conversation. It was the same thing when we later tried to leave the office with him, and so we ended up conducting an interview which lasted over an hour in the newspaper's car, driving around Johannesburg.

A fluent and eloquent man, Mr Hani neither sounded nor

looked bitter at all. Instead, he made jokes but answered questions without being defensive.

For more than an hour we drove around the city and Braamfontein with him, and for about 20 minutes he and Mr Sexwale walked up and down Fox Street next to The Carlton Hotel and mingled with black and white South Africans. Not one person recognised the man the South African government once considered enemy number one.

The government's banning of the ANC and other organisations and the censorship of anything on these organisations and their leaders has worked — South Africans knew the name, but not the face of Mr Hani and his colleagues in MK.

Then, at the corner of Sauer and Pritchard Streets one man recognised Mr Hani as we stopped at the robots. He raised a clenched fist and Mr Hani did likewise.

Mr Sexwale, who was worried about the ANC national executive committee member's safety, was not impressed.

"Let's drive away from this place," Mr Sexwale said. "We

don't want people who will recognise you."

We drove to Braamfontein, and bought something to eat.

Mr Hani, a father of three daughters, was born on June 28, 1942, at Cofimvaba in the Transkei. He was from a poor family and both his parents were uneducated. He was educated in the Transkei, joined the ANC Youth League in 1957 and matriculated at Lovedale in the Ciskei the following year. He then enrolled at the University of Fort Hare where he graduated in 1961 with a BA degree in English and Latin.

From Fort Hare University Mr Hani went to Cape Town where he worked as an articulated clerk with a view to becoming a lawyer. In 1962 he joined the underground Umkhonto we Sizwe and got "rudimentary internal military training."

He was arrested in the same year for distributing the banned ANC's pamphlets, was sentenced to 18 months against which he appealed and lost. While he was out on bail in 1963, Mr Hani was ordered by the ANC to leave the country for military training.

After an intensive year-

long military training in guerilla warfare in the Soviet Union, Mr Hani returned to Africa and establish an ANC camp in Tanzania. He later became a commissar in Zimbabwe in 1967 and fought against Ian Smith's soldiers for six months.

He and his comrades later retreated into Botswana where they were arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mr Hani served only two of those months, and in 1973 he returned to South Africa to organise for the ANC.

He spent a few months in the country before retreating into Lesotho where he established the ANC and recruited "hundreds of people" from the Free State.

Mr Hani stayed in Lesotho until 1982 when he was appointed army commissar and was recalled to Angola where he fought against Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita twice.

Following Joe Slovo's resignation as MK chief of staff in order to concentrate on his responsibilities as South African Communist Party general secretary, Mr Hani was appointed MK chief of staff and deputy commander in October, 1987.



Siphho Pungulwa

## ANC deny links to slaying of dissident in Umtata

SLAIN ANC dissident Siphho Pungulwa was gunned down at an Umtata taxi rank by a man whom he had met shortly before in the organisation's offices in the Transkeian capital, police in Pretoria said yesterday. *Comet 20/6/90*

ANC sources in South Africa have strongly rejected claims that its members were responsible for the killing, which has reportedly sent shockwaves through the ranks of dissident members.

According to information given to the South African security branch, Pungulwa and Mr Nicholas Duasop were shot, the former fatally, by ANC mem-

bers whom they had met last Wednesday.

Two men who trailed the two victims had allegedly been identified as having spoken to Pungulwa and Duasop in the ANC offices, according to Lt Nina Barkhuizen.

Shots were fired from a Scorpion machine pistol by one of the two men soon after the victims disembarked from a taxi at the Ngangelizwe rank.

Pungulwa, 26, died while being taken to hospital, Barkhuizen said.

No other details were available and Transkei police were investigating, she added. - Sapa

# Mandela's story 'sold for R22m'

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Boston-based publisher Little Brown has bought the world rights to Mr Nelson Mandela's autobiography, due out in 1992.

Trade sources estimate the cost of the rights at over R22 million. However, a spokesman for Little Brown declined to confirm this figure.

If the figure is correct, the autobiography will have broken all records for an advance, trade sources say.

German publisher S Fischer has already bought the German rights from Little Brown for R2,8 million.

The Little Brown spokesman said TV rights details had not been finalised, but that this was expected to boost the overall figure even further.

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# PAC message on talks for UN

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday told the United Nations delegation to convey its stance of non-negotiations for a transitional change if the South African government did not abide by the UN Declaration on the country.

In a meeting held at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, the PAC's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexandra, said their contention was that the Government had not met the conditions and the basis for negotiations.

He said: "We told the UN delegation that as long as that situation existed negotiation between the Government and PAC is out."

"The declaration states that the Government must unilaterally take certain steps before

the talks begin. Talking should be about the mechanism of bringing about transitional change."

Alexandra said that they spelt out their policy on negotiation as well as mandated the delegation to deliver the message to the general secretary, Perez de Cuellar at the end of their tour of South Africa.

The delegation also met the ANC group, led by Walter Sisulu and Alfred Nzo, who spelt out the obstacles to be considered for the creation of "the necessary climate in which free political discussion can take place."

Meanwhile the PAC has announced that it will be launching a new branch in Soweto at the Modisa Obotse School in Zone Four, Diepkloof on Sunday, starting at noon.

Dill-





Mr Slovo

# SACP to name leaders at legal launch in July

Capl. Tink 20/6/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Communist Party will be publicly launched as a legal political party on July 29 and will maintain its close working alliance with the ANC, it was announced yesterday.

SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a media conference — the first on South African soil for 40 years — that the party's objective was to build a strong mass party, "democratically answerable to both our membership and our broader working-class constituency".

At the launch rally in Soweto the identity of the internal leadership — for years a topic of intense speculation — and party perspectives will be presented to the public.

He said the SACP would be launched as a new legal party at a "complex moment in the international situation".

Socialism in Eastern European was in crisis and had suffered severe setbacks. President F W de Klerk believed this crisis would produce what 40 years of suppression had failed to do — the discrediting of socialist ideology in South Africa.

"He is wrong."

There were important lessons to be learnt from the international situation, he

said, stressing the SACP could not function without democracy.

He said the SACP in its internal organisation and relations to the union movement was further advanced than the Soviet Communist party under President Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika policy.

The SACP and ANC had a common approach on a post-apartheid South Africa and their relationship would not change much.

The ANC headed the ANC-SACP alliance, Mr Slovo said.

"The ANC believes, and we believe it is correct, that it is a mass organisation which should contain within it people from all strata and all classes, from the working-class and peasantry to small and big business.

"That is the nature of the ANC, it is not our nature.

"We believe we must concentrate on that sector we call the working people."

The SACP aimed to represent the basic interests of the working class so this group's role in the alliance was not swamped by other forces.

An obvious difference between the two organisations was that the ANC did not have a programme for socialist transformation, while the SACP stood for the ulti-

mate creation of a socialist South Africa.

The ANC-SACP alliance would be in place for "quite a while".

Recent press reports claiming most of the ANC national executive committee were communists were exaggerated.

The SACP central committee would remain in place and an internal leadership body with "a great deal of autonomy" would be established, Mr Slovo said.

The SACP internal body would operate under the central direction of the external central committee.

The party would establish regions and open branches in all urban centres and aimed to balance the idea of a mass party and a party of "quality and calibre".

"We don't want people in the party who are merely there as sympathisers and bystanders. We want people who obviously believe in the party's programme and policies but who are also activists and participate in the democratic movement or the revolutionary movement as a whole."

Underground SACP structures would not be completely abandoned because the party believed the process of democratisation was not yet irreversible.

The SACP believed in freedom of speech, press and the right to full freedom of worship, he said. — Sapa

# Canada's R13m <sup>CAF Twp 20/6/90</sup> for political exiles

TORONTO. — Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney on Monday announced a new federal commitment of \$5 million (about R13m) for the resettling of South African exiles and political prisoners.

The announcement was made at a dinner attended by 1500 people in honour of African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Addressing the dinner, Mr Mulroney said the contribution was intended to "underline the joy and the satisfaction" that all Canadians felt in Mr Mandela's visit.

The money will go to a non-governmental organisation, rather than the ANC, in keeping with Ottawa's long-standing refusal to give money to what it considers a political party. — Sapa

# Swazi jailbreak led MK boss to quit ANC

Cape Times 20/6/70 (119) 266/274

PRETORIA. — A former Transvaal commander in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Harms Commission of Inquiry yesterday he decided to defect after he had been sprung from a Swazi jail by his MK colleagues.

The witness, known only as September, told the commission he had been freed from a Swazi jail by members of an MK unit due to have operated in the Transvaal.

He decided to leave the ANC after they had sprung him and he was walking from the Swazi border to Piet Retief in the Eastern Transvaal.

The commission chairman and sole member, Mr Justice Louis

Harms, ruled that, to protect his identity, September not be identified in any way.

The former MK commander and intelligence head, who now works for the police special branch, was a member of the anti-insurgency unit at Vlakplaas from 1987.

September strongly denied he had been freed from prison by South African policemen who then allegedly shot his MK companions the following day near Amsterdam near the Swazi border.

He said he left South Africa in 1977 after the Soweto student uprising and joined the ANC to further his education.

He was then placed in military situations and was given training in Angola and East Germany be-

fore he went to Mozambique and then to Swaziland.

Earlier yesterday evidence linking the ANC to a number of violent incidents the commission is investigating was postponed for a decision on Friday as to whether police ANC expert Major-General Herman Stadler is to give his testimony then or at a later stage after the commission resumes after a recess in July.

General Stadler was to have delivered his evidence yesterday.

Mr McCap Motimele, counsel for the ANC, represented for the first time at a judicial hearing since its banning in 1961, said he had only received General Stadler's "voluminous" evidence on Monday night and asked for adequate time to study the documents. — Sapa

# SACP set for launch as a legal party

After surviving for 40 years as an underground organisation, the SA Communist Party — the first party to recruit members from all races — is to become a fully fledged legal party again. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

The South African Communist Party, pronounced its general secretary, Joe Slovo, enjoys "wider prestige and greater popularity than at any time in its 69-year history".

The grey-haired Mr Slovo — once labelled by security police as a colonel in the KGB and demonised as the evil genius behind the African National Congress's "terrorist campaign" — was speaking at yesterday's historic SACP news conference.

Flanked by SACP stalwarts, Raymond Mhlaba and "Mac" Maharaj, and dwarfed by a huge Red Flag, Mr Slovo admitted that re-emergence of the SACP as a legal party came at an awkward moment in the international situation.

## Setbacks

"In many countries of eastern Europe, socialism is in crisis, it has suffered setbacks," he said.

But, he assured President F W de Klerk and South Africa's "ruling class," the SACP had learnt the lessons which had generated disillusionment with socialism in eastern Europe and rejection of Communist Parties there.

One was that socialism cannot flourish without democracy. Hence the commitment of the new legal SACP — to be formally launched on July 29 at a mass rally in Soweto — to multiparty democracy and "political pluralism."

Another lesson was that communist parties cannot entrench their leading roles by force and manipulation. They have to earn it.

Mr Slovo was not content to defend socialism; he wanted to attack capitalism. If some, unnamed communist parties had failed the communist cause, capitalism had "failed humanity," he declaimed.



Historic news conference . . . SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, centre, flanked by South African Communist Party stalwarts, Raymond Mhlaba and "Mac" Maharaj.

South African capitalism mirrored its big brothers across the globe: its glittering, effervescent facade depended on "squalid backyards where the great majority of the population is confined".

The secret nature of the SACP as a party within a party, a cabal within the ANC, was raised at the news conference. It did not, however, phase Mr Slovo, who — on yesterday's public showing — seemed avuncular rather than demonic.

"The South African Communist Party had never operated with the intention of becoming a Broederbond within any other organisation," Mr Slovo said. "Nor do we intend in the future to act like a Broederbond in any other organisation."

The banning of the SACP in 1950 forced its members to go underground in order to survive, Mr Slovo said.

"Apart from the transition phase — where we cannot yet abandon the levels of our underground because the process of democratisation is not yet irreversible — we intend moving towards a situation where every communist will be proud to acknowledge . . . they are members of the party."

Mr Slovo dismissed as inaccurate a report in the British publication *Africa Confidential*, that 27 of the ANC's 35-strong national executive were members of SACP. He did not, however, volunteer further information on the strength of the

SACP in the ANC's national executive.

Next month, at its launching rally at Soccer City stadium in Soweto, the SACP will introduce its "internal leadership" to the public. The internal leadership will be largely autonomous but will — for the immediate future — be accountable to the SACP's largely secret central committee.

The SACP hoped to be able to come out completely in the open in 1991 when it plans to hold its first annual congress in South Africa in more than 40 years, Mr Slovo said.

Mr Slovo did not foresee rivalry between the SACP and the ANC as they embarked on membership drives. Potential rivalry would be tempered by three factors:

- With Cosatu, the SACP and the ANC were members of the anti-apartheid tripartite alliance.

## Mass-based

- The SACP, as a worker-based movement, acknowledged the hegemony of the ANC as a mass-based organisation drawing its membership from all strata of society.

- The SACP's immediate objective was not to become a mass organisation but rather to find a balance between being a huge party and a "party of calibre".

Mr Slovo was confident of the strength of the "tripartite alliance," saying that it would welcome a general election as

the only way of determining an organisation's popularity.

He did not, however, respond to an invitation to give an estimate of the SACP's strength more premise terms.

It was premature to speculate on whether the ANC and the SACP would form an electoral pact to forestall the fielding of rival candidates, observed Mr Slovo, a former chief of staff of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The issue does not arise," he said. But, he added, if and when it did, a formula would be found to reflect their fraternal relationship.

Mr Slovo was unimpressed by threats to the SACP-ANC-Cosatu alliance from the Pan-Africanist Congress: taking the size of crowds at rallies as a criterion, the PAC challenge was minimal; the biggest crowd which it had attracted was not much more than 5 000.

Referring to the militant "sloganising" of the National Congress of Trade Unions and, by implication, the PAC, Mr Slovo spoke of their "unfortunate tendency of playing with the emotions, and even the lives, of people in the hope of gaining some kind of political credit in the new situation of negotiations".

But, he added, "the people as a whole" had shown maturity, as was manifest in the "pathetic turnout" at the June 16 rallies of these organisations.

Star 20/6/90

1167

# UN to apply 'the tightest' security for Mandela

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

NEW YORK — Fearful of a violent incident during Nelson Mandela's visit to the United Nations on Friday, officials will apply security restrictions even tighter than those for many a visiting head of state.

The arrangements have caused some grumbling among media representatives, since they are the ones most affected.

Only a specially selected pool of reporters will be permitted to observe Mr Mandela's arrival in the lobby of the Secretariat tower.

Another small group will be allowed on the 38th floor, where the Mr Mandela will confer with the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, before going to the General Assembly hall to address the UN special committee against apartheid.

## Off limits

For the first time since Mikhail Gorbachev visited the UN in December 1988, the entire second floor of the General Assembly building, which includes the delegates' entrance to the main hall, will be off limits to reporters.

Journalists not accredited to the UN but issued with passes only for the Mandela visit will have to pass through a metal detector and submit to an equipment search.

Officials would not say why they were so concerned for Mr Mandela's safety or whether the UN had received any indication that an attempt might be made to harm him during his brief visit to the headquarters.

He is scheduled to hold a press conference before departing.

His address and the press conference are both expected to be televised live throughout the US and Canada.

# New York braced for the coming of Nelson

St 20/6/90 (11A)

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star Bureau

New York

The arrival of Nelson Mandela in New York tomorrow has provoked the largest media blitz on a single subject since the mass public hysteria that surrounded Colonel Charles A Lindberg's historic solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927.

Put into top gear will be a massive security operation that includes 12 000 police, sharpshooters on rooftops — and a special bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" in which the ANC leader will travel.

The vehicle, with room for four people, is a specially-designed truck with a bullet-proof enclosure that will enable Mr Mandela to stand up to acknowledge the applause of the many thousands expected to line the route.

At each event he attends, special agents, using tracker dogs, will carry out hourly anti-bomb sweeps of the surrounding areas. They will also use electronic detectors to screen TV cameras and other media equipment.

Since early today TV and radio stations have broadcast hourly warnings of a huge traffic "gridlock" in New York's crowded streets and urged motorists to use buses instead.

## Unusual gesture

When Mr Mandela steps off his plane at New York's JF Kennedy Airport, he will be greeted formally by Mayor David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, and in an unusual gesture, also by the Governor of New York State, Mr Mario Cuomo, a Catholic who did not offer a similar courtesy to Pope John Paul on his visit.

Thousands are expected to greet Mr Mandela at the airport and to crowd the streets as his motorcade wends its way to a Brooklyn high school, with a predominantly black enrolment, his first stop, where Mr Mandela will make the first of his many speeches during the day.

But the best and biggest honour New York can offer — a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade, usually reserved for national heroes — will be the highlight of the ANC leader's day.

The same squadron of helicopters that will fly over Mr Mandela's motorcade as it leaves the airport will hover above Manhattan's "Canyon of Heroes" as the ANC leader is showered with ticker-tape.

The security operation, labelled "Operation Topaz", is the biggest effort ever undertaken for a visiting dignitary.

## 5 300 journalists

More than 5 300 journalists are covering the eight-day US visit. In addition to New York, Mr Mandela will visit Boston, Washington, where he will address a joint sitting of Congress, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

● Canadian Indian leaders boycotted a State banquet held in Mr Man-



The strain is showing . . . a weary Nelson Mandela wipes his brow during a speech to about 1 000 high school students in Toronto yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.

## Cosatu appeals directly to FW

St 20/6/90

Political Staff and Staff Reporters  
Cosatu representatives last night telephoned President de Klerk, asking him to intervene in a dispute between the labour movement and the Government.

Trade unionists are threatening a wave of pickets, boycotts and stayaways if the Cabinet does not extend the sitting of Parliament today to amend the Labour Relations Act.

A Tuynhuys-spokesman confirmed today that Cosatu telephoned Mr de Klerk at home.

"Mr de Klerk took note of their views," he said, but said he would not discuss the matter on the telephone.

"He did not give them undertak-

ings or assurances and, in regard to their requests to have a meeting with him, said Cosatu would be contacted today," he said.

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## Offers

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### Call for better deal for

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By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star Bureau

New York

The arrival of Nelson Mandela in New York tomorrow has provoked the largest media blitz on a single subject since the mass public hysteria that surrounded Colonel Charles A Lindberg's historic solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927.

Put into top gear will be a massive security operation that includes 12 000 police, sharpshooters on rooftops — and a special bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" in which the ANC leader will travel.

The vehicle, with room for four people, is a specially-designed truck with a bullet-proof enclosure that will enable Mr Mandela to stand up to acknowledge the applause of the many thousands expected to line the route.

At each event he attends, special agents, using tracker dogs, will carry out hourly anti-bomb sweeps of the surrounding areas. They will also use electronic detectors to screen TV cameras and other media equipment.

Since early today TV and radio stations have broadcast hourly warnings of a huge traffic "gridlock" in New York's crowded streets and urged motorists to use buses instead.

### Unusual gesture

When Mr Mandela steps off his plane at New York's JF Kennedy Airport, he will be greeted formally by Mayor David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, and in an unusual gesture, also by the Governor of New York State, Mr Mario Cuomo, a Catholic who did not offer a similar courtesy to Pope John Paul on his visit.

Thousands are expected to greet Mr Mandela at the airport and to crowd the streets as his motorcade wends its way to a Brooklyn high school, with a predominantly black enrolment, his first stop, where Mr Mandela will make the first of his many speeches during the day.

But the best and biggest honour New York can offer — a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade, usually reserved for national heroes — will be the highlight of the ANC leader's day.

The same squadron of helicopters that will fly over Mr Mandela's motorcade as it leaves the airport will hover above Manhattan's "Canyon of Heroes" as the ANC leader is showered with ticker-tape.

The security operation, labelled "Operation Topaz", is the biggest effort ever undertaken for a visiting dignitary.

### 5 300 journalists

More than 5 300 journalists are covering the eight-day US visit. In addition to New York, Mr Mandela will visit Boston, Washington, where he will address a joint sitting of Congress, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

Canadian Indian leaders boycotted a State banquet held in Mr Mandela's honour in Toronto this week, reports David Braun.

They did so in disgust at the way they said the Canadian government had ignored them during recent critical negotiations about Canada's constitutional future.

Canadian Indians have consistently said they identify with Mr Mandela's cause, but they object to what they say is the hypocrisy of their government for lavishing so much attention on South Africa's blacks while giving Canada's natives a raw deal.

The salt was rubbed in the wound during the tour, they say, when Mr Mandela was showered with millions of dollars for the ANC, given use of a government jet, a guard of honour and a State banquet.



The strain is showing . . . a weary Nelson Mandela wipes his brow during a speech to about 1 000 high school students in Toronto yesterday.

Picture by Associated Press.

## Cosatu appeals directly to FW

Political Staff and Staff Reporters  
Cosatu representatives last night telephoned President de Klerk, asking him to intervene in a dispute between the labour movement and the Government.

Trade unionists are threatening a wave of pickets, boycotts and stayaways if the Cabinet does not extend the sitting of Parliament today to amend the Labour Relations Act.

A Tuynhuys spokesman confirmed today that Cosatu telephoned Mr de Klerk at home.

"Mr de Klerk took note of their views," he said, but said he would not discuss the matter on the telephone.

"He did not give them undertak-

ings or assurances and, in regard to their requests to have a meeting with him, said Cosatu would be contacted today," he said.

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### Offers

Cosatu negotiator Marcel Golding said yesterday if the Cabinet did not extend Parliament for a few days for the amendments to be passed, the country faced a deluge of protests.

Yesterday, Manpower Minister Eli Louw said he could not entertain short-notice amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

Sapa reports that Mr Louw said in Cape Town he had offered to introduce most of the signatories' proposals and the accompanying recommendations of the National Manpower Commission in the current session of Parliament and leave those remaining for 1991.

As an interim measure, he had offered to introduce legislation immediately giving the accord legal recognition, confining its application to the signatories. This had been rejected.

## Call for better deal for nature conservationists

Pretoria Correspondent

The Public Servants' Association (PSA) has called for a massive salary injection for nature conservationists.

This includes a 40 percent pensionable salary increase for nature conservation officers, as well as the implementation — backdated to 1983 — of a new dispensation for research technicians.

A report in The Public Servant magazine describes the 465 nature conservation officers, research technicians and conservation scientists as a "crisis group".

Gross starting salaries for learner conservation officers with matric were R642 a month and those for qualified nature conservation officers R1 139, while the average salary of the 343 nature conservation officers employed by the State and Cape and Transvaal provincial departments was R1 610 a month.

This, the article said, was R409 a month less than that of any similarly qualified personnel in the public service. The TPA responded by saying it had consistently given support for better salaries.

out of here, and then we're going to lock your  
up," he said. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

# Billy Graham quits rally

*At 7:00pm  
2/16/90*

NEW YORK. — Evangelist Billy Graham has pulled out of a rally for the ANC at the Yankee Stadium today following disputes with Mandela visit organisers over how things should be run.

Mr Graham is also chief promoter of the rally.

Leading US anti-apartheid activists and politicians rejected reports of organisational chaos and lacklustre support for a multi-million dollar fundraising campaign for the ANC.

In a blunt front-page headline, the New York Daily News reported: "Mandela rally snafu," recounting in detail on inside pages how only 10 000 out of 45 000 seats for the rally had been sold.

Responding to the allegations at a press conference in New York on Tuesday, leading American anti-apartheid protester and entertainer Harry Belafonte said tickets had been available only from Friday, that 20 000 had in fact been sold in only a day-and-a-half, and there had not been money "to

To page 2

the anti  
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From page 1

## Mandela

*At 7:00pm  
2/16/90*

buy media exploitation".

Anti-apartheid movement and associated organisations' representatives across the US had only four weeks to prepare for the Mandela visit and there had been many conflicting views on who should do what, where and how.

In spite of all this, the show was coming together.

Belafonte described reports of organisational chaos and lack of support for the rally as "calloused and jaundiced".

"In all my years as a political activist I have never been involved in an event that has evoked as much passion, desire and thrust as Nelson Mandela's (visit) has.

"When that plane touches down tomorrow I don't think any of us will have anything to be ashamed of." — Sapa



# Mandela takes

# NY by storm

NY Times  
2/16/70  
11A

**NEW YORK.** — Tons of paper rained down on ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela's "Mandelamobile" in Manhattan yesterday afternoon, as tens of thousands of New Yorkers welcomed him into the "Canyon of Heroes" in a spectacular ticker-tape parade.

Mr Mandela was being given a traditional New York welcome amid the skyscrapers — the 68th of its kind since 1927 — at the start of his US tour.

No official estimate of the crowd was immediately available, but earlier reports said up to two million people were expected to line the route to the City Hall, where Mr Mandela was to receive the key to the city from mayor Mr David Dinkins, in yet another in a string of ceremonies only hours after his arrival from Canada.

Fears of a possible assassination attempt resulted in a bullet-proof glass box being constructed on a flatbed

truck — dubbed the "Mandelamobile" by the media after the "Popemobile" — to protect Mr Mandela.

The 71-year-old ANC leader and his wife Winnie stood with Mr Dinkins and a number of other dignitaries inside the hut-shaped glass box and waved continuously to the crowds, which surged with roars of applause after the cavalcade as it moved towards the City Hall.

Plainclothes security men stood outside the glass box on the truck's platform, providing a further ring of security, and thousands of New York policemen lined the route.

Shortly before the parade started, Mr and Mrs Mandela visited the Statue of Liberty, US symbol of freedom, on Staten Island.

Earlier, frail but smiling, Mr Mandela made his way onto the tarmac of the New York's J F Kennedy airport, and into the arms of dozens of dignitaries jockeying to be seen with him.

His arrival — aboard a Canadian government jet — was delayed by two hours. US tour officials said he had needed extra time to rest but the Cable News Network

cited rumours of a health problem.

He was greeted by a 30-strong reception line headed by Mr Dinkins and New York governor Mr Mario Cuomo. Also prominently positioned were the Rev Jesse Jackson and sanctions lobbyist Mr Randall Robinson.

A small orchestra played music and the Harlem Boy's Choir provided a fine rendition of "God Bless Africa", which was described as "the ANC's anthem".

In a brief arrival statement Mr Mandela praised the US as "the only country . . . that had made it a criminal offence" to trade with SA, and said that only way Americans could "join" the ANC on its "difficult" road was by ensuring that sanctions remained in place.

Mr Cuomo took the opportunity to call for the immediate passage of long-stalled disinvestment legislation by the New York state assembly.

Mr Mandela was then whisked off in a 40-car, six-helicopter motorcade to a predominantly black high school in Brooklyn, where Mrs Mandela, resplendent in traditional robes, led the ecstatic crowd of several thousand "young lions", as she called them, in cries of "Amandla".

Mr Mandela asked the students to raise money "so that our children can study under better conditions". He also asked that qualified teachers, particularly of mathematics and computer science, be sent to ANC schools in Lusaka.

No sooner had the Mandelas begun to leave the podium than Mr Jackson grabbed the microphone to lead the crowd in chants of "keep the pressure on".

Mr Mandela's next stop was to be the ticker tape parade through lower Manhattan. The absence of ticker tape in modern computerised offices made it necessary for the city to obtain 240km of specially-shredded paper from a company in Connecticut.

Meanwhile, the Rev Al Sharpton, a local black activist facing fraud charges, failed in his bid to be sent to jail as "a political prisoner" during Mr Mandela's visit.

"What they're telling me is: 'Be a nice boy until we get Mandela out of here, and then we're going to lock your fat butt up'," he said. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Billy Graham

**MAULANA FARIED ESACK, who is studying in Britain, replies to Ken Owen's column: "It's no use talking to the horse, find the rider" (Cape Times, June 11).**

WHEN I first set out to work on my paper "Glasnost and the MDM" I was acutely aware of the possibility of it being seized upon by "our enemies".

That Ken Owen fits the description of an enemy of the MDM is in no doubt. The term "enemy" is, of course, a loaded and emotive one. That is, however, reflected in his interminable opprobrious diatribes directed against the MDM.

And so I am not complaining about the fact that an "enemy" has used my paper.

What I vehemently object to is the selective employment of parts thereof, giving other parts a twist that was never there, and to his concluding inferences — which have no logical basis in my views — and then suggesting that they are in fact based thereon.

### Humorous dig

A joke made by a comrade about being supportive of my views "but incognito" is invoked by him to suggest that our movement is still characterised by a lack of openness.

Similarly, a humorous dig at some unknown activist who reinterpreted some critical remark of mine to the audience — in my presence — is transformed by Owen into "Esack himself found his speeches amended by party apparatchiks in the audience saying: 'What he really means is...'"

In Owen's obsession with his pet hate, the ANC, a single speech and an unknown activist become "his speeches" and "party apparatchiks".

Owen correctly quotes me as saying "democracy became a useful cliché, with little organisational relevance as so many activists would wait for "the line" from Lusaka.

However, he conveniently ignores the rest of the sentence "and it made little difference that Lusaka had never arrogated to itself the right to

# Let's get rid of the sadistic rider and nurse the horse

C. Times 2/16/90 (11A)

unilaterally determine "lines".

To have included this reference to the ANC's respect for the policies being developed within the country would have given the ANC some credibility.

Needless to say, I stand by everything that I said and it may sadden the likes of Owen that since that address was delivered more than two months ago I have not been approached for my views.

My paper was part of a process of our own *glasnost* which I wanted to further in a movement that I am proud to be part of.

There is a subtle suggestion on Owen's part that my type is the exception in the MDM (he talks about a gifted figure) and he ignores the fact I was merely extending views on openness which had become commonplace in our ranks.

Prominent in this motion towards greater openness is no less a figure than the vilified Joe Slovo and the magazine of the South African Communist Party, "Umsebenzi".

### Articulate pen

There are indeed vestiges of Stalinism in our ranks and we have a responsibility to win them over — a task which is not furthered by this gleeful seizing upon our admissions of inadequacies.

The task of winning people over is evidently not one which Owen has set for himself. Instead he wants to destroy, which is quite regrettable with that articulate pen of his and given the need of our

country to harness every constructive force.

The movement that he sets out to malign is the one that is essentially responsible for the fact that South Africa is soon to awaken from the nightmare of apartheid. A nightmare that has played no mean role in our own organisation's path to "secret control and manipulation".

Here, too, he mentions the point and yet misses it. He correctly quotes from my paper that "repeated states of emergency have driven our organisation into secrecy... we have almost lost the democratic content of our political organisation" but then goes on to infer that we "thrive on secrecy: totalitarian, driven by fascist instincts, undemocratic, manipulative".

In my paper I discussed the various factors that have led to our abdication of democratic principles. Owen bases his entire article on only one of the factors, ie "vanguardism" and merrily ignores the impact of repression, detention, the constant shadows of death squads et cetera.

I did focus on factors that I believe were our creation since we are able to address these but any objective outsider would not fail to see how a people denied any experience of democracy will easily stumble into non-democratic ways.

It is no use cursing the horse that has been injured by a sadistic rider. Get rid of the rider, and leave friends of the horse to get on with the job of nursing it.

The inferences which Owen draws from my paper bear no relation whatsoever to it and in some cases are even the op-

posite thereof:

● "I now understand," he says, "why any proposal for democratic structures, whether federalism, or the protection of minorities, or a demand for security of property, draws such vicious attacks from elements of the so-called democratic Left."

Every single one of these is intended to perpetuate apartheid and white privilege and has nothing to do with democracy and *glasnost*. Democracy has to do with one-person one-vote. As for security of property, that cannot be glibly applied. Stolen property in any democracy does not carry an intrinsic sanctity.

● Owen now "understands why the ANC operates an intimidating censorship through its so-called cultural desk". The cultural desk has been a part of ensuring that a cultural boycott of the apartheid regime and its supporters has been maintained, a boycott that has played no mean role in forcing the regime to acknowledge that the game is up. It had nothing to do with internal censorship.

● Owen talks about the torture of dissidents in the ANC as if these were matters of routine and suggests that anyone who disputed "the line" was subject to torture. That is a blatant untruth. The truth is that torture was the exception, an exception that is deeply regretted and will never be repeated.

But then it is not truth or falsehood that Ken Owen is obsessed with, it is rather, I smell, the continued survival of a sadistic rider.

□ Ken Owen replies: Esack's paper was 19 pages long and much was necessarily left out. I think it was fairly done, and I note that Esack berates me but does not retract or dispute the comments I quoted. It is true that he mentioned only one instance of being publicly corrected by an apparatchik, which I mistook for an illustrative example of a trend rather than a single episode. For this I apologise.

# Mandela may encounter US race prejudice

**NEW YORK** - Nelson Mandela is likely to encounter America's own racial inequities during his visit to the "Land of the Free".

"Even Africans from the black-dominated countries tend to be surprised at the level of prejudice and racism that still exists" in the United States, said Linda Williams, a research fellow in race issues at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

The anti-apartheid activist, who is in New York will "come away with a rather mixed feeling," said Daniel Walkowitz, director of New York University's Urban Studies Programme.

"There are strong signs of the ways in which blacks are integrated into American life - and also the tragic irony of the way their situation has become polarised at the same time," said Walkowitz.

The National Commission on Children released a report in April that said the poverty rate in 1987 was 45 percent for black children in the United States, 39 percent for Hispanic children and 15 percent for white children.

## Official study

A congressional study released in October found that black males, age 15 to 19, die by homicide, execution or as a result of police actions at the rate of 51.5 per 100 000. White males in the same age group die at the rate of 8.6 per 100,000 in the same circumstances, it said.

Saskia Sassen, director of urban planning at Columbia University, agreed that many black South Africans, despite their own, complex struggle, might be "shocked if they saw what we see" in the United States.

"There is a growing, physical separation of blacks and whites in this country," said Sassen.

Sassen said 70 percent of the nation's blacks live in the 100 largest cities. "Public schools, for example, in New York and Chicago, are increasingly all minority. White public schools are in the suburbs," Sassen said. "We are creating two societies."

Aids, homelessness, drug abuse, poverty and broken homes also can spell hopelessness for inner-city blacks.

The congressional study said that in 1988, less than 40 percent of black children lived with both parents, compared with 79 percent white children. - Sapa-Áp.



Nelson Mandela with Canada's Akua Benjamin.

# Rocky not a <sup>(11A)</sup> leader - Azapo <sup>(2)</sup>

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation has challenged the projection of Rocky Malebane-Metsing as the definitive leader of Bophuthatswana and Metsing's alleged assumption that the ANC is the only representative body of the territory.

Azapo's Garankuwa-based Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, was reacting to an interview with Metsing in a morning paper and to earlier statements by the failed coup leader.

"To start off with, there can never be a legitimate leader of Bophuthatswana when it is an illegitimate child of racist South Africa.

"We regard Bophuthatswana not as a separate entity, but as part of occupied Azania."

## **Safety**

He said it was interesting that Metsing, "now that he is in the safety of exile ... flies the flag of a section of the broad liberation movement".

"Furthermore, he wants to give the world the impression that the people of Bophuthatswana, in their entirety, fly the same flag.

"This could not be further from the truth.

"The plurality in ideological perspective that exists among blacks in South Africa holds for Bophuthatswana too."

Mokae said that before Metsing's flight into exile after his failed coup early last year against President Lucas Mangope, Metsing and his party, the Peoples Progressive Party, had not been ideologically aligned.

## **Mangope**

"They had in fact granted legitimacy and authenticity to the Mangope government by acting as the official opposition.

"Indeed, the reasons for the attempted coup had nothing to do with reintegration of Bophuthatswana into Azania.

"Our people will resist the Bophuthatswana bantustan whether it is lead by Mangope or another puppet who is in the good books of a section of the liberation movement," said Mokae. - Sapa

# ANC leadership in closed-door meeting

SA 21/6/90

By Kaizer Nyatumba

(11A)

The African National Congress's national executive committee and the organisation's interim leadership core representing all regions in the country yesterday began a closed-door meeting in Johannesburg.

The meeting is to concentrate on "organisational matters", ac-

ording to ANC official Gill Marcus.

The meeting is being attended by all but four members of the organisation's NEC.

A number of senior profile members of the ANC's national executive committee arrived in South Africa this week, including general secretary Alfred Nzo and Umkhonto weSizwe

chief of staff and deputy commander Chris Hani.

A press conference will be held tomorrow.

Absent NEC members — all overseas — are president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela, international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi.

# Ammunition to an enemy

B / Day 21 / 6 / 90

(11A)

## FARIED ESACK

ception in the MDM — he talks about a gifted figure — and he ignores the fact I was merely extending views on openness which had become commonplace in our ranks.

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The task of winning people over is evidently not one which Owen has set for himself. Instead he wants to destroy, which is quite regrettable with that articulate pen of his and given the need of our country to harness every constructive force.

The movement that he sets out to malign is the one that is essentially responsible for the fact that SA is soon to awaken from the nightmare of apartheid. A nightmare that has played no mean role in our own organisation's path to "secret control and manipulation". Here, too, he mentions the point and yet misses it. He correctly quotes from my paper that "repeated states of emergency have driven our organisation into se-

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He, however, conveniently ignores the rest of the sentence: "... and it made little difference that Lusaka had never arrogated to itself the right unilaterally to determine 'lines'".

To have included this reference to the ANC's respect for the policies being developed within the country would have given the ANC some credibility which, of course, does not tie in with his agenda.

Owen is perhaps not the most suitably qualified to talk about "party apparatchiks amending speeches".

Needless to say, I stand by everything that I said and it may sadden the likes of Owen that since that address was delivered more than two months ago I have not been reproached for my views — formally or informally. My paper was part of a process of our own glasnost which I wanted to further in a movement that I am proud to be part of.

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WHEN I first set out to work on my paper "Glasnost and the MDM" I was acutely aware of the possibility of it being seized upon by "our enemies".

"As for the fear that public exposure will supply our enemies with further ammunition against us," I said, "firstly none of us honestly believes that our enemies do not have an awareness and secondly our silence will supply them with even more powerful ammunition."

In his column, "It's no use talking to the horse — you must find the rider" (Business Day June 11), Ken Owen has done just that.

That he fits the description of an enemy of the MDM is in no doubt. The term "enemy" is, of course, a loaded and emotive one. That is, however, reflected in his interminable "pieces" of opprobrious diatribes directed against the MDM. And so I am not complaining about the fact that an "enemy" has used my paper.

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South 21/6 - 27/6/90

# SACP reveals programme

From MONO BADELA 11A  
 JOHANNESBURG. — A “new-look” South African Communist Party (SACP) emerged this week from four decades of “enforced legal silence” to give details of its plan to build a mass-based party.

At a press conference held here on Tuesday, the first in almost 40 years, the SACP also announced plans for an historic rally at the Soccer City stadium in Soweto on July 29, its 69th birthday.

### Silence

General secretary Mr Joe Slovo, internal leader Mr Raymond Mhlaba and recently-returned ANC NEC member Mr Mac Maharaj, gave details of the party’s planned emergence into a mass-based party.

“We, South African communists, are emerging from four decades of enforced legal silence,” said Mhlaba, a former Robben Island political prisoner.

Slovo said the SACP was more popular now than at any other time in its 69-year-old history, but it would be launched as a new legal party.

The SACP’s relationship to the ANC would “not change much”, as there were no basic differences between the two organisations on their immediate objec-



**AT THE SACP CONFERENCE: Raymond Mhlaba, Joe Slovo and Mac Maharaj**

tives to end racism and replace it with a non-racial, democratic and united SA.

They also had a common approach on a post-apartheid SA.

The ANC headed the ANC-SACP alliance, Slovo said.

However, there were “non-hostile, non-antagonistic and non-competitive differences” between the ANC and SACP.

The ANC saw itself as a mass organisation open to all people. On the other

hand, the SACP aimed to represent the basic interest of the working class.

The ANC did not have a programme for socialist transformation, while the SACP stood for the ultimate creation of a socialist South Africa, Slovo said.

The SACP internal body would operate under the central direction of the external central committee.

The party would establish regions and

open branches in all urban centres and aimed to balance the idea of a mass party and a party of quality and calibre.

“We want people who obviously believe in the party’s programme and policies and who are also activists.”

Underground SACP structures would not be completely abandoned because the party believed the process of democratisation was not yet irreversible.

From PATRICK GOODENOUGH  
PORT ELIZABETH. — The Labour  
Party, facing an increasing erosion  
of its support throughout the coun-  
try — especially in the Eastern Cape  
— was advised this week to “close  
shop” by African National Congress  
NEC member, Mr James Stuart.

“The Labour Party does not represent  
the genuine interests and aspirations of  
our people. The LP, through its collabo-  
rationist stance, has lost whatever credi-  
bility it might have had in the past.”

### Ill-fated

He said he was sure that even less than  
eight percent of Northern Areas resi-  
dents reported in a survey to support the  
LP would do so now.

He attributed the decline of the party  
to the decision it took at its Eshowe  
conference to join former State Presi-  
dent PW Botha's ill-fated tricameral  
system.

“The Labour Party should peacefully  
wind up its affairs and allow the people

LP told to (11A)  
‘close shop’

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to serve in structures that really repre-  
sent the working class,” Stuart said.

“My advice to them would be to close  
shop, and leave the people to promote  
liberation and peace.”

Stuart also called on whites to recog-  
nise their responsibility for the introduc-  
tion of apartheid, and their responsibil-  
ity to contribute to the move towards the  
new South Africa.

“They have a special responsibility in  
breaking down the system that they  
themselves created. It's important for  
them to realise their future lies in a  
democratic South Africa. Their future  
can only be protected and promoted  
under democracy,” he said.

Whites should use the special skills  
they had acquired because of their ad-  
vantages under apartheid “in the inter-

ests of promoting the struggle for de-  
mocracy in this country”.

“They owe it not only to the people but  
to their own future generations to ensure  
we succeed in our struggle to create a  
society in which everybody, black and  
white, will live in peace and friendship.

“We will need their input at the na-  
tional conference. But for them to be  
able to do so, they will have to join  
ANC structures.”

### Tambo

Stuart said the ANC's national confer-  
ence in December would look at issues  
crucial to the future of the movement  
and the country.

It is likely the ANC president, Mr Ol-  
iver Tambo, will participate in the con-  
ference — which could mark the effec-  
tive end of the ANC's existence in exile.

The conference will be one of the most  
significant gatherings in the history of  
the anti-apartheid struggle. Stuart has  
been appointed chairperson of the “na-  
tional preparatory committee” for the  
conference.

## Guard against irrelevant

Theob  
13/2/90



# New York pulls out all stops for Mandela's ticker-tape welcome

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Being a reporter in Mr Nelson Mandela's entourage yesterday had a lot of drawbacks. But it also provided the once-in-a-lifetime experience of taking part in a New York ticker-tape parade.

This was the position in which I found myself when selected by the tour organisers as the only South African journalist to be included in "Press Pool No 1" — the very small group which was to accompany Mr Mandela everywhere.

The disadvantage of this was being confined within the incredibly tight security apparatus.

Unless one was using a portable telephone, as were the reporters of the major television networks and the big New

York dailies, there was simply no way of communicating outside what the security people called "the package".

But from the moment Mr Mandela's Canadian government jet landed, Press Pool No 1 had the best seats on the entire spectacle of one of New York's grandest celebrations.

Our microbus was only a few vehicles behind Mr Mandela's in a 55-car motorcade — in front of such luminaries as the Rev Jesse Jackson and scores of other dignitaries who had come to receive the African National Congress leader at the airport.

A police escort of 25 motorcycles led the procession at breakneck speed on specially-cleared freeways and side streets — probably the only

time I will ever again make the normally traffic-jammed journey so quickly.

After stopping at the Brooklyn Boys' and Girls' School, where 8 000 pupils waited on a sports field, the Mandela motorcade was swamped. For at least a kilometre we inched along as thousands of people surged around the vehicles.

The most striking thing about the crowds was that they comprised all races, as many whites as blacks.

People perched on trees and traffic lights, leaned out over balconies — thousands and thousands of them in a multitude of smiling faces and waving hands.

In Manhattan, where the ticker-tape parade was held, the mammoth crowds were waiting. It seemed as if the

whole island had been given the day off for a giant street party.

The paper came down in a white snowstorm, sometimes great arcs of it in connected computer print-outs, other times in a floating cloud of shreds.

Even the New York reporters in our vehicle were awed.

The noise was deafening. Thousands of people cheered, waved and danced. Church bells pealed.

The initial New York city police estimate for the overall turnout was about two million people.

It was, New York governor Mr Mario Cuomo said afterwards, the city speaking from its soul.

● See page 3.



Mr Mandela and his wife wave to the crowds on arrival in New York.

# Dozens of New York dignitaries jostle to be seen welcoming

WASHINGTON — Frail but smiling, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday carefully picked his way on to the tarmac of New York's J F Kennedy Airport, and into the arms of dozens of dignitaries jockeying to be seen with him.

His arrival — aboard a Canadian government jet — was delayed two hours. US tour officials said he had needed extra time to rest but the Cable News Network cited rumours of a health problem.

He was greeted by a 30-strong reception line headed by Mayor David Dinkins and New York Governor Mario Cuomo. Also prominently positioned were the Rev Jesse

Jackson and sanctions lobbyist Randall Robinson.

A small orchestra played coronation music and the Harlem Boy's Choir provided a fine rendition of God Bless Africa, described as "the ANC's anthem".

In a brief arrival statement, Mandela praised the US as "the only country . . . that had made it a criminal offence" to trade with SA.

Sapa reports that Mandela said SA's black people were changing the political scene in the country and had already completely shattered the dreams of those whites who had hoped they would always

**SIMON BARBER**

be master over them.

"It is an honour and source of tremendous joy and strength for us to be received with such a rousing welcome by the people of this city," he said.

He said his message was simple: "Sanctions must be maintained.

"Today, we can see light at the end of the tunnel, and we are appealing to you in all humility that you must join us in the internal action we are taking to force the SA government to abandon apartheid.

"The only way we can walk together on

this difficult road is for you to ensure sanctions are applied."

Cuomo took the opportunity to call for the immediate passage of long-stalled disinvestment legislation by the New York state assembly.

Mandela was then whisked off in a 40-car, six-helicopter motorcade to a predominantly black high school in Brooklyn where his wife, resplendent in traditional robes, led the ecstatic crowd of several thousand "young lions", as she called them, in cries of "Amandla".

He asked the students to raise money "so

that our children can study under better conditions". He also asked that qualified teachers, particularly of mathematics and computer science, be sent to ANC schools in Lusaka.

No sooner had the Mandelas begun to leave the podium than Jackson grabbed the microphone to lead the crowd in chants of "keep the pressure on".

Mandela's next stop was a ticker tape parade through lower Manhattan. The absence of ticker tape in modern computerised offices made it necessary for the city to obtain 150 miles of especially shredded paper from a company in Connecticut.

Mandela 119

12/16/90

THE debate engendered by Albie Sachs on the role of culture has been received by some with extreme glee—while others react cautiously.

Liberals vociferously reaffirm their position — that they were right all along and that art must be divorced from politics.

Sachs' paper on the role of culture has caused some consternation within the mass-based progressive movement, where cultural workers (as poet Ari Sitas puts it) are concerned that their work has been banal or even devoid of content.

Whatever the reaction, there is one inescapable fact: the Sachs paper has — perhaps limously so — engendered, encouraged and stimulated the kind of debate about the role of culture that is necessary during the phase of transition in our country.

Responses to the paper have hung primarily on two phrases:

- Members should be banned from saying that culture is a weapon of the struggle, and

- White is beautiful.

Regarding the first issue, the following must be noted:

- The weapon created out of culture is a process which negates oppression, isolates, and finally prepares the death of the culture of apartheid.

- Culture as a weapon of struggle has made a significant contribution to our vocabulary, and has located many indigenous languages which would have been static in tradition within revolution, change and the 21st century.

- It has also given us determination, courage and a vision of a future South Africa.

- Art forms will and must continue to reflect our society as one that has been for so long tortured and affected by violence.

- Our revolutionary songs, dances,

**The paper by Albie Sachs on the role of culture in the South African struggle has engendered widespread debate and raised many questions. JUNNAID AHMED examines some of these:**

# A question of culture

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poems and plays are packed with this. But within the framework of this violent and solemn phase, the progressive cultural movement has not — contrary to critical opinion — over-emphasised "possimistic aspects" in the struggle for liberation.

People like Njabulo Ndebele, Nadine Gordimer, James Mathews, Lewis Nkosi, Ari Sitas and others have continually shown, through their essays and creative works, that we are not locked in "clichés".

The canvas of works from various progressive cultural organisations has been vast and innovative.

## Dignity

The second statement, "white is beautiful", must be seen in context.

"Black is beautiful" was coined to unite Amazulu, Basotho, Mashangana, Indians, coloureds and others. It was a call to claim dignity and freedom.

Albie Sachs has eloquently stated some of our problems. We admit this readily, but it was not only because we were committed politically.

There is also general agreement with Sachs when he points out a cultural transformation has to take place. The question to be addressed is how the energy that apartheid has unleashed can be used to create a culture of tolerance of differences of people in our country.

No amount of criticism levelled at cultural workers by liberals, academics, journalists and others will change weak-

nesses in progressive culture — education, exposure and exchange. The eradication of apartheid will do so.

We agree that, in the progressive movement, culture has been asserted as a unifying force.

## Ornaments

But how do our critics view the role of culture — as decorative ornaments, exclusive institutions, a little Europe in South Africa?

Is white South Africa prepared to fully participate, or is the pre-occupation in the crucial phase of our history going to be on the securing of group rights?

How are we going to express the diversity of our problems and attempt to find answers if our critics prefer to be only arm-chair ones, and are continually trying to take the offensive position?

What happens to the "pure arts" — ballet and opera? How do we take them away from the preserve of the bourgeoisie and make them accessible to the majority of the people?

## Inferior

In what way should cultural workers fuse their works with "pure art"?

If our critics find the products of "mass culture" or popular culture an inferior substitute for "true" works of culture, then what is their solution?

Are works imbued with social and political significance — the works of a realist trend — unworthy of a real creative cultural worker? Or is it the curious



**NJABULO NDEBELE: Not locked in clichés**

paradox that some of the greatest founders of freedom are in fact among those who are shouting the loudest, and supporting for the wrong reasons some of the pertinent issues that Sachs raises?

These questions must be answered by our critics. The progressive cultural movement is ready to participate in such deliberations, but our critics must move away from their liberal positions and be involved in a far more constructive manner.

Winds of change can blow only if both advocates of progressive culture and those who are critical of it can expend energy to debate and discuss the issue, without attacking each other continuously.

Let us have our own battlefield of ideas. If we let polemics go beyond aesthetics, we could together probably reaffirm the role of culture in educating people in the phase of transformation.

If culture becomes a site of struggle in itself, it could consistently address some of the questions raised. Within the progressive cultural fold,

the project, debates and discussions encompass a broad spectrum of issues — women, language, criteria and standards, the documenting of our cultural heritage, and others.

Culture, as a site of struggle, should broaden these debates to include all cultural practitioners, especially those who are not members of the liberation movements.

## Misconception

There is the general misconception that the Market Theatre in Johannesburg reflects innovative progressive culture.

Our Qabulaa, Mahlaseela, Zondis, Hlashtwayos, Malanges, Dikenis, Ram-polekengs and thousands more reflect the diversity of our art, writings, performance, music and other disciplines.

The challenge we face, as Ngugi's Thiong'o reflects, is that we do not want a culture of apemanism and parody to be enforced by police bullets, barbed wire, quills and by a corpus of intellectuals, academics and purists.

How do we overcome this? What will become the quest for relevance? Do progressive cultural workers discard Aeschylus, Sophocles, Chekov, Donne, Shakespeare, Milton and others to read only Marx, Engels and Lenin?

## Dustbins

Do we throw into our dustbins racist writers like Huxley, Haggard and Mon-sarrat? Do we promote only the progressive writings of Zola, Faulkner, Shaw, Brecht and Nerada?

How many of our critics are familiar with the works of Hove, Serote, Kgosisile, Nco, Machel, Castro, Sankara, Guevara, Nguqi, Achebe, Soyinka, Nkosi, Thomba and others?

In our attempts to foster unity among all South Africans, let us as cultural practitioners move from the position of strength and not of ignorance.



**HIGH TEA:** Members of the ANC'S external mission met the movement's internal leadership at an historic National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting in Johannesburg this week. Enjoying a tea break are (from left) Govan Mbeki, Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Raymond Mhlaba and AS Xobololo, president of the ANC in the Transkei.

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## Hey 'PW' Botha, welcome home

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The last time I saw Thozamile Botha, we constituted an illegal meeting.

And when one of the country's most brilliant young leaders of the eighties and founder of the Port Elizabeth Black Civics Organisation (Pebco) stepped off the plane at Jan Smuts Airport this week, memories came flooding back.

It was 1980 and shortly after both of us had been released after 10 weeks of detention under Section 29 of the In-

ternal Security Act.

As we stepped outside our cells, we were slapped with five-year house arrest and banning orders confining Botha to the Port Elizabeth township of Zwide and me to the neighbouring township of New Brighton.

Although forbidden, we met intermittently in the township of Kwazakhele, slipping away from our houses for midnight rendezvous.

### Skipped

Our last meeting was in April 1980 when he complained of intense harassment and surveillance by security

police. Hours later he "skipped" the country.

The following night he phoned me from Lesotho saying he could not stand being reduced to a "twilight person".

"But Mono, I hope we'll meet again," he said.

This week I spotted him at Jan Smuts Airport from about 50 yards. He appeared a bit more stoutish but fit and handsome as ever.

"PW Botha", I shouted. Immediately

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## 'PW' Botha 11A

### FROM PAGE ONE

recognising my pet name for him, he turned, rushed and hugged me. I was overwhelmed to see him again.

The charismatic former teacher became a national figure as he led Pebco to become the foremost and most militant civic body in the country.

In exile, he rose rapidly in the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and is now its education officer. South 21/6-27/6/90

Botha returned to his home town of Port Elizabeth to address a conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. He will address a NECC conference in Cape Town on July 1.

MANDELA-mania swept New York on Wednesday as thousands of people lined the streets to welcome the ANC deputy president at the start of his 12-day, eight-city tour of the United States.

Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie were given a hero's welcome at the John F Kennedy airport and a red carpet reception led by New York's mayor, Mr David Dinkins.


Also at the airport to welcome him was his daughter, Zenani, the governor of New York State Mr Mario Cuomo, the Rev Jessie Jackson and entertainer Mr Harry Belafonte.

In his address, Mandela said: "It is an honour and a source of tremendous joy and strength for us to be received with such a rousing welcome by the people of this city.

"My message is simple: sanctions must be maintained.

"Today we can see the light at the end of the tunnel, and we are

# Victorious American welcome for Mandela

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appealing to you in all humility to join us in the international action we are taking to force the South African government to abandon apartheid," Mandela said.

His arrival was carried live from the airport by a dozen American television and radio stations.

In New York City, thousands of people had gathered from early morning in preparation for the ticker-tape parade in his honour — the first time ever for a black leader.

A bullet-proof glass "Mandelamobile" which resembles the vehicle used to chauffeur the

Pope during his visit to the US in 1987 drove the Mandelas through the Manhattan parade.

The parade wound through the Wall Street district and ended at the City Hall where Mayor Dinkins presented him with a key to the city.

More than 15 000 people packed the grounds of the Girls and Boys School in Brooklyn, which has New York's largest black community, to hear Mandela at the start of his tour.

Hundreds of people who could not gain entrance to the grounds waited outside, practising

"Amandla, ngawethu!"

A television commentator explained to viewers this was "an African welcome".

Mandela will spend his time in the US to thank the American people for their support, raise money for the ANC and call for support for sanctions to be maintained.

A rally was planned at New York's Yankee Stadium for Thursday and tickets for the ANC fundraising event were sold at R13 to R1330 each.

Also planned was a street rally in Harlem on Thursday, breakfast with business leaders at the World Trade Centre on Friday and a R6 650-a-person fundraising evening, also on Friday.

Mandela leaves for Boston on Saturday. His trip includes stops in Washington — where he will meet US President George Bush — Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

He leaves the United States on July 1.

# 'End Natal violence' call on FW

DURBAN. — The Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC are to launch a national campaign to press State President FW de Klerk to agree to their demands to take steps to end the carnage in Natal.

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said negotiations could not take place while the violence — which has claimed 4 000 lives — continued.

Speaking at a press conference convened by the UDF and Cosatu Joint Working Committee (JWC) on Wednesday, Naidoo said this was not

a new precondition to negotiations.

"We are now merely emphasising this precondition, he said.

In terms of the Harare declaration — the ANC's document on the process leading to negotiations — free political activity is a prerequisite for negotiations.

"Those who are living in fear of their lives cannot negotiate. If there is no freedom of activity in places like KwaZulu, it cannot be said there is a climate conducive to negotiations," Naidoo said.

Natal Midlands UDF secretary, Mr Siphso Gcabashe, said the retention of

the state of emergency in Natal was another obstacle to negotiations.

Gcabashe said the ANC had "made it clear" to the government during the preliminary talks in May that the emergency had to be lifted totally.

Cosatu's Southern Natal secretary, Mr Thami Mhlomi, said the emergency provided the security forces protection from possible prosecution.

"The security forces can do anything they want to under the emergency," Mhlomi said.

He added the emergency did not contribute to attempts to bring about peace in Natal.

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# 'Kei anger over rebels

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa has hit at South Africa for not informing his government about the presence of ANC dissidents in the territory. South 21/6-27/6/90

This comes after the shooting in Umtata last week of Siphon Phungulwa, one of the eight ANC dissidents who recently arrived back in South Africa claiming the movement had tortured rebels and suppressed dissent.

## Custody

Phungulwa was gunned down on Wednesday of last week as he got out

of a minibus in Ngangelizwe township, according to Transkei Police.

Another member of the group, Nicholas Dyasop, was with him at the time. The South African security police have said he is in their protective custody.

Holomisa was quick to express surprise that the news had been released by South African intelligence sources, and not in co-operation with Transkei.

He said South Africa was "controlling" all returning exiles, and Transkei should have been told if any wanted to come there. If other

exiles came, protection was arranged in consultation with the ANC or PAC. (IIA)

"It is still a mystery as to why these (dissidents) in the first instance came to South Africa," he said.

The incident occurred a day after the two visited the Umtata ANC office to request a meeting with the regional executive. According to a spokesperson for the organisation, Dr Zola Dabula, the men had said they wanted to "clarify their position" and to inform the executive "how bad" the ANC's leadership was.

Dabula said the men were told their request would be discussed, and they should return later in the week for a response.

But many questions around the incident remain unanswered.

# The right to stay

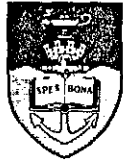
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From THABO DANIELS PORT ELIZABETH. — Official attempts to divide a "mixed" community in the small Southern Cape town of Sedgefield failed when African squatters won the right to remain in the area.

After a two-year struggle against their forced removal, the 78 African families living in the Smutsville township will no longer be forcibly removed, and will soon have proper houses.

Phumi Booysen, a member of South Cape Against Removals said that an open piece of land alongside Smutsville had been identified as "home" for the squatters.

In the meantime, they will stay on in their present shack homes until proper houses are built. — PEN



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

**Media Assistant/  
Typist:**

Student Affairs Dept

# New York's colourful greeting

From RAMSAY MILNE

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — New York threw its hat in the air and demonstrated in its best and most extravagant way its huge admiration for Mr Nelson Mandela in a parade through the city that for colour, spectacle and high-flown oratory was without precedent in the city's history.

It was a day of huge triumph for the freed ANC deputy leader as millions of New Yorkers lined Manhattan's crowded streets as he, his wife Winnie and their daughter, Zenani, in a bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" that looked like an ambulatory greenhouse, were driven from the airport on their arrival from Canada.

A special squad of highly trained police commandos, equipped with automatic and other "heavy" weapons, rode in a "war wagon" immediately in front of the vehicle.

Another phalanx of 150

armed police jogged on each side of the ungainly vehicle.

But the only real danger to Mr Mandela was possible rhetorical flatulence as Mayor David Dinkins and New York Governor Mario Cuomo, among others, praised him as "this man of mythic proportions", a "Messiah", a "Simon Bolivar", a "modern Moses" and "this transcendent figure of freedom".

## TICKER-TAPE

The spectacular parade was New York's 67th ticker-tape parade. Among the honoured recipients have been Olympic gold medal winners, baseball heroes, triumphant returning astronauts, Sir Winston Churchill and Mr Harry Truman.

None was honoured with anything like this exuberance — or extravagance.

In his first speech of welcome as Mr and Mrs Mandela stepped off their plane, Mr Dinkins left no doubt that he and the political forces he

could marshal would respond fully to Mr Mandela's plea for continued sanctions.

He presented Mr Mandela with a key signifying freedom of the city.

Mr Mandela, whose aim is to raise R450-million for the ANC during his eight-city visit to the United States, wasted little time before proselytising on the ANC's behalf.

At a brief stop at a high school while on his way to Manhattan, he appealed to the pupils to give funds to aid the education of black South African children.

Still, for New York's teeming millions, perhaps the most experienced and exuberant paraders in the world, it was a memorable day as the Mandelas drove past them through a blizzard of paper amid deafening noise from Calypso bands, steel bands, bagpipe bands, fife and drum bands, high school marching contingents, Asian acrobats and prancing Red Indian "braves".



New York stages thunderous welcome for 'messiah'

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# Nelson Mandela, superstar

By Ramsay Milne,  
The Star Bureau

New York The Big Apple threw its hat in the air yesterday and demonstrated in its best and most extravagant way its admiration and affection for Nelson Mandela in a parade through the city that for colour, spectacle and high-flown oratory was without precedent in the city's history.

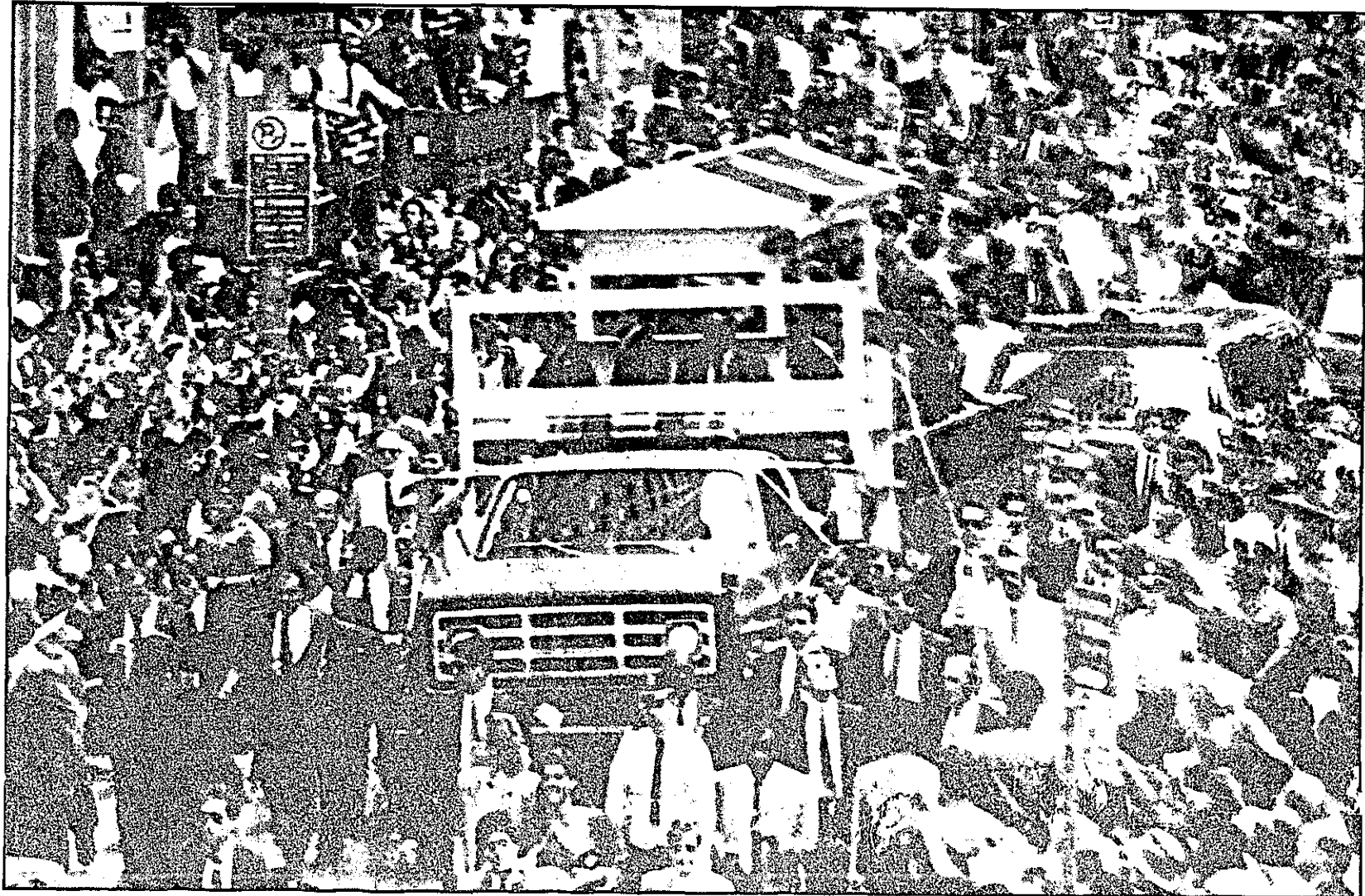
It was a day of huge triumph for the freed ANC deputy leader, as millions of New Yorkers lined Manhattan's crowded streets as Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie and their daughter, Zenani, drove past in a bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile".

More than 12 000 armed police lined the route and sharpshooters with automatic weapons looked down from the tall buildings.

Police said they had received a "typical" number of bomb threats but did not disclose details.

But the only real danger to Mr Mandela, only a month short of his 72nd birthday, was possible rhetorical flatulence as Mayor David Dinkins and New York Governor Mario Cuomo, among others, praised him as "his man of mythic proportions", a "messiah", a "Simon Bolivar", a "modern Moses" and "this transcendent figure of freedom".

Yesterday's spectacular parade of marching bands and ethnic dancers in what was described as New York's "gorgeous mosaic" of cultures, was New York's 67th ticker-tape parade



Nelson's 'taxi' ... Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, ride the specially built bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" past hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers who lined Manhattan streets yesterday for the special ticker-tape parade down the "Canyon of Heroes"

...ela in a parade through the city that for colour, spectacle and high-flown oratory was without precedent in the city's history.

It was a day of huge triumph for the freed ANC deputy leader, as millions of New Yorkers lined Manhattan's crowded streets as Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie and their daughter, Zenani, drove past in a bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile".

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Yesterday's spectacular parade of marching bands and ethnic dancers in what was described as New York's "gorgeous mosaic" of cultures, was New York's 67th ticker-tape parade since 1750 tons of Wall Street paper descended about the head of the world's first solo transatlantic flier, Mr Charles Lindberg, in 1927.

### Emotional highs

Among the honoured recipients have been Olympic gold medal winners, baseball heroes, triumphant returning astronauts, Sir Winston Churchill and Harry Truman.

None was honoured with anything like this exuberance — or extravagance — as New York's black population in particular, locked in their own bitter racial conflicts in what has become a sharply divided city, made the most of the moment to hail their hero, spurred to remarkable emotional highs by Mayor David Dinkins, New York's first black mayor.

In his first speech of welcome as Mr and Mrs Mandela stepped off their plane, Mr Dinkins left no doubt that he and the political forces he can marshal would respond fully to Mr Mandela's plea for continued trade and other sanctions against "the Pretoria racist regime".

It was a theme he returned to several times, converting the ceremony at the City Hall into a fiery political statement.

Many expressed anger. "This should be a happy event, celebrating the release of Mr Mandela," said one bystander. "The mayor turned it into a largely black political event."

Still, for New York's millions, perhaps the greatest paraders in the world, it was a memorable day as the Mandelas drove past them through a blizzard of paper amid deafening noise from calypso bands, bagpipe bands, Asian acrobats and prancing Red Indian "braves".

Small wonder the Mandelas said they had never seen anything like it.



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# Talks 'another field of struggle' - Hanı

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is in full support of the ANC's position on negotiations and regards negotiations as yet another terrain of struggle, says Chris Hanı, its chief of staff and deputy commander.

Mr Hanı, who returned to South Africa on Monday, spoke about the armed struggle and negotiations.

He said his home-coming was marred by the economic inequalities between whites and blacks.

While he was happy to come back home, Mr Hanı (48) who left in 1963 at the age of 21 soon after obtaining his BA degree in from the University of Fort Hare, said he was saddened by the fact that the National Party was still in power and blacks were still heavily deprived economically and politically.

Driving through the squatter camp of Mshenguville in Soweto on the first day of his arrival was "like being hit with a sledgehammer".

This made him realise that coming home imposed "extra demands on us to step up the struggle so that real freedom should be felt by the dwellers of the slums.

"We cannot afford to have two South Africas: one very poor and one very rich."

The armed struggle, he said, would continue for as long as apartheid existed, and political prisoners remained incarcerated.

## Incarcerated

"I am deeply aggrieved by the fact that fighters of Umkhonto are still in prison and on death row. I would like to see all my colleagues released without delay. In fact, I cannot see any reason for their continued incarceration."

Mr Hanı said all obstacles to negotiations had to be removed and once this had been done, the ANC would talk to the Government "and hopefully arrive at a mutually acceptable ceasefire".

Asked if talk of the armed struggle was now merely to strengthen the ANC's hand in negotiations, Mr Hanı said the armed struggle still existed.

Although visible MK activities had declined since the unbanning of political organisations on February 2, the ANC's military wing was still

functional and was busy recruiting and training cadres.

Special attention had been paid, however, to make sure that whites did not feel themselves to be MK targets. Instead, they were called upon to join the ANC.

This contrasted sharply with Mr Hanı's statement in 1987 that whites would not change until "they experienced apartheid as bitter, very painful and costly in terms of human lives".

This was interpreted as a shift in ANC policy to make white civilians MK targets.

"I never advocated the attack of white civilians," said Mr Hanı. "What I said then was that areas in which whites lived had to be attacked so that whites could feel our presence and know we were in a state of war."

He admitted that some of the operations carried out by MK guerillas "did not necessarily follow ANC guidelines and policies," and he did not encourage such sporadic attacks on civilians.

Similarly, he could not publicly denounce his fighters. He emphasised that these unauthorised operations did not, as it was suggested then, mean MK leaders had lost control of their soldiers.

"We certainly intervened and told our comrades making civilians targets was wrong, and pointed out to them that this would antagonise people and lose us international support.

"There is full conformity with our policies now, and our comrades carry out operations which reflect ANC policy," he said.

The MK chief of staff denied reports that he was a hardliner who was initially opposed to negotiations. The ANC's National Executive Committee had fully discussed its attitude towards negotiations and had reached consensus that it would be proper to participate in talks about talks which could lead to negotiations.

He said the South African Government had tried a number of times to assassinate him, mentioning the time he escaped death narrowly in Maseru, Lesotho during a raid by South African commandos. If he or other individuals in MK's leadership were assassinated, other leaders would take their positions, he said.



Bomb attack . . . some operations carried out by MK guerillas "did not necessarily follow ANC guidelines and policies", according to Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff and deputy commander, Chris Hanı. He says he did not encourage sporadic attacks on civilians.

Mr Hanı reiterated his demand that MK soldiers and members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) had to come together and hold talks of their own about a future defence force for the country.

It was important that "the ordinary soldiers" were prepared for the political changes that were taking place so that the army would not block the negotiation process.

He was therefore pained by Defence Minister Magnus Malan's statements that MK fighters and the SADF would never be integrated.

Although Umkhonto weSizwe was primarily a guerilla army, it was now in the process of undergoing a transformation into an orthodox

army. What was now needed, Mr Hanı said, was an army which would be committed to the defence of all the country's citizens.

It was for this reason that "the de-racialisation of the SADF and police is an urgent matter".

Mr Hanı said if negotiations broke down, MK forces, which were presently recruiting and training people inside and outside the country, would fight all over again "with the firm conviction that ultimately victory is certainly ours".

He denied allegations that the ANC was involved in the murder of an ANC dissident in Transkei at the weekend, and that the organisation tortured its captives.

The ANC, he said, had a code of conduct which specifically forbade the torture of captured "enemy agents", and where allegations of torture were founded decisive actions were taken against those responsible.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has often accused the ANC of being out to assassinate him, was never on MK's target list, Mr Hanı said.

"We will destroy Buthelezi politically. In fact, he is destroying himself. As far as we are concerned he is part of the South African regime and is not at all different from (Bophuthatswana president) Mangope."

The Star Thursday  
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## ANC job for UCT's Khanyile

*Office Times 2/16/90*  
MR Vusi Khanyile, who was recently appointed deputy registrar of UCT's student affairs department, has left the university to join the ANC offices in Johannesburg. (114)

According to an article in UCT's Monday Paper, Mr Khanyile is to head the newly-established finance department of the ANC.

Mr Khanyile, formerly special assistant to the vice-chancellor, has been associated with UCT since 1986. — Sapa

IIA Star 2/6/90

# Govt agrees on plan to phase in pardons

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has agreed to pardon all political crimes, even murder and bombings, if the African National Congress abandons the armed struggle in exchange.

This further disclosure of a breakthrough agreement by the joint Government/ANC working group on political prisoners was made by sources last night.

It follows the release of other particulars on the agreement, published in *The Star* on May 22, such as that the pardon could also apply to right-wingers guilty of violent crimes.

It is understood the working group has agreed that political offenders in prison and in exile should be pardoned in phases, according to the severity of their crimes.

This will coincide with a phasing out of political violence by organisations like the ANC.

The group has apparently drawn up a scale of offences from minor to major. Even murder, whether of individuals or through indiscriminate bombings, is expected to be absolved.

## Secret

But this can only happen if the ANC and other organisations stop using or advocating political violence as a matter of policy.

The group reported back to the Cabinet and the ANC executive on May 21, but its report has remained secret.

The Government has accepted its report. The ANC will give its reaction only after July 10 when deputy president Nelson Mandela has returned from abroad.

Government sources do not expect any problem and believe the delay in the ANC's response is technical and not substantive.

The working group was established at the Groote Schuur meeting of the Government and the ANC from May 2 to 4.

Its brief was to establish a definition of a political offence.

This would cover people serving prison sentences, facing prosecution or standing trial, and exiles who could be prosecuted if they returned.

Several hundred — and maybe well over 1 000 — prisoners serving sentences for violent political crimes will be released if the working group's recommendations are accepted by the ANC executive.

Many more exiles, and possibly fugitives inside the country, stand to be granted immunity from prosecution.

## 'Future dim without ANC'

Without the ANC the future prospects for a non-racial South Africa would be dim, and South Africa would be delivered into the hands of the racist thinking of the PAC, CP and sections of the NP, Jan van Eck (DP Claremont), said yesterday.

Speaking during the Second Reading Debate on the Local Government Ordinance Second Amendment Bill, he said supporters for a policy of non-racialism were lucky that the ANC was an active and natural ally in

*Str. 21/6/90*  
the struggle for a non-racial South Africa.

It was a pity that the Government seemed to do what was needed only once it had been bullied into it.

In view of the Government, and the obvious effect of international pressure, it was not strange that Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC had asked the international community not to lift sanctions before the process of negotiation had become irreversible. — Sapa.

# Secrecy surrounds ANC city meeting

11A  
Some  
21/6/90

THE African National Congress's national executive committee and the organisation's interim leadership core representing all regions in the country were yesterday locked in a

serious meeting in Johannesburg to discuss a number of issues.

The closed-door working committee meeting, which started yesterday and will end tomorrow, will concentrate

on "organisational matters," according to the ANC's Gill Marcus.

The meeting is held at an undisclosed venue in Johannesburg, and is attended by all but four members of the organisation's NEC.

A number of senior and high-profile members of the ANC's national executive committee arrived in South Africa this week, including general secre-

tary Alfred Nzo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and deputy commander Chris Hani.

In a statement to the Press, Miss Marcus said the ANC leaders will hold a Press conference at the end of the meeting tomorrow

The only members of the organisation's NEC who are not attending the important three-day meeting are the organisation's president Oliver Tambo who is in London recovering from the stroke he suffered last year, deputy president Nelson Mandela, international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi who are presently touring the United States.

# Big welcome for Mandela

Sowetan 21/6/90

11A

**NEW YORK -** The black people of South Africa were changing the political scene in the country and had shattered the dreams of those whites who hoped they would always be masters, Mr Nelson Mandela said in New York last night.

The ANC deputy president and his wife Winnie arrived at Kennedy Airport to a red carpet reception by New York Mayor Mr David Dinkins, who headed VIPs waiting to shake Mandela's hand.

His arrival from Montreal on Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney's official jet was carried live from the airport by a dozen American television and radio stations.

## SA Press Association

In New York City, thousands of people had gathered from early morning in preparation for the ticker-tape parade in honour of Mandela.

The ANC leader was also welcomed by the Governor of New York state, Mr Mario Cuomo, and New Jersey's governor, Mr Jim Florio, who both paid tribute to the symbol of freedom the 71-year-old ANC leader represented.

In his address, Mandela said: "It is an honour and source of tremendous joy and strength for us to be received with such a rousing welcome by the people of this city."

"Today, we can see light at the end of the tunnel, and we are appealing to you in all humility that you must join us in the internal action we are taking to force the South African Government to abandon apartheid.

"The only way we can walk together on this difficult road is for you to ensure sanctions are applied."

In his closing remarks, Mandela said: "The black people of South Africa are busy changing the political scene in our country.

"The dreams of those who once wished they would remain forever the masters, with the blacks as servants, have been completely shattered by the actions of the people."



MR NELSON MANDELA



Cape Times 21/6/90 (11A) (12)

## Max Sisulu to join UWC

THE head of the ANC's economics department, Mr Max Sisulu, is to take up a four-month research post at the economics department of the University of the Western Cape in October.

Mr Sisulu, 44, "came home" last weekend after 27 years in exile.

"I never felt safe. I don't know if I'll ever feel safe in South Africa," Mr Sisulu told UWC's newspaper, Bulletin.

Mr Sisulu left the country in 1963 at the age of 17.  
— Sapa

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114 (30) 22/6/70

# Mandela: 500,000 <sup>not</sup> <sup>think</sup> need to be repatriated back to SA

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela cast aside the worries of his grueling schedule in New York yesterday to join a spontaneous toyi-toyi dance and chant at a Harlem church service.

But in his address to the congregation he had a sombre message: "One of the most daunting prospects facing the ANC is the reconstruction of our movement inside South Africa.

"A prerequisite of this is the repatriation and resettlement of almost half-a-million people, including thousands of ANC exiles all over the world."

It was the first time he had mentioned the figure of half-a-million needing to be repatriated and resettled in SA.

The service, attended by about 3 000 people, was to raise funds for the ANC and to "rededicate the struggle against apartheid".

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's message that any lifting at this stage of sanctions would be a serious political blunder by the West.

Earlier, a weary Mr Mandela cancelled his scheduled breakfast with the Rev Jesse Jackson and instead took a stroll around to Mayor David Dinkins's Gracie Mansion. — Sapa

● Mandela hailed —  
Page 2

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CANC T. 22/6/90 (11A)

## Mandela to meet Zulu king

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The proposed meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the king of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, will take place soon after Mr Mandela's return to South Africa.

The convener of the ANC's Southern Natal region, Mr Patrick Lekota, said a new date still had to be finalised with King Goodwill's office.

An earlier date had to be postponed as Mr Mandela had to go overseas.

Mr Lekota said, however, that no decision had been taken regarding another suggested meeting between Mr Mandela and the KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — An indication of the ANC's response to the recommendations of a working party charged with removing obstacles to negotiations with the government is expected during a rally here next week to mark the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

The rally will be addressed by ANC national executive member and former exile Mr Joe Nhlanhla, a member of the joint ANC/government working group.

Organised by the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement,

## ANC may respond at rally to talks plan

*CAP 7473 22/6/70*  
would mark the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, drawn up at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on June 26, 1955, and subscribed to by most anti-apartheid groups in the country.

Mr Nhlanhla was appointed to a working party set up in May, following the Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC to remove obstacles to negotiations.

the rally takes place on Tuesday night in Westminster Central Hall, which is opposite the House of Commons.

The following week, ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in London for his historic meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

In a joint statement yesterday, the ANC and AAM said the rally — "ANC Speaks" —

MANY people have expressed disappointment that there were three meetings in Soweto to commemorate June 16 1976.

There was one organised by Sayco at the Jabulani Amphitheatre; another organised by Azapo at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville; and the third was organised by the National Council of Trade Unions and the Pan Africanist Congress at Orlando Stadium.

This pattern was repeated in other areas around the country. The disappointment is understandable when we remember that the cornerstone of the liberation struggle has been the call for unity.

Those who were disappointed said that there should be some things that the different political organisations could do together, like remembering the heroes of our struggle or marking important dates in the calendar of the black community.

June 16 was the appropriate day to re-examine the question of unity - its meaning, its implications, its possibilities - even if it was at separate meetings.

A quick scan of our recent history shows that the black community was never as united as it was in 1976 and 1977. The people responsible for this were Steve Biko and those around him at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement in this country.

In Harare this week there was an attempt to

remember Biko's contribution to the liberation struggle. But the conference, organised by the World Council of Churches, started off in controversy because members of the Black Consciousness Movement in exile and those inside the country were not participating.

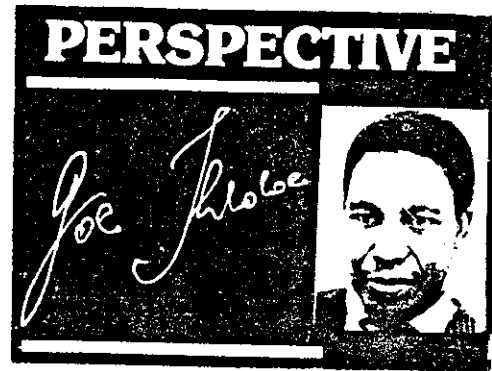
A jumble of thoughts, these, but they triggered a chain of memories.

I remembered the traumatic years of 1963 and 1964, when the Government reacted vi-

ciously against the PAC and the ANC, who had gone underground and taken up arms to overthrow the Government and eliminate oppression in this country.

Many PAC members were executed. Jeff Masemola and other PAC members were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963. The sentences of life imprisonment were repeated at the Rivonia Trial in 1964, sending Nelson Mandela and others to Robben Island.

The Government's



11A

# Formula for black unity appears lost

Sowetan 22/6/90

violent reaction sent a shiver down the nation's spine: after 1964 the very names of the ANC and the PAC were mentioned only in whispers and only among those who could be trusted.

All that the newspapers carried about the two organisations were the occasional court cases. There was a lull in black liberation politics.

It took courageous young students led by Biko to revive the nation's fighting spirit. They introduced a version of black nationalism they called Black Consciousness.

This Black Consciousness united the black community. People who sympathised with the ANC and those who sympathised with the PAC moved in under the umbrella of BC. Under the same umbrella were people who were purely BC and had no

sympathies with the banned organisations.

The days of the South African Students Organisation, of the South African Students Movement, Black People's Convention, Black Allied Workers Union, the Union of Black Journalists, and others, were heady days.

June 1976 dawned and the Black Consciousness efforts coalesced into the biggest uprising against the National Government to that date.

Many youngsters fled the country and because BC had no infrastructure abroad, they joined the ANC and the PAC. It was this migration that gave the older organisations, and the armed struggle, a new lease of life.

The young men and women had injected new life into the struggle in the country and into the banned organisations.

But a major contribution that is now being ignored is that they had found a formula for unity. That formula is now lost.

I do not suggest that everybody needs to believe in the same things and belong to the same party and wear the same uniform. Of course that is absurd.

We have seen people from countries that have multi-party systems pointing fingers at black South Africans and accusing them of being divided and urging them to unite. These are people with one interpretation of democracy for themselves and a different prescription for us.

Those don't deserve even a second hearing.

But we need to explore other nuances in this debate. Next week we will see how the BC formula was lost.

# Mandela and Mbeki differ over number of prisoners

11A  
Sowetan 22/6/96

NEW YORK - Differences between ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela and other leading members of his organisation on the number of political prisoners whose release the ANC is negotiating with President F W de Klerk's government, emerged in New York this week.

At a Press conference at the end of his European tour in The Hague, Holland last week, Mandela said the ANC was negotiating the release of "almost 1 000 political prisoners," with the SA government.

In terms of the conflicting definitions of "political prisoners," he added, the SA government was currently negotiating on a figure of 577 people.

Mandela said he did not foresee any major problems to be overcome on this difference during negotiations in this regard with the SA government.

At a Press conference in New York on Tuesday, the ANC's Director of Media Service, said in response to a question on Mandela's figure: "That is not so."

Earlier at the conference, leading American anti-apartheid activists and politicians, particularly Randall Robinson, leader of the Transafrica group which has been prominent in the establishment in the United States of sanctions legislation, referred repeatedly to more than 3 000 political prisoners being held, as one of the reasons sanctions should be maintained.

## Apparent discrepancy

Asked to clarify the discrepancy, Sisulu explained the ANC's figure of 3 000 plus was "also taking into account some of the detainees in South Africa and also some of those convicted in terms of the common criminal code."

Interrupted and asked specifically if Mandela's figure of almost 1 000 political prisoners at issue was correct, he said: "That is not so."

The issue of agreeing on the number of prisoners that may be defined as "political" and unconditionally released, is one of the major avenues of ongoing discussions between the Government and the ANC, in terms of the May 2 Groote Schuur Minute agreement on achieving elimination of obstacles to full-scale negotiations on a new non-racial constitution for South Africa.

Sources in New York this week indicated there was no controversy in the apparent discrepancy over figures, as American anti-apartheid campaigners might, understandably, not be fully up to date on the latest state of play in negotiations between the ANC and the Government.

This appeared to be confirmed at the press conference by Sisulu's response, in which he made it clear he was well aware of Mandela's statements in The Hague, but phrased his reply so that he did not contradict Robinson, whose support within the US political spectrum for the ANC's cause is highly valued. - Sapa

# Research post for Max Sisulu

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So wetem 22/6/90

THE head of the African National Congress' economics department, Mr Max Sisulu, will take up a four-month research post at the economics department of the University of the Western-Cape in October.

Sisulu (44) "came home" last weekend after 27 years in exile.

On arrival in Tanzania he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and underwent military training. He then studied economics in Moscow for five years.

While working in Lusaka in 1974 he survived an assassination attempt. A letter bomb from South Africa exploded in the hands of a friend, John Mvemve Dube, killing him instantly.

When the ANC established a department of Economics in 1987, he was appointed to head it.

## Role

"Our role as an economics department is to continue with the planning process towards an alternative economic system for a new South Africa.

"Political freedom without economic emancipation is meaningless. Therefore, the whole struggle must of necessity encourage the creation of a new and just economic order."

Sisulu said the basic goal of economic policy should be "to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power". - Sapa

# ANC denies 'delaying tactics'

Star 22/6/90

By Kaiser Nyatumba (11)

The African National Congress yesterday denied Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's accusations that the organisation was using delaying tactics to prevent negotiations from starting soon.

Briefing political journalists in Cape Town yesterday, Dr Viljoen said the Government expected real negotiations for a new constitution to start early next year, and strongly criticised the ANC for dragging its feet on the issue of releasing political prisoners.

The ANC, Dr Viljoen said, was delaying the start of negotiations by insisting that all political prisoners and exiles should be pardoned immediately and without qualification, while

it was still carrying on with the armed struggle.

Pannet Maduna, a member of the ANC's legal department who is also on the joint working committee established between the Government and the ANC after the Groote Schuur talks in May, said: "It is a fact that there are outstanding obstacles to negotiations at this stage. There are still political prisoners behind bars, repressive legislation is on the statute book, there is a state of emergency in Natal, and exiles cannot return home safely. It is unthinkable that the ANC can negotiate under these conditions."

The ANC had never suggested that it wanted the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to be "qualified".



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Apr 22/6/90

## 'Club' eager to welcome purified SA

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Once South Africa has a government that is "truly representative" of all its people, it will be readmitted to the Commonwealth with open arms, but not before then, according to senior Commonwealth sources.

The ANC for its part takes the view that South Africa never left the Commonwealth, that the years between 1961 and 1990 were an aberration for which the white regime, lacking legitimacy, must take responsibility.

ANC President Oliver Tambo made this clear when he addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society in London before a stroke left him partly incapacitated.

For an ANC government, therefore, readmission to the Commonwealth would be almost a matter of course, and it would be supported by the National Party.

Once the De Klerk-Mandela talks reach a satisfactory conclusion, therefore, and a new, power-sharing government is installed, South Africa will almost automatically be restored to membership.

South Africa would become the Commonwealth's 51st member — Namibia was the 50th.

The debate on the value of Commonwealth membership is waged endlessly, particularly in Britain, where there are many vocal critics who want Britain to pull out, because they say the Third World tail tries to wag the imperial dog. However, the chances of this happening are nil.

For South Africa readmission would confer decided advantages.

The Commonwealth would provide the new South African government with a forum, additional to the UN, and smaller and more intimate, in which to explain its views. After five decades of growing isolation, South Africa under a new government would be an unknown actor in international politics.

### Own resources

Also, with the opening up of Eastern Europe to foreign investment, other needy parts of the world, Southern Africa included, would have to depend more and more on their own resources and other contacts.

UN membership would give South Africa political access to the international community, but Commonwealth membership would provide it with a club in which it could address an extended "family" with shared associations and a myriad of potentially beneficial economic links.

A further point made by Commonwealth leaders is that a new South African government, functioning in a multicultural context, would find merit in belonging to an organisation whose whose structure is multicultural and in which anti-racism is a fundamental principle.

On a more practical level, the Commonwealth implements diverse programmes relating to education, health, science, law, exports, technical assistance and so forth. Member countries are enabled to draw on a pool of Commonwealth expertise and in turn to contribute their own expertise.

South Africa has many skills that are relevant to the continent, and particularly to the Southern African region, where there are already half-a-dozen Commonwealth members.

Finally, a number of bilateral programmes operated by richer Commonwealth countries like Britain and Canada are heavily weighted in favour of lesser developed Commonwealth countries. Some 70-80 percent of Britain's programmes and a substantial portion of Canada's, are weighted in this way.

However, South Africa's most pressing need when a new power-sharing government is created, will be to inform the world what kind of regime has emerged in a country that has lived for half-a-century in the dark ages.

would be fired under state of emergency laws that forbid stoppages in essential services.

Non-graduate schoolteachers, who earn about Z\$600 a month, are demanding a 30% wage increase which the Ministry of Education says it cannot afford. Education is government's biggest expenditure and will absorb 25% of Zimbabwe's budget in the current fiscal year. About 90% of it goes to pay 84 000 teachers.

There were also strikes by more than 1 000 Treasury officials (including staff of the Salary Services Bureau), several hundred steelmill workers and scores of technicians at State-run utilities and urban councils.

Striking tax collectors pressed for a 40% wage increase backdated to January 1 and other civil servants demanded pay hikes of no less than 20%.



**Mugabe**

One finance house says the three-day strike by bureau staff could cause a three-month delay in processing civil servants' wages and cause more unrest.

The wave of strikes came after government authorised price increases of as much as 15% on basic goods as part of reforms to liberalise the economy. At the same time, the minimum wage rose by 10% and collective bargaining in the private sector recognised by the Labour Ministry.

Civil servants, however, so far excluded from negotiating their pay, complain their wages are not in step with economic reforms which have increased inflation — unofficially thought to be near 30% a year.

Mugabe says he is angry that none of the State's employees heeded his government's promises to investigate their pay grievances. Public Services Minister Eddison Zvobgo is urging retired teachers and qualified unemployed adults to register with the Education Ministry to fill gaps caused by teachers who refused to resume work and were fired.

More than 3 000 jobless who applied for teaching posts were described by Mugabe as mainly people who felt a sense of revulsion at the striking teachers' actions.

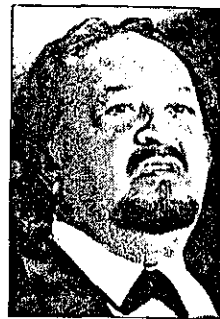
It appears that the strikes fizzled out mainly because few teachers or civil servants could afford to lose their jobs. More than 1m are jobless in Zimbabwe's potential workforce of about 5m. This enabled government to fire defiant strikers. ■

LABOUR PARTY FIM 22/6/90

## Finger pointing

The Labour Party has taken the extraordinary step of repudiating one of its senior members, Desmond Lockey, after he

launched a stinging personal attack in parliament on a political reporter from *Die Burger*.



**Hendrickse**

Lockey, son-in-law of party leader Allan Hendrickse, was speaking during the Second Reading debate on the Budget, when he attacked Peter Sidago for his repeated demands that Lockey should be disciplined by caucus for a public attack this year on a member of the Ministers Council.

Hendrickse, dissociating the LP from the attack, says Lockey has cause for grievance but the party could not associate itself with part of his speech. Official spokesman Peter Hendrickse declines to say whether Lockey will be disciplined.

Allan Hendrickse and certain party MPs have also come under scrutiny from Advocate-General Piet van der Walt in his annual report. The judge recommends an investigation by a committee or a disciplinary committee of the House of Representatives into allegations that Hendrickse instructed certain members of the LP caucus, who had not fully utilised the R10 000 constituency allowance, to submit claims for stationery.

It was also alleged cheques received for the claims were to be handed to the party secretary who would pay them into the LP's account because it had insufficient funds to pay for printing of, among other things, its 1989 calendars.

The allegations, made by former opposition leader Carter Ebrahim, are denied by Hendrickse. A house committee found they were "based on hearsay" and demanded an apology to the house from Ebrahim.

The Advocate-General says an investigation showed that in December 1988 the LP had an account of R18 575 for printing with ABC Press (Pty) Ltd. The account had been divided into seven and seven invoices sent to seven individual LP members.

Three of these, the largest for R6 775, accompanied by invoices from ABC Press, were submitted to parliament for stationery. All three were disallowed by the head of finance and administration.

The three claims "clearly were not in respect of constituency expenses of those members," according to Van der Walt. The members "must have known" this and "did not in their claims reveal the true facts." He adds, however, that without further evidence it could not be found that the only inference is that they intended to act fraudulently, as "there is room for a possible misunderstanding or wrong advice" about constituency expenses.

He adds that because of the division of the ABC Press account into seven invoices there were "sufficient reasons for a suspicion" that there was an attempt at enrichment at the expense of the State. ■

ANC member was to enable members to obtain passports. — Sapa.

## ANC denies killing dissident

PETER DELMAR

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ANC  
ANC's Transkei region yesterday denied the organisation had anything to do with the killing of ANC dissident Sipho Phungulwa in Umtata last week.

ANC interim committee member Zola Dabula said the organisation had conducted a preliminary internal investigation which had shown that it was "impossible" for the killers to have been members of the organisation.

He said the movement had also not had contact with Phungulwa's surviving companion, Nicholas Dyasop, since gunmen fired at the two men after they visited the ANC offices in Umtata last week.

Transkei Commissioner of Police Col M M Ndeleleni said he had no information on police investigations into the killing.

# Mandela hailed as 'world's moral leader'

B 10 am 22/6/90

NEW YORK — Amid hosannas, toyi-toying and raised fists, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was yesterday hailed at a New York church as "the moral leader of the world" and was handed a cheque for \$200 000 by the National Council of Churches.

Mandela told the congregation that while he had no doubts about President FW de Klerk's integrity, unremitting struggle remained the only course because there was "no concrete evidence that De Klerk is prepared for a full transition to democracy".

New York mayor David Dinkins compared him to Moses and George Washington, and said SA remained "an evil empire of discrimination, deprivation and re-

SIMON BARBER

pression".

Congregants were invited to make "sacrificial donations" and to fill out ballots in favour of new sanctions as part of a new sanctions campaign led by the American Committee on Africa.

After cancelling several private events on his schedule, Mandela looked stronger yesterday than on his arrival on Wednesday. He was, however, late for the church service and gave the first of two addresses there sitting down.

The Rev Jesse Jackson, an ever present figure when Mandela appears on camera, called on God to forgive the US government for violating sanctions, "conspiring

with Pretoria to kill and maim 600 000 Angolans and betraying Mandela to the SA Security Branch in 1962".

Winnie Mandela continued to receive extravagant accolades.

The ANC's chief representative dealt with questions about the death of Stompie Seipei at Mandela's Soweto home by saying Jerry Richardson, the man convicted of the killing, was "an agent ... planted to be the one to do all the vicious things".

Mandela was due to tape a televised "town meeting" with ABC TV's Ted Koppel last night. This was to be followed by a motorcade and address in Harlem, and a rally at Yankee Stadium.

Meanwhile, in Washington there ap-

☐ To Page 2

## Mandela

B 10 am 22/6/90

11A

peared to be mounting opposition to calls for up to \$50m in US government aid to the ANC. Vice-President Dan Quayle reportedly assured Republican legislators the administration had no intention of financing the ANC.

Congress has already appropriated \$10m this year, in addition to the existing \$30m SA aid programme, "to support and encourage negotiations and a peaceful transition to democracy".

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said that Congress itself had stipulated that the ANC would not be eligible to receive any of this money until it was "committed to a suspension of violence".

Congressman Dante Fascell (Democrat, Florida), who chairs the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said "nobody's going to support a \$50m slush fund with no strings attached".

© Comment: Page 8

FORM

LTD

ATLANTIS BUYERS' CO-OPERATIVE

# 'New' politics: It's still divide and rule

w/ Mail 22/6/90

**T**HE African National Congress is disorganised and riven with splits. The South African Communist Party is in the grip of a single "almighty leader" whose policies change with the wind. The Congress of South African Trade Unions is jockeying furiously for power within the ANC. And the Pan Africanist Congress is adopting a more and more "reasonable attitude" toward a negotiated solution.

This biting, if contestible, analysis of the finer balances of power among South Africa's pre-eminent forces of resistance is not the work of a familiar academic commentator.

It is, more importantly, the considered assessment of the government's most sophisticated spokesman on negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Speaking at a special briefing in Cape Town yesterday, Viljoen opened a window on to the government's strategic assessments of the state of their principal challengers. It was the most comprehensive account yet of perceived weaknesses President FW de Klerk's negotiators might seek to exploit in the crucial coming months. It also showed that the "new politics" have done nothing to dull the government's fine sense of the potency of "divide and rule" tactics.

Perhaps the most unexpected element of the Viljoen thesis was his conciliatory stance toward the PAC.

"I noted with interest the PAC's new economic document," said Viljoen. "Although its contents were later qualified by (PAC general secretary) Benny Alexander, their attitude toward negotiations and the continued role of white people in South Africa is seen to indicate ... that the orientation towards negotiations on the part of the PAC and related organisations is improving.

"Provided that they commit themselves to the (negotiation) process, the government would welcome their participation ... I think it's better to have these people with their heads in the scrum rather than standing outside the scrum."

One should be careful, added Viljoen in a further metaphorical foray, "of not creating the impression of

*Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen exposed the government's assessment of its sparring partners: the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and Cosatu. By*  
**SHAUN JOHNSON**

leaving some political passengers on the platform as the train is leaving. But they cannot expect the train to wait indefinitely."

The doctor's diagnosis of the ANC was less generous. There was no question that the ANC was "dragging its feet", he said, and that the delay in the publication of the joint Working Group's report was at the movement's behest.

The ANC was making heavy weather of the transition from being a "struggle front" to a political party, and often "one ANC administrator doesn't know what another knows or is saying ...

"They're having problems in retaining internal cohesion ... We note that they have different leadership groups that must learn to work together." He provided through a list these "groups", as perceived by the government: "There's the old Lusaka group; there's the younger Lusaka group; there are the older released leaders; there are the younger UDF/Cosatu leaders, who



Gerrit Viljoen ... The ANC's leaders cannot control all of their people

have the only real organisational structures in the country."

Levels of "political education" among the rank and file left much to be desired, he said: "Young members are conditioned by the rhetoric of struggle — they must be reoriented and the ANC is having trouble with this."

Nelson Mandela had admitted that the leadership "could not control all of their people", said Viljoen, and continuing talk of armed struggle merely exacerbated confusion and indiscipline.

"It cannot go on as at present —

also, the continuation of the rhetoric makes it very difficult to deal with rhetoric on the side of the right wing extremists."

Further to this litany of problems for the ANC, argued Viljoen, was the dramatic muscle-flexing occurring within the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"While the ANC is (ostensibly) the decision maker, Cosatu's power is such that it determines the (political) temperature ... It is clear that Cosatu is seeking to secure maximum influence for itself (in the ANC axis)."

Viljoen reserved his most vituperative criticism for the SACP.

"The best way for the ANC to discredit itself," he said, was by "flaunting its relationship with the SACP when that party's philosophy has failed all over the world.

"Secondly, the SACP is still led by the people who made it one of the most pro-Stalinist of all parties, supporting the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

"They're still the big guys in the SACP. It has surprised me, the ease with which Mr Slovo indicated after the events of Eastern Europe were clear, that things had been done in the wrong way ... It illustrates clearly that the SACP is not representative of the views of the people, but of an almighty leader, in this case Mr Slovo."

Viljoen said he could not assess the SACP's support levels because "it and the ANC form an animal with two heads. To what extent the African leaders in the ANC are communist-related because of the ideology, I don't know — or whether it was just the hand that stretched out to them when they were drowning in the 1950s and early Sixties ..."

The government's criterion for negotiation remained that "all groups commit themselves to the process and must have proven support bases ... in both cases we must look carefully to see if the SACP qualifies."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

MEMBERS of the Civil Rights League share the widespread sense of alarm at what seems an inexplicable reluctance by the government

### So who

high time that we appreciated the contribution of Mandela to the creation of a new South Africa. —

# A weary (11A) Mandela cuts short his US meetings

WJMA 22/6/90

MARK VAN VELDEN: New York  
A WEARY Nelson Mandela yesterday morning had his programme abbreviated with the cancellation of some appointments following his ecstatic welcome to New York on Wednesday.

Despite his beaming smile at the crowds, the strain began to show on the 71-year-old African National Congress Deputy President on Wednesday night, after an emotional ticker tape parade and City Hall ceremonies, at which he probably shook more hands in one day than on his entire overseas trip so far.

A scheduled dinner at Mayor David Dinkins official Gracie Mansion residence, where Mandela and his wife Winnie are being accommodated, was cancelled on Wednesday night, with the ANC leader remaining in his suite to rest.

An early morning breakfast at the mansion with civil rights leader Reverend Jesse Jackson, was also cancelled.

Instead Mandela caused slight consternation in the tight security ring around him by taking an early morning stroll around the gardens at Gracie Mansion.

"I am feeling on top of the world," he said at a brief photo session with Jackson.

Apart from an address at a Harlem church service, Mandela's programme for the remainder of the day, until the first of two rallies in the evening, were set aside by aides under the heading: "No public events".

It was understood, however, that a string of meetings with representatives of various organisations that have campaigned strongly over the last weeks to see him, would go ahead.

At the Riverside Church, Mandela sat down for his address to thousands of people inside the building.

In measured tones, he explained he had been "instructed" to sit down for the speech because he was not his own boss.

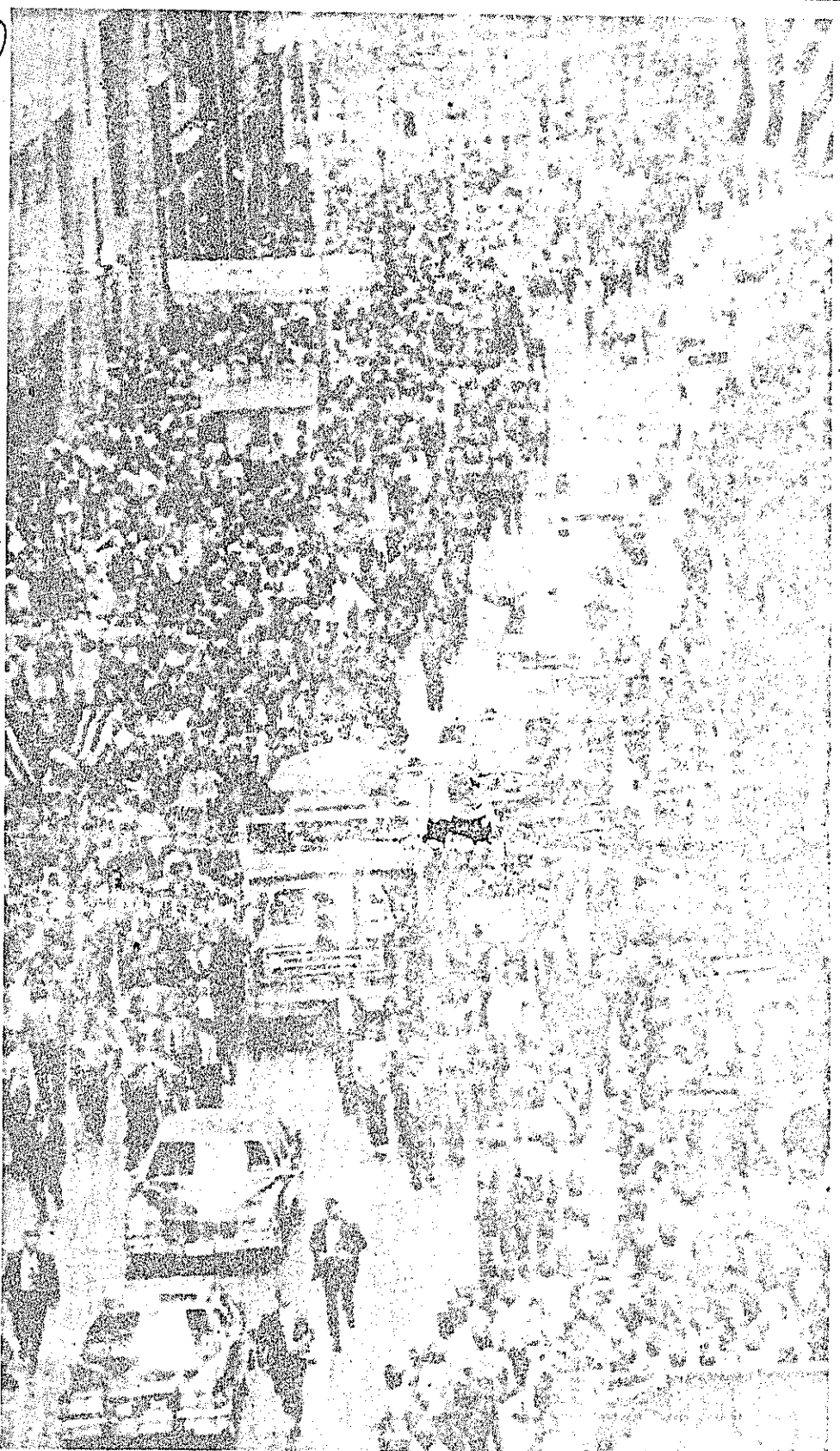
"It looks to me extremely discourteous nevertheless and I apologise.

"You are our comrades in arms in America. You are our brothers and sisters," he said.

"A lot of propaganda has been made in the past to discredit the ANC, and yet it is an organisation brought up in the atmosphere of religion.

"The religious influence in the ANC has been strong right from the beginning; our first president, Dr Dube, was a well-known religious leader."

"We feel perfectly at home with you because, apart from the importance the church attaches to the question of the spirit, they also attach great im-



As ticker tape rains down, the 'MandelaMobile' makes its way through lower Manhattan.

Picture: AP

portance to the question of action.  
"It is no use condemning apartheid and talking about the realisation of the principle of one person one vote, for which we are fighting, if one does not consider most carefully the concrete methods by which those aims can be

achieved.  
"I am not surprised that the church here, in supporting our struggle, (will) actually furnish us with the means to prosecute that struggle."  
When Mandela arrived for his 13 day tour he said: "Apartheid is

doomed. South Africa shall be free. The struggle continues".  
It is this message of hope and unyielding struggle that has touched thousands of people in the United States who are flocking to meet or see him. — Sapa

# United Nations will honour Mandela today

**The Argus Foreign Service**

NEW YORK. — Few kind words about South Africa are likely to be heard when the United Nations special committee against apartheid meets today to honour Mr Nelson Mandela.

In his address, the deputy president of the ANC is considered certain to reiterate a theme of all his foreign tours since he was released from prison in February — that economic sanctions must be maintained.

## BUSY SCHEDULE

He is expected to thank the UN for its numerous resolutions recommending a total embargo against South Africa and for its repeated appeals for the release of all "political prisoners". Most of those resolutions expressly named Mr Mandela.

Considering the UN's long-standing preoccupation with South Africa's problems, Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie,

have allocated relatively little time in their busy New York schedule for the UN visit. It is to take up not much more than three hours.

Customarily, the secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, gives what the UN calls a state lunch for a distinguished visitor, but no such lunch is in Mr Mandela's itinerary. Still, his treatment at the UN, in protocol terms, will be little different from that accorded to a head of state.

Not since Mr Yasser Arafat of the PLO was here in November 1974 has a person with no governmental position been so honoured.

If the General Assembly were in session, Mr Mandela would certainly have been invited to address that body, as Mr Arafat did.

As it is, the anti-apartheid committee will meet in the General Assembly hall for the first time.

● "I am a Yankee" — page 3.

# 'New SA' would rejoin the Commonwealth

ARBUS 22/6/90

11A

From **STANLEY UYS**  
in London

**O**NCE South Africa has a government that is "truly representative" of all its people, it will be readmitted to the Commonwealth with open arms — but not before then, according to senior Commonwealth sources.

The ANC for its part takes the view that South Africa never left the Commonwealth — that the years between 1961 and 1990 were aberrant years for which a minority white government, lacking legitimacy, must take the responsibility.

ANC President Oliver Tambo made this clear when he addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society in London shortly before he suffered the stroke that has since partially incapacitated him.

## Automatic membership

For an ANC government, therefore, readmission to the Commonwealth would be almost a matter of course — and it would be supported by the National Party.

Once the De Klerk-Mandela talks reach a satisfactory conclusion, therefore, and a new, power-sharing government is installed, South Africa almost automatically will be restored to Commonwealth membership.

The ANC regards the Commonwealth's support of sanctions (Mrs Thatcher excepted) as evidence of the organisation's loyal support for the liberation struggle, and it sees the Commonwealth as the kind of organisation to which it would like to belong.

Although no recent opinion polls have been taken on the subject, the overwhelming majority of South Africans of all races probably regard the country as belonging historically and naturally to the Commonwealth, although in some hard-line "anti-imperialist" circles there could be resistance to rejoining.

South Africa would become the Commonwealth's 51st member. Namibia was the 50th.

The procedure for readmission is uncomplicated. The new South African government would write a letter applying for membership to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, who would then consult all Commonwealth members. No objections are expected. The Secretary-General would then announce the decision.

The debate on the value of Commonwealth membership is waged endlessly, particularly in Britain, where there are many vocal critics who want Britain to pull out, because they say the Third World tail tries to wag the imperial dog. The chances of this happening are nil.

For South Africa readmission would confer decided advantages. The Commonwealth would provide the new South African government with a forum, additional to the United Nations and smaller and more intimate, in which to explain its views and extend its influence.

After five decades of growing isolation, South Africa — under a new government — would be an unknown actor in international politics. Also, with the opening up of East-

ern Europe to foreign investment, other needy parts of the world, Southern Africa included, would have to depend more on their own resources and other contacts.

UN membership would give South Africa political access to the international community, but Commonwealth membership would provide it with a club in which it could address an extended "family" with shared associations and potentially beneficial economic links.

On a more practical level, the Commonwealth implements diverse programmes relating to education, health, science, law, exports, technical assistance and so forth. Member countries are enabled to draw on a pool of Commonwealth expertise and in turn to contribute their own expertise.

## Dark ages

Commonwealth membership is seen as one way of facilitating the extension of South Africa's undoubted expertise to Africa. South Africa has many skills that are relevant to the continent, and particularly to the Southern African region, where there are already half-a-dozen Commonwealth members.

Finally, a number of bilateral programmes operated by richer Commonwealth countries, like Britain and Canada, are heavily weighted in favour of lesser developed Commonwealth countries. Some 70-80 percent of Britain's programmes and a substantial portion of Canada's programmes are weighted in this way.



SK 22/6/90

11A



# 50 000 scream for 'Yankee' Mandela

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — "I am a Yankee," Nelson Mandela told 50 000 screaming fans at New York's Yankee Stadium last night.

It was the culmination of an arduous day during which he addressed 100 of America's most influential church leaders, attended a special ecumenical service and, just before coming to the packed stadium, spoke to a crowd of more than 200 000 in New York's predominantly black district of Harlem.

The 40 000-seat stadium was packed to capacity, with another 10 000 people crammed on to the field around a stage which had been erected for a Billy Joel concert this weekend.

Joel lent Mr Mandela his stage and sound equipment and a New York businessman paid the R240 000 rental for the stadium.

The 50 000 Mandela admirers paid between R13 to R1 350 to see and hear Mr Mandela. The proceeds will go directly to the African National Congress and should total about R1 million.

## Vile vipers

Before the Mandelas arrived, several live bands warmed up the crowd. Songs written specially for the occasion were performed by well-known local entertainers.

The lyrics extolled the heroic qualities of Nelson Mandela while slamming the South African Government and the apart-

heid system as murderous bloodsuckers and vile vipers.

New York mayor David Dinkins, who has got much political mileage out of the Mandela trip, described South Africa as an evil empire.

After Mr Mandela addressed the crowd, repeating essentially the speeches he made throughout the day in New York, he was presented with a jacket and baseball cap of the New York Yankees team.

The crowd roared its delight when Mr Mandela put the items on and, smiling broadly, said: "Now you can understand who I am. I am a Yankee."

Among the entertainers who performed after the Mandelas left the stadium were Johnny Clegg and Savuka.

BACKGROUND

# De Klerk or Mandela: the EC will choose in Dublin

LONDON — If F W de Klerk was the South African head of state most favourably received in Europe in decades, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela took the continent by storm.

When the European Community's heads of state meet in Dublin on Monday, they will weigh up the differing arguments presented by the two leaders when they review their collective sanctions policy on South Africa.

The debate will be stormy, the outcome crucial.

It will be a titanic battle between the pro-sanctioneers — eager to stay in the good books of the ANC which is tipped by many as the next government, and determined to keep the pressure on Pretoria — and those favouring the easing of sanctions as a gesture of encouragement to Mr de Klerk for his brave reforms.

But South Africa's interests, ironically, will not be the only issue at stake.

The outcome of the debate could have a significant impact on the power stakes within the EC. The leader of the anti-sanctions lobby, British premier Margaret Thatcher, has been effectively marginalised and a decision to ease sanctions could be regarded as a victory of some sorts for her that many of her counterparts would hate to witness.

Inevitably, the EC summit review of sanctions will decide a key phase in the political bat-

Next week's Dublin summit will be a stormy affair of which the recent European performances of F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will be carefully weighed. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reviews the impact the two key political players in South Africa have made on the sanctions debate.

tle between the National Party and the ANC.

If the EC opts for the maintenance of sanctions — an outcome most observers are betting their money on — it will be seen as a victory for the ANC and a personal triumph for Mr Mandela, who is on a six-week tour of 14 countries to urge the world not to ease punitive measures yet.

Similarly, a relaxation of punitive measures will be a coup for the new Nationalist administration and a boost for Mr de Klerk's sincere but risky efforts to normalise political life in South Africa.

The styles of the two leaders during their recent tours of Europe have differed greatly.

On a nine-nation tour of Europe, Mr de Klerk stressed that he was not concerned with pleading for an end to sanctions, but wanted to correct "distorted perceptions" and prove that his Government was serious about finally removing racial discrimination.

He presented Europe's politicians and influential financiers and bankers with irrefutable socio-economic statistics, arguing that new investment was desperately needed to improve South Africa's dismal economy, which, in turn, would create

more stable conditions conducive to further reform.

He impressed on his audiences the gravity of the changes he had introduced since coming to power, main tained that these reforms were irreversible and outlined his strategy for the removal of remaining racial discrimination.

And he argued that he needed a reward from Europe to show white voters in the light of the vast gains made by the Right wing.

### Pressure

By contrast, Mr Mandela used every platform — from Pope John Paul's private library to the packed assembly hall of the European Parliament — to call for continued international pressure until profound and irreversible change has occurred.

In discussions with six heads of state, he stressed that sanctions had been imposed to dismantle apartheid — a goal which had not yet been achieved. He threatened that the easing of sanctions would retard reform and would jeopardise negotiations.

He elaborated on the hardships caused by apartheid and continued police brutality. He

warned that the entire African continent would regard the easing of sanctions as a "stab in the back" of the protracted and bitter struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Demonstrating his firmness on principle but flexibility on strategy, Mr Mandela to some extent allayed Western concerns about the ANC's economic policies by saying the organisation did not have a blueprint but was only concerned about a more equitable distribution of wealth.

But what really won him the hearts and minds of Europe's leaders was his acknowledgement of Mr de Klerk's integrity, his own lack of bitterness after almost 27 years in jail and his expressed eagerness to bring peace — in co-operation with Mr de Klerk — to their strife-torn country.

Both leaders impressed Europe with their sincerity and commitment to a new society free of discrimination.

But whereas Mr de Klerk's warm reception signified the first breakthrough towards international respectability, Mr Mandela was on a victorious lap of honour for having steadfastly resisted the cruel apartheid system and gracefully forced the Nationalists to the negotiation table.

While the recently released ANC leader was honoured by Europe's royals, the Pope, heads of state and adoring crowds, Mr de Klerk quietly got on with the job of meeting

the EC's prerequisites for the lifting of sanctions.

He lifted the state of emergency in the greater part of the country, released more political prisoners and scrapped one of the pillars of apartheid, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

The EC will on Monday decide whether that was good enough. Two important events over the past two weeks seemed to indicate that it was not.

### Removal

In Strasbourg last week, the influential European Parliament overwhelmingly rejected a proposal for the easing of sanctions — a day after Mr Mandela addressed a packed EP assembly and received two long standing ovations.

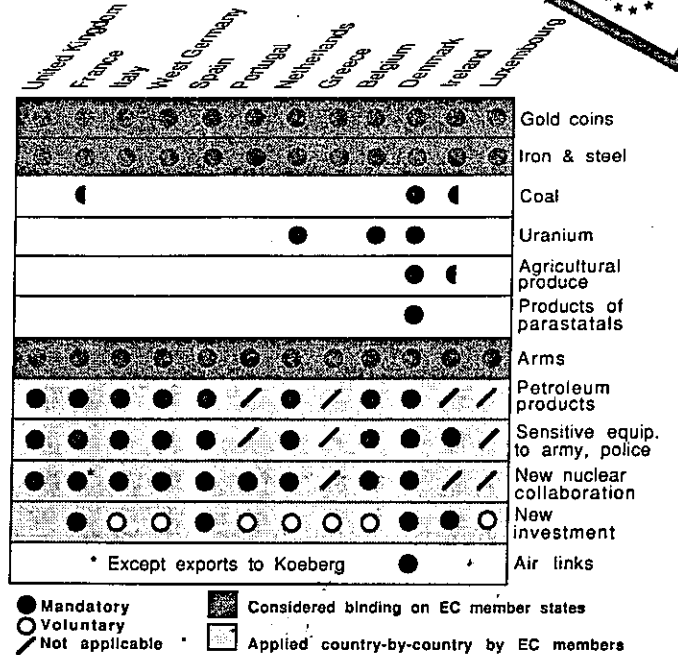
And this week, the EC countries' foreign Ministers in Luxembourg seemed to have overturned the advice from their political directors that the time was ripe to start with the easing of sanctions.

The majority of foreign Ministers seemed to have opposed a step-by-step removal of trade sanctions against South Africa.

The EC's heads of state will on Monday be faced with a number of options.

It seems unlikely that they will approve the easing of trade sanctions, a decision which could prompt some countries to follow Britain's lead by unilaterally lifting trade restrictions.

## EUROPEAN SANCTIONS



- The European Community discourages scientific and cultural agreements except where these contribute to ending apartheid.
- EC members recalled military attaches in 1985 and refuse accreditation to SA attaches.
- The EC proposed a freeze on official sporting and security contacts in 1985.

Graphic and research by CA Robertson  
Sources: SA Indicator, South, embassy spokesmen for Spain, Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and Greece.

# No turning back from landmark parliamentary session

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The session of Parliament which ends today will long be remembered as the one when the National Party finally took the plunge into the Rubicon.

It was the moment when President de Klerk and his Cabinet stopped trying to beat back the tide of history and chose instead to ride it.

As the second session of the ninth Parliament opened on February 2 in Cape Town, astonished MPs of all three Houses either cheered or jeered as they heard Mr de Klerk announce that the NP's mortal revolutionary enemies, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party, were to be unbanned immediately and unconditionally.

It was a bold move that surprised nearly everyone, including the ANC itself, and the rank and file of Mr de Klerk's own party.

All he had told the NP caucus the day before was to "fasten your seatbelts". It was as well. They were to be sorely buffeted by stormy winds over the next five months.

## Obstacles

In that time Mr de Klerk devoted most of his considerable energies to sweeping away the obstacles to negotiating a new constitution.

He repeated that he was not ticking off anyone else's "shopping list" of obstacles, and was acting from inner conviction.

In fact Mr de Klerk and his Cabinet drew up their own shopping list. But it contained large elements of other lists — including the list in the ANC's August 19 1989 Harare Declaration of steps needed to create a "climate for negotiation".

To this Mr de Klerk added the re-



President de Klerk ... warned NP caucus to "fasten seatbelts".

moval of social discrimination — a step not demanded by the ANC, but by parties within the system.

And, more important, at the Groote Schuur meeting with the ANC from May 2-4, he added the Government's own obstacles — the high level of countrywide violence and the ANC's continued advocacy of the armed struggle.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP at the start of the session largely removed the most important item on all lists (item 19.2 of the Harare Declaration — "Lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and people").

The rest of point 19.2 he dealt with by lifting restrictions on 374 people and ordering the release of prisoners held only for their membership of the ANC, PAC or SACP.

He also tackled the Harare Declaration's last point (19.5 — "Cease all political trials and political executions") on February 2 by announcing a moratorium on executions, pending the passing of legislation scrapping the mandatory death penalty.

The legislation — the Criminal Law Amendment Bill — was passed this week.

Mr de Klerk dramatically launched into the demand for the release of political prisoners on February 11 by unconditionally releasing the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela. (Point 19.1 of the Harare Declaration — "Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them.")

Mr Mandela rapidly showed his considerable skills of statesmanship and moved up to share centre stage with Mr de Klerk in a unique and intriguing relationship.

The release of remaining political prisoners was to be the main obstacle. After the ANC called off an April meeting to discuss the obstacles, Mr de Klerk kept the initiative by publishing the Indemnity Bill, an enabling measure to allow him to grant immunity from prosecution and arrest to political exiles.

## Groote Schuur

Eventually the ANC and the Government sat down to their first formal meeting, at Groote Schuur.

The Groote Schuur Minute set up a working group to tackle the major issue of identifying which political prisoners should be released and which exiles pardoned.

It also committed both sides to peaceful political solutions — the first step towards removing the Government's major obstacle — the ANC's armed struggle.

The Government won another important concession in the ANC's agreement to help it lift the state of emergency by contributing to the ending of violence.

The Government also agreed to review security legislation — addressing a point in the Harare Declaration.

Point 19.3 of the Harare Declaration, the removal of troops from the townships, seemed to have dropped off the ANC's list as all parties agreed that troops were necessary to subdue the warring factions in Natal.

Mr de Klerk's rapid changes began having a dramatic impact on the outside world.

The endemic political violence in the townships subsided briefly after the unbanning of the ANC and release of Mr Mandela, but soon returned to the worst levels of 1985.

Inside Parliament, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht described Mr de Klerk's February 2 speech as the most revolutionary he had ever heard and accused him of betraying the white electorate.

Outside Parliament, militant rightists like the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche openly threatened violence.

The Democratic Party struggled to maintain an independent voice as Mr de Klerk swallowed its policy.

Mr de Klerk's assault on social apartheid was spearheaded by the Discriminatory Legislation Regarding



SACP chief Joe Slovo ... joked about wearing red socks.

Public Amenities Repeal Bill which repealed the notorious Separate Amenities Act and other laws and thereby abolished segregation of public amenities in other laws.

The Bill was introduced on June 1 and passed this week.

The Government had already announced the beginning of the end of segregation in white State schools, hospitals and prisons.

The effect of Mr de Klerk's drastic reforms on white voters was dramatically illustrated in the Umlazi by-election on June 6, when the NP's "safe" majority of 2 835 dropped to a perilous 547 as their voters flocked to the CP — and the DP vote plummeted from 3 314 to 982. The DP went into deep identity crisis and resolved to ditch its troika leadership.

On June 7, Mr de Klerk tackled one of the major obstacles to negotiations, (point 19.4 of the Harare Declaration) by lifting the state of emergency

everywhere except in Natal and ploughing nearly R1 billion into beefing up police pay and other law and order measures.

The major obstacles remaining by the end of the session were the pardoning of political prisoners and exiles and the ANC's armed struggle.

The joint ANC/Government working group appointed to investigate this had reported back on May 21. Well-informed sources said it had agreed that all political crimes would be pardoned in phases, coinciding with a phased abandonment of the armed struggle.

The Government had accepted the report, but the ANC leadership had postponed its reaction until July 11.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen felt moved to say this week that the Government's efforts to date had created a completely different climate, and he urged the ANC to review its "anachronistic" pre-conditions.



CP leader Andries Treurnicht ... said white electorate had been betrayed.



IT DELIVERS MORE THAN YOU THINK.

1 The Mitsubishi L300 one-tonner delivers in

3 The forward control cab means a longer load bed

114 229

# Mandela hailed as moral leader

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela was yesterday hailed as "the moral leader of the world" and given a \$200 000 (about R520 000) cheque by the National Council of Churches.

And the mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins, with whom the Mandelas are staying, compared him to Moses.

Mr Mandela told the congregation at the Riverside church that while he had no doubt of President FW de Klerk's integrity, "unrelenting struggle" remained the only course because there was "no concrete evidence that Mr De Klerk is prepared for a full transition to democracy".

The congregation was invited to make "sacrificial donations" and fill out ballots in favour of new sanctions, which are to be used as part of a new sanctions campaign led by the American Committee on Africa.

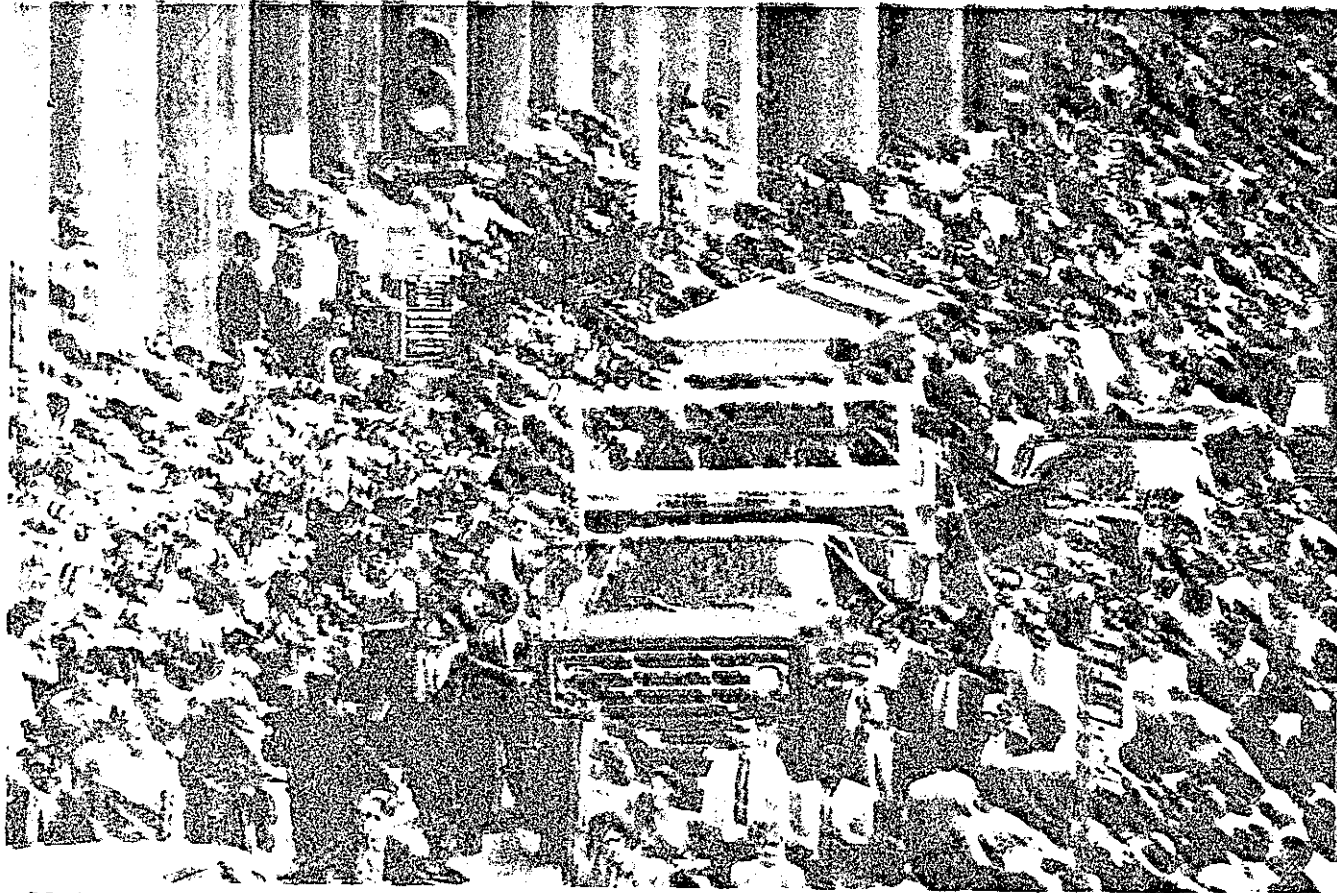
After cancelling several private events on his sched-

ule, Mr Mandela looked stronger yesterday than on his arrival on Wednesday. He was, however, late for the church service and gave the first of two addresses there sitting down.

In Washington, meanwhile, there appeared to be mounting opposition to calls for up to \$50 million (about R130m) in direct US government aid to the ANC. Vice-President Dan Quayle reportedly assured Republican legislators that the administration had no intention of financing the ANC.

Congress has already appropriated \$10m (about R26m) this year — in addition to the existing \$30m (about R78m) SA aid programme — to support negotiations and a peaceful transition to democracy.

State Department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher said that Congress itself had stipulated the ANC would not be eligible to receive any of this money until it had committed itself to the suspension of violence.



**MANDELA'S PARADE . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela rides in the "Mandela-mobile" through the streets of New York on Wednesday during his ticker-tape parade in lower Manhattan.

Picture: REUTERS

# 'ANC to blame' if talks delayed

*Can Times 22/6/90 (11A) 3000A*

## Political Staff

REAL negotiations would start next year and it was his personal opinion that a referendum could be held within two years to test support for a negotiated constitution, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference at the end of the parliamentary session, Dr Viljoen attacked the ANC for dragging its heels and continuing to use "armed struggle" rhetoric.

The ANC, he said, could not expect "the train to wait indefinitely for them".

Informal talks exploring aspects of how the negotiation process should take place and different options for a new constitution were already under way.

"These will be structured formally by the beginning of next year," he said.

Dr Viljoen said it was his opinion that if an early start was made, substantial results could be achieved within two years.

Within the government's five-year term of office, a point would have to be reached where a referendum could be held and a new

negotiated constitution implemented. Although he favoured all races taking part in a referendum, there would have to be separate rolls as government had made a commitment to white voters and was obliged to fulfil this.

Dr Viljoen said that about a year ago the government had undertaken to work for a new democratic South Africa. It had fulfilled this commitment.

"In the past six months, determined and sincere steps were taken to create a climate in which negotiations could take place. We have now reached that stage."

Within the next six months, Dr Viljoen said, the National Party would expand on and refine its constitutional departure points and goals.

The government hoped that other parties that wanted to participate in negotiations on a constitution would also give urgent attention to the formulation of their proposals.

Any delay in getting negotiations going, he said, was the fault of the ANC.

While government had accepted the Groote Schuur working group's report on political offences, the ANC was dragging its feet.

The working group, he said, had proposed mechanisms for the handling of exiles and people found guilty of political offences.

It was irresponsible for the ANC to continue insisting that all offenders be set free and exiles allowed to return without any qualifications while it continued its "armed struggle" rhetoric.

He believed the ANC was experiencing problems in switching its style away from that of a "struggle" organisation to that of a political organisation.

The ANC could not continue operating as it was as present. "Armed struggle" rhetoric, he said, had a completely confusing effect on the many badly controlled and undisciplined youths in the ranks of the ANC.

Asked whether he thought the ANC would add the amending of the Labour Relations Act to its list of pre-conditions for negotiations, Dr Viljoen said he did not see how it could do this and still retain credibility.

People who claimed to be democrats could not expect the government to ignore the view of employers and employees who were not party to the Saccola/Cosatu/Nactu agreement.

## Deputy minister and ANC men at same conference

### Political Staff

THE Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, has become the first member of the government to participate freely in a conference attended by leading members of the ANC and extra-parliamentary organisations.

Mr Wessels will be part of a panel discussion in Port Elizabeth this morning together with the Mass Democratic Movement's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Jeffrey Radebe, and University of the Western Cape academic Professor Peter Vale.

Last night he attended the opening

of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative South Africa (Idasa) conference on "South Africa in Transition" and he is to spend the whole day at the conference today.

In the past, members of the government have refused to share a platform with members of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

However, it is understood approval has now been given for National Party MPs and ministers to go to conferences where the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations are present.

NP MPs are also expected to partici-

pate in a conference organised by the Five Freedoms Forum in August.

The Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth was opened last night by Professor Phillippe Shmitter of Stanford University, California, and Mr Zola Skweyiya of the ANC's legal department.

One of the highlights of the conference will be a panel discussion involving Mr Terror Lekota, head of the ANC in southern Natal, and Mr Ken Owen, editor of Business Day.

Another will be a panel discussion involving the former head of the Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation, Mr Tho-

zamil Botha, and the only black member of the provincial executive committee in the Cape, Mr Themba Nyati.

Other speakers include Mr Ihron Rensburg of the National Education Crisis Committee, Ms Jane Barrett of Cosatu's Living Wage Committee, Professor Brian Kantor of the University of Cape Town, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of policy, Mr Zac Yacoob of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Cecil Sols of the Association of Democratic Journalists, Mr Peter Sullivan, deputy editor of the Pretoria News, and Dr Alex Boraine, Idasa's executive director.

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## Mier Bill supporters 'will stop at nothing'

THE few who would benefit from the passing of the controversial Mier Bill would "obviously go to any lengths" in attempting to stop community opposition, ANC Executive Committee member for the Western Cape Mr Trevor Manuel said in a statement yesterday.

Mr Manuel was referring to claims by a Mier teacher that Mr Manuel had asked him by telephone to intervene on behalf of the ANC in the Mier dispute. Mr Manuel denies the claim.

"I want to state categorically that I have never spoken to Mr Theron (the teacher) on the phone," Mr Manuel said.

"We (the ANC) take a serious view of somebody trying to sow confusion and involving me personally in the process," he said.

The ANC was committed to its position of standing by the people of Mier "in the struggle against the attempts of the Labour Party to take away their land". — Sapa



# Mandela in New York

## New York ticker tape tribute to Mandelas

NEW YORK - New York threw its hat in the air this week and demonstrated in its best and most extravagant way its huge admiration and affection for Mr Nelson Mandela in a parade through the city that for colour, spectacle and high-flown oratory is without precedent in the city's history.

It was a day of huge triumph for the freed ANC deputy leader, as millions of New Yorkers lined Manhattan's crowded streets as Mandela, his wife Winnie and their daughter, Zenani, drove past in a bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile".

More than 12 000 armed police lined the route and sharpshooters with automatic weapons looked down from the tall buildings. Police said they had received a "typical" number of bomb threats without disclosing details.

### War wagon

A special squad of highly-trained police commandos, equipped with automatic and other "heavy" weapons, rode

### SOWETAN Foreign Service

in a "war wagon" immediately in front of the "Mandela Mobile".

Another phalanx of 150 armed police jogged on each side of the ungainly vehicle, puffing heavily in the heat and humidity.

But the only real danger to Mandela, only a month short of his 72nd birthday, was possible rhetorical flatulence as Mayor David Dinkins and New York Governor Mario Cuomo among others, praised him as "this man of mythic proportions," a "Messiah," a "Simon Bolivar," a "modern Moses" and "this transcendent figure of freedom."



Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, ride the specially built bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" past hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers who lined Manhattan streets on Wednesday for the special ticker-tape parade down the "Canyon of Heroes".

The spectacular parade of marching bands and ethnic dancers, in what was described as New York's "gorgeous mosaic" of cultures, was New York's 67th "ticker-tape" parade since 1 750 tonnes of Wall Street paper descended about the head of the world's first solo trans-Atlantic flier, Mr Charles Lindbergh, in 1927.

Among the honoured recipients have been Olympic gold medal winners, baseball heroes, triumphant returning astronauts, Sir Winston Churchill and Mr Harry Truman.

None was honoured with anything like this exuberance - or extravagance - as New York's black population

in particular, locked in their own bitter racial conflicts in what has become a sharply divided city, made the most of the moment to hail their hero, spurred to remarkable emotional highs by Mayor Dinkins, New York's first black mayor.

### Welcome

In his first speech of welcome as Mr and Mrs Mandela stepped off their plane, Dinkins left no doubt that he and the political forces he can marshal would respond fully to Mandela's plea for continued sanctions against "the Pretoria racist regime."

It was a theme he returned to several times, converting the ceremony at the City Hall where he

presented Mandela with a key signifying freedom of the city into a fiery political occasion.

Mandela, too, whose aim is to raise dollars 200 million for the ANC during his eight-city visit to the United States, wasted little time before proselytising on the ANC's behalf.

Responding to welcoming speeches at Kennedy airport, Mandela called for continued sanctions - the theme he has been repeating throughout his 13-nation tour - and asking for donations.

Then, at a brief stop at a high school while en route to Manhattan, Mandela appealed to the students to donate funds to aid in the education of black South African chil-

dren and to teachers to volunteer for service in Africa.

Some donated computers would help, too, he said, "because we are not very well equipped."

Many along the procession route expressed anger at the mayor's repeated focussing on New York's municipal laws banning all links with South Africa and his promises, obviously for Mandela's benefit, to bring even stronger measures to bear (without specifying them.)

### Booing

Others complained at the many long speeches that had to be endured all day, the crowd loudly booing one small-time politician from New Jersey who presented Mandela with a proclamation, and drowning him out with chants of

"Mandela, Mandela."

The Rev Jesse Jackson, never one to miss the limelight, was prominent throughout the day's ceremonies. Surprisingly, no-one handed him the microphone. But he'll have one consolation: a pre-dawn breakfast with Mandela tomorrow.

Still, for New York's teeming millions, perhaps the most experienced and exuberant paraders in the world, it was a memorable day as the Mandelas drove past them through a blizzard of paper amid deafening noise from calypso bands, steel bands, bagpipe bands, fife and drum bands, high school marching contingents, Asian acrobats and prancing Red Indian "braves."

Small wonder the Mandelas said they had never seen anything like it.

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11A

# 'ANC should bring all' into new SA

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — The ANC must not seek unilateral advantage in negotiations on a new South Africa but should try to bring "all the people", whatever their political persuasions, into the process, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told the United Nations General Assembly yesterday.

Although he continued to describe the status quo in harsh terms, his latest remarks indicated a new and highly conciliatory pattern.

In an apparent bid to ease US concerns about the ANC's commitment to multi-party democracy, he stressed that "the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole and not the victory of one party over another".

While still demanding continued sanctions, he also told the UN that the ANC and the government had already agreed on the removal of the major obstacles to negotiation and that "the process for implementing that agreement has begun".

He said he trusted President F W de Klerk and his team to keep their part of any deal.

In an interview with the New York Times, Mr Mandela said both the government and the ANC had already accepted in principle a working group

report on the removal of remaining obstacles, including the release of political prisoners.

"We have now studied that report ... and we think it enables us to move forward on almost every issue that we identified as an obstacle."

When the two sides met after his return to South Africa — he now put the date at July 18 — "we will merely endorse the report by the working group".

Mr Mandela pointedly avoided reiterating the Harare Declaration's demand for a constituent assembly.

He appeared equally flexible on the economy. It would be a "disaster" for the ANC to have any "specific economic policy" because it would "split the organisation from top to bottom".

So long as the objective was to improve black living standards and opportunities and to get away from "the elitist tradition", all options were open.

"If anybody can indicate to us that there are other options (than nationalisation) which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the question of nationalisation will not be an option at all."

The ANC leader left last night for Boston. He is to meet President George Bush at the White House on Monday.

## Mandela rejects Buthelezi 'peace call'

NEW YORK. — An emotional New York television appeal from Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi to "pick up the phone and call me" was rejected by Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday night.

The ANC leader was speaking on the mass-audience Ted Koppel show on the second day of his visit here at the start of his US tour.

During the show Mr Mandela was asked to respond on the issue of poor relations between the ANC and Inkatha, and a video-taped clip of Chief Buthelezi was shown with the homeland leader explaining how he had consistently refused to negotiate with South Africa's "racist" white leaders until Mr Mandela was released.

Chief Buthelezi noted there had been behind-the-scenes contact between themselves, via third parties, and called on the ANC leader to "even though you are far away in New York, pick up the phone and call me ..."

Mr Mandela replied bluntly: "I do not think it correct of me to wash our dirty linen in a foreign country." — Sapa



AT THE UN ... Mr Mandela meets UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

## Speaking to the PLO

THE Palestinian Liberation Organisation and its leader Mr Yasser Arafat have received expected and unexpected support this week.

In New York on the Ted Koppel TV show Mr Nelson Mandela refused to disown Yasser Arafat or Cuba's Dr Fidel Castro and Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. He said they had aided the ANC's cause.

Meanwhile in South Africa, Mr Harry Schwarz, the Democratic Party MP for Yeoville and a leading member of the Jewish community, yesterday said he would speak to the PLO if it would bring peace to the Middle East.

Mr Schwarz said this in responding to CP interjections during a speech in Parliament yesterday. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

# Who'd settle for a schedule like this? . . .

JOVIAL RANTAO

SINCE his release from prison four months ago, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela has been on an incredibly punishing globe-hopping international roadshow that would have left many seasoned Cabinet Ministers breathless.

This, plus the fact that he is no longer a young man and that he has had minor health problems, has caused great concern.

Three days after his release Mr Mandela suffered from a mild heart complaint and was advised his hectic schedule could affect his health. On four occasions while abroad he has been ordered to take a rest by doctors.

Health experts have advised Mr Mandela to slow down and relax. Extended and compounded sleep deprivation — especially for someone of Mr Mandela's age — could probably change his hormone and temperature levels.

Mr Mandela's aides have denied he is ill. They say he is just tired. In Switzerland a week ago, Mr Mandela sharply condemned as "false propaganda" media reports that he was ill.

Here is his schedule since his release.

- February 11 — At 4.15 pm he walked out of Victor Verster Prison, drove to Cape Town and addressed a rally at the Grand Parade. Spent the night at Archbishop Tutu's in Bishopscourt.
- February 12 — Addressed an international press conference in Cape Town, had photo sessions, spoke to ambassadors, had a medical check-up and flew to a private house in Johannesburg where he had a braai with the family.
- February 13 — Addressed 130 000 people at a rally at the FNB Stadium just outside Soweto.
- February 14 — Met leaders of the United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to discuss future strategy. Also met a top official of the government of India, Mr Prakash Shah, and accepted an invitation to visit India.
- February 15 — Had interviews with local and international TV networks at his Orlando West home in Soweto, and met American civil rights leader, the Rev Jesse Jackson.
- February 16 — Conducted group media interviews, photo sessions, addressed local journalists, met members of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and a delegation from the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).
- February 17 — Had interviews with a French television network.
- February 18 — Took a well deserved rest with his family.
- February 19 — Visitors continued to stream to his house.
- February 20 — Met with a representative of a Swedish delegation and 15 chiefs who are members of the Congress of South African Traditional leaders.
- February 21 — Met 10 former members of the ANC and a delegation from Bophuthatswana's Seoposengwe Party.
- February 22 — Met the executive committee of Azapo.
- February 23 — Met a delegation from the National Soccer League, Lebowa Minister Nelson Ramodike and leaders of the Democratic and Labour Parties.
- February 24 — Met 84-year-old human rights leader Helen Joseph. No interviews. A large ox was slaughtered to celebrate his release.
- February 25 — Addressed rallies in Bloemfontein and Durban on the same day.

## Frontline states

- February 26 — Met Anglo American Corporation chief Mr Gavin Relly and former Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom.
  - February 27 — Left on a tour of the Frontline states to meet with leaders from Angola, Tanzania, Harare, Uganda, Nigeria and other Commonwealth diplomats. Then proceeded to Lusaka to meet with the ANC national executive and Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.
  - February 28 — Still in Zambia. Met a number of people and addressed press conferences.
  - February 29 — Ordered to rest by a doctor. Foreign dignitaries scheduled to meet him were made to wait.
  - March 3 — Met ANC national executive, addressed a rally at the Lusaka Independence Stadium, held consultations with Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Gareth Evans. Later, he left for Harare.
  - March 4 — Arrived in Harare and addressed 50 000 people at the Harare Stadium.
  - March 5-11 — In Tanzania and Ethiopia. Met heads of state, visited Organisation of African Unity (OAU) offices and ANC military camps. He saw a doctor after he was noticed to be "very tired".
  - March 12 — Arrived in Stockholm, Sweden, for a one-week visit. During that week he met long-time friend, former legal partner and ANC president Oliver Tambo. Addressed the Swedish Parliament.
  - March 21 — Returned to SA and immediately rushed to the Ellis Park Stadium for pop concert honouring him. Later that day he flew to Namibia.
  - March 23 — Addressed a rally in Nelspruit.
  - March 26 — Addressed a rally in Pietersburg.
  - March 28 — Visited victims of the Sebokeng shootings at the Sebokeng Hospital.
  - March 29 — Addressed striking black teachers.
  - March 30 — Addressed a rally in Ciskei.
  - April 1 — Addressed a massive rally in Port Elizabeth.
  - April 2-3 — Visited Natal's troubled areas.
  - April 5 — Made a low-profile visit to the University of South Africa (Unisa) to receive his LIB degree, which he studied for while in prison.
  - April 6 — Met President F W de Klerk for three hours.
  - April 7 — Flew to Zambia for a two-day visit to report back to exiled leaders of the ANC.
  - April 13 — Arrived at Jan Smuts Airport from Lusaka and met Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee before addressing yet another media conference.
  - April 14 — Off to London for Wembley pop concert.
  - April 16 — Spoke at the rock concert, met Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.
  - April 18 — Back in Harare for the country's 10th anniversary independence celebrations.
  - April 19 — In Umtata, Transkei.
  - April 20 — Arrived Jan Smuts Airport.
  - April 21-22 — Back to Transkei to visit his birth place, Qunu, and address a rally in Umtata.
  - May 2-4 — Attended ANC/Government's Grootse Schuur talks.
  - May 6 — Attended an ANC rally at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto.
  - May 7 — Met homeland leaders.
  - May 9 — Left on a 12-day, six-nation tour of African countries.
  - May 23 — Back in Johannesburg, met 400 South African business leaders.
  - May 26 — Addressed a rally in Atteridgeville, Pretoria.
  - May 28 — Admitted to Johannesburg's Park Lane Clinic for a "minor" operation. Took a week-long holiday away from his schedule.
  - June 2 — Discharged from the clinic. Addressed a press conference in the car park.
  - June 3 — Met President de Klerk.
  - June 4 — Left on his six-week, 13-nation tour to visit countries such as West Germany, Botswana, Switzerland, Italy, France and Ireland. Due to return home on his 72nd birthday, July 18.
  - June 4 — In Botswana.
  - June 5 — Left Botswana for Zambia. Met Dr Kaunda at Lusaka airport.
  - June 6 — Arrived in London, in transit to France. He took a few hours rest.
  - June 8 — In Switzerland.
  - June 20 — Arrived in New York.
  - June 23 — Mr Mandela is presently in New York. His programme has been scaled down as a precaution, according to his aides.
- Questioned about his health by reporters, Mr Mandela gave his customary double thumbs up signal, asking: "Do I look tired?"

Dear Sir



Weekend Argus letters

W/C ARGUS 23/6/90

11A

# Economics: Reading between the lines

THE Weekend Argus of June 15 carried on its leader page a report by Chris Moerdyk on the African National Congress/Cosatu economic policy document. Since the question of economic policy is probably the most difficult and complex one facing the new South Africa, it seems right to comment in some detail on the report, with a view to stimulating constructive debate.

There is an introductory statement that South Africa is in "a state of fundamental economic crisis brought about by the 'distortions of the apartheid system' as well as domestic production problems and a changing and destabilising international environment".

I would put this rather differently. South Africa is in serious economic difficulties because of a very low growth rate, which is due to the disappearance of what used to be a regular capital inflow and the appearance in its place of a regular forced outflow, because of low productivity which is due to a number of factors including poor education and training, and due to poor motivation; and because of the massive transfer of resources over many years from the private to the public sector.



I would certainly agree with the ANC/Cosatu that almost all the adverse factors are apartheid-related. I must also point out that what makes the low growth rate so intolerable is the high population growth which we have.

ANC/Cosatu next point out that economic growth must be achieved through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power. Now it is certain that we need both the growth and the increasing equality referred to. To my mind, though, the former will not be primarily the consequence of the latter.

Both will be the virtuous effects of policies which restore international confidence and capital inflow, which boost productivity through improved education and training and through healthy industrial relations, and which strictly limit State expenditure.

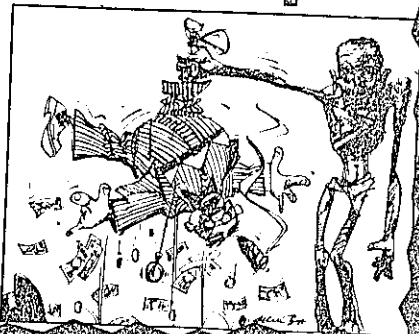
Moerdyk quotes the document as follows: "... the State would assume the leading role in the reconstruction of the economy." Now if this means that the legislation and the fiscal and monetary policies of government will establish the framework within which the economic actors must operate, I have no quarrel with it. What is wrong and undesirable is for politicians to interfere in the decisions business people must take — not because the politicians are wicked but because their motives generally have nothing to do with the success or failure of the businesses concerned, so that these decisions tend to prove disastrous.

I am not reassured by Moerdyk's next paragraph, which refers to macro-economic planning involving mass-based organisations. Recent events in the communist countries have dramatised the disastrous results of the central planning and direction of national economies. (By this I do not at all deny the value of purely indicative, research-based planning by government departments.)

Next, there is a reference to the importance of domestic savings, which I am happy to support. There then follows a longish and not very clear passage about nationalisation. Clearly, the ANC/Cosatu are not as gung-ho for nationalisation as they used to be, and for this we

## ANC, Cosatu spell out economic plan

TAX and agricultural reforms, nationalisation and the "dismemberment" of the concentration of economic power in the hands of the country's major industrial conglomerates are a few of many necessary steps needed to bring peace and economic revival to South Africa. According to African National Congress (ANC) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) economic policy document, the country is in a state of fundamental economic crisis largely brought about by the "distortions of the apartheid system" as well as domestic production problems and a changing and destabilising international environment. And, they say, none of the strategies of the incumbent government are likely to alleviate poverty and mass deprivation. To address these a future "democratic and mercantile state" would have to follow an economic policy that aimed to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power.



Zac de Beer, left, comments on the report and cartoon that appeared in the Weekend Argus on June 16.

should no doubt be grateful. There is a case to be made against privatising great State undertakings if one thereby creates private monopolies; but in any other circumstances it is very difficult to see what possible advantage the State or the people can achieve by nationalising industries.

There is a flat statement that "mine workers' demands should be acknowledged". I don't know what this means. If it simply means that there must be collective bargaining machinery where such demands can be dealt with, that is fine. If it means that the State will interfere with the management of the mines, I fear the worst.

There then follows a most intriguing piece: "The new government should encourage venture capital in new mines." This is absolutely fine: but I must point out that we shall get no venture capital whatever if there is going to be widespread nationalisation or direct interference in management.

The references to taxation call for no special comment. They are followed by a ritual denunciation of the "extreme concentration of economic power". The ANC and Cosatu are by no means alone in taking a hostile view of large business corporations. People are much clearer about their dislike for big organisations than they are about just what to do with them.

Whenever it can be shown that size leads to monopoly or other abuse, then certainly action should be taken. But size alone is not a sin: otherwise one would have to dismember Eskom, which would have no very obvious advantages. More study and debate are clearly required here, to prevent foolish things from being done as a result of emotionalism rather than reason.

Moerdyk reports a somewhat ambiguous statement which seems to suggest that excessive State expenditure has contributed to inflation and a balance-of-payments deficit. If this is indeed what was meant, one can only say a fervent Amen. But this is followed by one of the most frightening propositions in the whole piece. "Current financial de-regulation policies and monetary policy exacerbate the problems of the present

financial system" (whatever that may mean). "To correct this requires direct State intervention, including State regulation."

The history of the past 45 years shows conclusively that direct State intervention in economic enterprises is something to be avoided as far as is humanly possible. It often results in rank injustice, and almost invariably in gross inefficiency.

Next, there is again some good news: foreign investment is to be encouraged. But immediately the bad news follows: "The State and the trade union movement should be legislatively empowered to ensure that foreign investors reinvested productively." This seems to mean that these investors are going to be prevented from repatriating their proceeds: if it does mean that, of course, we can forget about ever getting any new foreign investment at all.

The second statement simply makes a nonsense of the first.

The section on pension funds and state pensions is at least a reasonable basis for discussion, though it raises in what could be a dangerous way the issue whether pension fund investment should be directed towards "desirable" goals as distinct from being aimed purely at the benefit of the contributors.

There is an admirable piece about the need to provide opportunities for women, and an interesting section on agriculture and land. The latter expresses some admirable aims like the promotion of food production and the preservation of the environment, but also includes some suggestions about redistribution of land and relocation of people, which at the very least need closer examination.

All in all, it may be said that the document has its quota of platitudes and a few sensible suggestions, along with a few passages which are frightening in their Marxist implications. Much more debate about economic policy in the new South Africa is certainly needed. I hope it will be urgently held.

Z J de BEER, MP  
Houses of Parliament  
Cape Town

A battle is raging on the frontiers of apartheid and people on the platteland know that life can never be the same again, writes FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.

# The silent war on the Platteland

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**A**S the apartheid order continues to crumble, people in platteland areas are increasingly facing the reality that life can never be the same again.

The writing is on the wall for white privilege and domination in local affairs. This is clearly an underlying key issue in the political battles now raging between local communities and white municipalities in many country towns.

The action is rapidly taking the shape of a silent political war as activists co-ordinate and extend their strategies and campaigns, while claiming they are up against fierce resistance from die-hard conservative elements in white municipalities.

One of the main demands is for an equal say for people of all races in civic affairs — and this call is going out from hitherto deprived coloured and black residents in a growing number of towns.

**A**T the same time protest actions — including consumer boycotts — have been launched to focus attention on a multitude of grievances ranging from high rentals and water tariffs to inadequate housing, health services, racism and other issues.

Some white local authorities find themselves in a dilemma as demands are being made which, they say, are impossible to meet. In some cases the demands are for changes which municipalities are not empowered to bring about; in others the money needed for the improvements demanded is simply not available, it is claimed.

Western Cape towns affected by simmering conflict include Montagu, Ashton, Robertson, Worcester, Barrydale and Swellendam.

At Worcester, about 600 residents decided at a meeting this week to stay away from work next Tuesday, to march to the municipal offices, to "force a meeting with councillors" and to hand over a petition.

Grievances voiced at the meeting include "over-inflated" rentals for municipal housing, and a lack of community facilities such as shops, halls and playgrounds.

**A**T Robertson, scene of clashes which marred the Easter weekend for many residents, controversy is still raging about police action taken after a civic meeting in April. The gathering ended in mayhem when teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot were fired — an incident which resulted in a top-level police investigation.

Community leader and spokesman for the Robertson interim committee, Mr Fred Booysen, said the community would not accept the police investigation and was still awaiting an impartial inquiry into the police action against local people.

Mr Booysen said further protest actions were planned. Virtually no headway had been made in negotiations with the municipality and many problems of the community remained unresolved.

A basic demand which the town council had so far failed to meet was that it should say where it stood on the issue of an "open" town council. There had been no clear response from the council to this demand, which was a pre-condition for any negotiations with the council, Mr Booysen said.

**O**NE of the most persistent of the community battles is raging in the small town of Ashton where a mass meeting is to be held on Tuesday to discuss further protest action.

Among those in the forefront of the battle is interim committee chairman Mr Bernard Matthys whose committee fills the gap left by the disbanded local management committee. He says the community's consumer boycott against certain businesses continues, and further protest action is being planned as a result of the town council's failure to do anything about the people's grievances.

All-day church services are to be held tomorrow and from Monday people of colour are to start using all hitherto whites-only municipal



amenities, including the local swimming pool, tennis courts and library.

Mr Matthys said this move, coming hard on the heels of this week's official scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act by Parliament, was intended as part of the community's protest action against the local system.

The main grievances include the lack of adequate housing, unaffordable rentals and water tariffs, and the denial of equal civil rights to a large part of the community.

Like many other platteland communities, Ashton's coloured community sees its battle as a first step in a campaign for an equal voice for all in the town's affairs.

Supermarket owner/manager Mr Hannes Spreeth confirmed this week that the effects of the boycott were still being felt by businesses, but trading conditions had improved steadily since the initial week of the boycott.

Ironically, the boycotters are said to have nothing against local businesses but are using them as a "punch bag" to air grievances against the local government system, apartheid, and the white government.

**M**R SPREETH said the people involved in the protests had some valid grievances, but were unrealistic in expecting overnight action to solve all problems.

"We have heard threats that will continue for a long time if something is not done urgently about the grievances."

The Mayor of Ashton, Mr Paul Roux, this week declined to comment on the situation in his town, saying the matter was to be discussed at a council meeting.

Asked about the consumer boycott, he said as far as he was concerned no such boycott existed. He was also tight-lipped about any negotiations by the municipality with protesting groups.

At Montagu, where a list of grievances was delivered to the mayor during a protest march on June 2, a consumer boycott against some businesses continued this week.

However, shopkeepers said the boycott was not effective and was hardly noticeable in some cases and people continued to buy goods from shops chosen for the boycott.

A supermarket manager, Mr J Brighton, estimated that the boycott, at its worst, was no more than 30 percent effective.

One of the initiators of the boycott, the Rev Jan Swartz, vice-chairman of the Montagu Civic Association and acting minister of the local Ned

Geref Sendingkerk, said it would continue indefinitely.

Demands conveyed to the municipality included the scrapping of the management committee system and of apartheid structures, and the creation of an "open" town council in which all the people would participate.

**I**N Oudtshoorn, community leaders say a deadlock situation has been reached in relations between the town's authorities and local black and coloured communities. Consumer boycotts are continuing.

New protests are being planned after demands made last year to seek improvements in local conditions are claimed to have come to nothing so far.

But the town's mayor, Mr S Greeff, made it clear this week that he regarded the demands, especially those for housing, as virtually impossible to meet.

"The town council is powerless. I would be prepared to build all the houses in the world if we had the money," he said.

Then there were complaints about the management committee system and about rentals that were said to be too high — and yet rentals were not determined by the municipality but by the House of Representatives.

"We are not the only municipality with such problems. It is a national problem. At this stage the situation in Oudtshoorn is calm and normal, but if there are to be more protests, we would have to talk again. I don't know when all this will end."

The chairman of the Oudtshoorn Civic Association, Mr Reggie Oliphant, said "massive demonstrations" were planned to focus attention once more on the community's grievances. The demonstrations would take the form of a march from Bridgetown and Bongoletu township to the town offices and possibly also to the police station.

"We have given the municipality and the police enough time to implement certain demands handed to them on September 22 last year. The problems, which have remained unchanged, concern living conditions, health conditions, housing and other matters. A central demand is that we must get rid of puppet systems like management committees and let all the people share in the management of the town."

A strong conservative element in the Oudtshoorn town council seemed to be holding back change. "I say the tide is flowing towards an open, non-racial democratic society and government at all levels."

W/KA/2615 23/6/90 (11R)

# Winnie fiery and militant on US visit

NEW YORK. — Winnie Mandela told black New York women she would be the first to go back into the bush and fight for South Africa if things went wrong at the negotiation table.

Meanwhile, estimates of the results of her husband, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela's fundraising efforts in the United States so far to support the organisations' objective of reorganisation and peaceful negotiation in South Africa topped R2,7 million.

## Lavish coverage

In its lavish live television and radio coverage of the Mandela visit to New York since Wednesday, the city's media have increasingly drawn a distinction between Mr Mandela's firm but conciliatory statements on the prospect of negotiations in South Africa, and the militantly fiery, and frequently unscheduled, contributions of his wife on public platforms.

On Thursday evening, at a Harlem rally, Mrs Mandela told an estimated crowd of 200 000 mostly black New Yorkers "we want to count on you ... that if things go wrong on that negotiation table ... we know you will be there with us when we go back to the bush to fight the white man."

Speaking at a separately arranged women's function in New York last night, while Mr Mandela was occupied elsewhere, she said to strong applause: "If anything goes wrong there (at the negotiations) I will be the first to go back to the bush, take up arms, and fight."

Throughout the Mandela couple's New York visit, it was Winnie Mandela who raised the emotional, clenched-fist cry of "Amandla" — more often than not to a confused response resembling "Awethu" from a crowd coached beforehand by organisers more familiar with the easy slo-

gan of "keep the (sanctions) pressure on".

The traffic-stopping Mandela visit to New York continued on its last day meanwhile, with an American star-studded fund-raising function behind closed doors to the Press, featuring Eddie Murphy, Robin Williams, and Bette Middler, hosted by Robert de Niro.



**Nelson Mandela acknowledges the cheers of United Nations members during his speech to the UN Committee Against Apartheid.**

■ See page 3

Television correspondents for various networks, totalling up the proceeds of the series of ANC fundraising activities during the New York visit, estimated results at near on R2,7 million.

This is expected to increase substantially during the remainder of Mr Mandela's eight-city tour of the United States. — Sapa.

NEW YORK. — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday claimed that a 1986 quote in which she seemed to endorse necklace killings "was reported completely out of context".

The wife of ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the practice — in which the victim is burned in a petrol-soaked tyre — was barbaric.

"No sane human being would condone that method of eliminating any opponent," she said.

Mrs Mandela was being interviewed for the Phil Donahue Show, an American TV talk show.

She said South African youths had resorted to necklacing in retaliation against black collaborators, but "that was not the form or method approved by the ANC".

In 1986, Mrs Mandela was quoted as saying at a rally: "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country."

She also said during the interview that she found it hard to believe that the white South

# Winnie: <sup>11A</sup> Necklace quote <sup>CML- Times 23/6/90</sup> 'was out of context'

African government was undergoing a change of heart in regard to apartheid.

"As far as I'm concerned, we will watch that negotiation," she said. "If anything goes wrong there, I will be the first to go back to the bush, take up arms and fight."

On Thursday in New York, she made a similar reference to resuming fighting when she said at an outdoor rally that South African blacks needed help in the struggle against apartheid. "We know you will be there with us when we go back to the bush

and fight the white man," she said, drawing a roar of approval from the crowd.

"We want to warn South Africa that if they don't take note today, if they don't take note of what is happening throughout the world ... and that our patience has run dry.

She told the crowd that America could serve as an example for blacks and whites living together in South Africa.

"You are our strength. We need you to teach us about patience. You, as a people after years and years of slavery, you have given us a tremendous example.

"You have partly overcome your problems. We need you. We need your support."

Mrs Mandela is accompanying her husband on a visit to the US.

Her schedule yesterday included a lunch with the United Nations African Mothers' Association, a fund-raising group formed to help African mothers and children hard-hit by famine and political turmoil. — Sapa-AP





# Back to the bush — Winnie

NELSON and Winnie Mandela made hope live again, for a while, on a Harlem street corner brimming with history.

The hope and the pride were evident on the faces of the 100 000 admirers as two black cultures, American and South African, intertwined on Thursday in a rally outside the Harlem State Office building.

"This is a day like none other in the history of Harlem," said one resident. "It brings together the American black and the African. This day symbolises that we are one in spirit. We are still African."

Some celebrated their African-American heritage by wearing red, orange, yellow, gold or green Dashikis, a type of African tribal robe. Others wore Mandela T-shirts and buttons.

Most revelled in the sound of African drumbeats, Jamaican reggae and American jazz.

Mandela told the crowd that Harlem helped him win his freedom after spending 27 years in prison.

"I am able to speak to you because of the massive resistance of our people and the unceasing solidarity of millions throughout the world. It is you, the working people of Harlem, that helped to make it happen.

"The kinship that the ANC feels for the people of Harlem goes deeper than skin colour," Mandela said. "It is a kinship of our shared historical experience and the kinship and the solidarity of the victims of blind prejudice and hatred."

Winnie Mandela drew a huge roar of approval when she said: "We know you will be there with us when we go back to the bush and fight the white man.

"We want to warn South Africa, that if they don't take note today, if they don't take note of what is happening throughout the world... and that our patience has been run dry," she said.

"Time has come for Pretoria to dismantle apartheid, not tomorrow, not next year and next month. We want apartheid dismantled now."

Nelson Mandela added: "While my comrades and I were in prison, we followed closely your own story of the injustices of

racial segregation and economic inequities. To our people Harlem symbolises strength and beauty in resistance."

On Friday, Mandela urged the United Nations to maintain sanctions against South Africa and warned of danger from armed white racists.

Calling apartheid a "crime against humanity", Mandela said, "We strongly urge that there should be no relaxation of existing measures — the sanctions that have been imposed by the United Nations and by individual governments."

In remarks prepared for delivery to the UN Committee Against Apartheid, Mandela also issued a warning about white rac-

ists among civilians, the army and police in South Africa.

"There are many among our white compatriots who are still committed to the maintenance of the evil system of white minority domination" — some were ideologically committed to racism, while others feared democratic majority rule, he said.

Some were within the army and the police. Others were working at a feverish pace to establish paramilitary groups whose stated aim was the physical liquidation of the ANC. They were posing a serious threat to the process of working towards a just political settlement, he said. — Sapa



Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie at a welcoming ceremony with Rev Jesse Jackson behind, Governor Mario Cuomo at the microphone and Mayor David Dinkins. ■ Pci AP



# Azapo and BCM boycott Biko event

CP Correspondent

*C/Press 24/6/90*  
*(UA)*

STEVE Biko's spirit lived on last week at a five-day symposium dedicated to his life and the legacy he left behind.

This was despite a boycott of the symposium, held at the plush Sheraton Hotel in Harare, by Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Exiles from all over the world and many of the stalwarts of the South African liberation struggle in the 1970s, shared memories and personal accounts of the impact Biko and BC had on their lives - which will soon be put together in a book.

The BCM of Azania in Harare told *City Press* they believed the

book would "distort" Biko's position in South Africa's political history, and would "falsely" claim he was on his way to join the ANC when he was arrested.

The BCM said the symposium was boycotted as neither they nor Azapo was consulted.

They described the Press statement after the event as a conciliatory one which did not mention the boycott.

The Biko legacy week was sponsored by the World Council of Churches, and was the brainchild of Biko's close friend, Barney Pitjana, who heads the WCC programme to combat racism in Geneva.

Symposium organisers admitted they had communication problems

while organising the event, but added that delegates were participating in their personal capacity.

One of those who broke the boycott by sending a paper to the symposium was Harry Nengwenkulu, now in Botswana.

Several of those who came to the symposium have applied for visas to visit South Africa, but by late Friday, none had heard if they were successful.

The exception was veteran ANC activist Phyllis Naidoo, who returns to her home in Durban today.

She said she was "excited" but also sad to be returning without her son Sathan who was assassinated in Lusaka last year. Naidoo was the victim of a parcel bomb in Lesotho in the late '70s.



Steve Biko . . . his life influenced many activists.

# Ntloko has no cash to realise Biko's dream

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE national organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation, Lusiba Ntloko, is a man with an important political position – but he does not have an office.

He uses space in the offices of the Centre for Labour and Community Research in central Johannesburg and spends most days doing leg-work to co-ordinate Azapo's activities.

For the past four months Ntloko has been responsible for recharging the resurgence of black consciousness in communities throughout the country. Yet he does not have a cent to help him do this, and revive Steve Biko's dream.

He does not take home a living wage for his family and is often in arrears with the rent on his flat in Joubert Park. But he does not let this deter him.

He is no stranger to lack of money. Since his release from Robben Island in 1983 he has never earned a regular salary.

Ntloko said this was due to the hostile attitude of big business and international aid groups towards black consciousness.

"Black consciousness has inspired me to mix my personal struggle for survival with the fight for the eradication of dependency on whites and the evil of apartheid," said Ntloko.

He was chosen as national organiser at Azapo's national congress in March.

Ntloko said the unbanning of political organisations in February created a new political climate that had, ironically, made his task of organising harder, but he does not blame government laws.

"There is a culture of intolerance that has made it difficult for me to organise in certain areas that have been declared the territory of particular groups," said Ntloko.

The ongoing violence made it difficult for him to tell communities what Azapo has to offer, he added.

Ntloko prides himself that Azapo speaks to the black communities on issues that affect them.

"We are out to make



**Azapo's national organiser Lusiba Ntloko ... struggling against the odds.** ■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

communities realise their blackness and create an awareness that comes from their conditions."

He asserted that Azapo encouraged people to realise that the power to change their communities lay in their own hands.

"Every black person is a potential member of Azapo because of the nature of their problems and the analysis of the situation in terms of black consciousness," said Ntloko.

Although the organisation has 15 regions, Ntloko said it was difficult to estimate its membership.

However, he had no doubt about the support it enjoyed – even in rival liberation movements.

"Because we are rooted in the problems of the black nation it is easy for people in other bodies to identify with the sentiments we express and our articulation of the direction the country should follow," said Ntloko.

"Some of my branches

have been totally submerged through terror and killing. Other members have been hounded from their homes and killed for belonging to our body," said Ntloko.

Ntloko regretted that many townships activists had not matured sufficiently to allow other people free expression and association.

He said Azapo had a number of fund-raising projects in the pipeline.

"We cannot allow ourselves to become beggars. We must build up our own resources."

His goal for the next few months is to launch a campaign to make people more aware of Azapo.

"The climate of openness has created a spirit of competition in the liberation movement that has impacted on the unity of black people. And it is imperative that we share the platform before we enter into any negotiations with the government," said Ntloko.

# ANC 'not wedded to socialism'

24/6/90  
11A

The ANC was not wedded to socialism, its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, said in an interview published in *The New York Times* on Friday.

On the sensitive issue of nationalisation, Mandela said the ANC supported "State participation" in the economy only to the extent needed to redress gross disparities in wealth between blacks and whites.

*The Times* said Mandela's statement was another attempt to allay potential Western investors' anxieties over the ANC's

longstanding support for nationalisation of important industries and the organisation's alliance with the South African Communist Party.

Sketching his vision of the South African economy under a democratic government, Mandela said the overriding consideration must be to eliminate inequities that give ownership of most wealth to a tiny white minority and leave the black majority impoverished.

The ANC had no economic policy as such, he said, "but we have mentioned State participa-

tion in certain specific areas of the economy, like mining, the financial institutions and monopoly industries".

As far as the rest of the economy of South Africa was concerned, he said "it will proceed on the basis of free enterprise and we don't propose to interfere with that".

Mandela said State participation in the economy was not an issue that was going to be unilaterally decided by the ANC.

"If this is the only option before us, then we will do it in such

a way that we should get the co-operation of all sections of the population - in particular the people who own those particular industries.

"We are looking at different options, one of which is government participation, which is something that is quite prevalent in our country."

"If anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify this imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the question of nationalisation for us will not be an option at all." - Sapa.

# Charter is 35 years old

By SHAFATH-AHMAD KHAN

C/PMS  
24/6/90

(11A)

**T**HIRTY-FIVE years ago more than 3 000 people gathered at Freedom Square – an open square in Kliptown, near Soweto – and adopted the Freedom Charter as a blueprint for a new South Africa in which all adult citizens would be enfranchised and have basic human rights.

The historic Congress of the People on June 25-26, 1955, was held under the auspices of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats.

One of those involved in organising the congress and formulating the Charter – which has now also come to be widely known as "The People's Document" – was activist Dr Essop Jassat, former leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress and a patron of the UDF.

Jassat, who has said the Charter is very closely related to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, was a medical student of 24 at the time, and had the honour of reading out to the congress for its vote the clause now contained in the Charter on the right to education for all.

"For over six months we went from house to house and from factory to factory asking people what demands they would like incorporated in the 'Freedom Charter'," Jassat recalled recently.

"Some demands made by our people, who were understandably not at first aware that these were for a political dispensation and not for their personal needs and wishes, were rather frivolous – like wanting the right to have more than one wife.

"At the same time, a publicity cam-

paign had been launched for support for the Charter. We engaged in sloganeering and chalking the subways with our logo, which was a wheel with four spokes, and distributed pamphlets and stickers and put up banners.

"These were some of the things that led to the Congress of the People, which was held on a bare piece of ground where we had erected a platform and pitched tents for ambulance attendants and medical volunteers," Jassat said.

"We spent the night there before the actual event. It was extremely cold and the majority of people who were there sat around 'mbaulas' (braziers) and had braaivleis and sang freedom songs until dawn.

"Then, on Sunday, more of our people began filtering in and by early afternoon, when the meeting began, a massive crowd had gathered. Some of our people did not make it because the buses and cars in which they were being

transported were intercepted at roadblocks set up by the police."

On the whole, Jassat recollected, those gathered for the meeting were disciplined and peaceful – although police did arrest a few.

He said the bouyancy and optimism among the people attending the event had been tremendous, because it was the first time that people in such vast numbers had gathered together to chart their future.

"The Congress of the People was indicative of the possibility of unity in action for the attainment of one common destiny for the people of South Africa. I cannot think of any other event in the country that could match it," said Jassat.

"Now, 35 years after the signing of the Freedom Charter, we are seeing some light at the end of the dark tunnel.

"It gave us the impetus to start restructuring South Africa."



'The People's Document' is paraded at a rally.

■ Pic: AFRAPIX

# Women must be heard now

By LULAMA LUTI

AFTER almost 14 years in exile, Mavivi Manzini's spirit is unbroken. She glows with confidence and does not regret her decision to leave the country in 1976.

"It was worthwhile. Like many of my colleagues I could have died or languished in jail for years."

Mavivi, who is the wife of ANC chief representative in Tanzania Manala Manzini, walks with a limp after contracting polio when she was two - but that has never affected her duties.

She is one of the 12 key members of the ANC Women's Executive Committee who returned to South Africa this month.

Mavivi serves on an interim committee that has the task of rebuilding the ANC Women's League prior to its official launch on August 9.

She believes there can be no freedom if a large section of the population is not liberated.

"We are here to facilitate the launch of the Women's League to help women in the liberation struggle. We believe this should be done now.

"Experience has taught us that after liberation there are new priorities - and that is why we want to put forward our demands to make sure they are known as the struggle unfolds."

The interim committee will recommend the full use of women in all policy-making bodies.



Mavivi Manzini . . . left SA after police harassment.

Mavivi, who studied in Zambia and holds a master's degree from a Dutch university, is a former secretary of the ANC women's section's publicity, information and research unit, and was editor of the ANC journal *The Voice of Women*.

She was also in charge of programmes for women on Radio Freedom.

Born in Alexandria, Mavivi, 34, began her political career while a student at the University of the North in 1974. A former member of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), she is the fourth in a family of eight.

She left South Africa at the age of 19 after police harassment due to her underground activities in the ANC.

"It was a painful decision. The first few months were terrible for all of us who left the country in 1976. We thought it would be a matter of five years before we would be back in South Africa," she said.

"What kept us going was the hope of returning to a changed South Africa - but we are regarded as visitors in our country."

# PAC and BCM wary of quick return for exiles

C/Item 24/6/90

ICA



By SANDILE MEMELA

PAC and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) exiles have said they will not return to the country immediately.

The PAC and Azapo say the conditions that forced their members into exile still exist, but the ANC is preparing for the mass return of its exiles.

Addressing the *Tribute* Forum this week, a member of the ANC working committee, Penuell Maduna, said his organisation had received hundreds of boxes of passport application forms from the government to enable its exiles to prepare for their homecoming.

He said possession of passports would speed up the return of more than 20 000 people who went into exile and are now on tenterhooks

waiting for the signal to return home.

Maduna said that for the first time in the history of the liberation movement, black people had influenced decision-making process in Parliament.

He was referring to the amendment of the Indemnity Act that has allowed a number of exiles to return home already.

PAC secretary for legal affairs Phillip Dlamini said his organisation would not encourage its exiles to start flowing into the country.

"There has been no serious commitment to genuine change in the government and we feel that it will be unsafe for our members to return immediately," he said.

The PAC would discuss the return of exile at a special congress in October. However, individual members eager to return could do

so after consultation with the external mission.

"We do not stop members who want to come back home but not everybody will return until there are assurances that they will not be detained," said Dlamini.

The national projects co-ordinator of Azapo, Muntu Myeza, said the conditions that forced members into exile still existed.

"It is early days to give blessings to the government. No structural assurances exist that the exiles will not be detained on their return.

"Issues that forced our members into exile are alive and kicking. Until such time that the government and the liberation movement are on an equal footing and enter into genuine negotiations, we continue with the struggle," said Myeza.



**Muntu Myeza ... no structural assurances that returning exiles won't be detained.**

# A voice silenced too soon

ROBERT MANGALISO  
SOBUKWE occupied centre-stage in South African politics for only a brief five years.

For another 15 he was an enigmatic but hidden figure behind the scenes — either in jail or under severe restraints until his death, of cancer, in 1977.

His was a powerful political voice — perhaps potentially the most powerful had he been allowed to operate freely.

Former Rand Daily Mail deputy editor Benjamin Pogrund has just published a voluminous biography on the driving force behind the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress, entitled *Sobukwe and Apartheid*.

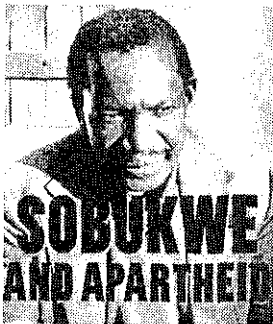
*S Times 24/6/90*  
**Personal**

For Pogrund it is the culmination of a working life dedicated to studying the life and times of the man whose visions and ideas inspired the Africanist tradition in South African politics.

It is an intensely personal book, detailing the relationship which started when Sobukwe was a lecturing assistant at Wits and Pogrund a young reporter.

It ended when wild-eyed radicals (who may never have even met the PAC leader) prevented the man who did more than perhaps anybody else to make Sobukwe's views public

## Dries van Heerden reviews a new book on one of South Africa's most unsung resistance figures



from speaking at his funeral.

But, to his eternal credit, it never becomes the Bob and Benjie book (or, even worse, the Benjie-book) which was the pitfall into which a Pogrund contemporary, Donald Woods, fell when writing on Steve Biko.

Although Pogrund chronicles in exhaustive detail his relationship with Sobukwe while the PAC leader spent 17 years in jail or under house arrest, the author admirably manages to detach himself from a subject which over the same period consumed so much of his time and energy.

However, except for the really committed reader, the book — and especially the middle part — can be a boring experience.

It spares no detail.

At the end of 389 pages you know the title of every book Sobukwe read while on the island, each one of his culinary predilections and particulars about every pair of pyjamas or piece of underwear ever sent to him by the author.

My biggest criticism is the book tells us everything about Sobukwe the man and his personal habits but not nearly enough about his thoughts.

He spent almost eight years within the same island prison confines as political luminaries from rival organisations such as Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki but we learn nothing about their relationship and political and social interaction.

But, the biggest deficiency in the book is its failure to explain at any length the political philosophies that influenced Sobukwe to leave the ranks of the ANC and form the PAC.

The drafting of the Freedom Charter and Africanist opposition to it is dealt with in a few paragraphs; the formation of the PAC's armed wing Poqo (although it was created after Sobukwe's arrest) is given even shorter space.

But this is a personal criticism and is insignificant against the breadth and depth of Pogrund's research into Sobukwe's life and the insights he gleaned from it.

The picture that emerges is that of a man prematurely removed from the South African political scene. A man hounded by successive National Party governments, tormented, thwarted and frustrated in numerous petty bureaucratic ways. A man denied the opportunity to realise his vast potential for leadership.

## Muddled

Looking back with the benefit of post-De Klerkian hindsight, South Africa and its people are the poorer for that.

Because the moment Sobukwe left the political scene the once proud organisation he founded crumbled into an unseemly mess of fratricide and organisational disarray.

To this day the movement is hamstrung by the political pygmies trying to cut a way through muddled ideological undergrowth.

As the New South Africa gradually emerges, countrymen of all political persuasions may come to rue the day when Sobukwe's voice was silenced.

● *Sobukwe and Apartheid* by Benjamin Pogrund. Published by Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg.

## ■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

# Other groups will have to join talks

*U/Pres 24/6/90* (U/Pres) (U/Pres)

TOO many people believed negotiations for a new constitution in South Africa would take place only between the government and the ANC, excluding all other groups in the country, *Die Burger* said in an editorial.

"Such an arrangement would be a recipe for disaster and inevitable conflict. Only by including the largest possible number of interest groups who represent the population spectrum, could formulae be worked out with the highest measure of consensus.

"The government realises this very well. Already it has talked to several representative groups. It happened again in Cape Town when the government talked to homeland leaders.

"President FW de Klerk invited the chief ministers of the self-governing areas, the administrators of all four provinces, the chairmen of the ministers councils, and the commissioners-general of the self-governing areas for discussions. It was well attended.

"Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has also stressed that negotiations cannot take place only between the two main actors.

"He said political organisations identified as leading organisations within the present structures have had their places reserved at the negotiation table. At the same time organisations outside the present structures will be included. The only precondition will be a commitment to a peaceful solution.

"Hopefully all who qualify would take hold of it, eagerly and with an open mind," said *Die Burger*.



# Boss man keeps Mandela secret

By **DESMOND BLOW**

**NOTORIOUS** former South African spy chief "Lang" Hendrik van der Berg claims he is the only man alive who knows the person who "shopped" Nelson Mandela nearly 30 years ago, but he's not telling.

Van den Bergh, 76, was the most feared man in the country as head of the Bureau for State Security (Boss) under Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster.

"There is honour among intelligence agents as there is among thieves. I will take that secret to my grave," he told *City Press* at his chicken farm in Bapsfontein this week.

Although not denying it was a CIA source who betrayed Mandela to the police, he did not confirm it either.

Van den Berg said he he would feel obliged to keep the informant's identity secret even if the

informant were now dead.

But he denied the report that appeared in the *Sunday Times* last week which suggested it was Millard Shirley, head of the CIA in Southern Africa at the time, who supplied him with Mandela's whereabouts.

The suggestion that Shirley was the informant was made by former Boss agent Gerard Ludi, but Van den Bergh said: "Ludi was doing undercover work in Moscow at the time Mandela was arrested and knew nothing about it. In fact, I alone know who supplied the information."

He said that all Western intelligence services heads exchanged information in his time and he expected they still did.

"I secretly visited the heads of

foreign Western intelligence services overseas and they secretly visited one another.

"Not even our respective governments, heads of state or embassies were aware of our visits to foreign countries."

He said he got to know US President George Bush when Bush was head of the CIA, but Allen Dulles was head of CIA at the time of Mandela's arrest. It was Dulles who changed the original purpose of the CIA from intelligence analysis into planning of "covert operations" intended to remove foreign governments and leaders whose policies ran counter to US interests.

Van den Bergh said Dulles had presented him with a signed copy of his book *The Secret Enemy*.



**Former SA spy chief "Lang" Hendrik van den Berg.**

## Natal whites attend ANC meeting

ABOUT 1 000 people – a third of them whites – attended an ANC meeting in Durban on Thursday night, called to establish a Durban Central Branch.

Afterwards, 260 people signed applications for membership.

11/11



C/Proc 24/6/90

# We don't need you, ANC tells <sup>STimes</sup> disgraced <sup>24/6/90</sup> Rajbansi

By SHARON CHETTY

CONVICTED politician Amichand Rajbansi will not be welcomed to the folds of the African National Congress.

That's the final word from the ANC after revelations this week that the former chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates had made overtures to the organisation. Rajbansi was fined R10 000 after being found guilty on two counts of fraud in Durban last week.

This week ANC Southern Natal convenor, Mr Terror Lekota, told the Society of Natal Teachers that Rajbansi had called the ANC, asking to be supported politically and in turn promising Indian support for the ANC.

## Refused <sup>114</sup>

But ANC Natal secretary Sibisiso Ndebele said Rajbansi would "definitely not be welcome".

"There is no support that Rajbansi can talk of. He is not representative of the Indian community," he said.

"We have allied organisations like the Natal Indian Congress with whom we will work.

"There is no way we will ever entertain the idea of having him work on our behalf," Mr Ndebele said.

But the beleaguered politician refused to confirm or deny whether he had approached the ANC.

"I refuse to discuss the matter any further. I am a disciplined politician and I cannot divulge my next moves," he said.

by DRIES van HEERDEN  
 NAMES will be put to myths  
 d faces attached to sha-  
 ws when the South African  
 mmunist Party emerges  
 om 40 years underground  
 July 29.

And party boss Joe Slovo  
 d his comrades will be  
 nking in the harsh daylight  
 the real world, where all  
 e tried and trusted verities  
 Marxism have crumbled  
 ong with the Berlin Wall.  
 All, except those who do  
 t wish to see, now realise  
 at the workers' paradise of  
 e East bloc was a gloomy  
 le of despair where two-bit  
 ctators exploited their  
 ople and feathered their  
 n nests. *Sf Times*

# SA's top Reds are coming in from the cold

Party to political pluralism,  
 a multi-party democracy,  
 regular elections and free-  
 dom of speech, Press and religion.

This week at a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Slovo reiterated this position and announced that the party would in future operate above ground as a legal party, vying for support and votes on the political free market, so to speak.

And he claims that the SACP — after 69 years in existence, the last four decades of which were underground — enjoys wider prestige and greater popularity than ever before.

Who the faceless leaders are is one of the best kept secrets in South Africa. Everybody knows Mr Slovo is the general secretary and it is accepted that ANC deputy secretary-general Dan Tloome is the chairman of the six-member Politburo.

The rest is a matter of conjecture and speculation. Recent reports have it that 27 of the 35 members of the ANC's National Executive are also party members. Only two more have since come into the open — former ANC research chief Mac Maharaj and recently released Robben Island detainee Raymond Mhlaba.

Another certain Politburo member is SA Congress of Trade Union secretary-general John Nkadimeng.

The Politburo is responsible for the day-to-day running of the highly structured and disciplined organisation. They are chosen from the ranks of the Central Committee at a congress held every five years. The next congress will be held inside South Africa in 1991.

As general secretary Mr Slovo is in a very powerful position. In terms of Clause X (a) of the party constitution he handles all correspondence, keeps all minutes and documents and is the sole link between the membership, the Central Committee and the Politburo. He can only be removed by a unanimous vote by the Politburo or a two-thirds majority of the Central Committee.

But the most interesting aspect of next month's launching rally at Soccer City in Soweto will be the revelation of the internal leadership: the men (and women?) who kept the red flag waving after the arrest of Bram Fischer in the mid-1960s.



RED FACES ... SACP boss Joe Slovo and Politburo chairman Dan Tloome

The identity of the "head Red" has been the subject of much speculation — most of it centred on a well-known Johannesburg lawyer and a high-profile trade unionist.

Once in the open the party will have to address a number of hard issues if it wants to survive a political rat-race towards a new South Africa:

● What will its relationship be with the ANC? Up till now it has been the classic Trojan Horse party, attach-

ing itself to a popular nationalist movement and hoping to derive maximum benefit from this relationship.

Some would even argue it was a case of a red tail wagging a black dog.

However, Slovo rejects all suggestions the SACP will be at cross-purposes with the ANC or try to usurp power once the "first-phase revolution" is complete. He became one of the ANC's most popular executive members after his election to the NEC in

1985, the first white to be elected to the decision-making committee.

The question of whether the SACP would compete for support with the ANC in any future election has not arisen, he said this week. But, if and when it did, "a formula would be found" to reflect their fraternal relationship.

And, he emphasises, the party does not see itself as a "Broederbond" within the ANC.

● Will it try to garner

mass support or will it remain an elitist movement? Says Mr Slovo: "We will have to find a balance party and a becoming a huge party of the party of calibre... relation-ship be with the com- a met rapidly shrinking... has Soviet world? The SACP the most ur-tory of being the most out-Union's closest and fiercest out-critical ally of all... Rec-ent side the East-bloc's, glas-publications, however, is a cate that the spike stalhist nost and perestroika stalhist moving within local ranks."

● Will it stick to undiluted socialism or apply to there- chevan new-think Again of ha in nomic models? Again of ha in are signs that the economy creep- ing a mixed slowly think- South Africa is slowly think- ing into official party document- ing. In his policy documenting Slovo writes that its certain the socialism had Curt for work- ed behind the Iron mix work- ed that the right be benefit the economy should be best out so as to best working class.

11A

24/6/90

**WORLD WATCH**

# Mad about Mandela

11A  
EAT

**THE T-shirt reading "It's a black thing — you wouldn't understand," just about summed up Nelson Mandela's three-day triumphal march through New York.**

As the ANC leader moved through the city surrounded by a cocoon of mostly black adulation, white New York went about its business observing the hoopla from afar and doing its best to avoid the gridlock caused by the 40-car Mandela entourage.

From the shadow of Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue and along the leafy streets of the Upper East Side, it was possible to forget that Mandela was out of jail, let alone in town.

Not a Mandela T-shirt or a button was to be seen. Vendors were racking up brisk sales of Madonna and Dick Tracy souvenirs. Tourists were scoffing giant pretzels and hot dogs while enviously watching socialites emerge from snazzy restaurants.

## Scary

The point was driven home on Thursday evening when I found myself conspicuously white in the Soweto of America, Harlem, while Winnie Mandela conjured up scarey images of returning to "the bush to fight the white man".

It's not that the crowd was unfriendly — to the contrary. It was just that there was something going on here that did not include whites, however well-intentioned.

Just about everyone had turned out in some version of "African" garb: kofi hats, kente cloth scarves, cowrie shell necklaces, dashikis and Korean manufactured "African" beads.

Although the cry Amandla! had entered their vocabulary only 24 hours before, it now tripped off their lips as if it were second nature.

For most people there, the facts about Mandela

*S/Times 24/6/90*

## Harlem goes wild as New York's whites ask: Why the fuss?



**PATRICIA CHENEY**  
reports from  
New York City

appeared to be lost in the broad strokes. They were not interested in sanctions and some dude called De Klerk and killing in some place called Natal.

They were interested in Mandela as the living embodiment of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and others in the pantheon of black American heroes.

When he referred to "the racist regime" they thought of Washington. When he described the oppression of blacks, it called to mind events that happened on the next block — not the next continent.

## Drone

And when he did refer to things they knew nothing about, it didn't matter. It was enough just to be there. To breathe the same air that he was breathing. To be able to say, "I saw Nelson Mandela," — just as people now say, "I saw Martin Luther King."

While vendors reported booming sales of buttons, T-shirts, medallions and posters, they said no one was interested in buying Mandela's collected speeches or his biography.

On the face of it, the ticker-tape parade was a disap-

pointing affair for those who waited six hours for the Mandelas to pass. When they finally came — two hours late — the glimpse of them in their glass sarcophagus was fleeting.

The speech later at City Hall was similarly disappointing for smaller people who were kept so far from the podium by police it was impossible to see the big shots or hear them above the drone of swooping police helicopters.

## Opressors

But, not a single voice of protest was raised, beyond the good-natured suggestion that a little civil disobedience in taking over the grassy park that separated the VIPs from the crowd might be undertaken.

Again and again people said, "It's enough just to be here."

Attempts were made to jump on the bandwagon of this black affair by anyone with an axe to grind.

The Workers' Vanguard, "a newspaper of a radical Marxist character" took the opportunity to point out that even as they were rubbing elbows with Mandela, "some of the most powerful oppres-

sors and exploiters of black people will join in a hypocritical celebration of 'freedom,'" and that Mandela was in danger of being hijacked by "the captains of industry" that rule Wall Street.

Puerto Rican nationalists, oppressed by the US, firmly turned up to every event, some literally wrapped in the nationalist flag.

Some common felons even declared themselves "political prisoners".

On Thursday, one entered a New York courtroom dispensing fliers to jurors pointing out why he and Mandela were fellow sufferers. He was promptly charged with jury tampering.

By Friday, Mandela mania was definitely on the wane as he left the streets for a indaba in the gas-filled halls of the United Nations.

New Yorkers' attention turned once again to matters that really touched their lives: Thursday's great Yankees game and a new shooting by the city's latest serial murderer, the Zodiac Killer.

# Nelson — I'm just a Yankee Doodle Dandy

11A  
5 Times 4/6/90

MADONNA met Mandela. Jesse Jackson stuck to him like glue. So did the black mayor of New York who called him a "modern-day Moses". Everyone wanted a piece of the action, to hug him or touch the hem of his coat.

Manhattan, having just stamped on Trump, was hungry for a hero with instant one-name recognition. The city ate him up and the TV stations ditched prime time programming to follow him.

Tabloid newspapers went mad with purple prose, reporting eruptions of ecstasy.

"I'm telling you, there is a buzz around this man," said Vernetta Perry as she fielded call after call at the office co-ordinating the international superstar's tour.

In the space of a few days, Mandela has become a phenomenon in the US. Businessmen who talked to him in New York spoke of the "crackling excitement" he generated.

Boston, his next stop, flew in rock stars Jackson Brown, Paul Simon and Michelle Shocked simply as supporting acts for his rally on the esplanade.

## Uncanny

Mandela, no fool at 71, is doing everything to perpetuate the legend building around him. He has an uncanny knack of hitting the exact note to endear himself to audiences.

Given a baseball cap and coat at Yankee Stadium, he suddenly turned to the crowd and said: "You now know who I am. I'm a Yankee." The line was perfect.

Harlem was his to command after his wife Winnie wept in the arms of Betty Chabazz, widow of Malcolm X, and declared that they were standing in "the Soweto of America".

"The name Mandela stands for moral authority and justice," said David Greenway, one of America's most respected commentators.

Showbiz has jumped on the Mandela bandwagon with a vengeance, for the ANC desperately needs funds.

At least 10 000 tickets have been sold for an Aretha Franklin concert at the De-

How HUGH DAVIES of the London Sunday Telegraph saw Mandela's visit

troit Tigers stadium, with black mayor Coleman Johnson chiding fellow councillors who balked at paying a mere R250 a seat.

The moral pressure to help out even persuaded hard-nosed baseball boss George Steinbrenner to fork out the R220 000 needed to rent the Yankee Stadium for a rally fronted by Harry Belafonte, who abandoned his traditional Banana Boat Song to lead the crowd in cries of "Amandla".

Billy Joel was publicly thanked for providing the sound stage and crew to man the electronics. The event, with tickets priced up to R1 250, raised more than R700 000.

## Lucrative

Arthur Ashe, the former Wimbledon champion, has also been alongside Mandela. He reportedly brought together the ANC and ProServ, the firm that manages the careers of about 200 sports stars, in a lucrative merchandising deal.

However, bootleg T-shirts, priced at R7,50 — less than a third of the ANC-licensed items — are flooding the market. Vendors like Terence Tronsco are following Mandela across America as if he was an entertainer.

Hawking souvenirs in the Bronx, he said: "Mandela is the hottest thing on the streets. You have to capitalise on it. This is America."

BASEBALL FAN . . . 'I am a Yankee,' Nelson Mandela told 50 000 people in New York's Yankee Stadium

# Hopes fade for early talks

24/6/90

SITimes

11A

DISAGREEMENT between the Government and the ANC is building up on how — rather than whether or when — to get to the negotiating table.

The critical questions of who will be allowed at the table, in what numbers and ratios, and how their opinions will be weighed up against the others, are sharpening into a point of serious contention as the prospects for an early start to negotiations dim.

By LESTER VENTER

This week Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen acknowledged that delaying tactics — for which the Government blames the ANC — mean that real negotiations probably won't start before early next year.

In the meantime, Government experts say, the two main parties and others have to sort out who gets to sit at

the table and how they get there.

The ANC wants a constituent assembly. This would entail an election where representatives would be chosen and would sit at the table in the proportion in which they were elected.

Because of the numerical dominance of blacks, this would mean the ANC would probably have the major say in the decisions of the constituent assembly.

The Government wants the questions of who and how many sit at the table settled beforehand by consensus.

## Frequent

A senior Government source said on Friday there should be "reasonable consensus" on which groups constituted political forces in SA. The Government believed all parties should be evenly represented at the table.

The Government also believed there should be no voting to make decisions at the table. Instead it felt that constitutional plans could be arrived at by consensus.

In a briefing earlier this week, Dr Viljoen spelt out the Government's arguments against a constituent assembly:

- A constituent assembly

was suitable for the birth of a new state. Here the state already existed with a constitution that had simply to be altered;

- An election for a constituent assembly would have to be on an open voters' roll. This would, in practice, anticipate one-man-one-vote negotiating decisions;

- An election was more suitable at the end of negotiations rather than at the beginning;

- An election for such an assembly would commit the contesting parties to policy positions which they would have to treat as a mandate and adhere to during negotiations.

In the six months between now and the likely start of negotiations, the Government and the ANC are expected to meet frequently to discuss a host of preliminary details — such as the venue, the size and shape of the negotiating table and the procedures for discussions and decision-making.

Dr Viljoen estimated that the negotiating process itself could take two years.

He said several homeland leaders were, at this stage, in favour of the ANC's idea of a constituent assembly.

# Miami fury at Mandela over Castro comments

S/Times 24/6/90

ANC DEPUTY PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's tour through the United States faces its first setback in Miami this week. The city's large Cuban community is outraged by Mr Mandela's statements supporting Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. The city's mayor, Mr Xavier Suarez — a Cuban American — said Mr Mandela's comments in a TV interview, in which he also expressed support for the Palestine Liberation Organisation, had caused an "unbelievable amount of pain" in Miami.

Reaction by Jews and Cubans to Mr Mandela's support for PLO leader Arafat and Castro led to a flood of phone calls to radio talk shows yesterday and Friday.

The Miami City Commission has now withdrawn a resolution welcoming the ANC leader.

But elsewhere in the US, Mr Mandela's entourage was enthusiastically welcomed. Yesterday in Boston, the first city in the US to ban investment in South Africa, he was given a tumultuous welcome.

## Message

Boston's city council has declared a "Mandela Week" with the ANC flag flying above the city hall and billboards in the ANC's colours of black, green and yellow lining Mr Mandela's motorcade route.

Church bells chimed as Mr Mandela, 71, drove through the predominantly black Roxbury neighbourhood as the ANC anthem, Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika, was broadcast by local radio stations.

"The problems Mr Mandela is facing in South Africa have relevance to this community," said Themba Vilakazi, ANC member and executive director of the Fund for a Free South Africa, organisers of the Boston leg of the tour.

"If there is one thing I hope that derives from his trip it is the central message of his life — that the racial differences dividing us are insignificant in terms of the things binding us as human beings."

Sunday Times Reporter  
Boston

Several black leaders in Boston have said that Mr Mandela should speak in the heart of the city's black community instead of at a concert on the Charles River Esplanade.

But those who had pushed for a rally in Franklin Park, which borders black neighbourhoods, gave backing last week to the Esplanade concert for the sake of unity.

"It would have been better if it had been held in Franklin Park golf course," said Don X Muhammad of the Nation of Islam.

"But we're doing everything we can to make the visit of Nelson Mandela a successful and momentous occasion."

## Tight

Mr Mandela's day began with a visit to an inner city high school and later, after his swing through Roxbury, he attended a lunch given by Senator Edward Kennedy, who led the battle in Congress in 1986 for anti-apartheid legislation.

The tight schedule left little time for Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie to visit two of his daughters, Zenani Mandela-Dlamini and Makaziwe Mandela, who are studying at colleges in Boston.

A brief meeting was planned for this morning before the Mandelas are due to leave for Washington.

● See World Watch, Page 7



SI Times 24/6/90 11A 100

# ANC faces cash crunch

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THE ANC's access to foreign funds could be cut off as soon as it registers as a political party.

At present the ANC is collecting millions of rands overseas to establish itself as a political force in South Africa.

In doing so, it is bending a South African law — apparently without breaking it — that prevents other parties from doing the same.

The Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act makes it illegal for parties in SA to raise funds abroad. But it defines a political party as one registered in terms of the Electoral Act.

## Unfair

However, a government source said the ANC, despite not being registered, should be regarded as a political party anyway, because it was no longer banned and was recruiting members.

At present the organisation is seriously hampered by an almost non-existent domestic structure.

The Government acknowledges the ANC has a backlog to overcome in political organisation as a result of the 30-year ban on it.

However, a senior govern-

ment source said this week it would be glaringly unfair to allow the ANC access to foreign funds — which other parties didn't have — while parties competed to put their views to South Africans during negotiations.

He said all political parties would have to be "put on an equal footing", possibly before negotiations began, but certainly before the election that was likely to follow the talks.

This means the ANC, like the National Party and

others, will have to rely on funds it can generate inside SA.

The ANC hopes to raise R500-million from Nelson Mandela's world tour, according to one report. Tour organisers in the US have set a target of R2,65-million a day.

Pro-ANC lobbyists in the US are pressuring President George Bush to commit between R80-million and R130-million to the ANC when he meets Mr Mandela.

Mr Bush is, however, likely

to resist direct financial aid until the ANC formally abandons violence.

Nevertheless, a host of non-government bodies will give funds.

On his first day in New York Mr Mandela collected R750 000 for the ANC — R500 000 from the US National Council of Churches and R250 000 from a street collection in Harlem.

Earlier this month, the Australian Government pledged R30-million to the ANC and other unspecified parties.

Mr Mandela is also known to have appealed to Europ-

ean governments and other bodies there for aid.

Although parties in SA do not disclose their funds, the ANC could soon be the richest of them all.

When President FW de Klerk visited European capitals last month he asked governments there to help finance the repatriation of exiles — an operation which the ANC says it needs vast funds for.

The Government, however, sees the repatriation of exiles — there are reportedly 40 000 of them — as an issue separate from the normal political activities in the country.

# Schools crisis

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee and the ANC will meet on Thursday to combine initiatives in an attempt to resolve the country's ongoing black education crisis.

NECC general secretary Ihron Rensberg on Thursday told a Johannesburg news conference his organisation had thoroughly briefed the ANC on the extent of the current nature of the education crisis.

"Discussions with DET officials have failed," he said. - Sapa *press*

■ See Page 6 *24/6/90*

~~256/1150~~ (11A)



TRADITION ... Mr Nelson Mandela shows off a traditional African robe given him after a speech in the centre of Harlem.

Picture: REUTERS

# Mandela mania

C. Times

11A  
25/6/90

NEW YORK — Madonna met Mr Mandela. The Rev Jesse Jackson stuck to him like glue. So did the black mayor of New York who called him a "modern-day Moses". Everyone wanted a piece of the action, to hug him or touch the hem of his dashiki.

The city ate him up. TV stations ditched prime time programming to follow him. Tabloid newspapers went mad with purple prose, reporting eruptions of ecstasy.

In the space of a few days Mr Mandela has become a phenomenon in the US. Businessmen who talked with him in New York spoke of the "crackling excitement" he generated.

Mr Mandela, no fool at 71, is doing everything to perpetuate the legend building around him. He has an uncanny knack of hitting the exact note to endear himself to audiences.

Harlem was his to command after his wife Winnie wept in the arms of Ms Betty Chabazz, widow of Malcolm X, and declared they were standing in "the Soweto of America".

Mr Mandela's star quality is not reflected in his speaking style, which is often boring and dogmatic. But there is no doubt of his charisma.

Show-biz has jumped on the Mandela bandwagon with a vengeance and

been greeted with open arms. For the African National Congress needs funds. At least six \$10 000 (about R25 000) tickets have been sold for an Aretha Franklin concert at the Detroit Tigers stadium.

The moral pressure to help out even persuaded the hard-nosed baseball boss Mr George Steinbrenner to fork out the \$90 000 (about R225 000) needed to rent Yankee Stadium here for a rally fronted by Harry Belafonte.

Tracy Chapman sang of a man finally finding freedom. Judy Collins spoke of his amazing grace. Billy Joel was publicly thanked for providing the

sound stage and crew to man the electronics.

The event, with tickets priced up to \$500 (about R1 250), raised \$250 000 (about R625 000).

Megabucks were collected from fund-raising parties at the Upper East Side townhouse of Arthur Krim, head of Orion Pictures, and at Robert de Niro's Tribeca film production headquarters. Guests were each charged a minimum of \$2 500 (about R6 250). The glitzy soirees attracted Paul Newman, Al Pacino, Eddie Murphy, Spike Lee, Denzel Washington and Steve van Zandt of Bruce Springsteen's E Street Band. — Daily Telegraph

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is at the centre of an embarrassing row over claims that it is to buy a multi-million dollar computer from IBM, the No 1 target for American anti-apartheid groups in their campaign to intensify economic sanctions against South Africa.

## ANC buying computer system from IBM?

quarters would amount to a direct snub to the pro-ANC groups organising Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to the US. It would also undermine Mr Mandela's crusade for the maintenance of sanctions.

South Africa have said that the ANC has invested in an IBM system to hold records of the million or so members it hopes to recruit.

However, on Saturday an ANC press officer denied the movement was buying US equipment. — Sunday Telegraph

BOSTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela met three of his and his wife Winnie's grandchildren for the first time on Saturday, but a "disappointed" daughter from a previous marriage was excluded from the family reunion.

Ms Makaziwe "Maki" Mandela-Amuah, 36, one of three children from Mr Mandela's first marriage, said that up until Friday she had planned to see her father during

## Disappointed daughter says father 'strange'

his Boston visit.

But on Friday, she said, she had been excluded, "whether by him (her father) or whoever, I don't know — the message came to my husband".

When pressed to explain why she had been excluded, she said: "That is a question that should

be addressed to my father."

Ms Mandela-Amuah, a mother of three, said she thought it was ironic that a man who seemed to be opening his heart to the world had not also opened it to her. "He is strange," she said. — UPI



GREETING ... Mr Mandela reaches out to a small girl who was on hand to greet him as she stepped off the plane in Boston on Saturday.

Picture: REUTERS

# Labour bill: Call for go-ahead

C. Times  
25/6/90  
*[Signature]*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Weekend statements from Sasol and BTR Dunlop mean that every major company whose "objections" to proposed amendments to labour law were cited by Minister of Manpower Eli Louw as reasons for delaying the introduction of legislation, has now called for the process to go ahead.

This emerged as Cosatu announced it had decided on Friday to accept the invitation from President F W de Klerk to meet him, along with Nactu, Saccola and the Manpower Department to discuss the matter.

Mr Louw told the three parties to the Labour Relations Act accord (Cosatu, Nactu and Saccola — CNS) two weeks ago that comments received by the National Manpower Commission (NMC) indicated the time to study the proposals was too short.

He cited Sasol, BTR Dunlop, Eskom, Gold Fields, law firm Deneys Reitz and Unisa as having made such submissions.

Manpower director general Mr Joel Fourie yesterday repeated the depart-

ment's defence of delaying the introduction of legislation, and added hundreds more objections had been received after the official May 23 closing date for submissions to the NMC.

BTR group industrial relations manager Mr Glen Sutton said that following consultations with the Natal Chamber of Industries "it appears that our concerns on the interpretation of the CNS agreement have been allayed by certain assurances given to the chamber by the chairman of Saccola, and on this basis our submissions of June 5 become inappropriate."

Sasol noted a letter from managing director Mr Paul Kruger to Saccola's Mr Bobby Godsell last week in which he thanked Mr Godsell for "bringing to our attention" that the NMC recommendations did not propose immediate passage of two clauses of the agreement and draft Bill which were Sasol's main concern.

Meanwhile, NMC acting chairman Mr Frans Barker announced public hearings this week from June 28 to 29, in its broader investigation into consolidating the Act.



KENNEDY HONOUR ... US Senator Edward Kennedy presents a bust of the late president John F Kennedy to Mr Mandela as Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis (centre) widow of JFK looks on at the Kennedy Library in Boston on Saturday. The Mandelas arrived in Washington yesterday. There the focus of the ANC deputy leader's visit will be on policy, especially the ANC's desire that the US maintain — or even strengthen — economic sanctions. Picture: REUTERS



ABOVE: Tracy Chapman greets Mr Mandela as his wife, Winnie, greets singer Judy Collins at the Yankee Stadium. BELOW: ABC Nightline anchor Ted Koppel makes a point to Mr Mandela during a taping of a TV interview.

Picture: REUTERS



View of  
culture as  
struggle  
'can limit'

Staff Reporter

THE narrow application of the concept of "culture as a site of struggle" may well serve to impoverish and limit cultural and artistic experiences, Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape said yesterday.

He was delivering the opening address at "People's Youth Arts Festival" at the Baxter Theatre.

Professor Gerwel said after former ANC exile Mr Albie Sachs' widely discussed paper on culture, people were wary of glibly speaking of culture as a "site of struggle".

"Heeding Albie's warning does not however mean that we are saying that there is no longer struggle, that the need to struggle is over, or that culture was working to compensate or cannot be part of that struggle."

About 5 000 young people will participate in the festival.

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CAPE TOWN 25/6/90

# 18 shacks razed in Khayelitsha violence

Staff Reporter ~~3/10/90~~ 119

**MORE** than 18 shacks were yesterday razed at Site C, Khayelitsha in on-going violence.

Nobody was injured in the fire which was caused by "suspected incendiarism" said a spokesman for the city fire brigade.

Four fire engines and a water tender rushed to the blaze which started after 1pm and soon brought it under control.

A wood and iron shop was apparently torched at L Block in Site C, about 2am yesterday morning while a large group of men were seen massing in the vicinity.

There have been sporadic battles between supporters of the community councillors and their opponents in Khayelitsha.

A local police spokesman said the incident would be contained in today's unrest report.

## s the boot

# When the SACP comes in from the cold

11A

Sowetan 25/6/90

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) has opted to come in from the cold - but its leadership has opted to remain in the shadows in Zambia.

Announcing that the SACP would henceforth operate openly as a political party, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was forced to admit that the

## the cold

party's anonymous ruling central committee would continue to pull the political strings.

Slovo said that when the SACP has its coming out party in Soweto on July 29 a group of "internal leaders" would

be presented to the people.

Questioned on just what power the "internal" leaders would have, he explained that while they would have a degree of autonomy they would nevertheless remain responsible to the party's central committee - which would remain in exile.

### Broederbond

This would seem to have prejudiced any credibility as "leaders" for those who will be presented to the people on a platform at Soccer City.

Slovo categorically refused to reveal the identities of the faceless men and/or women on the "central committee" who

will hold the real power and remain the real leaders of the SACP.

While expounding at length on the idea that the SACP had at no time aimed to become a "Broederbond" within the ranks of the ANC or any other organisation, Slovo at the same time dismissed questions on the identity of SACP members said to dominate the ruling National Executive Committee of the ANC, humorously finessing the question by saying that reports that "37 of the 35" NEC members were communists were "exaggerated".

Similarly he refused to indicate just how many members the SACP had at present.

By way of not answering that question he said that the new "open" SACP would not issue membership cards "to just anyone" who wanted to become a member.

**THE South African Communist Party has announced it is to re-enter the mainstream of South African politics after being banned for 40 years. But whether it will do so openly or in disguise remains an unanswered question, writes Ken Vernon of the Sowetan Africa News Service.**

who merely sympathised or were "bystanders".

Instead the party would aim to recruit people of "calibre" who were prepared to be activists in an attempt to operate in the area somewhere between being a populist party and a vanguard party.

### Democracy

While endorsing multi-party democracy, Slovo refused to say whether the SACP would be prepared to fight a general election and attempt to win political power in its own right.

It was too early, he said, to say if the SACP would field candidates against the ANC or would stand in the elections as part of the alliance with the ANC.

This scenario would seem set to continue until at least July 1991, when Slovo said the party would be holding a con-

gress in South Africa at which a new central committee would be "democratically" elected.

This raised the point that the identities of the present central committee - and other leading members - may never become known.

If this is so, then it will be possible for present SACP central committee members who are also present members of the ANC executive not to ever have to reveal their dual membership.

### Vanguard

Under those conditions it would be possible for them to continue to act in a "broederbond" - to use Slovo's words - mode on behalf of the SACP within the ANC after the "democratic" election of a new slate of SACP leaders next year.



JOE SLOVO

It would seem that, contrary to Slovo's words, the SACP may be aiming to remain what it has been for some time - an elite "vanguard" party in the Leninist mould, led by the faceless central committee manipulating issues and events under cover of the mass-appeal African National Congress.

# Exiles are longing



Exiles will find that some things at home have not changed, like this roadblock in Soweto recently.

## Thousands left to join ANC, PAC and BCMA



Last week a Diepmeadow councillor's house was petrolbombed and relatives of the family assisted with the cleaning. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

GABORONE - Twenty thousand black South Africans, who went into exile a generation ago after conflict with the white ruling class, are now on tenterhooks waiting for the signal to return home.

"We're carrying on life like we used to, but everybody's looking with big eyes waiting for that bell to ring," Snuki Zikalala told Reuters.

Pointing down the starlit eastern highway out of Gaborone to the frontier just 10km away, his wife Pinky added: "That's the road we'll be driving down when the day comes."

Snuki and Pinky, a doctor trained in Bulgaria, are among the stalwarts of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress watching sweeping political changes inside South Africa with increasing excitement.

### SAPA-REUTER

"There are 20 000 people like us waiting, mostly in Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Uganda," said Solly, a doctor trained in East Germany and now working in ANC camps in Tanzania.

"I'm ready for the call home."

Compulsory teaching of the Afrikaans language in black schools in the Zikalalas' home town of Soweto sparked off fierce riots in South Africa in 1976 and resulted in thousands of militant Sowetans fleeing the

country to join the liberation movements - the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

When black youths poured out of South Africa in the 1970s, they were encouraged to finish their schooling and many went into higher education in Soviet-bloc countries.

### Reforms

Now, encouraged by a wave of reforms which Pretoria's white President FW de Klerk has embarked on this year since parliament opened on February 2, they believe they will soon be able to put their skills to good use at home.

"I thought I would never see my native land again in my natural life," said Zikalala, who spent a decade in Bulgaria getting a doctorate in journalism.

"On February 2, that's when I began to believe in God."

De Klerk and Mandela, who was freed from jail in February after serving 27 years of a life sentence for plotting to overthrow white rule, have begun exploratory talks on negotiating a new constitution giving a share of political power to the voteless black majority.

One key ANC demand for entering formal negotiations is that the government issue a general amnesty, freeing all the

organisation's members from the risk of prosecution or imprisonment for their past activities.

A committee set up to look into the question has reported to the government but its findings have not yet been made public.

The ANC rank-and-file can only go home once the amnesty is in place.

### Rush

But they will not rush over the border as soon as the Pretoria Government gives them the green light, according to exiled physicist Lucas.

Lucas, who asked for his last name not to be published, said the exiles would wait for their own party bosses to tell them to go home.

# to return home

Sowetan 25/6/90 11A (207)

ANC offices were drawing up lists of members with information about their families inside South Africa. Lucas added, saying it would be difficult and dangerous to go back except under the ANC umbrella.

The organisation has already started seeking foreign aid to repatriate its members and find homes for them inside South Africa.

"I want to go home and start building up my life on a humble basis, as all intellectuals will.

"We're not going to go straight back to elegant houses, we will be starting at the beginning," Lucas said.

Lucas said he thought the returnees would be absorbed effortlessly into

the South African economy.

"There will be jobs. South Africa is suffering from a big brain drain so we will fit easily and properly into the machinery."

While they loiter in capitals and camps all over Africa, many of the foreign-trained intellectuals are looking for ways to avoid a repetition of the racial hatreds marred South Africa's past and present.

"We are against people being classified according to groups," Snuki Zikalala said.

Snuki wants to see the release of Barend Strydom, a young Afrikaner now on death row for the random shoot-

ing of blacks.

Strydom has become a cult hero among some extreme rightists, but Snuki says he, like the blacks, is a victim of apartheid.

"Now is not the time for revenge but for reconciliation," Snuki said.

"Our battle is no longer one of arms. Now we want to integrate with the Afrikaners."

He and his friends have a vision of mutual respect and understanding between different black nations and South Africa's white English and Afrikaans-speaking groups.

The Zikalala's three children, brought up in exile homes in Bulgaria and Botswana, started learning Afrikaans this year.

They say other exiles are doing the same.

"Before, we were against Afrikaans. Now that we've gone through a lengthy period of broad education, I personally feel that was an error," Snuki said.

"Although Afrikaans is a language of oppression, it's very important that we should respect the language and culture of other people.

"We want Afrikaners to respect our languages just as we respect their culture," he said.

Pinky Zikalala added: "The children find it difficult, but it seems to me that it's best to know what the next man along is thinking and saying about you."



Exiled singer Miriam Makeba returned home for a short visit to pray at her parents' graves and visit old friends and family. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

## Strydom is a victim of apartheid and must be released says exile

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Despite the political changes, life in the townships is still as dangerous as it ever was and assaults are common.



There are still too few recreation facilities in the townships. In Soweto, this jungle gym is too overcrowded to play on. Pic: LEN KUMALO



# 'Biko sacrificed on altar of political expediency'

(11A)

Sowetan  
23/6/90

RENEGADES are not the best advocates of the cause they have deserted, Azapo projects co-ordinator, Muntu Myeza, said recently.

He was reacting to the weeklong symposium in Harare

By Sowetan Reporter

on the legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. The symposium was chaired by the World Council of Churches' director,

Barney Pityana, himself a former exponent of the BCM philosophy.

Myeza said the organisers deliberately excluded Azapo and the BCMA from the symposium by inviting certain individuals within the organisation at the 11th hour.

"The study is intended to firmly fix in South Africa's history the very important contribution Biko made," Pityana added.

Myeza said: "It is a pity that some people sacrificed the most fulfilling experience of associating with Biko on the altar of political expediency."

## Refuse

Azapo and the BCMA have boycotted the "Biko" symposium and has urged participants to refuse that their works be published as a book about the impact of Biko's writings and work.

Pityana said from Sheraton Hotel, Harare, that Azapo and the BCMA were invited as long ago as 1988.

"The symposium aims to get a well-reasoned and carefully thought-out understanding of the historical impact of Biko and the BCM.

"The most unfortunate phenomenon was that even those who walked closely with Biko and mistakenly understood BC to be anti-white, later discovered that it was the most pragmatic, proactive and pro-black. Despite that they decided to become non-entities."

Pityana said the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism has consistently sided with the liberation movements fighting against white minority rule in South Africa.

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# Mandela now in DC

Sowetan 25/6/90  
IIA



NELSON MANDELA

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday travelled to Washington for meetings with President George Bush.

Mandela will also address a joint session of Congress, an extremely rare honour usually reserved for world leaders.

President Bush, while acknowledging legal constraints against lifting US sanctions

against South Africa, wants to find a way to acknowledge the progress President FW de Klerk has made.

During a three-day visit to New York Mandela was feted by some 750 000 people who lined the city's Wall Street business district for a ticker-tape parade and 40 000 more who packed Yankee Stadium for a rally on his behalf.

About 1,5 million dollars was raised for the black South African cause in New York and organisers were hoping another 500 000 dollars

would be collected in Boston, largely from a 5000 dollar per couple evening reception.

Mandela was also due to speak to a crowd estimated at about 250 000 at the Charles River Esplanade, where an all-day free concert was being held.

Mandela's extremely tight schedule, made tighter by his arrival two-and-a-half hours later than originally scheduled, gave short shrift to thousands of blacks who had gathered at a high school to meet him. Instead of the one-and-

a-half hours they had been promised, Mandela could spare

them only 20 minutes, disappointing 1 500 students and parents.

Mandela and Bush will meet today. - Sapa-Reuter.

ANC buys from blacklisted IBM

Sowetan 25/6/90

LONDON - The ANC in

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# 'ANC buys from blacklisted IBM'

Sowetan 25/4/9

LONDON - The ANC in South Africa is to buy a multi-million rand computer from IBM, a major target of US anti-apartheid campaigners, a London Sunday newspaper claims.

In a report from its Johannesburg correspondent, Fred Bridgland, *The Sunday Telegraph* says "computer industry and ANC sources" have confirmed that the ANC has invested in an IBM system to hold records of the million or so members it hopes to recruit.

The paper goes on to say that ANC Press officer Jill Marcus denied in Johannesburg that American equipment was being considered, adding: "To my knowledge, no choice or payment has been made." - Sowetan Foreign News Service.



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11A

# From black theatre to worker theatre - discussion

THE fourth session of the Afrika Cultural Centre's HIE Dhlomo Seminars in African Performance takes place at the ACC's Fordsburg base tomorrow at 11am.

Towards a critical appreciation of the last two decades of African theatre, from black theatre to worker theatre, is the topic that will be discussed by panelists Carol Steinberg, Benji Francis, Kaizer Nyatsumba and Ramolao Makhene.

Makhene and Steinberg are members of the newly-formed Performing Artists Workers Equity. Steinberg is also a lecturer at Wits while Makhene is a noted actor.

Francis is a theatre director and he heads the



Afrika Cultural Centre head Benji Francis.

Afrika Cultural Centre. Nyatsumba, a journalist and literary critic, is an official of the African Writers Association.

The spotlight will be on some of the theatre groups and personalities

prominent in the '70s and '80s: Gibson Kente, Afrika Cultural Centre, Junction Theatre Avenue, Maishe Maponya, Sarmcol Workers Cultural Co-operative, People's Experimental Theatre and Workshop 71.

Attention will be given to the themes, styles and forms of the plays that were produced then.

The limitations and successes of the plays, as well as problems that have plagued African Theatre in the last two decades, will also be examined.

Francis said: "The '70s are generally regarded as a watershed period in the development of African theatre in South Africa.

"African theatre before the '70s produced notable playwrights such as HIE Dhlomo and groups like The Serpent Players, but theatrical activities tended to be sporadic then.

"It is only from that decade that we see the large-scale growth of African theatre and its prominence in cultural and political activities.

"The development was the result of the importance given to the politics of culture in the Black Consciousness Movement, the United Democratic Front and the labour movement.

"The plays produced in the '70s and '80s, while informed by differing political orientations,



Gibson Kente: Under discussion at the Afrika Cultural Centre tomorrow.

South African 22/6/90  
were all characterised by apartheid and the a persistent exploration of resilience of oppressed the human impact of groups."

\* The Afrika Cultural Centre is at 56 Mint Road, Fordsburg.

EVIDENCE of African National Congress involvement in politically motivated murder is to be heard by the Harms Commission of Inquiry from August 20, it was ruled at the weekend.

Police ANC expert Maj-Gen Herman Stadler was to have delivered his evidence-in-chief at Friday's sitting but this was postponed following objections by the ANC's legal team that not sufficient time had been given to the teams to study the general's statement.

Gen Stadler's affidavit runs to more than 50 pages with more than 1 600 pages of annexure relating to ANC activities.

The affidavit was handed in last Wednesday and the commission chairman and sole member, Mr Justice Louis Harms, said he would rule

# Inquiry to hear ANC evidence

*Sowetan 25/6/90*



*11A*

whether Gen Stadler's evidence would be heard or delayed.

Following a meeting in the judge's chambers prior to last Friday's sitting the ANC was given until June 20 to file whatever documents they wish to regarding Gen Stadler's evidence.

The ANC leg of the Harms investigation is to follow legal argument concerning the allegations made against the SADF's sinister Civil Cooperation Bureau and then the allegations made by former



security policeman Butana Almond Nondela and Dirk Coetzee.

The whole ANC matter is to be dealt with in continuous sittings.

The ANC was represented on Friday by

**HARMS  
PROBE  
INTO  
HIT  
SQUADS**

veteran political trial advocate Mr George Bizos, SC.

Also at the session was Mr Eberhard Bertelsmann, for the David Webster Trust, who handed in an un-

signed affidavit from Jan Johannes Smith, a security policeman, who infiltrated far rightwing organisations.

The affidavit appeared in full in Friday's edition of the Afrikaans weekly newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*.

Mr Smith alleges he met CCB member, former SADF captain Gary Cornish, who said he was in possession of 500 R1 rifles with 5 000 rounds, 100 9mm pistols and seven RP4 rocket grenade launchers.



## Slam attacks - Inkatha

INKATHA'S central committee yesterday called on the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to publicly condemn recent attacks which razed the homes of Inkatha Women's Brigade leaders in Soweto and Durban. (AP)

The organisations, and specifically ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, were also asked to "withdraw from the politics of intimidation and confrontation which are calculated to produce violence in black politics". Soweto 25/6/90 (JIA)

Resolutions to this effect were taken at a central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend, Inkatha's Press statement yesterday said.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu were asked to "shame the violence irrespective of who was responsible" for last week's attacks on the West Rand home of Mrs Angelina Dhlomo, and the Durban home of Mrs D D Ngcobo. - Sapa.

# Inkatha marchers protest sanctions

ABOUT 1 000 Inkatha supporters marched through central Johannesburg on Saturday and presented a memorandum to representatives of the British and Italian embassies protesting sanctions on South Africa.

The Inkatha supporters were out in force, wielding knobkerries, assegais, spears and sticks in their self-styled march, dancing, whistling and toy-totyping on an open lot opposite the Jeppe railway station.

Tension mounted when some alleged Inkatha supporters threatened to assault nearby onlookers. An Inkatha supporter also told *Sapa* they were on the lookout for reporters of Johannesburg newspapers (*City Press* and *Weekly Mail*).

He claimed the two newspapers hated Inkatha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We are prepared for them. You (reporters) all

*Sowetan 25/6/90*  
favour ANC," he charged a *Sapa* reporter.

After receiving the memorandum from Inkatha Woman's Brigade chairperson, Ms I Ngwenya, Italian representative Mr Giuseppe Semenza said: "I will pass on the memorandum to my government so that their (Inkatha's) voice should be heard."

British vice-Consul Mr Clive Wright said: "My embassy will decide what to do with the memorandum."

The memorandum was handed over to the two representatives in front of the Johannesburg City Library in Market Street.

It read: "We equally applaud your appreciation of the fact that sanctions hurt blacks to an overwhelmingly greater extent than whites.

"We accordingly state our approval for the growing acceptance within South Africa of the urgent necessity of secur-

ing, through peaceful means, the formulation of a just, open multi-party democratic system."

Inkatha expressed its approval for the exploratory talks held recently between the ANC and the SA Government.



NELSON MANDELA

"We urge you to use your influence to ensure that future pre-negotiation talks and negotiations are open to include all representatives of all political organisations."

While the Inkatha supporters waved posters condemning ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, at the same time they urged the British and Italian embassies to encourage the ANC leader to honour an invitation for a meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"God giveth jobs: Mandela took away the jobs," said a poster. Another poster said: "Mandela belly full - we are hungry."

The demonstrators - waving the black, green, gold, red and white Inkatha flags - chanted *Shenge Shenge Shenge* as they marched down Commissioner Street from the railway station to the city centre.

Marchers, dressed in Buthelezi T-shirts, brought traffic to a standstill. - *Sapa*.



# PAC support is growing – Alexander

Own Correspondent

AS accusations and counter-accusations fly through the ranks of the Pan-Africanist Congress, general secretary Benny Alexander has dismissed speculation of a looming split.

In a wide-ranging interview in the PAC's Johannesburg headquarters, he said press reports of a bubbling internal controversy over the question of negotiations with the Government were "a storm in a teacup".

He also cautioned against comparing the strength of the PAC against that of the African National Congress "on the basis of how many offices we are setting up around the country".

He said: "... We are out there establishing branches. We are winning members away from them (ANC) — people are coming to us because they believe in what we stand for and feel the ANC leadership is selling out by talking to De Klerk."

The rumours about a looming split in the radical organisation — whose "one settler, one bullet slogan" is frequently aired at its meetings — were sparked by reports last week about a document said to contain PAC policy on the economy and negotia-

tions with the Government.

The reports claimed the PAC accepted that the "military force of the State" would be difficult to overthrow and that many blacks were "tired of waging war" and wanted to see a negotiated settlement.

The PAC document, which was released by Mr Alexander, drew angry criticism from the organisation's youth league, Azanian National Youth Unity which said the document was "contemptible" and directly opposed to PAC ideology.

Mr Alexander acknowledged there had been a "misunderstanding" in PAC ranks about the economic policy document, which had been circulated from the organisation's external wing only for "comment and debate".

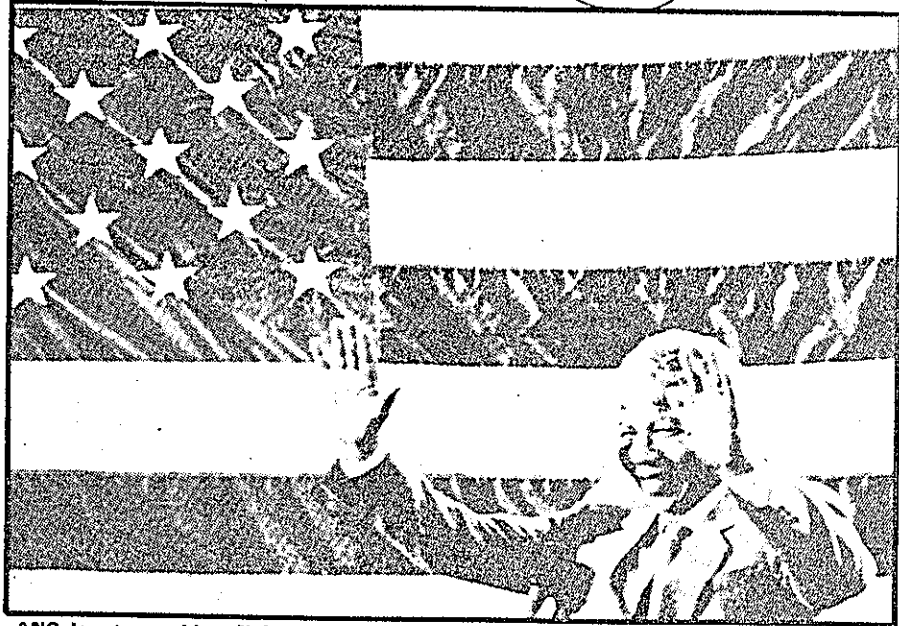
There has also been widely-reported dissent within the PAC's upper hierarchy over its continuing radical stance.

Prince Velekhaya Shange, the PAC's chairman for Natal, claimed that extremist positions within the PAC had led to a drying-up of foreign funding.

Mr Alexander pointed out that the PAC was often misunderstood because of a "conspiracy of silence between the Government and government-supporting media".

B/Dem 25/6/90

11A



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela responds to the cheering crowd during an address at John F Kennedy presidential library in Boston on Saturday.

Picture: REUTERS

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# SA will need massive injection of capital and skills, says

Mandela

BOSTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela tried on Saturday to allay fears that a post-apartheid SA would be unstable, saying he knew the business community needed confidence about the security of its investments.

Mandela, whom critics fear would support the nationalisation of SA industry, said his country would need a massive infusion of capital and management skills to rebuild after years of international sanctions.

"A post-apartheid democratic country will require massive economic and social reconstruction," Mandela, in the middle of a gruelling 13-nation tour, told a blue-ribbon crowd at the John F Kennedy presidential library, overlooking Boston har-

bour.

"At the same time a post-apartheid society will need improved productivity, but this can only be done if we have management skills, technology and risk capital," he said.

"But we are sensitive to the fact that investors in a post-apartheid SA will need confidence in the stability of the society which they are to build."

Mandela said it was the policy of racial segregation that was destabilising SA and that his people would not be satisfied with anything less than its total dismantling.

"They cannot be satisfied with piecemeal reform," Mandela said.

"Indeed it seems to us impossible to reform something that is inherently evil."

Mandela was speaking at a reception in his honour hosted by Senator Edward Kennedy and attended by Jacqueline Onassis, Joseph Kennedy Jr and other members of the Kennedy family, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis, Boston mayor Raymond Flynn and entertainers Tracy Chapman and Stevie Wonder.

Mandela has undertaken in six-week tour, despite recent bladder surgery, to press his message of continued pressure against the SA government and to raise at least \$6m for the ANC.

He plans to visit eight US cities in 11 days.

Mandela was due yesterday to travel to Washington for meetings with President George Bush who, while acknowledging

legal constraints against lifting US sanctions against SA, wants to find a way to acknowledge the progress President F W de Klerk has made.

Mandela, released from prison four months ago, will also address a joint session of Congress, an extremely rare honour usually reserved for world leaders.

During a three-day visit to New York, Mandela was feted by about 750 000 people who lined the city's Wall Street business district for a ticker-tape parade and 40 000 more who packed Yankee Stadium for a rally on his behalf.

About \$1,5m was raised for the black SA cause in New York and organisers were hoping another \$500 000 would be collected in Boston, largely from a \$5 000 per cou-

ple evening reception.

Mandela was also due to speak to a crowd estimated at about 250 000 at the Charles River Esplanade, where an all-day free concert was being held.

Mandela's extremely tight schedule, made tighter by his arrival two-and-a-half hours later than originally scheduled, gave short shrift to thousands of blacks who had gathered at a high school to meet him.

Instead of the 90 minutes they had been promised, Mandela could spare them only 20 minutes, disappointing 1 500 students and parents who had waited more than four hours in a sweltering gymnasium to see him. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Picture: Page 2

11A  
10 Aug 2 576/90

# PAC: Break down SA's Berlin Wall

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter *NG 25/6/90*

THE Pan Africanist Congress has listed several pre-conditions it wants to see implemented before it is willing to negotiate with the government.

Mr Barney Desai, PAC co-ordinator in the Western Cape, said in a recent meeting in Grassy Park that the movement supported peaceful negotiations which had a political settlement as its goal.

"We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system should be the goal of negotiations."

He listed the pre-conditions as:

- The release of all political prisoners and for exiles to be allowed to return home;
- The scrapping of the Population Registration, Land and Bantu Education Acts;
- The abolition of all security legislation inimical to free speech, assembly and a fair trial and an end to detention without trial;
- That the PAC and all in-

terested parties negotiate the mechanisms for a constituent assembly which will be elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote;

- A commitment from the government for the redistribution of resources to right the wrong done to the black masses; and

- That South Africa be governed as a unitary state on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

He told the Ex-Servicemen's Legion the PAC was calling on the oppressed people to continue the struggle.

He said: "If our conditions are not met those who negotiate will merely be party to their own oppression because they would be forced to make compromises unacceptable to our people."

The PAC wants to break down the Berlin Wall between different race groups in South Africa.

"We are not racialist, but we demand that our land be returned to us. We demand the right to self-determination so that together, irrespective of colour, we can build a just and caring society."

# Maki Mandela upset at 'missing' her father

From DAVID BRAUN  
in Boston

WHILE hundreds of thousand Bostonians opened their hearts and scrambled to touch Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend, one resident of the city nursed her hurt that she could not see him — his daughter, Makaziwe.

Mrs Makaziwe "Maki" Mandela Amuah (36) is one of three children by Mr Mandela's first marriage.

A student at the University of Massachusetts, she has been living in Boston with her husband and three children for five years.

She was admitted to the university after her father wrote to the chancellor asking for her admission in 1985.

Mrs Mandela Amuah flew to

South Africa to visit Mr Mandela in prison, their first reunion since he was arrested when she was four. She has not been in touch with Mr Mandela since he arrived in the US.

Up until Friday, the day before her father was to visit the city, she had been planning excitedly to meet him in Boston.

But only hours before his arrival, she told Boston newspapers, her husband got a message that she would not be welcome.

"Something happened on Friday that really made me decide it was best for me not to show my face. I have been excluded, whether by him (Mr Mandela) or whoever. I don't know," she said.

Mrs Mandela Amuah said if there was any explanation the answer should come from her father. 'It is



Maki Mandela

a question that my father could answer'.

When asked by the Associated Press whether she believed Mr Mandela's second wife, Winnie, might have wanted her to stay away because she is from a previous marriage, Mrs Mandela Amuah said: 'I would not like to think that'.

Instead of meeting her father, she

watched his arrival and movements around Boston on television and taped it on her video recorder.

She told the Associated Press she thought it was ironic that a man who seemed to be opening his heart to the world had not opened it to her.

Her husband, Mr Isaac Amuah, told the Boston Globe his family could still meet Mr Mandela at his hotel if circumstances changed before the end of the visit. Rooms in the hotel had been reserved for them.

A spokesman for the Boston tour organisers said Mrs Maki Mandela Amuah was invited to meet her father and take part in the proceedings during his visit. They could not comment on her remarks and reasons why she did not accept the invitation.

(A) 5/25/90

# Mandela still vague on economic plans

BOSTON — Nearly halfway through his US tour, Nelson Mandela basked yesterday in personal triumph but questions remain whether he can achieve his economic and social goals in a post-apartheid South African society.

Since arriving in the United States on Wednesday, the 71-year-old former political prisoner with the patrician bearing has been cheered as a hero by hundreds of thousands of people in New York and Boston.

On Saturday evening, Mr Mandela drew more than 250 000 admirers — most of them white — who chanted, danced to drum beats and waved the black, gold and green colours of his African National Congress on a grassy stretch beside the Charles River here.

"Apartheid is falling into pieces," he told the crowd, noting reforms instituted by President de Klerk since he released Mr Mandela from prison in Feb-

ruary after 27 years of a life sentence.

"We are on the eve of a great beginning, indeed, victory is in sight," Mr Mandela said.

But on his trip and during in interviews, he never has clearly spelled out what type of economic or political system he envisions if blacks win the vote and a black president is elected.

## Nationalist

Mr Mandela has denied he is a communist and calls himself a nationalist, but many people say they are puzzled by that term.

There have been suggestions he would nationalise some industries, but Mr Mandela has avoided any direct answer on this subject to date on his eight-city US tour.

Mr Mandela has big economic ambitions, suggesting on this trip that he wants South Africa to be a world-class international competitor.

But how is another question,

and he has not clearly allayed fears he would not nationalise industries.

He told American television interviewer Ted Koppel that he was not interested in economic models when asked about a post-apartheid system presumably ruled by blacks.

"We are not concerned with models. We are practical men and women," he added.

"We don't care if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice."

But Mr Mandela, showing he is aware of international concerns, also has attempted to assure governments and investors that the influx of funds needed for the South African economy in a post-apartheid system will be secure.

He told an audience at the John F Kennedy Library here that a post-apartheid nation would need a big infusion of foreign risk capital, managerial training and technology. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Stars sing for ANC leader

By David Braun,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

BOSTON — Big entertainment stars performed at various events in Nelson Mandela's honour in Boston at the weekend.

At a luncheon hosted by the Kennedy family, Stevie Wonder sang his latest song, "Keep Our Love Alive". He said he was inspired to write the song after hearing about Mr Mandela's release in February.

Wonder's royalties from the

song are to be donated to the African National Congress.

Later, at an outdoor rally on Boston's Esplanade, about 20 000 people heard Paul Simon and Ladysmith Black Mambazo sing "Amazing Grace" and a song from their "Graceland" album, "Homeless".

Johhny Clegg and Savuka were also among the dozen or so other acts which performed.

A choir sang "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" and when the crowd danced, Mr Mandela joined in by swaying and laughing.



Stevie Wonder . . . royalties to be donated to the ANC.

# Rosy vision of Cuba is challenged by IFF

Staff Reporter

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) ran a half-page advertisement in today's Washington Post newspaper, saying it was vital Americans knew how much Nelson Mandela's views differed from those who had fought for "real freedom" in Eastern Europe.

The advertisement is timed to coincide with Mr Mandela's arrival in Washington.

The advertisement quotes statements made by ANC deputy leader Mr Mandela since his release from jail in February.

They include his praise for the

Cuban government's "love for human rights and liberty" and his commitment to the armed struggle in South Africa.

The advertisement contrasts Mr Mandela's statements with those of Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel and Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa.

Under the heading "In Congress they championed freedom", the advertisement quotes addresses by both Mr Havel and Mr Walesa on the total failure of communism to solve problems, and the importance an approach of non-violence played in their struggles.

# PAC aims to create <sup>114</sup> 'just and caring' society

*CAN-Times 25/6/90*

Staff Reporter

**THE PAC** guaranteed human rights and not group rights, was not racist but demanded the right to self-determination so that together, irrespective of colour, a just and caring society could be built.

This was said on Saturday by Mr Barney Desai, co-ordinator of the Pan Africanist Congress during an address to the Ex-Serviceman's Legion at the Grassy Park Civic Centre.

"We are at one with the people of South Africa, to join together to negotiate and put an end to the apartheid system and agree on all measures necessary to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy."

The PAC called on the government to negotiate on the pre-conditions

that: South Africa be governed as a unitary state on the basis of universal adult suffrage; that all political prisoners be released forthwith and that exiles be allowed to return unconditionally; that the Land Acts be abolished, and that the Population Registration Act be scrapped.

Further, that the Bantu Education Act be scrapped and that all security legislation inimical to freedom of speech, assembly and a fair trial be abolished.

"That we, jointly with all interested parties, negotiate the mechanisms for constituent assembly, on the basis of one person one vote, to draw up a new constitution in order to give legitimacy to the concept government by consent."

# ANC frees spy Van Zyl after four years

25/6/90  
By Craig Kotze

The African National Congress has released a South African spy, the first to date, in accordance with the negotiation process begun at the recent Groote Schuur talks in Cape Town.

His release is part of on-going negotiations between the Government and the ANC on the issue of the freeing of political prisoners held in South Africa and the release of South African spies such as Odile Harrington and others in Zimbabwe.

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118  
The first spy to be released by the ANC is Billy van Zyl, The Star has learnt.

He arrived in South Africa at the weekend after spending more than four years in ANC detention.

He was also held at the ANC's Quatro detention camp in Angola, where SAP spies such as Olivia Forsyth, a security police lieutenant, were held.

Miss Forsyth, who has left the SAP, claimed she was tortured in Quatro, but it is believed Mr van Zyl was well treated in the camp.

Mr van Zyl is believed to also be a member of the SAP and its security branch.

He has been spotted in Port Elizabeth since his arrival back in South Africa.

The 27-year-old policeman infiltrated the ANC's intelligence department several years ago but was later suspected of being spy.

As the ANC could not prove he was a member of the security police, he was arrested and held at Quatro.

However, it is believed he later ad-

mitted to his captors that he was a police spy.

Mr van Zyl is understood to hold the rank of constable in the force.

Police have confirmed Mr van Zyl has arrived back in South Africa, but refused to provide more details.

A statement issued by the SAP Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said his return to South Africa was a result of the negotiation process begun at Groote Schuur.

"We have nothing further to add," a spokesman said.



Shot rebel was  
'loyal' to ANC

CAPE TOWN 25/10/70  
UMTATA. — The ANC dissident shot dead 10 days ago after returning home from 14 years in exile had still been committed to the organisation at the time of his death, according to his mother, Mrs Lillian Phungulwa.

She said Mr Siphon Phungulwa remained a loyal ANC supporter and recruited his younger brother and sister to the organisation.

Mr Phungulwa is believed to be one of the eight ANC dissidents who escaped from an ANC punishment camp in Tanzania earlier this year and exposed ANC atrocities there.

He was shot dead shortly after visiting the ANC offices in Umtata with another dissident, Mr Nicolaas Dyasop. Mr Dyasop survived the attack. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

11A

CH 7/1/73 25/6/40

# 18 shacks razed in Khayelitsha violence

Staff Reporter

MORE than 18 shacks were yesterday razed at Site C, Khayelitsha in on-going violence.

Nobody was injured in the fire which was caused by "suspected incendiaryism" said a spokesman for the city fire brigade.

Four fire engines and a water tender rushed to the blaze which started after 1pm and soon brought it under control.

A wood and iron shop was apparently torched at L Block in Site C, about 2am yesterday morning while a large group of men were seen massing in the vicinity.

There have been sporadic battles between supporters of the community councillors and their opponents in Khayelitsha.

A local police spokesman said the incident would be contained in today's unrest report.

# Mandela creates waves for embracing men of violence

AP 6/25/90 11A

From DAVID BRAUN  
Argus Foreign Service  
in Boston

MR Nelson Mandela's public support for the leaders of Cuba, Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organisation continue to stir waves in the United States.

Mr Mandela told ABC's Ted Koppel last week he supported Fidel Castro, Muammar Gadhafi and Yasser Arafat because they had supported the struggle of the African National Congress. He Mr Arafat as a comrade in arms.

## USA TOUR

The three are, next to the leaders of Iran, probably America's greatest enemies. All three have been branded as international terrorists by the US government.

Mr Mandela has defended his views, saying he is not prepared to change his principles depending on whom he is talking to. That would not be worthy of a man who would lead a nation, he said.

## Terrorists

Mr Mandela's hosts have not raised the issue with him, nor do they intend to, it seems.

Massachusetts Governor Mike Dukakis said he did not agree with Mr Mandela's views on the three people but this was not relevant to his support for Mr Mandela or the ANC.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, said the issue would not be raised during State Department and White



**CHEERS:** Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges cheers in front of a large US flag outside the J F Kennedy Presidential Library in Boston.

House discussions with Mr Mandela.

There has, however, been a spate of newspaper comment about Mr Mandela's support for international terrorists which has taken a little of the gloss off his US tour.

In Boston on Saturday, the day Mr Mandela was in town, the conservative Boston Herald asked whether it was fitting to cover Mr Mandela with the glory he had received so far in the US simply because he spent 27 years in prison.

The newspaper said Mr Mandela did not go to jail as a peace-loving prisoner of conscience. He was jailed for crimes of sabotage and violence to which he openly confessed.

The newspaper said: "On the day he was finally freed, he went out of his way to underscore his continuing commitment to what he calls the armed struggle, but what has meant, in practice, the murder of innocent civilians.

"In the four months since then, Mandela has repeatedly met with, hailed, and embraced men of brutality.

"Mr Mandela's message, we fear, is a message of violence, not peace. That is not a message — and Mandela is not a man — whom King could have admired."

In the same newspaper, Mr Alan Keyes, the US ambassador to the United Nations between 1983 and 1985, said that if Americans bothered to scrutinise Mr Mandela's words of praise for Arafat, Castro and Gadhafi, their response would challenge the notion that Mandela is the champion of human rights around the world.

He said: "Fidel Castro is one of the worst violators of human rights on earth. Cuban jails have held political prisoners for almost as long as Mandela was jailed in South Africa... Gadhafi has been one of the chief sponsors of international terrorism. He is infamous for brutally murdering his political opponents."

"Whatever these men's reasons for supporting the ANC's struggle against apartheid, they have nothing to do with a commitment to human rights."

"Does Mandela mean to say that the people whom Castro imprisons and tortures, or whom Gaddafi has murdered, have less claim to human sympathy and simple justice than black South Africans," Mr Keyes asked.

He added oppression was oppression. Those who wished to be counted among the champions of human rights could not violate this principle simply because it served their own cause.

## Disturbing

Mr Keyes said Mr Mandela's position also raised serious doubts about whether his name should be linked with that of Martin Luther King in the pantheon of human rights champions.

His response could also have disturbing implications for South Africa's future, he said.

"If he truly believes that tyrants such as Castro and Gaddafi are human rights champions because of their support for the ANC, what of the ANC itself?"

"In his view, does its role in the struggle against apartheid justify the murder of political opponents and repression of those who disagree with ANC ideas or tactics," he asked.

The evil in apartheid would indeed be triumphant if the struggle against it became the pretext for praising and perpetuating tyranny and repression, he said.

# Mandela in Washington talks

# 'Bush backs me'

CAPT TMT'S  
26/6/90  
114  
①  
②

**Own Correspondent**  
**WASHINGTON. —** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela emerged from a historic meeting with President George Bush yesterday, to claim that they have reached agreement "on almost all issues" regarding South Africa.

He and Mr Bush had a very fruitful two-hour discussion in which they had narrowed gaps, Mr Mandela said, adding that he was "very encouraged" by the US president's support.

Earlier, he had told reporters on the White House lawn that he would brief Mr Bush on the "key role" of the ANC in South Africa and that President F W de Klerk could not maintain his position in the country without the ANC.

"I am going to urge President Bush not to do anything without full consultation with the ANC, in regard to any initiative which he might propose to take in order to help the peace process in the country.

"As people who are operating inside, and as people who are the architects of the peace process, it is absolutely necessary for everyone who wants to lend assistance to the struggle of the black people inside the country and who wants to help promote the peace process, to have full consultation with the ANC before any step is taken." Mr Mandela said that the

ANC had started important initiatives "in trying to mobilise the white community, not only those who support (Mr De Klerk), but even the right wing, because we are the only organisation in the whole world that can help Mr De Klerk to maintain his position".

Mr Bush's views on the armed struggle were "due to the fact that he has not got a proper briefing from us".

Mr Mandela said he would urge Mr Bush to maintain sanctions.

In his welcoming remarks Mr Bush made it clear he did not fully share the ANC's belief in sanctions and stressed that the US was "committed to the concept of a free market and a productive private sector".

"We applaud the recent steps President De Klerk and the government of South Africa have taken to expand the rights and freedoms of all South Africans."

Mr Bush indicated that he remained strongly opposed to disinvestment and would "continue to urge American firms that are still doing business in South Africa to play a progressive role in training and empowering blacks, and building a foundation for future prosperity".

Citing Dr Martin Luther King, Mr Bush called on "all elements in South African society to renounce the use of violence and armed struggle, and break free from the cycle of repression and violent reaction that breeds nothing but more fear and suffering".

Mr Mandela was the man in the eyes of millions around the world who stood against the system of apartheid, which was



**HISTORIC MEETING** ... ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela outside the White House after talks with President Bush.

Picture: REUTERS

10 page 30

P.T.O

ask Charge me  
on Stompie  
— Winnie

ONE TIME 26/6/80 11A 26/6/80

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — She would welcome being charged in the murder of Stompie Moeketsi so that she could appear in court to defend herself, Mrs Winnie Mandela said on national television here yesterday.

Appearing on Phil Donahue's popular morning talk show, Mrs Mandela claimed the police investigation of the "so-called offence" had not been intended to establish the facts but to "destroy the image" of the Mandela family.

"I look forward to being called as a witness".

Donahue asked her whether she might have physically shaken Moeketsi if she had had reason to believe he was a government informer. She replied she did not even "shake my fist at him".

"I am a social worker . . . I would have had better methods of dealing with the situation if it had been addressed to me."

Mrs Mandela also said black schools were legitimate "military targets" because they were government facilities and provided inferior education.

She admitted that she harboured considerably more bitterness towards "the Afrikaner ruling class" than her husband.

"I am much angrier than him. I have found it very, very difficult to believe in the sincerity of the ruling class . . . He finds it difficult to convince me."

# The Mandela riddle: plain expedience or dangerous lullaby?

SIMON BARBER in Washington

B/Day 26/6/90

11A

which "law . . . should rule supreme", I want to believe he is genuinely speaking the language of Jefferson and that I have not missed any hidden code words that might suggest otherwise.

On economic models, I want to believe him when he says that labels must be discarded and that "we do not care whether the cat is black or white as long as it can catch mice"; that the only criteria must be the correction of long imbalances and delivery on freedom's promises; that "if anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the questions of nationalisation will not for us be an option at all".

I want to believe that "it is not possible for the ANC to have any specific economic policy" because it is not a party but "has always been a parliament of the black people" comprised of many of many different viewpoints, "conservatives and progressives, people who support the capitalist system and those who want socialism".

All this I want to believe. Such is the man's awesome ability to command respect, that there are times when it is almost impossible not to. Luckily, there are times when he himself comes to the rescue.

In a televised meeting at the Council on Foreign Relations, Midge Decter, a leading neo-conservative convert, put to him the following question: "History has taught us there is no transition more difficult than that from a revolutionary force to a governing party. Assuming that your aspiration is achieved for a one man, one vote SA, which would clearly mean a government in which the ANC had a preponderance of power — what are your ideas about the means and mechanisms for ensuring individual personal liberty for those, black and white, who are opposed, and will be opposed, to your policies?"

Mandela answered by disputing the history lesson. "We expect no difficulties" in the achieving the transition from liberation movement to government. The meat of the question he ignored.

is the adherence sincere or, as I want to believe, an expedient gesture to soothe his movement's more radical elements lest they conclude, rightly, that he no longer approves the use of terror?

I want to believe that he permits his wife to shout "Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe" to adoring New Yorkers and to say she will "return" to the bush to "fight the white man" should negotiations collapse, not because he remains committed to the armed struggle, but to reassure those who do; and that, by avoiding such rhetoric in his own speeches, he is trying to delineate himself as a man of peace who must be heeded if SA is to be saved from the young lions.

I want to believe that his call for the maintenance of sanctions is similarly expedient; that behind closed doors he has intimidated to foreign businessmen that he doesn't really want them to leave SA despite his best efforts to energise the sanctions lobby against them; that he really believes, as he told one interviewer, that sanctions put pressure on both government and the ANC to come to terms as fast as possible, because neither wants to see the economy wrecked.

This conjures the interesting image of his telling his colleagues at

some point when negotiations begin to stall: look, gentlemen, we must concede on point x or y because if we don't, the sanctions I have succeeded in getting the world to retain will undermine us as much as the government by making it impossible to fulfil the expectations of the people.

I want to believe, too, that his summons "keep the pressure on" and the all but inevitable obedience of most Western governments is intended not merely to strengthen the ANC's hand at the negotiating table, but to give Mandela himself and his like-minded adjutants the space to compromise, build bridges with the white community and say, as nobody in the anti-apartheid movement has said before, that the NP's leaders are men of "integrity" and "honesty" who "will abide by agreements that are arrived at in the course of our negotiations and discussions".

I want to believe him when he tells the UN General Assembly that "the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one party over another"; when he says "no solution is possible . . . without the involvement of Chief Buthelezi" and slyly

shifts the blame for the Natal violence onto government for not having deployed its "strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force" to "suppress" the conflict.

When he speaks of government acting "together with us and all other representative political forces to bring about a new reality", I want to believe that he sincerely acknowledges that there are such things as "other representative political forces" beyond the aegis of the ANC and that, henceforth, he will fight any attempt to eliminate them or otherwise dissuade their supporters from expressing themselves.

I want to believe his apparent flexibility on how the negotiators of a new constitution should be selected, and that, as he suggested to the New York Times, he is not bound by the Harare Declaration's demand for a constituent assembly.

"I'm not concerned with terminology at the moment. What concerns me is substance . . . how the people who are entrusted with the task of considering a new non-racial constitution should be identified, that's what concerns me."

When he invokes the vision of a constitution and justiciable bill of rights which ensure "the genuine liberty of every individual" and under

THE encomiums heaped on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as he tours the US are beyond extravagant. They have begun to approximate the obscene titles accorded the great totalitarians, Stalin, Mao and Ceausescu, by their acolytes. In this instance, happily, the phenomenon is a reflection not on the idol, but on his idolators. Behind the nauseating fog of adulation, lies, without question, an extraordinary man.

What remains to be teased out is whether he is a genuine democrat or, like so many leaders of liberation movements who have come here before him, the beguiling salesman of one-party tyranny. Does he mean to transcend and redirect the intolerant instincts of an organisation whose members murder dissent? Or is he merely exploiting the uncritical reverence of his foreign worshippers to strengthen the organisation's hand in pursuit of sole power?

After a week of hanging on his words, I join President F W De Klerk in wanting to believe the former yet cannot shake suspicion of the latter. Perhaps Mandela's multiple contradictions are indeed designed to conceal his true intentions from those already crying "sell-out". But then again, perhaps they are a lullaby for the friends of the open society.

I want to believe that his refusal to criticise Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat — or even to find a formula of words to avoid triggering the neuralgia these men provoke in most Americans — is evidence not of his admiration or desire to emulate them, but rather of his firm allegiance to principle. They supported the ANC. He is honour-bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told TV anchorman Ted Koppel: "A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is dealing is not a man who can lead a nation."

The question, of course, is: to which principles does he refer? Simple loyalty to old friends? Or continued adherence to the political philosophies of those friends? If the latter,

# SOWETAN

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# A warm



*Sowetan 26/6/90*

# welcome

## ... but Mandela, Bush differ on violence

**WASHINGTON - United States President George Bush welcomed Nelson Mandela to the White House yesterday and urged him to renounce violence.**

But the ANC's deputy president reserved the right to use any tactics necessary to end apartheid.

"We must see on all sides a clear commitment to change.

"All parties must seize the opportunity to move ahead in a spirit of compromise, tolerance, flexibility

### SAPA-REUTER

and patience ... I call on all elements in South African society to renounce the use of violence and armed struggle," Bush said in the White House Rose Garden.

But Mandela, speaking without notes, countered that the tactics of his ANC and other South African blacks would be determined by the attitude of his country's white minority Government.

"When a government decides to ban political organisations of the oppressed, intensifies oppression and does not allow any political activity no matter how peaceful and

non-violent, then the people have no alternative but to resort to violence," Mandela said.

Mandela, who was released from jail in February after more than 27 years, said Bush had not been properly briefed on the role of violence in the struggle against apartheid.

But he said there would be no need to use violence as long as the Government of President FW de Klerk remained committed to dismantling the apartheid system.

The differing viewpoints on armed resistance were illustrated starkly by Mandela's wife, Winnie, who said on Sunday night that

● To Page 2

# VERS

## Mandela and Bush meet

● From Page 1

Pretoria was ready to deal only because of the black South Africans' willingness to take up arms.

"Were it not for the military wing of the ANC, Pretoria would never have agreed to be talking to us today," she

said. Mandela, who came here after tumultuous welcomes in New York and Boston, said he would ask Bush to maintain United States economic sanctions and other pressure on Pretoria. "It is because of sanctions that such enormous

progress has been made in the attempt to address the problems of our country," he said.

Bush offered a strong denunciation of apartheid, calling it "repugnant to the conscience of men and women everywhere".

But he also "applauded" as "positive develop-

ments" De Klerk's pledge to bring blacks into South Africa's political system.

The President also said he would be ready to consult with Congress about lifting economic sanctions once Pretoria fulfilled the requirements laid out under United States law.

*26/6/90*  
*11A*



NATION BUILDING The power is in your hands

If you think of something you could do to make your community a better place to live in - why not do it creatively.

# The Creative Act

A SERIES ON COMMUNITY PLAY-MAKING FOR EVERYONE

This is the fourth article in our news series, *The Creative Act*, which appears in *Sowetan* every Tuesday. It discusses the methods, problems and issues involved in the making of theatre.

Benji Francis

Bheki Peterson

## MAKING HISTORY MAKING CULTURE

We suggested in our last discussion that we can speak of culture on two basic levels: firstly, culture, in its broadest context, refers to all human activity and ideas that contribute to our struggle to create the means of life and to make sense of our world. Secondly, culture in its narrow modern view is used to refer to intellectual and artistic activities. In *The Creative Act* we will be dealing mainly with art as culture but it is important to keep in mind that artistic activities are part and parcel of our broader culture. What is also important to bear in mind is that culture is not something that is simply located in the past or on some metaphysical level. The essence of our cultural endeavours is to transform our societies so that they meet our human needs and wants. And the most immediate "act of transformation" that we are engaged in is that of political struggle.

The African continent has been in conflict and transition for hundreds of years because of its conquest by European countries. The new colonial powers were not simply content with physically colonising Africa, they proceeded to attack its cultures and, finally, altering or replacing them with values, beliefs and socio-political practices consistent with European values and colonialism. Apart from the daily violence and humiliation brought by colonialism, the major instruments used to create a sense of inferiority in Africans were religion, education and art. At mission schools we were presented with ideas and images which kept on screaming at us that, before colonialism, we were 'primitive pagans' without any history or 'civilisation.' In short, the denial of history is the denial of culture.

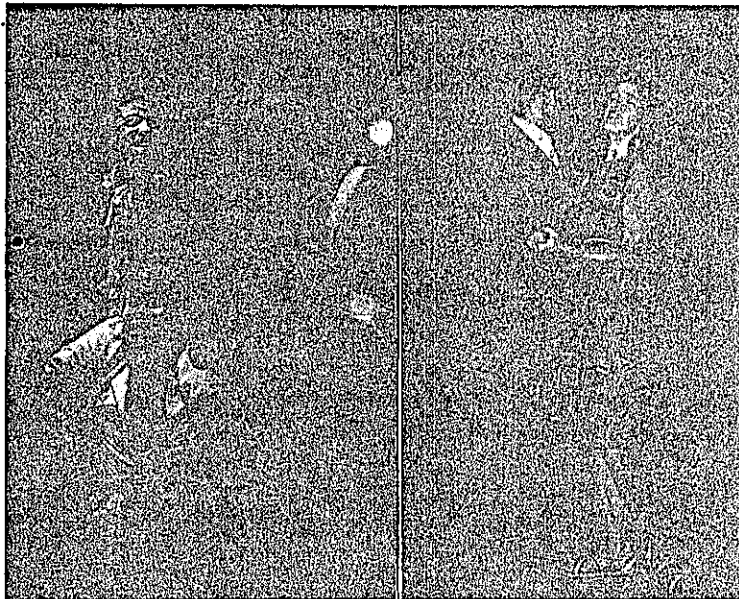
It is not surprising then that national liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere, despite their different origins and social impacts, have been identified as the organised political expression of the culture of oppressed communities. In other words, the struggle for national liberation is an act of culture. The independence struggles have had as their objectives the right of African countries to control their own destiny, to make their own history. The process of making history requires one to be able to define one's own worldview and identity, and, create one's own social and political structures and prerogatives. In short, making history is making culture.

It is important to realise that by participating in artistic activities we are not limiting our under-

standing or involvement in our broader culture. On the contrary, the significance of good art is precisely its ability to concretely present us with the thoughts, conflicts and issues that characterise our cultural and historical experience. Through our songs, dramas, sculptures and literature we can recreate our past and show our readers and audiences that Africa, before colonialism, to quote the writer Chinua Achebe, was not trapped in "one long night of savagery from which the first Europeans, acting on God's behalf, delivered us." We can confront our current dilemmas and give alternative explanations to those given by the forces in power. Art then becomes a voice to the powerless.

The elements of culture that we have mentioned in the

past few weeks - history, language, customs, traditions, education, science, and so on - are all expressed and reflected, in one way or another, in our artistic activities. The conflicts that we noted between 'popular' and 'resistance' culture and the different forms of the dominant western culture are just another expression of the crises in our political lives and organisation. Our struggles to create theatre in the midst of poverty, harassment and censorship, to find venues for performances and the means to make work for ourselves are all extensions of the struggles for democracy and the means of life. So when we examine the nature of our art, the way it is socially practiced, its styles and contents, its strengths and weaknesses, we get a deep sense of our history, politics and culture.



Images of our history as seen through the theatre.

### How to work through the series

Each week we will set posers and tasks for you to work through practically. To *Act*! Do! Each week you should take this page into your work space (any space that allows the group privacy and movement to explore creative ideas) and engage in the tasks set out. Discuss *The Creative Act* page and evaluate its content and suggestions. The series will lead you, as you work with your group, to create your very own play. If you have comments, questions or want back copies of *The Creative Act* write to us at: *The Creative Act* P O Box 42705, Fordburg 2033. You can also call us at (011) 838-3034.

## BUZZZZ WORDS

In the Buzz words space we give explanations of difficult or new words used in our series. You may know some of the words but we will be using them in new ways. This week's buzz words are:

metaphysical: the search for an understanding of existence and knowledge which has a tendency to become so abstract that it loses connection with historical reality

transform: to make a large change in the character of something

prerogative: the rights belonging to a person or community.

Chinua Achebe: Contemporary Nigerian writer who has written a number of novels exploring past and current African issues.

Critically discuss in your group the four *Creative Act* pages that have been presented so far. Discuss a play or novel/poem, etc. that you have recently seen or read in the context of the articles. Consider the ways in which your choice of material confirms or refutes the ideas in the articles.

Read any African Literature text that deals with the pre-colonial period such as *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe.



The next phase of our series will deal more directly with theatre. Next week we will consider theatre as an art form.

MID-YEAR WORKSHOP: 4-6 JULY 1990

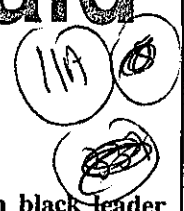
A three day practical workshop on performance and play-making. Interested persons and groups must confirm their attendance by phoning the Afrika Cultural Centre at 838-3034. These workshops will run from 9am to 4pm each day.





# Mandela slams US aid for the Unita rebels

Southern 26/6/90



WASHINGTON - South African black leader Nelson Mandela, in his first major criticism of Washington since beginning a triumphant US tour, condemned the United States on Sunday for supporting rebels fighting to topple the Angolan government.

Mandela said both nations were obliged to respect the independence and sovereignty of Angola and not throw their weight behind rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, whose group known as Unita, has been fighting the Leftist Angola government since independence.

"The United States of America and South Africa are the main countries that supported Savimbi," he told a news conference for African-American media.

"We strongly condemn this because ... independent countries should respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and no assistance should be rendered to Savimbi," he said.

Mandela said the subject had not come up during his current discussions with the South African President FW de Klerk but if his African National Congress and

the Government reached a settlement "we will not tolerate that South Africa should be involved in operations of this nature."

The United States has stepped up aid to Savimbi in recent years following South Africa's announced withdrawal of military support, funnelling many of the weapons through Zaire.

## Oil

On the other hand US oil companies work closely with the Angolan government in extracting oil from Cabinda province.

On the eve of his visit to President George Bush, Mandela would not say what he planned to discuss or whether Angola would be included in the meeting the White House says will be to review negotiations between the ANC and the South African government and how the US will support these talks. - Sapa-Reuter.

## Another row over PLO

ANOTHER showdown between the SA Jewish Board of Deputies and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is expected, after Mandela's recent statements in Boston in support of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

The SAJBD yesterday reiterated its continued support for the State of Israel and disclosed further details of its meeting with Mandela on June 3 this year. (11A)

At the June 3 meeting, the SAJBD said, it was pointed out to Mandela that the South African Jewish community condemned "the shameful United Nations resolution which equated Zionism with racism".

"Mr Mandela, for his part, stated quite unequivocally his and the ANC's unswerving opposition to racism and anti-semitism in all its forms." (11A)

The Board said Mandela had stated that he recognised Israel's right to exist within secure borders and that the comments attributed to him relating to the PLO should be placed in the context of the political and financial support the PLO had given the ANC. - Sapa

Source for 26/6/90

Star 26/6/90

(11A)

## SACP to be ruled from Zambia?

The South African Communist Party has announced it is to re-enter the mainstream of South African politics after being banned for 40 years. But whether it will do so openly or in disguise remains an unanswered question, writes **KEN VERNON** of The Star's Africa News Service.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) has opted to come in from the cold — but its leadership has chosen to remain in the shadows in Zambia.

Announcing that the SACP would henceforth operate openly as a political party, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was forced to admit that the party's anonymous ruling central committee would continue to pull the political strings from outside the country.

Mr Slovo said that when the SACP had its coming out party in Soweto on July 29, a group of "internal leaders" would be presented to the people.

Questioned on just what power the internal leaders would have, he explained that while they would have a degree of autonomy, they would nevertheless remain responsible to the party's central committee — which would remain in exile.

Mr Slovo categorically refused to reveal the identities of the faceless men and/or women on the central committee who will hold the real power and remain the real leaders of the SACP.

While expounding at length on the idea that the SACP had at no time aimed to become a "broederbond" within the ranks of the ANC or any other political organisation, Mr Slovo at the same time dismissed questions on the identity of

SACP leaders said to dominate the ruling national executive committee of the ANC.

He said that reports saying most of the members of the committee were also members of the SACP were "exaggerated".

Similarly, he refused to say just how many members the SACP had at present.

By way of not answering that question, Mr Slovo said that the new "open" SACP would not issue membership cards "to just anyone" who wanted to become a member or any people who merely sympathised or considered themselves "bystanders".

### Vanguard

Instead, the party would aim to recruit people of "calibre" who were prepared to be activists in an attempt to operate in the area somewhere between being a populist party and a vanguard party.

While endorsing multiparty democracy, Mr Slovo refused to say if the SACP would be prepared to fight a general election and attempt to win political power in its own right.

It was too early, he said, to say if the SACP would field candidates against the ANC or would stand in the elections as part of the alliance with the ANC.

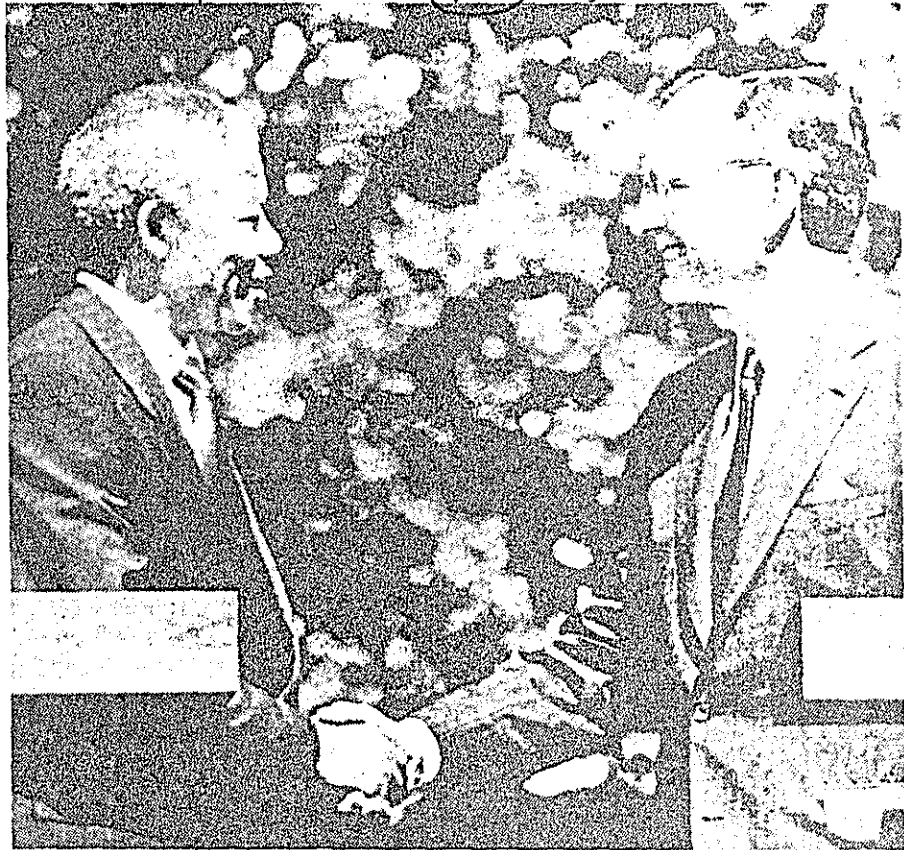
This scenario would seem set to continue until at least July 1991, when, Mr Slovo said, the party would be holding a congress in South Africa at which a new central committee would be "democratically" elected.

This raised the point that the identities of the present central committee — and other leading members — may never become known. If this is so, then it will be possible for present SACP central committee members, who are also present members of the ANC executive, not to ever have to reveal their dual membership.

In those conditions it would be possible for them to continue to act in a "broederbond" — to use Slovo's words — mode on behalf of the SACP within the ANC after the "democratic" election of a new slate of SACP leaders next year.

It would seem that, contrary to Mr Slovo's words, the SACP may be aiming to remain what it has been for some time — an elite "vanguard" party in the Leninist mould, led by the faceless central committee manipulating issues and events under cover of the mass-appeal ANC.

Monday 26/6/90 (11A)



President George Bush welcomes ANC leader Nelson Mandela to the White House after his arrival there yesterday. Bush urged Mandela to renounce violence, but Mandela reserved the right to use any tactics necessary to end apartheid.

Picture: REUTERS

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B/day 26/6/90  
11A  
Schools military  
targets' Winnie

(11A)  
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Black schools were legitimate "military targets" because they were government facilities and provided inferior education, Winnie Mandela said on US national television yesterday.

"The children have turned the schools into military targets," she said. This was in line with the dictates of the "armed struggle", in which she "totally believed".

Appearing on Phil Donahue's popular morning talk show, Mandela also said she would welcome being charged in the murder of Stompie Seipei so that she could appear in court to defend herself.

The police investigation of the "so-called offence" had been intended to "destroy the image" of the Mandelas.

Donahue asked her whether she might have physically shaken Seipei if she had had reason to believe he was a government informer. "I am a social worker . . . I would have had better methods of dealing with the situation if it had been addressed to me."

She insisted her infamous remark about liberating SA with the "necklace" had been taken out of context.

She admitted harbouring considerably more bitterness towards "the Afrikaner ruling class" than did her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Amid cheers from the highly partisan studio audience, she vowed that "if anything goes wrong, I will be the first to go back into the bush and take up arms and fight".

Defending the armed struggle, she claimed it had been fully blessed by the late ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli.

While Mandela last week talked of reconciliation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, his wife appeared adamant: Inkatha, she said, "works hand in glove with the government to kill opponents of apartheid".

B/Dam 26/6/90

# Schools 'military targets' Winnie

~~Simon Barber~~  
SIMON BARBER

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# Gap with Bush narrowed, says Mandela

WASHINGTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said he had held "a very fruitful discussion" with US President George Bush yesterday and had narrowed gaps with him to reach "agreement on almost all issues".

Emerging from the White House meeting, Mandela also said he was very encouraged by the support Bush had shown.

Before the meeting Mandela and Bush clashed politely on the White House lawn over the ANC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle and its demand to be treated as the sole authentic voice of opposition to apartheid.

In welcoming remarks as the leaders prepared for two hours of talks, Bush made

**SIMON BARBER**

it clear he did not fully share the ANC's belief in sanctions and said the US was "committed to the concept of a free market and a productive private sector."

"We applaud the recent steps President (F W) de Klerk and the government of SA have taken to expand the rights and freedoms of all South Africans."

Bush said he remained strongly opposed to disinvestment and would continue to urge American firms that were still doing business in SA to play a progressive role in training and empowering blacks and building a foundation for future prosperity.

On the question of easing the sanctions

contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, he said he was bound by the law's conditions and would consult Congress once he believed these conditions had been met.

He noted, however, that sanctions had been "designed to support change", suggesting he would not favour their maintenance for the additional purpose of supporting the ANC's negotiating demands.

Replying, Mandela said Bush's views on the armed struggle were because he had not been briefed properly by the ANC.

The ANC's support for violence was "determined by the SA government", he said. He then hinted, however, that the move-

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

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□ From Page 1

ment might be about to change its stance.

"As long as the government is prepared to talk, to maintain channels of communication between itself and the governed, there can be no question of violence."

Although this point had yet to be reached, there had been significant developments which he hoped to brief Bush about.

Bush, in turn, emphasised that the US did not intend to support any one party in the negotiations.

"We here in America walk in solidarity

with all the South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights and freedom."

Mandela countered by insisting that all US policy moves be made in full consultation with the ANC, which had the "key role" in moving SA towards a settlement.

Bush should not do anything to help De Klerk, least of all to lift sanctions.

"We are the only organisation in the world that can help Mr de Klerk maintain his position," Mandela said.

© Comment: Page 10

FORM 2

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ATLANTIS BUYERS' CO-OPERATIVE

# ANC calls for support of nationwide stayaway

THE ANC national executive committee (NEC) yesterday urged its supporters to observe a planned nationwide stayaway on July 2 and mass marches on July 7 called by Cosatu and the UDF.

Next week's action has been planned to protest against the continuing Natal violence and to demand an end to the state of emergency as well as the disbanding of the KwaZulu "bantustan" and the KwaZulu police force.

Another demand is that the former Namibia-based 32 Battalion be withdrawn from Natal.

In a statement, the NEC, which met the internal leadership for four days last week, supported the call for a national peace conference in Natal on August 4.

Expressing its solidarity with the victims of Natal violence, the NEC said it believed the government had failed to take effective steps to end the Natal violence.

"We are emphatic that KwaZulu, as a bantustan, and hence the KwaZulu police, is a creation of the government. The government therefore has a direct responsibility to stop the violence in Natal."

The ANC said the meeting received extensive progress reports from all

PETER DELMAR

regions concerning the establishment of branches, membership fees collected and the rate of recruitment of new members.

The ANC plans to work towards convening regional conferences in all of its 14 regions during the third quarter of this year.

In another statement timed to coincide with SA Freedom Day today, the ANC said at no time had its strength and "moral authority" been greater. "The question of political power, who wields it and how it is to be used, remains at the top of the political agenda."

The ANC said achieving the central objective of the Freedom Charter, "The People Shall Govern", had become more urgent.

Unemployment, poor health, education and working conditions, lack of housing and other inequalities convinced the ANC that the "white minority regime lacks the will to bring about meaningful change in our country".

"If such transformation is to have meaning for the vast majority of the oppressed, it must address the stark inequalities that separate black from white," it said.

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# Keep pressure on SA, Mandela to tell Congress

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service

11/19/90 26/6/90

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela addresses a joint meeting of the United States Congress today in what will be a critical speech in the most important American forum for determining how much longer South Africa must endure sanctions.

The historic speech by the first South African to be honoured by addressing a joint meeting of the House of Representatives and the Senate also will be heard by members of the Bush Cabinet and a large contingent of the Washington Press corps.

The African National Congress deputy-leader will adhere to the simple message he has spread in New York, Boston and Washington: keep the pressure on apartheid.

He is also likely to address the issues of the ANC's adherence to the armed struggle, which he says is no longer an issue because of an agreement with the South African government to suspend violence once final obstacles to negotiations have been cleared.

He also will talk about his broad vision of a future South Africa as a nonracial, non-sexist democracy in which there will be no domination of one race group over another.

Mr Mandela may deal also with the future South African economy in the broadest of terms, staying away from the word nationalisation and emphasising instead the need for a mixed economy and the creation of equal opportunities for all.

Mr Mandela knows the importance of his speech to Congress as it is this organ more than any other which determines US policy on South Africa.

● See Page 3.



**HISTORIC VISIT:** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie wave as they are escorted to the White House by President Bush and his wife Barbara.

## 'White House mission a success'

ARGUS 26/6/90 (114) (B)

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress's mission to the White House had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations, deputy president of the movement, Mr Nelson Mandela, said here.

At a Press conference yesterday at his Washington hotel after the close on three-hour meeting with President Bush (the meeting included a lunch in the White House family dining room), Mr Mandela said he had briefed the US leader as fully as possible on the latest political developments in South Africa and indicated what role the US could play in facilitating the peace process.

"We left the White House feeling that our mission had

succeeded. As I said in regard to the response by the people of New York and Boston, that even at the White House our mission succeeded beyond our wildest expectations," he said.

Mr Mandela said he had the distinct impression he and Mr Bush had narrowed the gaps that existed between them at the start of the meeting.

One gap he believed had narrowed was the question of the armed struggle. He had told Mr Bush this question was no longer an issue. The ANC had deliberately scaled down its armed operations when it in 1986 started urging the government to sit down and talk to it.

Also, in the Harare Declaration, the ANC had made it clear it would consider a cessation of hostilities once the government removed all the obsta-

cles to negotiation.

"When we explained this position, President Bush appeared to understand our position," Mr Mandela said.

Asked to list the remaining obstacles to negotiation, Mr Mandela said they were:

- The return of almost 20 000 political exiles;
- The release of almost 1 000 political prisoners;
- The repeal of repressive legislation which has been identified;
- The end to political trials; and
- The state of emergency to be lifted completely.

He said the ANC was hopeful that at its next meeting with the government these obstacles would be removed completely, with the exception of the re-

peal of repressive legislation. The ANC understood the legislation could not be repealed until the next session of parliament.

● State participation in the future South African economy would not be an option if there were better options than that to make the desired economic changes, Mr Nelson Mandela told US labour leaders last night.

He said the ANC would be careful in bringing about the changes in the sectors of the economy which it had identified.

"Firstly, if it can be shown that there are options other than state participation, we will go for that. And state participation will not be an option if there are better options than that," he said.

# 'UDF the main victims' - study

Own Correspondent

A study of violence which swept through the Edendale Valley earlier this year has revealed that virtually all the communities attacked were seen as pro-UDF. The study concluded that the attacks were clearly politically inspired and motivated.

Done by university researcher Vaughn John of the Centre for Adult Education, the study also found that entire communities were attacked and that many were great distances from the road running through Edendale.

"The phrase 'demography dictates' appears to have become horrifically true for these refugees," said Mr John.

In the study entitled "Pietermaritzburg's Refugees: A Profile", Mr John said the period Tuesday March 27 to Sunday March 31 was characterised by violence on an unprecedented level.

## Forced to flee

The devastation incurred in this short period resulted in 80 people dead, hundreds of homes razed and more than 14 500 people being forced to flee their areas and take refuge in parts of Edendale and some in the city itself.

The number of people displaced by this spate of violence has been estimated at at least 20 000, and part of the group has been absorbed by family and friends in neighbouring townships.

According to Mr John, during April and May details were collected from a number of residents in refugee centres in Edendale, Mason's Mill and Maritzburg, where even at the end of May there were still about 4 500 accommodated in churches, halls and schools.

"Because of the nature of the March attacks all these refugees can be considered to be non-Inkatha, in that they

fled from attacks by Inkatha supporters in the Vulindlela and the Table Mountain area," said Mr John.

He said that in this particular period, Inkatha refugees "could not have numbered more than a couple of hundred in the Maritzburg region".

An interesting departure from previous trends was that slightly more than half the refugees were women and the recent statistics of fatalities in the conflict had shown that the number among women had increased.

"The recent high proportion of female victims could show a change in war strategy and tends to characterise this spate of recent attacks as more determined and brutal," said Mr John.

The age distribution in the refugee sample was even more revealing and the study called into question the various statements made by the Inkatha Institute as to the cause of the violence.

Initial claims that the violence was sparked by anger against intimidating UDF youth who were stoning buses along the Edendale Road were challenged by the age distribution of the refugees excluding the youths.

"If one considered people between the ages of 11 and 25 as constituting this group, the Institute's reasoning only explains the attack on 41 percent of the victims," said Mr John.

"What then explains the attack on the majority of people (59 percent), of whom 135 were below one year old and 117 who were of pensionable age?

"The remoteness of many of the attacked areas from the Edendale road further reduces the logic of the stoned buses story as a reasonable provocation leading to the attack on those actual communities," Mr John added.

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NEWS

# SA's deadly culture is thriving



Allan Boesak ... "the appalling numbers of people who are dying, it is absolutely shocking. That is the kind of situation that can lead to the Lebanonisation of South Africa."

The daily police reports list the atrocities: nine black men knifed by a mob, three black women burnt to death, a nine-year-old girl "neck-laced" with a burning tyre.

Nearly always, the victims and their killers are black.

Despite 350 years of black-white racial divisions, one of the ironies of life in South Africa is that thousands of blacks die each year fighting other blacks.

Black-against-black violence is spinning out of control, some analysts say. A culture of violence is becoming part of South African life, they say, threatening hopes of building a peaceful, democratic society.

The independent South African Institute of Race Relations estimates 4 000 people will die in black-against-black violence this year. About 1 400 blacks died in factional fighting in 1989, according to the institute.

Some leaders see the threat of a civil war and South Africa becoming another Lebanon.

"The appalling numbers of people who are dying, it is abso-

lutely shocking," anti-apartheid leader Reverend Allan Boesak said in an interview with Associated Press. "That is the kind of situation that can lead to the Lebanonisation of South Africa."

Some black leaders worry that the growing rivalry among warring black factions is the prelude to a struggle for power once white rule ends. Itumeleng Mosala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, foresees increasing violence between blacks if apartheid ends.

## Bloodbath

"It's going to continue because violence has a way of repeating itself," he says. "So, I would say that we are going to see a situation of near civil war in this country."

White supporters of apartheid cite black violence when defending white-minority rule. They claim black-majority rule would precede a massive bloodbath.

Whites used the same arguments in pre-independence Kenya and Zimbabwe, but their predictions were not realised.

The causes of black violence in South Africa are many and complex. Reasons include apartheid, poverty, the anti-government struggle, school boycotts, political and ideological rivalry, the collapse of authority, gangs and corruption.

The bloodshed is compounded by old tribal and clan rivalries stretching back over generations. In black townships, violence has become a daily part of life for the millions of blacks forced to compete desperately for survival, say Mr Boesak and others. With blacks caught by hopeless poverty and apartheid laws, violence is one of the few ways for them to vent their anger, they say.

"One would have to say that the basic problem here is apartheid, that it has created circumstances in which violence became not only the norm, but the almost natural action and reaction," Mr Boesak says.

In the early 1980s, the African National Congress called for a programme of destabilisation to make the country "ungovernable" and undermine the white

Government. Young blacks became the spearhead, demonstrating, attacking police and boycotting schools.

Local administration and control was undermined in many black townships. Blacks seen as government "collaborators", including black township councillors and black police, were frequently attacked and killed.

But often the anti-government "struggle" is little more than mob violence by youth gangs, says Mohammed Valli Moosa, an anti-apartheid leader. In some black townships, there is now virtually no authority and rivals compete for control.

## Hatred

Some black leaders concede these tactics helped create a "lost generation", young blacks raised in poverty with virtually no education and a burning hatred for authority — black and white.

But the lawlessness has spread to almost every level, involving businesses, workers and schoolchildren.

A recent "war" between rival taxi companies in a Johannesburg township left more than 20 dead.

Criminal gangs have exploited the unrest, sparking wars with radical young blacks. Groups of vigilantes, some linked to police, have warred with rival "comrades" from the ANC and other political groups.

Nelson Mandela and others have attempted to halt the violence by appealing to youths to return to school. But the appeals have been spurned by many who reject negotiation with the Government.

The violence has been exacerbated by increasingly bitter disputes between rival black political groups.

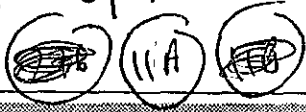
While all are opposed to apartheid, various factions are competing for support with conflicting visions for South Africa's future.

"Political tolerance is, sadly, not a strong feature of our country," says Alf Stadler, a political science professor at the University of the Witwatersrand. — Associated Press.



Walter Sisulu ... "the problem is that many of the youngsters are not really interested in negotiation. In fact, they have become a little bit angry."

Sp. 26/6/90



# Inkatha, ANC 'should talk about violence'

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The violence in Natal will not be stopped without Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi being part of the solution, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told President Bush at the White House yesterday.

According to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, Mr Mandela told Mr Bush he believed two things about the violence in Natal:

● It was important for Inkatha and the ANC to discuss the issue around the table. He believed no solution was possible in Natal without Chief Buthelezi being part of the solution.

● The major responsibility for stopping the violence belonged to the Government and not the ANC.

At a press conference after meeting Mr Bush, Mr Mandela said he had briefed the president very fully on the issue of violence in Natal.

"The gravamen of my briefing with him was mainly that the Government is responsible for the violence.

"This violence has been going on for more than four years and close to 4 000 people have been killed.

"We place the responsibility for this on the Government because it has the capacity to suppress this violence in a matter of days. It has not interfered, except by way of using the police and the Defence Force to attack the ANC."

# Document was no secret – Leon

By Guy Jepson

Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon last night rejected claims that a "secret" document, calling on the party to adopt a more radical, hard-hitting approach to national politics, had the support of leading party members.

Details of the document, compiled by Houghton-based legal academic David Unterhalter, Mr Leon's former municipal election campaign manager, were published in a Johannesburg newspaper this morning.

Arguing that an ANC government was a fait accompli, the

document states that the DP's main thrust should be to "influence the ANC and the formation of its policies", rather than "hold the ring between the two major contestants at the negotiating table".

## Hard-hitting

The DP should independently engage the ANC and adopt a hard-hitting parliamentary strategy as "a radical party that is willing to lead on issues of principle", the document states, adding that the party's primary object was to "press the interests of a liberal

order" upon the ANC.

Mr Leon dismissed the claimed secret nature of the document as "a gross exaggeration".

"At the request of the party leadership for responses to our convergence document which was given to the media and sent out to all the party's formations, I put together a group of people in our constituency committee under David Unterhalter," he said.

He had since distributed the document among his colleagues in Parliament.

"It's one of innumerable responses and has certainly got no standing."

Star  
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# Azapo reject boycott pamphlet

By **MONK NKOMO**

**THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday disassociated itself from pamphlets that strongly criticised the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation and its call for a rent boycott in the township.**

The pamphlet with an Azapo logo was distributed in Atteridgeville at the weekend.

Titled *Enforced boycott*, the pamphlet also lashed out at UDF executive member Mr Titus Mafolo, and urged residents to stop the rent boycott and start paying for essential services rendered by the council.

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Dibetso Taukobong, Azapo's Central Transvaal secretary, said the pamphlet was distributed by people who wanted to sow seeds of hatred and confusion among black political organisations.

## Formations

Endorsing Azapo's support for the rent boycott in Atteridgeville, Taukobong said: "Formations and individuals within Azapo have always fought against the impossible rates black people are expected to pay.

"Our people have always been cold and hungry whether they are respectable or not.

"Azapo would never see Atteridgeville as an exception to the national position of blacks."

A spokesman for Asro yesterday said they were satisfied that the pamphlet was not distributed by Azapo.

"It was distributed by the enemy which wants to create black-on-black in the townships. We know that Azapo supports our call for a rent boycott because of corruption in the council," the spokesman said.

## Statement

In their statement Azapo added: "Our organisation will never be used to confuse our people or to promote black-on-black violence. We wish to have peace in the townships and an end to inter-organisational violence."

The pamphlets partly read: "Titus Mafolo and his Asro cohorts operate luxury offices in the city where they gladly pay for this services ... Azapo is also very much against maladministration by councillors and council officials but we can never contemplate to call upon the residents to reject essential services as Mafolo and his arrogant Asro is doing now."



This was the scene at the launch of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in 1956.

# Jubilee for Freedom Charter

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The 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, one of the most rallying documents to come out from the struggle in South Africa, will be celebrated nationwide today.

The document was adopted at a Congress of the People in Kliptown, south of Johannesburg, in 1955. More than 50 000 people representing a wide spectrum of organisations were represented at the meeting.

It is also the blueprint of the ANC.

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco), whose branches have

By ALI MPHAKI

organised various celebrations, says more than 35 years after the drafting of the Charter, the demands still inspire millions of people into action.

## Document

"What makes the document more relevant today is that very few of the demands of the Charter have been met," a Sayco spokesman, Parks Mankahlane, said.

The Sayco Sebokeng branch, will today hold a rally at the Mphatlalatsane Hall from 11 am.

The Daveyton Soyco branch, has also organised a service in the area. Details were not available at the time of going to Press.

Another service will be held in Johannesburg at the Sached Building at the corner of Jeppe and Joubert streets from 1pm. Mr Mac Maharaj, a member of the South African Communist Party (SACP), will be among the speakers.

"These services only serve to popularise the Freedom Charter, and we have not called for any stayaway on a national level," Mankahlane said.



# Ban 'armies' says Sayco

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THE Government should heed the call made repeatedly by the ANC, Sayco and other "peace-loving organisations" that right-wing 'armies' should be disbanded and all forms of racial hatred and rhetoric outlawed, the SA Youth Congress said in a statement yesterday.

Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana, referring to the explosions at two National Party offices on Friday night, said:

"Sayco is particularly concerned about this incident because we have been receiving threatening calls in the past weeks particularly after we had made a call to white youth to join the ANC, Cosatu and Sayco.

"We wish to repeat our call to the government to disarm and outlaw right-wing armies and root out racist elements in the security forces."

He said it was apparent that Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph - the wanted right-winger with a reward on his head - was comfortably covered by elements within the security establishment. It took the security police less than two days to discover that Hein Grosskopf was responsible for the Wits commando bomb blast, according to Sayco.

"Why is it so difficult to arrest a man who is evidently inside the country and in constant contact with the media. Instead of acting against these blood-thirsty and violent lunatics, (Law and Order Minister) Mr Adriaan Vlok holds 'ordial and fruitful' meetings with them." Sapa.

THE praises heaped on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as he tours America are beyond extravagant. They have begun to approximate the obscene titles accorded the great totalitarians Stalin, Mao and Ceausescu by their acolytes.

In this instance, happily, the phenomenon is a reflection not on the idol but on his idolators.

Behind the nauseating fog of adulation lies without question an extraordinary man.

What remains to be teased out is whether he is a genuine democrat or, like so many leaders of liberation movements who have come here before him, the beguiling salesman of one-party tyranny.

Does he mean to transcend and redirect the intolerant instincts of an organisation whose members murder dissent? Or is he merely exploiting the uncritical reverence of his foreign worshippers to strengthen the organisation's hand in pursuit of sole power?

After a week of hang-

# Mandela: Behind the fog lies a man of contradictions

ing on his words, I join President F W De Klerk in wanting to believe the former yet cannot shake suspicion of the latter.

Perhaps Mandela's multiple contradictions are indeed designed to conceal his true inten-

tions from those already crying "sell-out". But then again, perhaps they are a lullaby for the friends of the open society.

I want to believe that his refusal to criticise Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat — or even to find

a formula of words to avoid triggering the neuralgia these men provoke in most Americans — is evidence not of his admiration or desire to emulate them, but rather of his firm allegiance to principle.

They supported the



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

CM T156 26/6/90

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YASSER ARAFAT: No longer needed but Mandela refused to criticise him.



NELSON MANDELA: Honour-bound not to renounce ANC's old supporters.



MUAMMAR GADDAFI: Provokes neuralgia in most Americans.

ANC. He is honour-bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told TV newsman Ted Koppel: "A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is dealing is not a man who can lead a nation."

The question, of course, is: to which principles does he refer? Simple loyalty to old friends? Or continued adherence to the political philosophies of those friends?

If the latter, is the adherence sincere or, as I want to believe, an expedient gesture to soothe his movement's more radical elements lest they conclude, rightly, that he no longer approves the use of terror?

I want to believe that he permits his wife to shout Viva Umkhonto We Sizwe to adoring New Yorkers and to say she will "return" to the bush to "fight the white

man" should negotiations collapse, not because he remains committed to the armed struggle but to reassure those who do; and that, by avoiding such rhetoric in his own speeches, he is trying to delineate himself as a man of peace who must be headed if South Africa is to be saved from the young lions.

### Expectations

I want to believe that his call for the maintenance of sanctions is similarly expedient; that behind closed doors he has intimated to foreign businessmen that he doesn't really want them to leave South Africa despite his best efforts to energise the sanctions lobby against them; that he really believes, as he told one interviewer, that sanctions put pressure on both government and the ANC to come to terms as fast as possible because neither wants to see the economy wrecked.

when he tells the UN General Assembly that "the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one party over another"; when he says that "no solution is possible... without the involvement of Chief Buthelezi" and slyly shifts the blame for the violence in Natal on to the government for not having deployed its "strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force" to "suppress" the conflict.

When he speaks of the government acting "together with us and all other representative political forces to bring about a new reality", I want to believe that he sincerely acknowledges that there are such things as "other representative political forces" beyond the aegis of the ANC and that, henceforth, he will fight any attempt to eliminate them or otherwise dissuade their supporters from expressing themselves.

that "we do not care whether the cat is black or white as long as it can catch mice"; that the only criteria must be the correction of long imbalances and delivery on freedom's promises; that "if anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the questions of nationalisation will not for us be an option at all".

I want to believe that "it is not possible for the ANC to have any specific economic policy" because it is not a party but "has always been a parliament of the black people" comprised of many different viewpoints, "conservatives and progressives, people who support the capitalist system and those who want socialism".

All this I want to believe. Such is the man's awesome ability to command respect that there are times when it is al-

## Entries invited for Cape Times Medal

ENTRIES are invited for the 1990 Cape Times Centenary Medal award for conservation of the architectural and environmental heritage of the Cape. The closing date for submissions is Tuesday July 31.

The award, known as the Cape Times Centenary Medal, recognises outstanding achievements in the conservation of Cape buildings, historical precincts or the natural environment.

The awards are considered in a number of categories: individual or group (non-professional); individual or group (professional); corporate (public authorities, private companies and institutions) and youth (individuals or groups under 19 years of age).

The Cape Times Centenary Medal may be awarded not only to architects, professional planners and nature conservationists

but also to any individual, organisation, group or school through whose efforts, in the opinion of the assessors, a notable gain has been made for the community in conservation of the architectural or environmental heritage — or in awaking public awareness of conservation in these fields by writing, lecturing, through art or other means.

The area covered is the Cape Province.

The award is made on the advice of a panel of assessors consisting of the following: Gavin Pike, president of the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects; Trudi Groenewald, vice-president of the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects; William Richie, President-in-Chief, Institute of South African Architects; David van den Heever, past chairman, Vernacular Architecture

Society; Wouler van Warmelo, conservation liaison officer, Botanical Society of South Africa; Dirk Visser, previous Cape Times Award recipient; Peter Ibbotson, Assistant Editor of the Cape Times, and John Rennie, architect and senior lecturer at the School of Architecture and Planning, UCT.


Individuals and organisations are invited to send nominations with a written motivation and supporting documentation (and photographs where relevant) to: Executive Officer, Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, Ground Floor, 71 Hout Street, CAPE TOWN 8001

to reach her not later than 4.30pm on Tuesday July 31 1990.


The full name, address and phone number of both the nominator and the nominee must be provided.



**YASSER ARAFAT:** No longer needed but Mandela refused to criticise him.



**NELSON MANDELA:** Honour-bound not to renounce ANC's old supporters.



**MUAMMAR GADDAFI:** Provokes neuralgia in most Americans.

ANC. He is honour-bound not to renounce them now that he no longer needs them. As he told TV newsman Ted Koppel: "A man who changes his principles depending on with whom he is dealing is not a man who can lead a nation."

The question, of course, is: to which principles does he refer? Simple loyalty to old friends? Or continued adherence to the political philosophies of those friends?

If the latter, is the adherence sincere or, as I want to believe, an expedient gesture to soothe his movement's more radical elements lest they conclude, rightly, that he no longer approves the use of terror?

I want to believe that he permits his wife to shout Viva Umkhonto We Sizwe to adoring New Yorkers and to say she will "return" to the bush to "fight the white

man" should negotiations collapse, not because he remains committed to the armed struggle but to reassure those who do; and that, by avoiding such rhetoric in his own speeches, he is trying to delineate himself as a man of peace who must be heeded if South Africa is to be saved from the young lions.

### Expectations

I want to believe that his call for the maintenance of sanctions is similarly expedient; that behind closed doors he has intimidated to foreign businessmen that he doesn't really want them to leave South Africa despite his best efforts to energise the sanctions lobby against them; that he really believes, as he told one interviewer, that sanctions put pressure on both government and the ANC to come to terms as fast as possible because neither wants to see the economy wrecked.

This conjures the interesting image of his telling his colleagues at some point when negotiations begin to stall: 'look, gentlemen, we must concede on point X or Y because if we don't, the sanctions I have succeeded in getting the world to retain will undermine us as much as the government by making it impossible to fulfil the expectations of the people'.

### New reality

I want to believe, too, that his summons "keep the pressure on" and the all but inevitable obedience of most Western governments is intended not merely to strengthen the ANC's hand at the negotiating table but to give Mandela himself and his like-minded adjutants the space to compromise, build bridges with the white community and say, as no one in the anti-apartheid movement has said before, that the NP's leaders are men of "integrity" and "honesty" who "will abide by agreements that are arrived at in the course of our negotiations and discussions".

I want to believe him

when he tells the UN General Assembly that "the only victory we should seek is the victory of the people as a whole, and not the victory of one party over another"; when he says that "no solution is possible... without the involvement of Chief Buthelezi" and slyly shifts the blame for the violence in Natal on to the government for not having deployed its "strong, efficient and well-equipped army and police force" to "suppress" the conflict.

When he speaks of the government acting "together with us and all other representative political forces to bring about a new reality", I want to believe that he sincerely acknowledges that there are such things as "other representative political forces" beyond the aegis of the ANC and that, henceforth, he will fight any attempt to eliminate them or otherwise dissuade their supporters from expressing themselves.

I want to believe his apparent flexibility on how the negotiators of a new constitution should be selected and that, as he suggested to the New York Times, he is not bound by the Harare Declaration's demand for a constituent assembly.

"I'm not concerned with terminology at the moment. What concerns me is substance... how the people who are entrusted with the task of considering a new non-racial constitution should be identified, that's what concerns me."

### Catch mice

When he invokes the vision of a constitution and justiciable Bill of Rights which ensure "the genuine liberty of every individual" and under which "law... should rule supreme", I want to believe he is genuinely speaking the language of Jefferson and that I have not missed any hidden code words that might suggest otherwise.

On economic models, I want to believe him when he says that labels must be discarded and

that "we do not care whether the cat is black or white as long as it can catch mice"; that the only criteria must be the correction of long imbalances and delivery on freedom's promises; that "if anybody can indicate to us that there are other options which will enable us to rectify the imbalance, we will certainly look at that option, and the questions of nationalisation will not for us be an option at all".

I want to believe that "it is not possible for the ANC to have any specific economic policy" because it is not a party but "has always been a parliament of the black people" comprised of many different viewpoints, "conservatives and progressives, people who support the capitalist system and those who want socialism".

All this I want to believe. Such is the man's awesome ability to command respect that there are times when it is almost impossible not to.

Luckily, there are times when he himself comes to the rescue.

### Personal liberty

In a televised meeting at the Council on Foreign Relations, Midge Decter, a leading neo-conservative convert, put to him the following question:

"History has taught us there is no transition more difficult than that from a revolutionary force to a governing party.

"Assuming that your aspiration for a one man, one vote South Africa, which would clearly mean a government in which the ANC had a preponderance of power — what are your ideas about the means and mechanisms for ensuring individual personal liberty to those, black and white, who are opposed, and will be opposed, to your policies?"

He answered by disputing the history lesson.

"We expect no difficulties" in achieving the transition from liberation movement to government.

The meat of the question he ignored.



GREGG

Counter claims, but crisis unresolved

# Khayelitsha 'committee row'

CAPL Times 26/6/90

11A

Staff Reporter

A KHAYELITSHA community leader yesterday alleged that a group of more than 50 men, who he said were ANC members and waved an ANC flag, were responsible for setting alight 19 homes in Khayelitsha at the weekend.

Mr Prins Gobingca, 47, who said he was a PAC community leader, claimed yesterday the homes belonged to PAC or suspected PAC supporters and alleged they were set alight to intimidate the community into supporting the ANC.

The ANC's Western Cape spokesman, Mr Trevor Manuel,

was not available for comment yesterday.

But Mr Michael Mapongwana, regional chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, said the conflict at Site B started because residents rejected the PAC leadership of the Joint Action Committee, which he said was not democratically elected.

"The committee is also accused of corruption; they taxed residents," he said.

He rejected that the conflict was between the ANC and PAC; only that the community rejected the Joint Action Committee.

He said Mr Mbuyiselo Roro, who died when his shack was burnt down, was an ANC support-

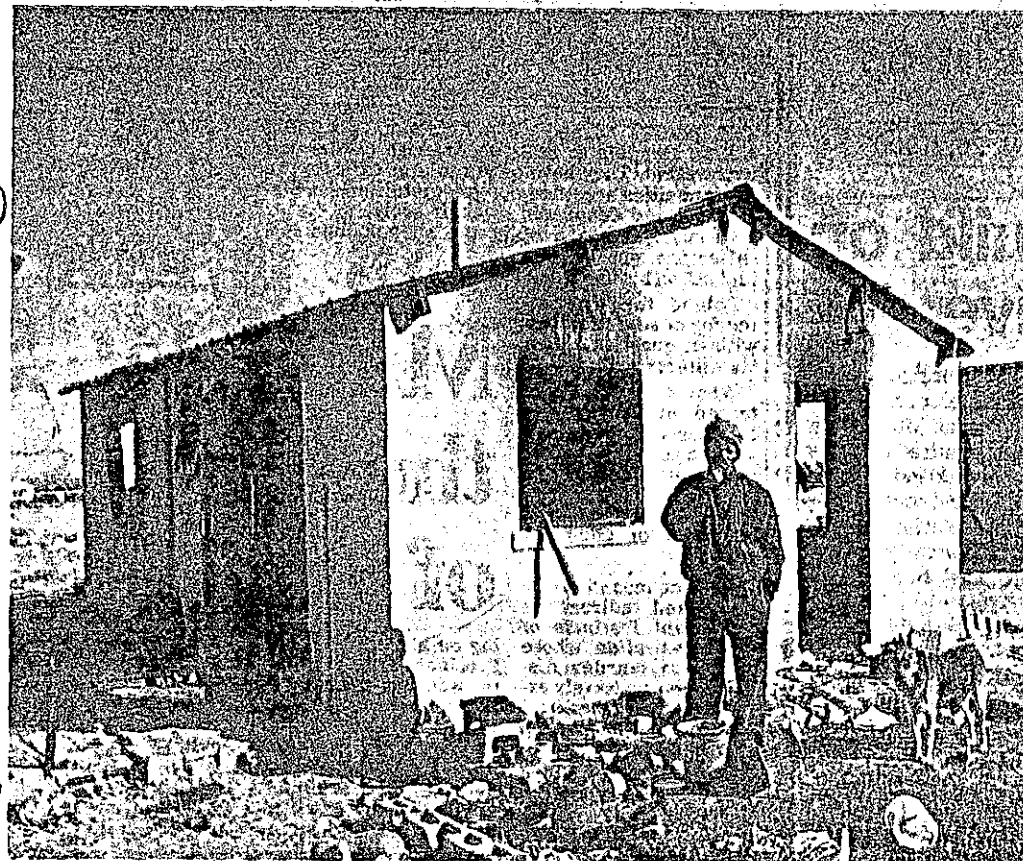
er.

Mr Gobingca said the heavily-armed group shot and set alight a Mr Bobotyana, and kidnapped Mr Isaac Gwiliza's 30-year-old son.

Mr Gobingca's wife and five children were staying with friends yesterday after their R23 000 SA Housing Trust home in Khayelitsha and all their possessions were razed.

Western Cape police said the matter had been classified as "unrest".

A spokesman at the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria said she had no immediate comment. There was a possibility that a special constable had been shot dead during the raid, she said.



**FACTION AFTERMATH . . .** PAC community leader Mr Prins Gobingca yesterday for the first time surveyed the devastation caused to his Khayelitsha home after he and his family fled their dwelling before an alleged ANC mob on Sunday.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

# Spy released by ANC is spotted in PE

11A  
EB

*Sowetan 27/6/90*

THE ANC has released a South African spy - the first to date - in accordance with the negotiation process begun at the historic Groote Schuur talks in Cape Town recently.

He is Billy van Zyl.

He arrived in South Africa at the weekend after spending more than four years in ANC detention.

He was also held in the infamous ANC Quatro detention camp in Angola, where SAP spies such as Olivia Forsyth, a security police lieutenant, were held.

Forsyth, who has left the SAP, claimed she was tortured by the ANC in Quatro, but it is believed Van Zyl was well treated in the camp.

Van Zyl is believed to also be a mem-

## SOWETAN Correspondent

ber of the SAP and its security branch.

He has been spotted in Port Elizabeth since his return to South Africa.

The 27-year-old policeman infiltrated the ANC's intelligence department several years ago but was later suspected of being a spy.

As the ANC could not prove he was a member of the security police, he was arrested and locked up in Quatro.

However, it is believed he later admitted to his captors that he was a police spy.

Police confirmed Van Zyl had arrived back in South Africa, but refused to provide more details.

circumstances, morally permissible, instead of being—as the traditional teachings of Christianity would have it—morally reprehensible.<sup>1</sup> It is a world in which the injunction, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,” while never repudiated, is interpreted as being inapplicable to commercial activities. This liberation from theological contempt, of self-interest as a motive for human action, is a precondition, not only of a capitalist economy, but also of a liberal society and a liberal polity, as a reading of *The Federalist Papers* makes plain. It is the essential aspect of the process which sociologists call “modernization.” Just how this process worked itself out, prior to the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*—how religion and the social ethos came to reconcile themselves to a commercial civilization—is still a matter of scholarly controversy (revolving mainly around Max Weber’s conception of “the Protestant ethic”), but the results are clear enough: The Western world had ceased to be hostile—or at least had become much less hostile—to commercial transactions between consenting adults.

The significance and originality of Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* is that it offered a reasoned explanation of why the proliferation of such transactions was morally defensible. It was a very simple yet powerful explanation, its essential thesis being that the individual’s pursuit of self-interest in the marketplace produces unintended consequences that are, on the whole and over time, beneficial to everyone. This is where the analogy of the “Invisible Hand” comes in—a literary analogy, not a kind of “mystical faith,” as some critics claim. Smith perceived in the seeming chaos of the marketplace an always-emerging spontaneous order, an order generated through self-correcting actions (what we now call “feedbacks”) by the participants. The net result of such action and reaction is that *everyone* ends up in a more “opulent” condition (to

<sup>1</sup> In this respect the traditional teachings of Judaism differ radically from those of Christianity. While emphasizing the importance of “fairness” and “just conduct” in all commercial relations, Judaism never perceived commercial relations as being, in and of themselves, inimical to the moral and spiritual life. Jews could never accept Carlyle’s definition of economics as a “pig philosophy,” since they have always regarded commerce and business as perfectly kosher activities. The famous Talmudic statement of Rabbi Hillel goes: “If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am only for myself, what am I?” Christianity tries to ignore the first question and directs its attention exclusively to the second, so that the “self-interest” which is a source of moral (or at least morally neutral) activity in Judaism, is never that for Christianity. It is reasonable to think that this initial predisposition in Judaism has something to do with the relative economic success of Jews in capitalist societies. It also helps explain why so many Christian thinkers have felt, intuitively, that there was something peculiarly “Jewish” about capitalism.

use Smith’s own term). For the first time in the history of the human race it became possible to conceive of material progress, in which everyone improved his condition, however unequally or tardily, as a reality rather than a wish-fulfilling fantasy.

Smith’s original insight that commercial relations are such that, as in the cosmos itself, the seemingly inchoate flux of phenomena and events can be explained in terms of an orderly disorder (so to speak)—that is the rock upon which economics is built. We might, without too much strain, call it the Law of the Conservation of Economic Energy. It is an easy principle to learn, much less easy to keep steadily in mind, as any teacher of economics—or an economic advisor to politicians—soon discovers. Most of the serious errors in economic policy committed by governments throughout the ages, and most of the layman’s errors in thinking about economic affairs, flow from a failure (sometimes useful, often not) to consider the second-order or third-order effects of policies over time. (Wage, price, and rent controls are the most obvious examples.) Prior to Adam Smith, it was not at all clear that there were such effects, or that they could be discerned by coherent reasoning. The relations between such interacting phenomena as supply and demand can today quickly become the intellectual property of any high school student, and in this respect he does indeed stand on the shoulders of Adam Smith (and therefore need never read him). Without such intellectual guidance, our understanding of economic affairs would be overpowered by emotional anthropomorphism (e.g., blaming high prices on wicked merchants), as has been true throughout most of human history, and as is still true for some of us all of the time and most of us some of the time.

That there are some psychological assumptions beneath this analysis of human behavior in the marketplace, and of the rationality of economic phenomena, is clear enough. Smith took it for granted that the human beings he was talking about were at least as much (or almost as much) interested in improving their material condition as in saving their souls—and much more interested in improving their material condition than in saving other people’s souls. He also assumed, not that these people were always and everywhere utterly rational, but merely that they were rational enough to adapt their economic behavior to what they learned from economic experience—e.g., to lower prices when demand falls, to raise them when demand increases. These are the distinguishing features of the so-called “Economic Man”—the kind of man who makes a market economy work. If you have a civilization where the people are con-



Negotiations going well, Mandela tells Bush

# ANC likely to 'end hostilities' soon

11A ~~3:30P~~ Star 25/6/90

By David Braun, Sapa  
and Reuter

Washington

Nelson Mandela expects to announce a cessation of hostilities soon after his return to South Africa next month.

That is what the ANC leader told President Bush at their White House meeting yesterday, according to the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

Mr Cohen, who was present at the discussions, told reporters Mr Bush reaffirmed to Mr Mandela the full support of the US administration for his lifelong objective to dismantle the apartheid system and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government.

Mr Mandela, he said, had told Mr Bush the process of negotiation was "doing well" and he was optimistic about the next step, which would be to reach agreement with President de Klerk on removing the last obstacles.

Mr Cohen said: "Mr Mandela said that when the basic obstacles to negotiation are overcome, the ANC will announce a cessation of hostilities. He said that when he returns to South Africa on July 18, he expects that such an agreement will be reached rather quickly."

President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle and to renounce all violence.



Shake . . . President Bush greets ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in the garden of the White House yesterday. ● Picture by Associated Press.



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President Bush urged Mr Mandela to go beyond the cessation of hostilities to renounce the armed struggle and to renounce all violence.

"Mr Mandela said he would consider Mr Bush's request."

### Consult Congress

Mr Cohen said Mr Mandela repeated his belief that the maintenance of sanctions were important to continue encouraging the process of negotiations. The President said he would take no action on sanctions until the requirements of the US legislation were fulfilled, at which time he would begin a consultative process with the Congress.

President Bush requested advice from Mr Mandela as to the best way the US could use money recently appropriated by Congress, but indicated the US was unlikely to provide assistance to any specific political organisation directly.

At a media conference at his Washington hotel, Mr Mandela said the ANC's mission to the White House had succeeded beyond its wildest expectations. He had the distinct impression that he and Mr Bush had narrowed the gaps that existed between them at the start of the meeting and he came away "very much encouraged".

He listed the remaining obstacles to negotiation as:

- The return of almost 20 000 political exiles.
- The release of almost 1 000 political prisoners.
- The repeal of repressive legislation which has been identified.
- An end to political trials.
- Complete lifting of the state of emergency.

Today, Mr Mandela addresses a joint meeting of the US Congress, the first South African invited to do so.

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# Mandela makes it to cover of Time

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela has received one of the major accolades of the world media — his face on the cover of Time magazine's international edition.

An eight-page inside report marks him as "a hero", "a man of extraordinary courage" and "a legendary figure" of a kind which has all but disappeared in "this era of cynicism" in the United States.

In fact, such is the potency of his stature in the US that Americans wanted something from Mr Mandela — a chance to lay eyes on a mythical figure whose plight had rekindled the civil rights movement.

The news magazine contrasts Mr Mandela's "soft-spoken manner and unflappable dignity" with the "rousing bred-in-the-pulpit style" of black American orators such as Martin Luther King and Jesse Jackson.

The report is accompanied by nine colour pictures, including a 1½-page shot of ecstatically cheering well-wishers in New York. The caption reads: "For one lustrous moment, a city racked by racial tensions vibrated with

one voice, shouting: 'Mandela. Mandela!'"

● For thousands of South Africans living in the United States the visit of Mr Nelson Mandela was also an occasion of great excitement yet for some, uncertainty.

Many of the exiles, as they like to be called, have been living in the US for decades, and now that the opportunity to go home is looming over the horizon not all are sure they want to go.

For many of the exiles, the arrival of the Mandelas is like a dream. Some of them have travelled from distant parts of the United States and waited for hours at barricades in order to be in a good position to see them.

Khanya Makgobo, a resident of Washington, put up eight friends from Chicago and Cincinnati. Together, they waited for the Mandelas at Washington's National Airport.

Maphiri Masekela, who has lived in Boston for four years, said the arrival of the Mandelas was the most exciting day for her, because it gave her hope that some day soon she would be able to go home.

**PAC claims more members than ANC**

b/dm 27/6/90  
PETER DELMAR

THE PAC had signed up in excess of 125 000 members, many more than the ANC, since the unbanning of the two organisations five months go, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday.

In an interview at the black consciousness organisation's office in Johannesburg yesterday, Alexander said the PAC had already set up 120 branches throughout SA and the homelands.

The PAC, he said, was particularly strong in the northern Transvaal, Soweto, KwaZulu and Transkei.

The PAC, he said, would certainly win an election for a constituent assembly "tomorrow" as most of the ANC's supporters were too young to vote.

Alexander said there was no prospect in the near future of negotiations with government. "What we need is another government."

b/dm 27/6/90  
**US Congress gives Mandela ovation**

WASHINGTON — A joint session of the US Congress yesterday gave ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela a near unanimous ovation when he called for the maintenance of sanctions until the ANC instructed otherwise.

Members of the House, Senate, President George Bush's cabinet and the diplomatic corps gave him a welcome almost as warm as they had recently accorded Polish Solidarity founder Lech Walesa and new Czech president Vaclav Havel.

It sent a strong signal to Bush that the legislature was unlikely to accept any easing of sanctions until the SA government fulfilled the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

Mandela put Bush on the spot by saying the ANC was "encouraged and strengthened" by the president's having agreed that sanctions "should remain in place". In fact, Bush had said only that he was bound by the CAAA.

As for the eventual removal of sanctions, he asked that "you cede the prerogative to the people of SA to determine the moment when... profound changes have occurred and irreversible progress achieved".

He also finessed Bush's call on Tuesday that the ANC fully renounce the armed

SIMON BARBER

struggle by lauding such American icons as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, who resorted to military force to save the Union in the Civil War.

"We could not have made the acquaintance of such human giants... and not been moved to act as they were moved to act."

Mandela allayed the concerns of his audience, stressing, as he had not done before during his US tour, that the ANC favoured "a multiparty political system".

He reiterated the ANC was not ideologically committed to nationalisation and said he viewed the private sector as "an engine of growth and development... critical to the success of the mixed economy we hope to see in future".

He promised an attractive climate for investment, both domestic and foreign, and looked forward to close economic co-operation with the US.

Meanwhile, Democratic Party leaders are proposing to nominate Mandela for the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize as "a true world leader in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King".

House speaker Thomas Foley, majority leader Richard Gephardt and House majority whip William Gray are inviting colleagues to co-sign a nomination letter.

b/dm 27/6/90  
**Kathrada invites critics to 'join ANC freedom struggle'**

A SENIOR ANC official yesterday invited critics of the "Groote Schuur talks" to join his organisation in the "struggle for a non-racial and free SA".

Addressing a mass meeting in the East Rand township of Duduza at which more than 10 000 people gathered to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, ANC

WILSON ZWANE

information director Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC's critics should remember that by agreeing to meet government, the ANC was not abandoning the struggle.

"The struggle is far from over and this is not the first time in history that opponents have sat down and

talked peace. It happened in Namibia, Vietnam and it is happening in Angola. Instead of accusing us of selling out, our critics should join us in the liberation struggle," he said.

Sapa reports that sporadic incidents of violence took place in Duduza, where a worker stayaway affected transport and municipal services.

## Grim report on Tambo

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC president Oliver Tambo was unlikely to recover from his stroke, his deputy Nelson Mandela admitted only days after saying Tambo might be a new SA's first president. 6/0ay 27/6/90

Accepting an award on Tambo's behalf at a dinner with US senators on Monday night, Mandela said it was "the opinion of doctors that at his age ... he may never fully recover". He said he was divulging this at Tambo's request.

● See Page 2

# Mandela: Protest over link with leaders

ARGUS  
27/6/90  
11A

From DAVID BRAUN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — As Mr Nelson Mandela's popularity in the United States grows, so does opposition to his links with Cuba, Libya and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

In Washington yesterday, the third stop on his US tour, organisers hastily arranged for a mid-day parade in the centre of the city after heavy public pressure to stage an outdoor event.

Originally, the Mandela tour organisers had wanted to keep the Washington stop more business-like, with engagements concentrating on the White House, State Department and Capitol Hill. Mr Mandela was scheduled to address only one public rally, in the 19 000-seat Washington Convention Centre last night.

## Lunch-time gathering

All 19 000 seats for that event were sold out within hours, however, and because of huge public disappointment the organisers felt obliged to stage a lunch-time gathering on Freedom Plaza, in the centre of the city.

Not all Washingtonians have been impressed with Mr Mandela, however, and yesterday the first significant demonstration against his visit was staged outside the State Department during his meeting with US Secretary of State Mr James Baker.

Members of a conservative public policy research group chanted and staged a mock "necklacing" in protest against the "terrorist tactics" of the African National Congress.

They carried posters which said: "Mandela equals terrorism", "Anti-apartheid, anti-violence, anti-terrorism, anti-ANC" and "Why did you go to Libya".

On Capitol Hill, a conservative member of the House of Representatives Mr William Dannemeyer boycotted Mr Mandela's speech to the joint meeting of Congress, saying that to invite him to speak to the legislature was a national disgrace.

Another congressman who boycotted Mr Mandela's speech, Mr Larry Smith, a Democrat from Florida, said: "He comes here to espouse support — not just casual, offhand support, but significant support — for people whose methods and backgrounds are terrorists, outlaws or communist dictators, people who practice every day what Nelson Mandela has fought his whole life against."

## Staunch supporter

Even Congressman Howard Wolpe, staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid struggle and the ANC in South Africa, told Associated Press he wished Mr Mandela had not said complimentary things about Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat.

He said: "I wish he had not said those things, very frankly. They were not helpful. I wish he would not have been so insistent in his reluctance to be critical of those individuals. I don't think he fully understands how those names resonate within the United States. There are few people who are held in lower esteem."

Mr Wolpe, who attended Mr Mandela's speech, said it would be tragic if Mr Mandela's comments were to overshadow his visit to Capitol Hill yesterday, or to diminish US resolve to keep up the pressure on South Africa to throw out its racially based government.



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# Security shield tightens for Mandela

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

Star 27/6/90  
11A

WASHINGTON — Security agencies have tightened an already comprehensive shield around Nelson Mandela after fresh threats against his life during his American tour.

The State Department Bureau for Diplomatic Security, already mounting the most expensive security screen it has given a visiting foreign dignitary, has increased its efforts after intelligence reports that an attempt would be made to assassinate the deputy president of the African National Congress.

No further details of the threat have been made public.

A rally of 19 000 people was interrupted last night so that security officials could bring in sniffer dogs to sweep the area before Mr Mandela spoke.

The start of Mr Mandela's speech was delayed for nearly an hour as each member of the public passed through a metal detector and bags were searched.

● The city of Miami is split down the middle over the welcome arrangements for Mr Mandela later this week.

Some Cuban American lead-

ers have retracted their endorsement for a proclamation welcoming Mr Mandela to Miami because of his refusal to rebuke Cuba's Fidel Castro for abusing human rights.

This has angered Miami's black community, which regards it as a slap in the face for Mr Mandela.

Florida's state government announced yesterday that while it opposed apartheid, it would not divest its \$20 billion (R54 billion) pension fund from companies doing business with South Africa.

● See Page 3.



# ANC wants its status cleared in KwaZulu

THE African National Congress has asked KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to state clearly in public whether their organisation is unbanned in KwaZulu.

The ANC's convener for southern Natal, Mr Patrick Lekota, said yesterday he faxed a letter to Buthelezi asking him whether the ANC was free to operate as a politi-

Sowetan  
Correspondent

cal organisation in KwaZulu.

Lekota said since February 2, the day the State President had announced that the organisation was unbanned, a number of leaders of the country's independent states and homeland areas had

openly announced that the ANC was unbanned in their areas.

"Chief Buthelezi has not yet done that, and it is important that he make such an announcement in public.

"Each time we have tried to set up a branch office in KwaZulu, people have been attacked to the extent that the branch is

abandoned and the office forcibly closed, as happened in Stanger.

"We want to know whether the ANC is unbanned and free to participate in the political process in KwaZulu like any other political organisation, or not," Lekota said.

A spokesman for the Chief Minister's office in Ulundi said a response would be issued once Buthelezi had received and considered the fax.

# Glittering moment for Mandela

CAPT Tm/s  
27/6/90  
11A  
SST

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — A joint session of the US Congress yesterday gave ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela a near-unanimous ovation when he called for the maintenance of sanctions until the ANC instructed otherwise.

Members of the House, Senate, President George Bush's cabinet and the diplomatic corps gave him a welcome almost as warm as they had recently accorded Polish Solidarity founder Mr Lech Walesa and new Czech president Mr Václav Havel.

Mr Mandela was only the third private citizen to address a joint meeting, with the others being Mr Walesa and the Marquis de Lafayette in 1924.

His speech sent a strong signal to Mr Bush that the legislature was unlikely to accept any easing of sanctions once the SA government fulfils the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA).

Mr Mandela put Mr Bush on the spot by saying the ANC was "encouraged and strengthened" by the president's having agreed that sanctions "should remain in place". In fact, Mr Bush had only said he was bound by the CAAA.

As for the eventual removal of sanctions, he asked that "you cede the prerogative to the people of SA to determine the moment".

Mr Mandela allayed the concerns of his audience with considerable skill, stressing that the

ANC favoured "a multiparty political system".

He reiterated that the ANC was not ideologically committed to nationalisation and said he viewed the private sector as "an engine of growth and development ... critical to the success of the mixed economy we hope to see".

He promised an attractive climate for investment, both domestic and foreign, and looked forward to close economic co-operation with the US in the post-apartheid era.

Embassy spokesman Mr Patrick Evans, interviewed by CBS news anchor Dan Rather after the speech, said the CAAA's sanctions were having minimal economic impact but were important symbolically.



**OVATION**  
... Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges a standing ovation during a joint session of the US Congress yesterday. Mr Mandela was applauded when he called for the maintenance of sanctions until the ANC instructed otherwise.

Picture: REUTERS



# SA cop's 4 years in ANC jail ends

*CONF 2011 570 (6/70) (111)*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has announced that a South African policeman, held in Angola by the ANC since 1986, has been released.

The man, 28-year-old Constable Billy van Zyl of the police's Security Branch in Port Elizabeth, was met in Lusaka by two senior police officers a fortnight ago and has returned to South Africa.

Mr Vlok said Const Van Zyl, who had been captured after infiltrating the ANC as an undercover agent and had been held at, among others, the ANC's notorious Quattro camp, had requested protection from the media as he did not wish to give interviews.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said Const Van Zyl had chosen to remain in the employ of the SAP and was still being debriefed.

Const Van Zyl's release was a sequel to intensive talks between senior police officers and the ANC after the summit meeting between the government and the ANC at Groote Schuur last month.

The police spy's release might have remained a secret had he not been recognised by an old friend while standing in a lift in Port Elizabeth, his home town.

Only after he was recognised did Mr Vlok confirm his release. — Sapa

# SACC to see politicians on violence

CAT  
Tent  
27/6/80

A CONSULTATIVE meeting should be held soon between South Africa's various liberation movements "to put a stop to the disturbing differences which have the potential for future violent conflict", the Rev Frank Chikane, SA Council of Churches general secretary, said yesterday.

In his "state of the nation" speech to the SACC's national conference in Bellville, he said the differing stances taken by organisations such as the ANC, PAC and Azapo on negotiations had already created "elements of this kind of violence".

Only quick action would ensure that it was "nipped in the bud".

Church leaders had decided to "intervene in this regard by engaging these organisations in critical dialogue" with a view to identifying common positions and possible compromises.

All organisations, he said, argued that a constituent assembly, similar to that of Namibia, "was the most productive way of legitimately producing an acceptable constitution".

The best formula for a negotiation process was believed by the ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement to be that of a constituent assembly, and there also had to be a formula "to produce economic justice".

"It is inconceivable to expect the victims of apartheid to accept the maintenance of the status quo which will perpetuate the gross systematic inequalities in the name of free enterprise and guarantees of rights to freedom of property," he said.

Effective corrective measures would include the redistribution of land and affirmative action programmes. These would involve massive training and the restructuring of the educational system.

The churches would "have to speak out vigorously on this matter of economic justice and the need for structural corrective measures".

In discussing the Harms Commission and the role of the CCB, Mr Chikane called for the immediate dismissal of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan. — Sapa



# Blacks outraged as Mandela shunned

CAH 7/15/90 28/6/90 IIIA

MIAMI. — Outrage and embarrassment swept through South Florida's black communities this week after six area mayors and the governor denounced Mr Nelson Mandela for his support of Cuba's President Fidel Castro and refused to issue proclamations honouring the civil-rights leader.

"It is an embarrassment," said Mr Ray Fauntroy, head of the Dade County chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "This town (Miami), which is supposed to be an international city, has not responded as every other city in the world has (to a visit by Mr Mandela)."

Mr Mandela's refusal to denounce President Castro, the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Mr Yasser Arafat and Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who have all endorsed the ANC's campaign to end apartheid, has angered large segments of South Florida's Cuban and Jewish populations.

After outraged leaders of Miami's black community gathered at City Hall on Tuesday, Miami mayor Mr Xavier Suarez joined black elected leaders in welcoming Mr Mandela to the area, but said he would not be honoured with a proclamation or key to the city.

The leaders who went to City Hall had demanded that today be declared "Nelson Mandela Day".

Mr Suarez acknowledged "a rift in the community" because of Mr Mandela's visit, but added: "I'm sure we could resolve our differences on international issues."

The black leaders who came to City Hall had demanded that today be declared "Nelson Mandela Day". — UPI

● Mandela visits Martin Luther King tomb — Page 3

## FW: Apartheid's end must wait

CAH 7/15/90 28/6/90

PRETORIA. — President FW de Klerk yesterday reiterated that the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, the basis of apartheid, could only follow a new constitution.

Replying to charges that the pillars of apartheid remained intact, Mr De Klerk said in a special interview on SABC television: "I don't know anybody who disagrees, the ANC agrees, Inkatha agrees, all other political movements that I know agree — that the best thing would be, before we decide what the new constitution must look like, to have solid negotiations. You can't put the cart before the horse."

From negotiations would follow the new constitution "and from that will follow the repeal of the existing constitution, exchanged by a new one — including the repeal of the Population Registration Act because in the new constitution, a new basis would have to be found".

Mr De Klerk scotched the idea of a constituent assembly demanded by both the ANC and PAC, and which is a cornerstone of the Harare Declaration.

"South Africa is a fully independent, sovereign country, recognised by the whole world ... A constituent assembly elected before you start with negotiations causes a constitutional vacuum, causes un-

To page 2

# PAC, Nactu, snub Cosatu stayaway call

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the United Front of Independent Trade Unions of South Africa and Nactu have given the thumbs down to the national stayaway called by Cosatu and the UDF for Monday.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, PAC spokesman Mr Benny Alexander said while the ANC never approached them about the proposed national stayaway, "we trust that our sister organisation, the ANC, will call off its action which will only escalate the violence in Natal." (11A) (100A) (K22)

Alexander said the PAC saw no reason why the ANC and Inkatha could not resolve their differences amicably. *Sowetan 28/6/90*

● To Page 2

## PAC and Nactu snub stayaway call

● From Page 1

"They both (ANC and Inkatha) meet with the Government; they both recognise F W De Klerk as a man of sincerity and integrity; they both believe in negotiations. Their differences are

therefore not fundamental. *Sowetan 28/6/90*

"By the ANC's own admission, Inkatha is its brainchild and we are not aware of Chief Buthelezi's resignation from the ANC," Alexander said.

General secretary of

Nactu, Mr Cunningham Ngukana, said although Nactu is a natural ally of Cosatu, Nactu was not consulted and did not have the opportunity to discuss the issue within its structures. (K22)

"We have conveyed to Cosatu that the "Week

of Action" may lead to violence spilling into the PWV townships. (11A)

Mr Bheki Khumalo of the Independent Unions said: "We will not allow workers to be used for waging party political wars for the ANC. Our membership is determined to defy the stayaway," he said.

# Uncertainty for some as SA beckons

Sowetan Foreign Service

WASHINGTON - For thousands of South Africans living in the United States the visit of Mr Nelson Mandela has been an occasion of great excitement and, for some, uncertainty.

Many of the "exiles", as they like to be called, have been living in the US for decades and now that the opportunity to go home is looming over the horizon not all are sure they want to go.

The exiles chant and toyi-toyi as they greet the Mandelas at each airport and hotel on their US tour. They wear African-fabric clothing and anything in the green, gold and black ANC colours.

## Exiles

They shout "Amandla", and "Viva Mandela, viva ANC" and the women scream when Mandela arrives.

Most of them are black, but at every stop there has been one or two South African whites toyi-toyi'ng too.

American television, photographers and journalists buttonhole the exiles frequently to get their views on the thoughts and emotions they feel at the prospect of at last seeing, if not meeting, their heroes.

For many of the exiles, the arrival of the Mandelas is a dream. Some have

## Mandelas arrival exciting

travelled from distant states and waited for hours at barricades to be in a good position to see them.

Mr Khanya Makgobo, a resident of Washington, for example, put up eight friends from Chicago and Cincinnati.

Boston has a cohesive community of about 500 South Africans. They frequently get together to talk the same language, eat home-style food and reminisce. Most are involved in anti-apartheid activism.

Ms Maphiri Masekela, who has lived in Boston for four years, said the arrival of the Mandelas was the most exciting day for her. It gave her hope that some day soon she would be able to go home.

For Professor Aggrey Mberu, however, there was some uncertainty.

"I have been out of South Africa for 25 years. I would like to go back, but it would be difficult after so long. I have a new life here now, I have to see what there is for me at home," he said.



President George Bush listens as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela comments from the South Lawn of the White House this week. Mandela said the support that black South Africans had received from the United States had been crucial in promoting changes in South Africa.

# MK chief recalls two assassination attempts

# CHRIS HANI

28/6/90



By SY MAKARINGE

## *the man most white South Africans love to hate walks free in Johannesburg*



Chris Hani

CHRIS Hani, the man most white South Africans love to hate, walked freely in the streets of Johannesburg for the first time last week after several years of living in exile.

Many whites did not even notice that they were rubbing shoulders with a man whose name sent chills down their spines.

The Government has for many years been baying for his blood. Whites called him a cold-blooded murderer and a terrorist.

He was wanted, dead or alive.

But Hani, who came into the country after being granted a temporary amnesty by the Government, can be mistaken for a chief executive of a multi-million rand corporate company rather than a freedom fighter - a man who wouldn't hurt a fly.

After surviving two assassination attempts by the South African Government, Hani, the Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing, is not perturbed by the resentment harboured against him by certain whites in this country because, as he put it, it was "sometimes bordered on madness".

In an interview at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters this week, Hani said he was still committed to the convictions that resulted in him going underground more than 27 years ago.

### Struggle

"I want to say that the armed struggle in our country has played an important role. I do believe that without the armed struggle we could not have reached the present political situation.

"This situation has not been brought about as a result of the goodwill of FW de Klerk and the regime. Negotiations are as a result of the struggle," he said.

He said the MK regretted the death of civilians during its operations inside the country. He said MK cadres went out to attack the "personnel of the enemy" and economic installations and tried to avoid the deaths of innocent civilians.

"A war is a war and a war is cruel. There are innocent victims of a war, and that includes civilians. I think it would be wrong to say there had been no civilian casualties.

"We are sorry and deeply regret the death of civilians in the inevitable cross-fire," Hani said.

He said the turning point in the history of the armed struggle was 1976 when "fresh military recruits" were brought into the army.

He said the youth who joined the ANC were provided with a number of options, one of them being to further their education, especially as "we all realise that we shall need trained and skilled personnel in future".

### Brutality

He said more than 70 percent of the youth who skipped the country opted for military training because many of them had experienced the "brutality of this regime".

"The (early) 70s were a period of political lull in our country. I want to admit immediately of course that our young people, members of SASO and BPC, were trying their best to conscientise our people in South Africa.

"We benefitted as the ANC from their courageous activities.

"But even then the enemy was responding in its usual violent manner. They suppressed the demonstrations that were organised by Saso leaders in 1975 and sent Saso leaders to prison.

"They murdered Stephen Biko. When young students came out in 1976 to challenge Bantu Education in a non-violent manner it was clear that the Government was not prepared entertain even non-violent opposition," he said.

He said he was younger than his 48 years, still has

a vivid recollection of two assassination attempts on him while based in Lesotho in the early 80s.

The first was in 1981 when a suspected South African Government assassin placed a bomb under his car in a Maseru township in the middle of the night.

He said he was woken up by the barking of dogs. He took his weapon and went outside to investigate. Suddenly there was a deafening explosion. The car was blown to pieces.

### Injured

The would-be assassin, who was injured in the knee cap, was handed over to the Lesotho authorities.

The second was in 1982 when the South African Defence Force raided Lesotho and attacked houses in which ANC military recruits and refugees stayed.

Several Basotho people were killed in the raid.

For 10 minutes, the SADF called out Hani's name, saying he must surrender. But at the time Hani was in Lusaka where he was having consultation with the ANC leadership.

A hooded man, who was leading the SADF in their mission, pointed out a wrong flat believing it was Hani's. The soldiers opened fire without checking who was in the house, wiping out all the people inside.

It later turned out they were Lesotho citizens.

Hani, who is married with three children, was born in a small village of Comfivaba in the Transkei in 1942. He joined the ANC Youth League in 1954 while doing his Standard 9.

He obtained his BA degree in 1962 and proceeded to Cape Town where he had decided the "only profession

that would give me a semblance of independence was the legal profession".

He was arrested for distributing ANC pamphlets and sentenced to 18 months' jail. He was released on bail after an appeal was lodged by ANC lawyers.

The organisation then decided to send him to Tanzania to establish ANC camps.

"I agreed immediately because I was already a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe and considered myself as a soldier," he said.

He returned to the country in 1973, and under the noses of the security forces, secretly started rebuilding ANC structures. But because of the weaknesses of the structures, he decided to move to Lesotho two years later to set up underground structures, building contacts within South Africa and also to step up recruiting for the MK.

Hani said the time was not ripe to abandon the armed struggle.

"We say openly that to call for unilateral disarmament by the Umkhonto We Sizwe is unfair and unrealistic. We are insisting on a ceasefire that will be monitored jointly (by the ANC and the Government).

"The Umkhonto we Sizwe will be dissolved when there is a new democratic Government in this country, elected by all the people of South Africa.

He said, however, that the armed struggle had not been intensified as the "units must take into consideration the concrete realities of the present situation."

On the possible intergration with the SADF, Hani said a new South African government would have to form a new army which would not be used to put itself in power.



# ANC won't be dogmatic

THE chairman and chief executive of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, yesterday said that it was his belief that there were strong signals coming for the African National Congress which suggested that they would realise only too well that dogmatic socialism in South Africa was not in Africa's interest.

Addressing guests at the Manchester University in Britain, Ackerman said: "From recent statements, one can discern that the ANC is challenging proponents of free enterprise to come up with an effective option to socialism and the centrally-planned economy.

He said: "The ANC leadership is really saying that their economic policy is flexible, and they are

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

challenging us all to come up with new ideas outside the rigid capitalist and traditional socialist ideological models.

"This gauntlet is one we simply must take up. If we in business are to continue in our role of developing and safeguarding democracy, we must address this challenge, because if a new black government finds it necessary to restrict economic freedom through central planning and interventionist policies, it will surely find it necessary to limit other freedoms as well as to enforce its unpopular policies.

He said already individual entrepreneurs were realising the opportunities which South Africa afforded. The country was the economic gateway to

*Sowetan 28/6/90*  
Africa, and a number of companies were about to re-invest or start up.

Northern governments, and institutions like this business school, should be aware that the ANC's challenge was also a golden opportunity to make Africa work.

## IIA Appeal

It was only a prosperous society that would be able to afford urgent social expenditure and only the market system could generate prosperity. That had been demonstrated so obviously by the Germans, as he only saw last week once again. There could be no development without democracy, and importantly, no democracy without development, he said.

Ackerman appealed to market-orientated Northern nations to respond to the ANC's challenge by

investing in South Africa, which had the infrastructure and political will to spearhead a democratic and economic resurgence in Africa.

"Help us to emulate the democratic and economic revolution we have seen and admired in eastern Europe," he said, adding, "if South Africa, with northern help and encouragement, can achieve a peaceful transition to democracy, it may be possible to implement a South Africa-led economic revival through a coordinated 'Marshall Plan' package to coincide with economic restructuring in Europe in 1992."

However, he said, should punitive economic measures by Europe and America persist, a new - and possibly impoverishing - black government in

Pretoria might inherit an economy not even able to satisfy the demands and expectations of its own population, let alone be able to stimulate economic activity elsewhere in Africa.

Moreover, economic decay will almost certainly make it impossible for an already-fragile democracy to survive in a new South Africa, he said.

Northern governments were therefore in a position of awesome responsibility. They could appreciably advance the process of peaceful transition to a viable; or by neglect, apathy, or lack of political courage, they could encourage conflict and economic destruction, not only in South Africa, but elsewhere in the much troubled continent.



RAYMOND ACKERMAN





# Mandela pledge on SA sanctions

11A  


Sowetan 28/6/90

SOWETAN Correspondent

WASHINGTON - The ANC could give the world the green light to lift sanctions against South Africa before a new constitution was negotiated if mutual confidence and sufficient progress had been achieved, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Interviewed by editors and reporters of The Washington Post, the ANC deputy president said it was not possible to say now when such a point would be reached.

The question would be decided at a specific moment.

He said the ANC would have to know that when the Government said it intended to remove repressive laws by a certain date an atmosphere should have been established where it was possible to accept that this was what the Government meant and this was what it was going to do.

"And then this atmosphere of mutual confidence is going to grow as we address our problems.

And it may not be necessary for us actually to agree upon a constitution before we feel that fundamental and irreversible change has taken place," he said.

Mandela said the decision could also be taken during the course of negotiations. It was not a question that could be looked at theoretically or from the point of view of principle.

"It is a question that

must depend on how, on the progress that we're making, how we address the problems that arise and how mutual confidence is built in the course of our negotiations," he said.

In the wide-ranging interview Mandela agreed that young black South Africans were frustrated and angry but disputed

the notion that they were impatient with the pace of negotiations.

The youth, as represented by the South African Youth Congress, were in full support of the negotiations under way and there was no question of impatience with progress being made.

He said the youth had heeded his call to go back

to school but many found they were turned away because the schools were full or because they had failed their examinations and there were no longer places for them.

Mandela said the ANC knew international economic pressure on South Africa would hurt the economy.

"We are prepared for that if by doing so we will gain this greater object which will enable the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa to determine their own affairs.

"After our liberation, we will of course invite the entire world, including the US, to help us prepare our economy so that it can grow and perform."

He said the ANC had called for sanctions knowing the damage that would be done to the economy.

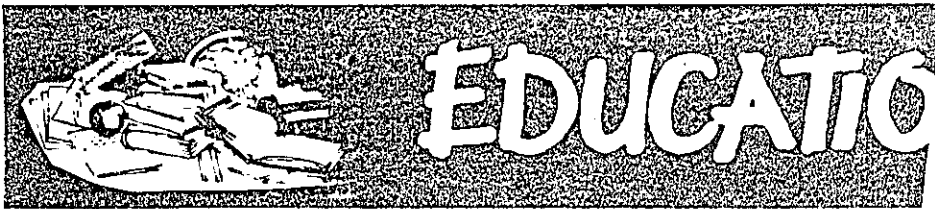
But this was the price the country must pay for bringing about the demise of a system which was evil and inexcusable, he said.

Asked if the ANC would be able to continue negotiations with the Government if something happened to him and he was no longer there, Mandela said the movement worked under the principle of collective leadership.

Nobody was indispensable. The ANC had an inexhaustible list of prominent leaders so it did not depend on an individual.



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela on sanctions.



MR Vusi Khanyile, who was recently appointed deputy registrar of the Student Affairs Department at the University of Cape Town, has left the university to join the ANC offices in Johannesburg.

*Johannesburg  
28/6/90*

# Vusi Khanyile takes ANC job in Johannesburg



He will head the newly-established finance department of the

organisation.

Khanyile, who was formerly the special assistant to the vice-chancellor, has been associated with the university since 1986.

During that period, he spent two years in detention until his dramatic escape to the American Consulate in Johannesburg in 1988.

## Challenge

When asked to comment on the role of UCT in a new South Africa, Khanyile said UCT has to redefine its role in the unfolding South African situation and its contribution to a post-apartheid South Africa.

"I see my new post as a challenging one which has to be integrated with the existing one in Lusaka," he said.

He holds a B.Comm degree from Birmingham University in Britain and previously worked in the Anglo-American financial planning department.



MR VUSI KHANYILE

28/6/90  
**PAC is set to mediate in Natal**

THE Pan Africanist Congress has offered to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha over the Natal violence, saying the two were in the "same camp and not at all fundamentally opposed".

PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander said in Johannesburg his organisation could see no reason why the groups could not resolve their differences amicably through dialogue.

**Blamed**

The fact that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had blamed the restraints placed on him by his fellow ANC members for not meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi made it difficult for the PAC to take sides.

The only meaningful and positive role the PAC could play in the fighting, which had claimed the lives of more than 3 000 people, "is to tender our services to the warring parties as mediators". - Sapa.

(11A) Sec 28/6/90

NEWS

# PAC wants to mediate in Natal 'Week of Action'

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday distanced itself from next week's planned "National Week of Action" organised by the ANC in sympathy with the Natal conflict, saying it would rather act as a mediator between the warring factions.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander appealed to the ANC to call off its action, which aims to precipitate the disbandment of the KwaZulu police, the arrest of Inkatha "warlords" and to isolate Chief Buthelezi.

The PAC believed the protest action would only serve to heighten the conflict between

Inkatha and the ANC, he said.

Mr Alexander added that the ANC had at no time solicited PAC support in its planned activities, which include marches and stayaways.

The PAC would also not allow itself to be embroiled in a war waged by two parties who ultimately agreed on fundamental issues, he said.

## No reason

"Both Inkatha and the ANC meet the Government, they both recognise President FW de Klerk as a man of sincerity and integrity, and both parties believe in negotiations.

"The PAC will not get involved because we see no reason why these warring groups can-

not resolve their differences."

The PAC, unlike the ANC and Inkatha, said Mr Alexander, was not attempting to win President de Klerk's approval, and for this reason was the best party to mediate in the conflict.

"The action planned next week will only serve to escalate the violence in Natal.

"The ANC should allow Mr Mandela to both meet with Inkatha and accept our services as mediators.

"As African nationalists we support all moves to bring about peace among the oppressed.

"We won't lend our support to any campaign that will lead to further clashes and misdirect the struggle from the principal enemy, namely the Government," said Mr Alexander.

# ANC ponders role of state in future economy

By Jabulani Sikhakhane  
As the controversy over the African National Congress's stand on nationalisation appears to be cooling off, some consensus is emerging on the

Star 28/6/90 (11A)  
maintenance and role of the State in a future economy.

Addressing the annual conference of the Southern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce (Soutacoc)

in Johannesburg yesterday, Dr Simon Brand, chief executive and chairman of the Development Bank of Southern Africa and ANC economist, Tito Mboweni gave their views on the pivotal role of the public sector in a post-apartheid economy.

Dr Brand said the State or the public sector had long commanded and directed a large part of the resources of the country.

Government expenditure, he said, accounted for over 20 percent of gross domestic expenditure and the share of the broader public sector in gross domestic fixed investment had been between 50 and 60 percent for several decades.

"The State is already playing an important role in the economy and the debate should therefore be more about the way in which, and the purposes towards which, the state exercises its intervention in the economy, both in terms of regulation and the use of resources," Dr

Brand said.

Bodies like the chamber should evaluate the present extent, direction and effect of the State's role in the economy and suggest ways in which the State's role can be adjusted towards goals such as more equitable participation in the economy.

## STATE'S ROLE

Dr Brand's views complemented those of Mr Mboweni in his outline of ANC economic strategies. According to Mr Mboweni, ANC thinking is that the State's role will have to be maintained in the future.

However, he warned that a future "democratic government" will need to change the current relations within the State sector and "direct it towards the people as a whole.

"Democratic control, efficiency and openness should characterise a democratic State sector," he said, with the proviso that "the democratic state may intervene if needs be."

Mr Mboweni also

added that the NC's department of economics and planning, which worked closely with the Congress of A Trade Unions, and a wide range of other organisations, including Naftco, had identified a number of areas for further research into policy alternatives.

These included:

- Economic stabilisation policies — monetary and exchange rate policies — to manage macro-economic imbalances, including galloping inflation and balance of payments deficits, which he said have been important contributory factors to the current economic crisis.

- Alternative industrial strategies which will seek to achieve an integrated regional economic development.

- Various policies to boost the country's mineral production, including the formation of a State Minerals Marketing Authority to control mineral marketing and promote a higher level of mineral beneficiation.

# Warm welcome in the South

UFA  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

ATLANTA — Nelson Mandela arrived late at Atlanta, Georgia, yesterday, and immediately rearranged his appointments in order to rest.

Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, a former US ambassador to the United Nations and a long-time supporter of the ANC's anti-apartheid struggle, met him at the airport.

## Equal in law

Mr Mandela said on arrival that this was his first stop in the American South, and the warm weather and people reminded him of home.

But unlike the South, he said, South Africa was still in the cold grip of white supremacy.

He was struck by the fact that he was in the land of liberty, equality and fraternity — at least

in law, if not in practice.

Asked by a reporter for his views on the non-violent nature of the US civil rights movement, Mr Mandela said non-violence was a good policy where conditions permitted it. But there were some times when conditions did not permit it.

He brushed off questions about the furore over his remarks in support of Castro, Gaddafi and Arafat, saying the criticisms had faded away because they never had substance.

In an earlier interview, published in the influential Washington Post, Mr Mandela said the ANC could give the world the green light to lift sanctions before a new constitution was negotiated, provided mutual confidence and sufficient progress had been achieved.

But the ANC would

have to know when the Government intended to remove repressive laws. "It may not be necessary for us actually to agree upon a constitution before we feel that fundamental and irreversible change has taken place."

Mr Mandela said the ANC knew international economic pressure on South Africa would damage the economy.

## After liberation

"We are prepared for that, if by doing so we will gain this greater objective which will enable the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa to determine their own affairs.

"After our liberation we will of course invite the entire world, including the United States, to help us prepare our economy, so that it can grow and perform."

## SACP has appealed for funds <sup>(11A)</sup> Slovo

PETER DELMAR

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo yesterday acknowledged the party was strapped for cash, and said it had appealed to workers' organisations around the world for funds.

To date it had only received one contribution, of \$5 000, from the Austrian Communist Party. Slovo was hopeful that others would be made, "assuming that the spirit of internationalism is still existing".

The SACP, Slovo said, did not have access to finance from the West which the ANC received, particularly from Scandinavia, and without which the ANC would probably not have survived.

He did not expect the SACP to receive a portion of the overseas grants made to the ANC, despite the close working relationship between the two.

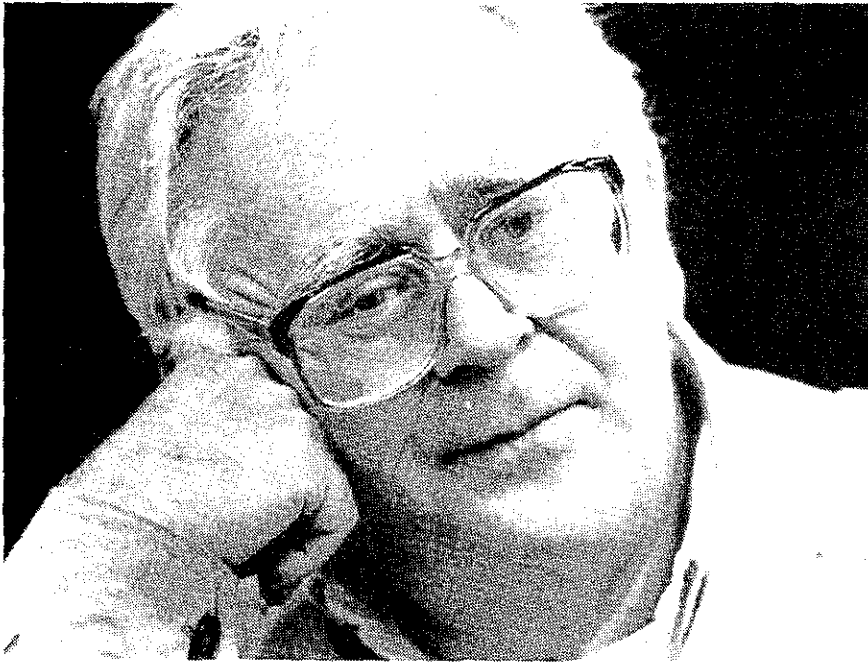
Slovo said the party had received no sizeable amounts of cash from any governments previously.

Foreign contributions were invariably made in kind. Examples included East Germany, which printed the SACP publication *The African Communist*, and Czechoslovakia, which had provided cars.

The Soviet Union had given the SACP "some help" including study and other material assistance, Slovo said.

The SACP is to be officially launched as a political party at a rally in Soweto on July 29. It plans to establish regional offices in most major urban centres, and to embark on a major recruitment drive.

Slovo said subscriptions would provide an important source of income for the party. They would be graded according to income, he said.



Slovo says the SACP is waiting for financial contributions from the West. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# EC decision a 'victory'

South 246-41790

**LONDON** — Europe's Anti-Apartheid Movement scored a "tremendous victory" in getting the European Community to reject arguments for lifting sanctions, ANC executive member Joe Nhlanhla said in London on Tuesday night.

He was referring to the failure earlier in the day by Britain's prime minister Margaret Thatcher, to get the European Community to relax the limited measures agreed to by the 12-nation grouping.

Nhlanhla's tribute to solidarity activists was part of a speech to 500 supporters at a London meeting to mark Freedom Charter day and the anniversary of Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, launched 31 years ago by Father Trevor Huddleston and Julius Nyerere.

### Support

"British people have become an inseparable part of our struggle," declared the ANC executive member, adding that "a difficult road lies ahead and we need your support more than ever before".

In a hard-hitting address, Nlanhla laid stress on mass organisation and the struggle as the key to "decide the destiny of our country".

"While the regime mouths words of peace and reconciliation in the capi-

itals of Europe, at home repression and state-inspired terror continue as before.

"There is as yet no indication that the regime has any intention of creating a democratic system of government."

Nhlanhla, who is part of the ANC-government Working Group, accused Pretoria of emboldening the "ultra-right paramilitaries and neofascists" by failing to act against them.

Official reluctance to disarm and disband these groups constituted a new blockage in the path to a negotiated solution, he said.

But in more conciliatory remarks directed at Britain's government, he called for Whitehall to change its policy and support the ANC.

"On the eve of the visit of our deputy president Nelson Mandela, the time is most opportune for the British government to reassess its previous position on South Africa."

"We would like to travel the remaining lap of our journey towards a non-racial democratic South Africa together."

The ANC would be closely monitoring developments, he said in reference to the European Community's offer to consider relaxing sanctions when change became profound and irreversible.

Criticism of Britain's attempt to get European sanctions eased also came from Nhlanhla's fellow speakers, Liberal Party leader David Steele and Labour Party General Secretary, Larry Whitty.

And Commonwealth Secretary-General Sonny Ramphal, in his last public address before retiring from the post, argued strongly that sanctions and other pressures had contributed to the changes in South Africa.

**Mandela came, saw... and snubbed**

**WASHINGTON** - The much awaited trip to the US by Nelson Mandela has stirred its share of controversy — from Jewish pro-Israel protests to dispute over the report that Mandela may share the stage with Puerto Rican nationalists.

Whole cities, full of "important people", organisations and corporations are upset because the overcrowded Mandela itinerary could not include them. South 246-41790

Some, willing to donate money to the South African cause, have been snubbed because their credentials have not been up to the mark.

The African National Congress and its public relations firm, Fenton Communications, have tried hard to please the thousands of requests from journalists and VIP's to meet Mandela and shake his hand.

### Tempers

But reports that three Puerto Ricans who served 25 years in a US jail for opening fire in the US Congress may share the stage with Mandela in New York raised tempers all around.

The three activists, who still advocate independence for Puerto Rico, are Lolita Labron, Miranda and Irving Flores. They injured five congressmen when they opened fire inside the Capitol building on March 1, 1954.



ANC leader Nelson Mandela meets US President George Bush in Washington, DC



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PARK AVENUE  
ROCKLANDS  
MITCHELLS PLAIN 7785

**Acco Rice**  
2kg

**Van Riebeeck Coffee**

**Perfection Cake Flour**



**Mandela  
came,  
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and  
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Important 11A

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**Acco  
Rice**  
2kg

**Van Riebeeck  
Coffee**

**Perfection  
Cake  
Flour**

2.5kg

# Views on armed struggle

Day 2 8/6/90

TIM COHEN

ANC leaders voiced differing viewpoints on the movement's armed struggle policy yesterday in the wake of staunch opposition to any continuation of violence by Western leaders.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise told Reuter the ANC would step up the armed struggle despite President F W de Klerk's reforms.

It was "the time to intensify training of our cadres, increase our combat capabilities so as to take the struggle to greater heights".

But ANC publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday that while he did not want to contradict Modise, he would have phrased

the policy differently.

"The armed struggle remains one of the ANC's strategies to combat apartheid," he said.

Modise was speaking in Tanzania before attending a meeting of the OAU's liberation committee.

Khatrada said the armed struggle would remain until a climate for negotiations had been created, at which time its continuation or suspension would be the subject of negotiations.

He would not be drawn on whether the continuation of the armed struggle also entailed its intensification.

## Govt acts to be assessed

WASHINGTON — The ANC would agree to the lifting of sanctions if "mutual confidence" was achieved between it and government, and progress was being made in talks between the two parties, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. (11A)

The establishment of this confidence did not necessarily hinge on the adoption of a new constitution, Mandela said in a Washington Post interview.

Clarifying his use of the term that sanctions should not be lifted until change in SA was "irreversible", he said the ANC would look at the sum of government's actions rather than any particular act to determine when "irreversibility" had been achieved. (11A)

"It may not be necessary for us actually to agree upon a constitution before we can say that fundamental and irreversible change has taken place."

He said a point might be reached in the negotiation process at which the ANC would feel that irreversible change had been attained. — Sapa.

# PAC, Nactu defy stayaway call

THE PAC and Nactu said yesterday that they would not support a Cosatu-ANC call for a nationwide stayaway on July 2 and protest action next week.

The two organisations said in separate statements yesterday that they had not been consulted about the "Week of Action", originally called by Cosatu to protest against Natal violence, the maintenance of the state of emergency and the continued existence of the KwaZulu homeland.

The PAC and Nactu urged the ANC and Cosatu to resolve their differences with Inkatha through discussion.

Their stand against participation has raised the spectre of confrontation between workers staying away and those going to work, particularly in the light of

PETER DELMAR

continuing violence between PAC and ANC supporters.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said Cosatu had assured Nactu that a pamphlet it intended releasing would indicate that no-one should be forced to join the action.

The PAC said it could not support a campaign which would lead to further violent clashes among the oppressed and which directed the struggle away from the principal enemy, "the settler-colonialist capitalist system of De Klerk and Oppenheimer".

To Page 2

## Stayaway <sup>plan</sup> 28/6/90

Ngcukana said Nactu was unable to support the "Week of Action" because it was not consulted and was therefore unable to discuss the issue within its structures.

Nactu believed the ANC and Cosatu should enter into dialogue with Inkatha to find peaceful solutions to the ongoing violence in the Natal region.

"We trust that our sister organisation the ANC will call off its action which will only escalate the violence in Natal, allow

From Page 1  
(11A)

(Nelson) Mandela to go and meet all the warring factions and accept our services as mediators," the PAC said.

DAN FELDMAN reports Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said last night Cosatu would go ahead with the planned action as it had "received overwhelming support from Natal and elsewhere".

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday: "We can only reiterate that what has been announced will go ahead".

# National stayaway planned for Monday

Abas  
28/4/70  
114

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

PLANS for a national stayaway on Monday in protest against the situation in Natal were disclosed at a joint Press conference by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

As part of the campaign the organisers will hold a rally at Athlone stadium on Sunday.

Speakers will include Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani and veteran ANC leader and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Harry Gwala.

## LIFT EMERGENCY

The organisers yesterday demanded that the government lift the emergency in Natal and disarm the Kwazulu police.

Next week's campaign is part of the National Week of Action organised by the ANC in sympathy with the Natal conflict.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday appealed to the ANC to call off its action to seek the disbandment of the Kwazulu police, the arrest of Inkatha "warlords" and to isolate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said at a Press conference in Johannesburg that the ANC had not sought the PAC's support for its plans.

The PAC would also not allow itself to be embroiled in a war waged by two parties who ultimately agreed on fundamental issues, he said.

"Both Inkatha and the ANC meet the government, they both recognise President De Klerk as a man of sincerity and integrity and both parties believe in negotiations.

"The PAC will not get involved because we see no reason why these warring groups cannot resolve their differences," he said.

"The action planned next week will escalate the violence in Natal. The ANC should allow Mr Mandela to go and meet Inkatha and accept our services as mediators."

# Atlanta <sup>MCS</sup> heaps <sup>28/6/90</sup> Mandela with <sup>(11/11)</sup> honours

## The Argus Foreign Service

ATLANTA (Georgia). — Mr Nelson Mandela collected two human rights awards, two honorary doctorates and two dozen scholarships for black South Africans during an emotional three-hour whistle-stop tour of this largely black-populated southern city.

The ANC deputy-president was greeted with thunderous applause when he entered the presentation hall dressed in a simple black academic gown.

Forty mainly black colleges conferred unprecedented joint honorary degrees on him — Doctor of Humane Letters and Doctor of Laws.

### LAIW WREATH

Twenty-four of the colleges have offered scholarships for black South Africans and there are moves to offer as many as 500 more.

Earlier Mr Mandela visited the grave of Dr Martin Luther King, the US civil rights leader slain in 1968.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie laid a wreath of yellow flowers, green foliage and black ribbons at the shrine.

Mr and Mrs Mandela received a rousing welcome at the Big Bethel church in Atlanta, where the president of the Southern Christian Conference, Dr Joseph Lowery, delivered a rousing old civil rights-style tribute. He presented Mr Mandela with the 1990 Martin Luther King Junior Human Rights Award.

### DEMONSTRATORS

Mrs Coretta Scott King, Dr King's widow, presented Mr and Mrs Mandela jointly with the first Martin Luther King Junior International Freedom Award.

Mr Mandela said the hospitality and support he and the ANC had received in the US and the rest of the international community was so great that it would be futile for South African whites to resist "the people's demand for one person one vote".

A small group of demonstrators protesting against the royal treatment given to Mr and Mrs Mandela was cleared from the streets earlier.

210 SEP 11A

## Whites urged to 'join struggle'

By Stan Hlophe

Township youths have been urged to mobilise their white counterparts in Johannesburg's northern suburbs to "join the struggle".

ANC executive committee member Steve Tshwete told about 200 youths in Johannesburg on Tuesday to "intensify the struggle" as victory was in sight.

Mr Tshwete was speaking at a service to mark the ANC's 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, organised by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

The Freedom Charter, adopted on June 26 1955, calls for a non-racial democratic South Africa. It led to a split from the ANC by the Africanists, who later formed the PAC in 1959.

Mr Tshwete warned the youths that their task would not be easy and advised them to persist in their efforts to encourage their white fellows to join the struggle.

He said groups such as the PAC who refused to talk to the Government, were beginning to have a rethink about taking part in negotiations.

28/1/90  
SEC 28/1/90 (118) NEI

## Freedom Charter commemorated

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Actstop, the Johannesburg-based anti-Group Areas Act evictions group, held a public meeting in the city last night to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the African National Congress's Freedom Charter.

At a meeting attended by about 500 people in the Central Methodist Church, Actstop executive committee members sought to persuade the audience to join both their organisation and the ANC.

Actstop publicity secretary Cass Coovadia explained the Freedom Charter in detail and explained how the document, which was adopted in Kliptown, south of Johannesburg, on June 26 1955, had been drawn up "by all the people of South Africa".

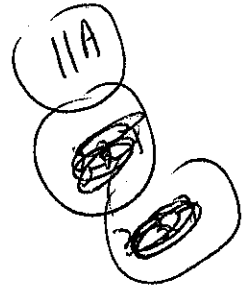
Other executive committee members of the organisation spoke about the need to strengthen the ANC prior to the start of constitutional negotiations.

Speakers also emphasised that real negotiations between the Government and the ANC had not yet begun.



# US aid for ANC in the balance

Sowetan 25/6/90



## WASHINGTON -

The ANC has not yet met the legal criteria for qualifying for a share of the R27 million the United States Congress has allocated for promoting democracy in South Africa, according to the State Department.

State Department spokesperson Ms Margaret Tutwiler said at a press briefing yesterday the issue had been discussed at the meeting of Mr Nelson Mandela and US Secretary of State Mr James Baker in Washington on Monday.

"As of now, our belief is that the ANC has not met the criteria established by the legislation. We look forward to the ANC acting upon the intentions that were stated by Mr Mandela (at his meeting with President Bush and with Mr Baker)," she said.

Tutwiler said Mandela had said that when he returned to South Africa he expected the ANC and the government to reach final agreement on removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations. This would allow the ANC to announce a cessation of hostilities.

While this did not go as far as the US wanted him to - Bush wanted

Mandela to renounce violence altogether - it would appear that an unequivocal commitment to suspend violence during the period of negotiations would be sufficient to meet the test of the law, she said.

In terms of US foreign aid legislation, organisations that engaged in armed struggle or other acts of violence could receive funds only if they were committed to suspension of violence in the context of negotiations to establish a democratic system of government.

Tutwiler said that since the US was not ready to make any grant, it was premature to make a final determination of eligibility.

However, it would appear that an unequivocal commitment to suspend violence during the period of negotiations would be sufficient to meet the test of law, she said.

Funds would be provided by the US government to the National Endowment for Democracy and other groups to be used for the purposes specified in the legislation.

Mandela said on Monday that he was optimistic the final hurdles to nego-

tiations would soon be cleared so that the ANC could announce a cessa-

tion of hostilities.

Argus Foreign Service.

# Mandela at Luther King tomb

Carl 7/11/90 28/6/90 (119)

ATLANTA. — Mr Nelson Mandela stood solemnly at the tomb of Martin Luther King jnr yesterday, honouring the father of America's non-violent civil-rights movement, who was slain by an assassin's bullet.

Mr Mandela carried one of two large wreaths of bright yellow chrysanthemums to the gleaming white marble crypt, which sits on a small island in a reflecting pool at the Martin Luther King Centre for Non-Violent Social Change, a shrine to the US civil-rights movement.

Then, holding his wife Winnie gently by the arm, Mr Mandela bowed his head and

stood quietly for a brief moment in front of the monument that bears the inscription: "Free at Last, Free at Last, Thank God Almighty I'm Free at Last."

The Mandelas then joined King's widow, Mrs Coretta Scott King, and a delegation of black leaders who held hands and sang "We Shall Overcome", the anthem of the US civil-rights movement.

Thousands of onlookers who erupted in excited cheers when Mr Mandela arrived at the centre sang along with the group, some with tears streaming down their faces.

Mr Mandela stepped from his chartered

jetliner and was greeted by scores of civil-rights and civic leaders.

He, mayor Mr Maynard Jackson and Mrs King held up clenched fists as an 80-piece band played the anthem of the ANC.

"The weather and the landscape, the warmth of the people evoke memories for us of home," Mr Mandela said. "But unlike you, we are still under the grip of white supremacy.

"When we landed here, one of the issues that struck us was the fact that we are in a home of liberty, equality and fraternity — at least in law, if not in practice." — UPI

ANC, PAC form <sup>CPK 7/1/80</sup> 28/6/80  
anti-violence alliance

**THE African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, in a joint statement yesterday, condemned the "senseless violence and killings" which have occurred at Site B in Khayelitsha.**

**They announced that a monitoring committee representing both organisations had been established.**

**"A monitoring committee of six members has been nominated from both organisations to see to it that the situation is normalised and the people who have left their homes are urged to return to the area."**

**At a meeting in Khayelitsha on Tuesday night the monitoring committee condemned recent violence which had claimed the lives of two people and left 22 families homeless. — Sapa**

# Anti-Mandela demo flops

11A  
Sta 28/6/90

By David Braun

The Star's Foreign News Service

MIAMI — Hundreds of black demonstrators drowned out an anti-Mandela protest staged by Cuban Americans at Mr Nelson Mandela's Miami hotel early today.

The deputy president of the African National Congress flew into the south Florida resort city at midnight last night.

Unlike his other stops in America, there was a very low-key reception for him at the airport.

## Applauded

The usual long motorcade whisked him into the city and only one bystander was observed on the streets at the early hour.

However, hundreds of demonstrators had gathered at the Miami Beach hotel

where the Mandelas are staying.

The overwhelming majority of them were black and they shouted and applauded loudly when the motorcade swept up to the hotel.

The few Cuban American demonstrators, holding aloft placards objecting to Mr Mandela's closeness with President Fidel Castro of Cuba, were all but lost in the crowd.

The crowd chanted "Free South Africa, free south Florida", then "Where is Suarez?", a reference to the Cuban American mayor of Florida who had not shown up to welcome Mr Mandela either at the airport or the hotel.

Mr Suarez and other Miami area mayors this week issued a statement condemning Mr Mandela's remarks of support for Mr Castro.

Mr Mandela has only one engagement in Miami today, an address to a trade union convention, and he flies on to Detroit this afternoon.

THE war in the townships raged through 1976 to 1977 and everywhere blacks raised their fists and shouted "Amandla!", almost in unison.

Urban Bantu Councils collapsed under the weight of the anger in the townships.

The rulers of this country reacted in their usual fashion: some reform, just enough to quieten the natives, and more repression.

On one side, urban blacks were given 99-year leasehold and better housing was provided for those who could afford it.

On the other, Steve Bantu Biko was killed brutally in police custody and Black Consciousness organisations and newspapers that appeared to the Government to be supporting the revolt were gagged. SASO, BPC, BCP, UBJ, *The World*, *Pro Veritate* and a host of other organisations were banned on October 19 1977.

But unlike 1960, the black community immediately replaced the banned organisations.

Abroad, the ANC, the major beneficiary of the exodus of young men and women from here, was ambivalent about the developments.

Black Consciousness was a new force over which it did not have control. ANC publications would sometimes praise

# Black unity still eludes

Today we continue to look at the question of unity, raised by the events of June 16 this year when the ANC, the PAC and Azapo each organised its own commemoration services.

## PERSPECTIVE



the movement and at other times they would attack it.

The PAC was more comfortable with Black Consciousness, possibly because it was saying more or less the same things on nationalism and on white domination, even if there was a slight difference in terminology.

BC soldiered on, regardless.

In 1978 it sent its first envoys abroad and their mission was to reunite the ANC and the PAC.

They failed and many of them ended up joining the ANC after finding that they could not survive abroad on a Black Consciousness ticket.

The ANC then made a concerted effort to woo Azapo to its side and this led to the first cracks in the unity at home.

Azapo suspended its founding president, Mr Curtis Nkondo. Azaso, Cosas and sections of

Mwasa and the Committee of Ten sided with Nkondo, and these were to become the nucleus of the UDF, which was formed in 1983. This core carried the flag of the ANC through lonely periods.

As the Pan Africanist Congress saw the supporters of the Freedom Charter asserting themselves, it jumped into the fray. Africanist youth created the Azanian National Youth Unity in 1981, to propagate the Pan Africanist outlook.

The fragile unity had collapsed. Three separate strands emerged from the fabric.

I was again reminded of this disintegration the other day when a friend told me how her father, a school principal in Soweto, was hounded out of his job.

His sin was that he is a member of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association, for decades a rather limp organisation. He would not join the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa).

He had fights with his pupils, who accused him of refusing to join a

"progressive" organisation of teachers. Many of these children can hardly spell *progressive*.

Then one day in May, during the "chalk down" in which he participated, they came for him, little boys and girls wielding pangas, knives and other weapons. He ran for his life and cannot set his foot back in the school.

Unity at gunpoint is now being enforced. Everybody is supposed to wear the same grey uniform and repeat the same grey slogans, and

No, that is not unity. That is not democracy.

We should be talking about a new kind of unity, where people's opinions and preferences are respected, where people work together on projects because they have something in common.

We want to fight the amendments to the Labour Relations Act, for example, and realise that there are other people just as opposed to them as we are.

Cosatu and Nactu are a shining example: the biggest stay at home ever organised in this country, on June 5, 6 and 7 1988, was a joint campaign.

They are still chalking up successes in the battle against the LRA because

they are together in it.

But when they have tried to outmanoeuvre each other, they have fallen flat on their faces.

This type of unity is possible only when I respect your contribution to the liberation struggle,

when I respect your organisation and when I acknowledge that you have invested your very life in creating and sustaining that organisation.

If we have this mutual respect for one another

and one another's organisations, we can look for common ground without fear.

But what the hell am I talking about. Everybody is now engaged in a debilitating numbers game of *I have more supporters than you have*. The noble ideals of "the revolution" are forgotten as we jockey to be impressive. Sad.

Sowetan 29/6/90

(11A)

# ANC: <sup>Amf</sup> 29/6/90

# Action lines drawn

*NA* *6/6/90* *11/11/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — The battle lines were drawn yesterday in the African National Congress' mass stayaway offensive next week against Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC has warned the government that the process of negotiations could be derailed unless its demands to pull Inkatha's teeth are met.

The "week of national mass action", launched at a press conference yesterday by Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders, aims to:

- Isolate Chief Buthelezi politically.

- Force the government to disarm and disband the KwaZulu Police.

- Arrest the so-called Inkatha "warlords", whom they blame for the violence in Natal.

The Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Buthelezi have both slammed

To page 2

*Amf* *29/6/90* *11/11/90*

From page 1

the ANC action, saying it will heighten conflict.

And while the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday welcomed a PAC offer to mediate between the ANC and Inkatha, the ANC rejected it.

Amid widespread fear that the ANC action could escalate the violence in Natal, in which 3 000 people have died so far, the South African Council of Churches yesterday outlined a code of conduct for all parties concerned.

It states that "everyone wants an end to the violence in Natal. Some people are planning actions such as a stayaway and marches to call for peace.

"All must be free to choose what they want to do for peace without fear of intimidation. All must respect the right of people to hold different views."

The code says that those who either want to work or stayaway during the week of protests should be allowed to do so without interference.

The code says people should not be forced to take part in marches or protests, and organisers and all organisations must condemn attacks on people's homes and families as criminal behaviour.

The security forces must also uphold the right of people to protest peacefully and must not interfere with meetings, marches, rallies and stayaways.

The code was drawn up after meetings this month between the SACC's general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, Chief Buthelezi, Dr Diliza Mji of the UDF/Cosatu Joint Working Group in Natal, Mr Jay Naidoo of Cosatu and Mr Sisulu.

The PAC was also consulted, as was the government, with a letter being sent to President FW de Klerk setting out the process of negotiations.

In Cape Town the ANC week of public demonstrations starts on Sunday with a rally at Athlone that will be addressed by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Chris Hani.

The Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) also condemned the stayaway yesterday.

It called on black students and youth "to be indifferent" to the ANC call because the black school calendar had already been severely disrupted this year.

At its press conference yesterday the ANC alliance said that in the light of the potentially explosive situation that could develop because of opposition to the offensive, it recognised and respected the right of anyone not to participate in the stayaway and the week of protest.

The purpose of the action was to force President De Klerk "to find the political will" to put an end to the Natal conflict, the ANC said.

Chief Buthelezi's response yesterday to the upcoming offensive was to condemn the planned stayaway but at the same time he appealed to Inkatha members to act responsibly. — Sapa

# Stayaway

# on

~~11A~~  
11A

# UDF



WALTER SISULU

Sowetan 29/6/90

**COSATU, the UDF and Sayco are adamant about their call for a stayaway on Monday, despite opposition from the PAC, Nactu and Inkatha.**

The stayaway has also been endorsed by ANC internal

**By ALI MPHAKI**

leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Sisulu said the call deserved the "full support of all our people and their organisations".

The PAC, Nactu and the Independent Trade Unions of South Africa said they saw no reason for the

stayaway as the ANC and Inkatha could solve their problems amicably.

"Moreover, we were not consulted about their proposed stayaway, and we did not have a chance to discuss it with our members," said Nactu's general secretary

● To Page 2

**CASINO FACTOR**

**ALL HAWKERS AND**

**Casino is Cheaper | Casin**

P.T.O.

# ANC says no to torture claim probe

By Craig Kotze (11A)

The leader of African National Congress dissidents in South Africa has called for a commission of inquiry into the claimed torture of prisoners by the organisation.

However, ANC military commander Chris Hanu has rejected the call, saying it "we do not have the time".

The call and the rejection were made on SABC-TV last night.

In the Network programme, dissident Nicholas Dyasop ac-

cused the ANC of killing fellow-dissident Siphu Phungulwa in Transkei recently.

Mr Hanu denied the accusation, saying the ANC had no "agenda" to kill dissidents.

The Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff also apparently contradicted the statement by Nelson Mandela that torturers had been removed and punished.

He said: "As far as I know, no one has been pinpointed as being responsible for torture."

Dissident leader Mwezi Twala, who arrived in South

Africa with 10 others in April, said he wished to see a commission of inquiry set up to investigate the claims of torture and murder by ANC security personnel in detention camps in Angola and elsewhere.

"We cannot start the new South Africa with such elements. We must have clean leadership," said Mr Twala.

He said claimed atrocities by South African security forces were being investigated and the same should apply to ANC crimes.



# ANC booklet tells how to join

Strat 29/6/90 By Kaizer Nyatumba (11A)

The ANC has published an 89-page document on its history and policies, giving details of how people can join it.

The document, "Joining the ANC: An introductory handbook to the ANC", comes two weeks after the release of an 88-page document on negotiations. A number of other similar policy documents are expected to be released in the near future.

The latest document traces the ANC's history and policies, discusses the Freedom Charter and gives reasons for the organisation's adoption of the armed struggle.

Aimed primarily at people interested in joining the ANC, it looks at the organisation before and after its unbanning, and concludes that the legal "breathing space" the organisation now enjoyed imposed great responsibility

on it to organise massively and maintain discipline among its members.

"These changes," said the document, "also mean that negotiations are now more than just a possibility; they have become a matter of practical politics."

"The democratic movement needs to build on the Organisation of African Unity (Harare) Declaration initiative and keep this initiative in our hands".

The document said any South African above the age of 18 could join the ANC, and informed prospective members that "that the main qualities expected of a member are personal integrity and willingness to work for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which all forms of national and racial oppression will be eliminated."

● ANC spokesman Gili Marcus said the booklet was available from the ANC office in Johannesburg at R5 a copy.

# The fissures deepen

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As Inkatha and the UDF — and more recently, the ANC — continue their violent power struggle, it may be trite to observe that there is little black unity in Natal.

But while Natal and KwaZulu burn, cracks are also starting to appear in the internal structures of the opposing organisations. Inkatha can no longer deny that it is losing support, both rural and urban; and rifts are starting to appear in the regional leadership of the ANC and between the ANC and UDF.

For Inkatha the implications are probably more serious, but internal friction within the ranks of the ANC and UDF has the potential to become a long-term problem.

This friction was noted in a paper by Douglas Irvine, Prof of Political Studies at Natal University. Addressing an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) conference, he said: "Clearly, there are tensions and disagreements on policy and strategy among ANC leaders in Natal... Nelson Mandela's declared readiness to meet Chief Buthelezi, for instance, is bitterly opposed by many ANC supporters in Natal.

"Within Natal itself, it is no secret that on a variety of matters Harry Gwala doesn't see eye to eye with Archie Gumede or Patrick Lekota," he says.

Gwala, released last year, is apparently the cause of most of the inconsistency. He regularly contradicts Mandela (who has called for peace in Natal) and ANC policy with statements at mass rallies urging supporters to "smash" Inkatha, speaking about the need for the "armed struggle" and most recently talking about the need to negotiate with an AK-47.

The ANC's Lekota denies there is any split in ranks in Natal, saying Gwala's statements should be taken in context. But Lekota does admit that "there may be some people who read more into Gwala's statements than what he wants to convey."

Gumede is more forthright, saying that while people who have spent a lot of time on Robben Island have a special status among followers. "Robben Island, in a way, is doing us a lot of harm."

It is also known, but seldom admitted, that there is friction between UDF leaders and the new ANC leaders. Though the UDF carried the ANC torch in Natal while the latter was banned, often having members detained, there seems to be some resentment now that "new people" are playing leading roles in the province.

There is probably also a more practical reason for the friction — a lot of UDF leaders, many who

also head the Natal Indian Congress, see their positions threatened by returning exiles and released political prisoners. These internal splits do not augur well for Natal. The power struggle between Inkatha and the UDF and ANC will be difficult enough to resolve without friction between members.

For Inkatha, the sudden resignation of secretary-general and senior minister Oscar Dhlomo earlier this month was a trouble sign for the organisation. Dhlomo denies his resignation had anything to do with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi or members of Inkatha. Yet his departure will hurt the organisation, not only by giving the impression that things are starting to fall apart, but also because without Dhlomo — and his diplomatic and negotiating skills — any serious "peace meeting" with the ANC and UDF seems further away than ever.

On paper, Inkatha is the biggest political grouping in the country, claiming 1,8m members. But the official figure — which Dhlomo says is increasing — does not represent actual support. For people living or working in KwaZulu, an Inkatha membership card is essential. Without it, access to jobs, health services, and in rural areas vital resources like water, are difficult.

Obviously this is not official policy, but it happens. Says Lekota: "To claim 1,8m supporters is rubbish. That's the number of membership receipts they count at Ulundi. People carry their cards for convenience, or because they have been coerced into joining," he claims.

While it is, therefore, difficult to gauge Inkatha's actual support, it does appear significant, and at this stage is probably bigger than support for the ANC. The difference is that Inkatha is now starting to lose support, while the ANC will probably continue to make up ground. Recently, reports have come from respectable sources which claim support for Inkatha is dwindling.

One is the Durban Functional Region (DFR) planning report, commissioned by the Tongaat-Hulett Group. It concludes that Inkatha draws much of its support from the region's more conservative people, who also tend to be older and mainly resident in rural or informal communities. The younger group, with more modern and urban values and who also tend to live in formal urban townships, generally tend to identify with what the



Lekota

report calls the Charterists (those who subscribe to the ANC's Freedom Charter).

"It would therefore seem, on the assumption that Inkatha will not modernise its style of politics, that political support among African DFR resi-

dents will increasingly tend towards the Charterists," the report says.

Considering that of the DFR's black population — estimated between 3,1m to 3,8m people — about 40% are under 14, it seems inevitable that more and more people will be broadly attracted to the policies of the ANC or more radical groups.

Coupled to this is the phenomenal urbanisation process taking place in Natal. As the drift towards the cities continues, people will increasingly identify with "Charterist" organisations, particularly for the benefits offered by trade unions affiliated to Cosatu. Inkatha's union, Uwusa, has not made much impact in industrial affairs and is not a serious rival to Cosatu.

More recently, Irvine, in the report mentioned above, said there were indications that Inkatha's support in urban areas had weakened significantly, and that the "battle, it seems, is moving to the rural areas."

Irvine says the unbanning of the ANC has put Inkatha on the retreat and, as President F W de Klerk increasingly recognises the importance of establishing a working relationship with the ANC, "Inkatha's position becomes more vulnerable." He concludes the immediate future of the organisation is "troubled and unclear."

In Inkatha's traditional power base in rural areas, the revival of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, a tribal chief-based movement, is also taking away its members.

In short, Inkatha has been overtaken by history and, as the rules in the political arena keep changing, it seems destined to be sidelined. Many observers believe that this, in part, explains the high level of violence in Natal.

Inkatha has responded with changes in policy, certain to be ratified at its annual conference on July 13. It plans to become a nationally based political party, open to all, aiming at a seat in future negotiations. Whether this will be enough to change the fortunes of Inkatha remains to be seen.

What is clear is that, as long as ANC leaders contradict each other, peace meetings will be that much more difficult to organise. And, in the short term at least, as long as Inkatha continues to lose support the level of violence is unlikely to abate.

Dhlomo, widely regarded as one of the more astute politicians in the region, would like to see reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC. He believes that unless the two organisations learn to work together, there will be no end to the conflict in Natal.



Gwala



Buthelezi

# ANC stands by call for mass action to end Natal violence

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress and its allies stand squarely behind the call for a nationwide stayaway this Monday, despite opposition from the Pan Africanist Congress and warnings from Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi the action is designed to fan the flames of violence.

Far from stepping back, the organisers have urged the PAC and its allies to reconsider their position and "ordinary Inkatha members" to join the stayaway.

Despite calls for restraint and discipline from both the stayaway organisers and Buthelezi, the tension is palpable.

The stayaway has been coordinated by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front and the South African Youth Congress to pressurise Pretoria into acting deci-

sively to end political violence in Natal.

"The terrible carnage taking place in Natal must stop," declared ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The situation calls for a national response. The rest of South Africa cannot be onlookers.

"It is only through mass protest that the Pretoria government and its creation, the KwaZulu bantustan, will be forced to act."

KwaZulu's chief Buthelezi attacked the stayaway at a police passing-out parade in Ulundi yesterday, saying he was aware of the campaign to force his resig-

nation as minister of police and the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police.

"This will never happen," he asserted. Buthelezi said there had never been a stayaway which had not been forced upon the people. And that it was "absolutely criminal for the ANC to mount the kind of programme which will inevitably degenerate into a violent programme".

He also told the assembled policemen that it was the ANC's announced policy to kill every black policeman. He appealed to Inkatha members to "behave with the greatest sense of responsibility" next week.

King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus has appealed for the stay-at-home to be called off, Sapa reports.

UDF representative Murphy Morobe, reading a joint UDF-Cosatu-Sayco statement, yesterday assured "ordinary Inkatha members" the stayaway was not aimed at them but at "the warlords, the KwaZulu Police, the South African government and all those perpetrating this senseless violence in Natal. We are appealing to Inkatha members who are disgusted with the atrocities being committed in your name to participate in this mass action against the war in Natal."

Morobe emphasised nobody would be

forced to take part and that journalists and health workers "will not be expected to participate in the stayaway irrespective of whether they support it or not".

The Cosatu-UDF-Sayco statement noted: "The PAC has a record of opposing all mass action embarked on by the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement. They opposed the defiance campaign which contributed to their unbanning.

The PAC's opposition is founded on their perception they can "mediate" in conflict. The National Council of Trade Unions has withheld its support because it was not consulted and also because it

favours dialogue.

The UDF and Cosatu — who have been involved in regional Natal peace initiatives in 1987, 1988 and 1989 — say that talking to Inkatha is a dead end street. "We believe that the apartheid state has the capacity to end this conflict, if it can find the political will. The national mass action is designed to encourage them to find that will."

The action was not aimed against employers, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said. But the failure of Natal employers to intervene earlier to help achieve peace meant that they had "cut off their nose to spite their face". In as

much as Monday's stayaway did affect them, it was hoped they would join the cry for the central government to ensure peace.

The seven measures the ANC and its allies are demanding of Pretoria are:

- The ending of the state of emergency.
- The disarming and disbanding of the KwaZulu Police.
- The dismantling of KwaZulu itself.
- The appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into police action.
- The arrest and charging of the warlords.
- The institution of impartial and effective peace-keeping.
- The withdrawal of 32 Battalion.

## Lekota and Mellett <sup>11A</sup> to share platform

SPEAKERS from the African National Congress and the Ministry of Law and Order will share a platform in Johannesburg this week to explain why violence is a common concern. <sup>W/Mant 29/6/90</sup>

The ANC speaker will be the organisation's Southern Natal interim coordinator, Terror Lekota, while the Ministry will be represented by senior spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellett.

The meeting will be held on Monday at 7:25 pm. The venue is the Exams Hall at the Johannesburg College of Education in St Andrews Road, Parktown.

## Umkhonto chief adds muscle to 'action' week

UMKHONTO weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will be one of the speakers at a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on Sunday to mark the start of a week of "national mass action". <sup>W/Mant 29/6/90</sup>

The campaign, which will culminate in the Western Cape with a march on parliament on July 7, has been called by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Youth Congress — to protest against "the violence of the police and Inkatha" in Natal. (11A)

## DP leadership has 'helpful' meeting during FW's hectic week of talks

PRETORIA : The Democratic Party leadership held "thorough and very helpful" talks with State President F W de Klerk in Pretoria yesterday, DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said.

The DP was represented by De Beer and his two colleagues in the leadership <sup>W/Mant 29/6/90</sup> Morka, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan.

Deliberations between the DP politicians and De Klerk were "concerned with the negotiation process", De Beer said.

"I hope that as a result, we can play an even more constructive role in the process," he added, declining to elaborate.

His colleagues would issue similar

statements, he said after the meeting in De Klerk's Union Building offices.

The meeting is the fourth that De Klerk has held this week with prominent groups in South African political and business circles.

On Tuesday the State President met a joint delegation from the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, Congress of SA Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions.

That same day he received representatives of four ultra-rightwing organisations and yesterday morning a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

The State President's office was not available for comment. — Sapa

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# Dissidents call for inquiry into torture camps (11A)

W/1 Mar 29/6/90

AFRICAN National Congress dissidents who arrived in South Africa in April from ANC prison camps have called for a public inquiry into their claims of torture and random killings at the camps in Angola and Tanzania.

A former political commissar of Umkhonto weSizwe who spent several years in internment camps, Mwezi Twala, said on Thursday he believed Nelson Mandela might be in favour of disciplinary steps being taken against the killers and torturers.

However, he believed this impossible, however, as the same people who had created the conditions were likely to carry out the investigations.

Twala claimed the camp commander at Quatro in Angola, where most of the killings took place during 1981—1982, was now in London as part of the ANC's security department.

Nicholas Dyasop, an ANC dissident whose companion, Sipho Phungulwa, was shot and killed recently following a visit to the ANC office in Transkei, claimed they had been "set up" by the organisation.

Transkei police had done nothing to solve the case, although he had told them he had personally seen the youth who did the shooting.

Dyasop said he had come out of hiding to be interviewed so that if he were killed, people would know the cause.

Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the ANC had not been responsible for any set-up leading to Phungulwa's death.

Referring to Twala's allegations of torture in ANC prison camps, Hani said certain shortcomings in the running of the prison camps had been rectified.

Asked whether any disciplinary steps had been taken as promised by Mandela when he admitted earlier this year that torture had occurred in the camps, Hani said: "I'm not personally aware that anybody was ever pinpointed as having been responsible for torture."

Hani rejected demands for a public inquiry into conditions at the camps. He said the ANC did not have time to waste listening to people who wanted to discredit the organisation for their own political reasons.

"We are not going to allow ourselves to be dragged before a so-called commission of inquiry."

Asked if he would guarantee the lives of dissidents, Hani said the ANC had no programme to kill them. — Sapa

# ANC's Suttner sees extinction of the UDF

THE ANC did not want community organisations to be absorbed into its structures and anticipated that the UDF would gradually be phased out of existence, ANC political education head Raymond Suttner said yesterday.

Suttner said in an interview that the ANC believed it was important that civic, women's and cultural organisations retained their own identities, and that they formed their own representative organisations at regional and national levels.

It was also ANC policy, he said, that SRCs did not have to comprise ANC or Congress of SA Students (Cosas) members only.

One of the main lessons from the East European experience was that it was important for other organisations to retain identities distinct from the main national political organisation.

He said the ANC would continue to have close relations with these organisations

PETER DELMAR

and assist them in building structures. It was not ANC policy to "swallow up" community organisations.

"The ANC is the broadest organisation in the political sense in that it embraces more people than any other organisation."

## Distinct

"However, there are many of these civic organisations which have non-political functions which serve the interests of all residents, ANC supporters and others."

Suttner predicted the UDF would continue to exist as a distinct co-ordinating organisation for the "meantime".

"In the long run, we expect that civic structures will be developed to co-ordinate on national and regional levels and that the UDF is likely to be phased out."

# Sword of dishonour

Nelson Mandela's tour of America has illuminated certain inherent contradictions in his and the ANC's position. One is that intensified sanctions — "keeping the pressure on" — will be followed by a massive package of investment and aid to SA, at a time considered appropriate by the ANC.

There are two flaws: that the ANC is somehow the sole legitimate representative of SA; and that there will ever be investment and aid on such a happy scale. Mandela's praise of Fidel Castro and so on has damaged him in the West, which is where investment comes from.

Another contradiction is even more pertinent. It concerns violence. Perhaps the major blunder of the US tour was his statement, on the White House lawn, that George Bush had called for an end to the armed struggle because "he has not, as yet, got a proper briefing from us."

Bush is obviously well aware of developments in SA. The threat — voiced by Winnie Mandela — that there could be a "return to the bush" if negotiations break down, is essentially the ANC's position. It is rejected by the US. Certainly, when Mandela emerged from his meeting, he appeared to

modify his stance — speaking, according to Herman Cohen, of a possible cessation of "hostilities" soon after his return to SA.

It seems that pressure is mounting on Mandela to abandon the armed struggle in its entirety — and not just attacks on the apparatus of State, suspended in any case for some years. The armed struggle also means the ungovernability of the townships — expressed in rent strikes and people's courts — which has so notably spiralled out of control in Natal.

It will be easier to forswear a guerrilla war — if it was ever that — than make peace in places like Inanda or Khayelitsha, where, this week, many shacks were burnt down in conflict between the ANC and PAC. Mandela says, of course, that "the methods of political action which are used by the black people of SA were determined by government."

But if government plays its part in negotiations, that excuse will fall away and the genuine level of support for the ANC where it actually matters will finally be determined. ■  
□ See *Current Affairs*.

# Township youths urged to mobilise whites for 'struggle'

Handwritten notes: Natal, 29/6/60, 117

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Township youths have been urged to mobilise their white counterparts in Johannesburg's northern suburbs to "join them in the struggle".

Steve Tshwete, ANC national executive committee member told about 200 youths in Johannesburg to "intensify the struggle" as victory was in sight.

Mr Tshwete was speaking at a service to mark the ANC's 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter organised by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

## NO EASY TASK

The Freedom Charter adopted on June 26, 1955, calls for a non-racial democratic South Africa and led to a split from the ANC by the Africanists who later formed the PAC in 1959.

Mr Tshwete warned the youths that their task would not be easy and advised them to persist in their efforts in encouraging their white counter-

parts to join the struggle.

"I know that it will not be easy, but you must go out and organise and mobilise.

"You must not forget that there is no easy road to freedom. It is like driving a car to Pretoria. You have to engage it in different gears and even in reverse to move forward.

"Only a bad driver will engage his car in one gear ending up stalling on the way," he said.

He said organisations such as the PAC and its allies, who had accused the ANC of being "sellouts" for taking part in negotiations with the government were beginning to have a rethink.

He said the ANC did not speak of "round table discussions" but of a constituent assembly in which all parties would be elected by all people.

● A Sayco spokesman announced that next week had been declared a week of action in solidarity with the violence in Natal.



JOE SLOVO believes he is one man who won't live to see a communist order in SA. He is even unsure whether his children will live to see it.

Interviewed in the ANC offices in central Johannesburg this week, the 64-year-old SA Communist Party secretary general spoke about his hopes and plans for a new, post-apartheid society.

He warns at the outset that if the interviewer is expecting a precise timetable for the socialist transformation of capitalist SA, he's not going to get one.

It is unfair, he says, to expect the Communist Party to have a precise economic blueprint.

"It's only in the past year and a half or two years that we smelt the possibility of moving towards a post-apartheid SA. Until recently we've concentrated on how to get there.

"It would have been no earthly use for us to draw up an economic blueprint every year since 1912 (the year the ANC was founded) on the assumption that it would be able to

# Sooner dead than red, says Slovo

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11A

implement it the next year.

"What I will never see in my lifetime, and I'm not sure if it will be in my children's lifetime, is proper communism, simply because the material base for an egalitarian society is not there."

He does not believe in a "big bang" theory of socialism either.

It is a fact of historical progression, he says, that capitalist development is a prerequisite for socialism, by raising the material base of a society.

Is the solution not a reformed, or benevolent capitalism? Slovo doesn't think so. He is unsure whether capitalism can be benevolent.

What is needed is an economic system which encourages private initiative but with a state mechanism which ensures that economic forces serve the interests of the majority.

## PETER DELMAR

"Personally I believe the market in current world conditions is the most efficient means of realising a surplus and of realising growth. But the market is simply not the most efficient means of apportioning that surplus."

The SACP, he says, has no clear concept of just how far the state should intervene in the economy. He says ANC working groups are currently engaged in studying each sector of the economy, to work out a multisectoral approach to the issue.

Slovo is realistic about the role of capital in the post-apartheid society. Capital, both foreign and local, will continue to be needed.

And, he acknowledges: "Capital is not a charity. It needs stability and it

needs a guarantee that it won't be confiscated."

But still the perception persists that the SACP and Slovo cannot wait to get their hands on the Anglo billions. He doesn't particularly want the Anglo chair, he says, and probably wouldn't have the foggiest idea of how to go about leading the corporation. Installing one of his skilled lieutenants would probably not be the best idea either.

Slovo says there should be no illusions about the party's end goal. It has no secret agenda and remains committed to socialism.

"At the end of the day, we firmly believe that the only rational way to order the economy is to move towards a socialist society."

Slovo is candid about the SACP's past. Some people might have good reason to suspect that the party simply cannot be trusted, he says. He

refers again to the "murky waters" in which it has bathed.

He is continuing the SACP's public expurgation first embarked on in his booklet *Has Socialism Failed?* and carried through in recent public acknowledgements that the party's endorsement of Stalinist policies amounted to a knee-jerk reaction.

The SACP, Slovo firmly believes, has thrown its hat into the public political ring and is prepared to take its chances like any other party. Its "conspiratorial" past, which he acknowledges, will soon be almost completely behind it.

It no longer believes its vanguard role should be entrenched and that a socialist future can be realised only through "civil society and proper democratic processes".

"What we need is a multiparty democracy in which those who want capitalism will be allowed to campaign for it, while those who want socialism will have the same right."

REVIEWS

## Stayaway goes on in face of dissent

(152) DANIEL FELDMAN (11A)

IN spite of rejection by the PAC, Nactu and Inkatha of a stayaway and week-long protest against Natal violence, the organisers are to go ahead with their plans.

Cosatu, the UDF and Sayco said yesterday that the proposed "week of national action" would comprise the national stayaway on July 2, marches and rallies countrywide on July 7, and locally organised actions from July 2-6.

UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said at a Press conference yesterday the action would proceed as planned, despite PAC, Nactu and Inkatha statements opposing it.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday warned trade unions against political activities which would contribute to countrywide destabilisation of the political situation. He said firm action would be taken and new legislation could be implemented to curb this trend. b.10am, 29/6/90

Speaking to Pietersburg businessmen, Vlok welcomed the PAC's offer yesterday to mediate in the Natal deadlock between the ANC and Inkatha, but said he was surprised by the move as the PAC had not shown any willingness to negotiate with anyone before.

On Wednesday, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said his organisation could not support the stayaway and protest campaign as "it led to a misdirection of the struggle away from the principal enemy".

In response, Morobe called on the PAC

To Page 2

## Stayaway b.10am 29/6/90

and its affiliates to "withdraw their opposition to the mass action, and to contribute towards pressuring the regime to end the violence in Natal".

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said urgent steps needed to be taken to achieve peace in Natal, including the immediate lifting of the state of emergency, the disarming and disbanding of the KwaZulu police force, the dismantling of the KwaZulu "bantustan", the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into police activity in Natal and the arrest and prosecution of the warlords.

(152) (11A) From Page 1

The decision to take national action, "was not taken lightly", Morobe said.

But he said it was obvious peace moves at regional level were doomed to failure.

A President's Office spokesman said the President would not comment on the proposed action.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday condemned the planned stayaway, saying it was another way of fanning the flames of violence in the country.

Comment: Page 8

## Winnie cuts her vivas to suit the ANC

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The crowds may go wild when Winnie Mandela raises her fist and cries "Amandla!", but her husband is apparently less amused by her fiery rhetoric.

On several occasions over the past week, she has hinted not too subtly that she is being reined in.

At Wednesday's ceremony at Martin Luther King's Atlanta grave, she said, with a touch of sarcasm: "I would like to thank the ANC deputy president for his announcement that the ANC is committed to the equality of women. Thank you, sir."

Addressing 20 000 "comrades" at Washington's convention centre the previous evening, she observed: "When he has spoken, I shouldn't speak. When we get back to the hotel, I'm going to be in trouble."

Mandela and others on the podium behind her did not join in the laughter. Their faces were even stonier when she appealed for funds to help the families of ANC combatants because "if you are a communist in SA, nobody wants to come near you".

While her notices in the US Press had generally been adulatory, her remarks have been at odds with her delegation's efforts to portray the ANC as a peaceful and non-ideological organisation whose resort to arms was purely defensive.

She began her first speech in New York last week by shouting "Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe!" Since then she has limited her vivas to the ANC, her husband and ANC president Oliver Tambo. B Day 29/6/90

In most of her appearances with her husband, she has appeared solemn and increasingly tired, only becoming animated in front of a microphone.

May 21/6/90  
**Azapo corrects**

**PAC description**

AZAPO general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe has said that a report in Business Day on Wednesday incorrectly referred to the PAC as a black consciousness organisation. The organisation describes itself as Africanist. (1A)

# SA has cost US taxpayers \$150m so far

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — In an effort to dampen demands that the ANC be given up to \$50m to look after refugees and strengthen its political base, the US administration is claiming that the American taxpayer has already contributed "more than \$150m" to the cause.

(11A)  
These funds, according to a Press release issued by the US Agency for International Development (AID), had been allocated since 1982 to "strengthen resistance to apartheid, build black bargaining power and help blacks prepare for leadership in a non-racial democracy".

The figure is misleading in that not only has a considerable portion of the money gone to pay the expenses and overheads of the private US contractors who administer most of the projects, but much remains "in the pipeline" and has not actually been spent on its would-be beneficiaries.

The identities of the SA beneficiaries of the fund are considered "classified information" by the US authorities and have never been fully listed.

A sum of \$48.7m has been spent on scholarships for black students in the US and SA. A total of 613 have entered undergraduate or graduate programmes in the US, "virtually all" receiving degrees and returning to SA. A further 185 start this year.

About \$24m has been set aside to "supplement the inadequate government education system".

Human rights grants worth \$8m have been awarded to "human rights advocacy groups", to provide legal assistance and correspondence courses for detainees and to aid "victims of violence".

About \$3.3m is being allocated this year for "community development".

A sum of \$7.2m has been budgeted for "black private enterprise development" by "strengthening black business organisations" and "training black women".

The AFL-CIO's African-American Labour Centre has received \$7.3m since 1983 to help black unions.

Finally, AID and the State Department are "studying" how to spend the \$10m allocated by Congress earlier this year to "support and encourage negotiations".

Some of these funds "may be used" to support "previously banned organisations which commit to a suspension of violence in the context of negotiations".

*Mail 29/6/90*  
**Nzo to address ANC  
meeting in Alex (11A)**

AFRICAN National Congress general secretary and former Alexandra resident Alfred Nzo will visit the township this weekend — for the first time in 27 years — to address an ANC membership drive meeting.

Alexander Civic Association secretary, Obed Bapela, said yesterday the Alexandra branch of the ANC had a membership of 1 000, and their target was 50 000.

“The presence of Nzo at this weekend meeting, which coincides with the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, will take our organisation to greater heights,” he said.

# Scuffles for Mandela in cool Miami

11A

*W. Mail 29/6 - 11/7/90*  
By MARK VAN DER VELDEN

MIAMI: Two groups of protesters came close to blows last night when Nelson Mandela was due to speak to labour leaders at the Miami Beach Convention Centre.

Police had to keep apart a group of about 300 pro-Mandela demonstrators, including Palestine Liberation Organisation supporters, from their equally noisy opponents, mainly Cuban exiles showing their anger at Mandela's support for Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

After one initial scuffle in which a small group of Mandela supporters was inadvertently let into the area on the anti-Mandela side, police established a well-defined no-man's-land between the two groups.

The exiles, including a number of rightwing Jewish community representatives, emphasised they supported the African National Congress's struggle against apartheid but could not see how Mandela associated this with Castro.

— Sapa

# SADF denies ANC link caused camp cancellation

WIM 29/6/90  
By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE cancellation of Louis Bredenkamp's military camp had nothing to do with his being an African National Congress member, said a South African Defence Force representative yesterday.

Bredenkamp, however, who sent affidavits to the defence force and Exemption Board on June 21 informing them he would no longer serve in the SADF because he was an ANC member, disputes this.

Commandant Gideon Brink, representative for the South African Medical Service of the defence force said more people were called up for the June 18 medics camp at Verwoerdburg Unit 7 than were needed: "It was therefore decided to accommodate — amongst others — Corporal Bredenkamp. The fact that he is a full-time student was also taken into account."

He dismissed claims that the SADF was "biding its time" in responding to defence force members who declared themselves to be ANC members. "We have nothing to do with people's political affiliations, whether ... left or right", he said.

Commandant Brink said a letter was sent to Bredenkamp on June 11, informing him he was no longer needed for the camp.

He said the fact that Bredenkamp had not received the letter until June 25 was an "administrative problem". He added that repeated phone calls to Bredenkamp on June 18, (the day his camp was supposed to begin), threatening him with "trouble" if he did not report for duty the next morning, was a case of the right arm not knowing what the left was doing: "If someone phoned him afterwards and called him for the camp, this must have been an administrative oversight."

He refused to disclose figures of other conscripts relieved of doing the camp.

Bredenkamp views the SADF's actions as "extremely suspicious", however. He says the cancellation letter received by his mother on June 25 bears a stamp dated June 11.

"The post office stamp is dated June 22 however" — the day after Bredenkamp informed the SADF he was an ANC member and would not report for duty.

Bredenkamp's mother, Mildred, is certain the letter was backdated. "His camp was only cancelled after they received his affidavits. Why else would they look for him and cancel the camp four days later?"

A representative from the defence ministry said he was not aware of Bredenkamp's case, but added that call-up instructions still applied to every white man who qualified, regardless of their political affiliation.

He said Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, (answering a question posed in parliament on April 18) stressed that the unbanning of the ANC and SACP would have no effect on the position of white males compelled to do military service.



# No visa yet for ANC culture chief

By ANDREW MELDRUM

HARARE: The culture chief of the African National Congress, Barbara Masekela, due to speak next week at the Grahamstown Festival, has not yet been able to get a visa to come home.

Masekela is currently in the United States as part of the Mandela delegation.

A representative of the Department of Arts and Culture, which she heads, charged yesterday its work is being impeded because few of its officials are getting South African visas.

"We intended to start a nationwide tour with what was to be our participation at the Congress of South African Writers' AGM in Durban last weekend. For weeks we waited for approval for visas, but none came," said Louise Colvin, the department's administrator in Lusaka.

"We had also planned to meet cultural groups from as wide a range as possible, but now we just have to sit and wait. These delays make a mockery of the unbanning of the ANC."

After the unbanning of the ANC the cultural wing received invitations to attend events like the Grahamstown Festival, the Wits Drama Workshop, the

launch of a new librarians' association and of the Union of Democratic University Staff Association, said Colvin, who is known in the ANC as Angela Brown.

"We wanted to attend these events and present our cultural goals," she said. "We felt it was important to go and see for ourselves the cultural activities within the MDM structures and the lesser organised communities. We wanted to meet with the many other cultural bodies which couldn't afford to sponsor festivals and didn't have the resources to send out such invitations."

Colvin said the department was eager to become involved with grassroots cultural groups and artists.

"The greatest challenge now facing these groups is effective organisation and national co-ordination. Here the Department of Arts and Culture feel we have a role to play in helping."

The cultural department has in recent years organised regional and international tours of ANC artists and organised seminars and workshops.

"Democratic cultural workers have a fundamental role to play in transforming our society," said Colvin. "We want

to reach out and open dialogue and debate, especially on the language and national questions.

"We want to be part of creating a new South African culture which celebrates the country's cultural diversity and which promotes democratic, non-racial and non-sexist values. If we don't enter such dialogues and try to change hardened attitudes, then there will be no meaningful change."

Colvin explained that it was for this reason — and because a national meeting of cultural workers had adopted a "no-boycott" position — that the ANC cultural wing had accepted the Grahamstown Festival invitation.

"However, we took note of criticism that the festival is still essentially centred on European culture, and needs to involve more grassroots cultural organisations at all levels."

If a visa is issued, Masekela is to bring these issues up when she joins in a panel discussion on Thursday.

"We want to open an exciting debate," said Colvin, "about building a new culture that looks to our own people for inspiration."

W. Mail 29/6/90

11A

## Nobel nomination made for Mandela

The Star's Foreign News Service

DETROIT — More than 50 United States Congressmen are to nominate African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela for the Nobel Peace Prize.

US anti-apartheid activist the Rev Jesse Jackson said in Detroit last night that a total of 53 senators and representatives had agreed to a joint nomination.

If Mr Mandela should be awarded the prize, he would be the third South African to receive it. Chief Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were awarded the prize.

Mr Jackson, who has travelled with Mr Mandela throughout his US tour, said the nomination of the ANC leader for the prize would keep the South African issue alive.

He said Mr Mandela had more popularity than President de Klerk in South Africa and more credibility than the entire South African Government, yet he could not vote in his own country.

# Stayaway workers will risk penalties

11A 29/6/90

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia and Karen Stander

Employers may take disciplinary action against workers who heed the ANC/Cosatu call for a national stayaway and nationwide protests planned for next week.

All companies interviewed by The Star said a policy of "no work, no pay" would be followed. Some said disciplinary action could be taken.

The Cosatu campaign, endorsed by the ANC and the UDF, aims to force the Government to take action against KwaZulu Police and Inkatha "warlords" to end the six-year Natal war which has cost 3 000 lives.

Next week's protest campaign has pitted the ANC and Cosatu in a new confrontation with Inkatha, while the South African Council of Churches has formulated a peace proposal in a bid to defuse possible violence.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will not support the campaign. The PAC has appealed to the ANC to halt the campaign, saying it could only serve to heighten the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

An SACC code of conduct during the campaign has been endorsed by both the ANC and Inkatha.

Yesterday both Cosatu and Inkatha called on opposing factions not to intimidate workers either opposed to, or supporting the stayaway.

Employers interviewed yesterday expressed discontent with the organisers of the stayaway and said the protest action would do little to solve the Natal conflict.

## Mockery

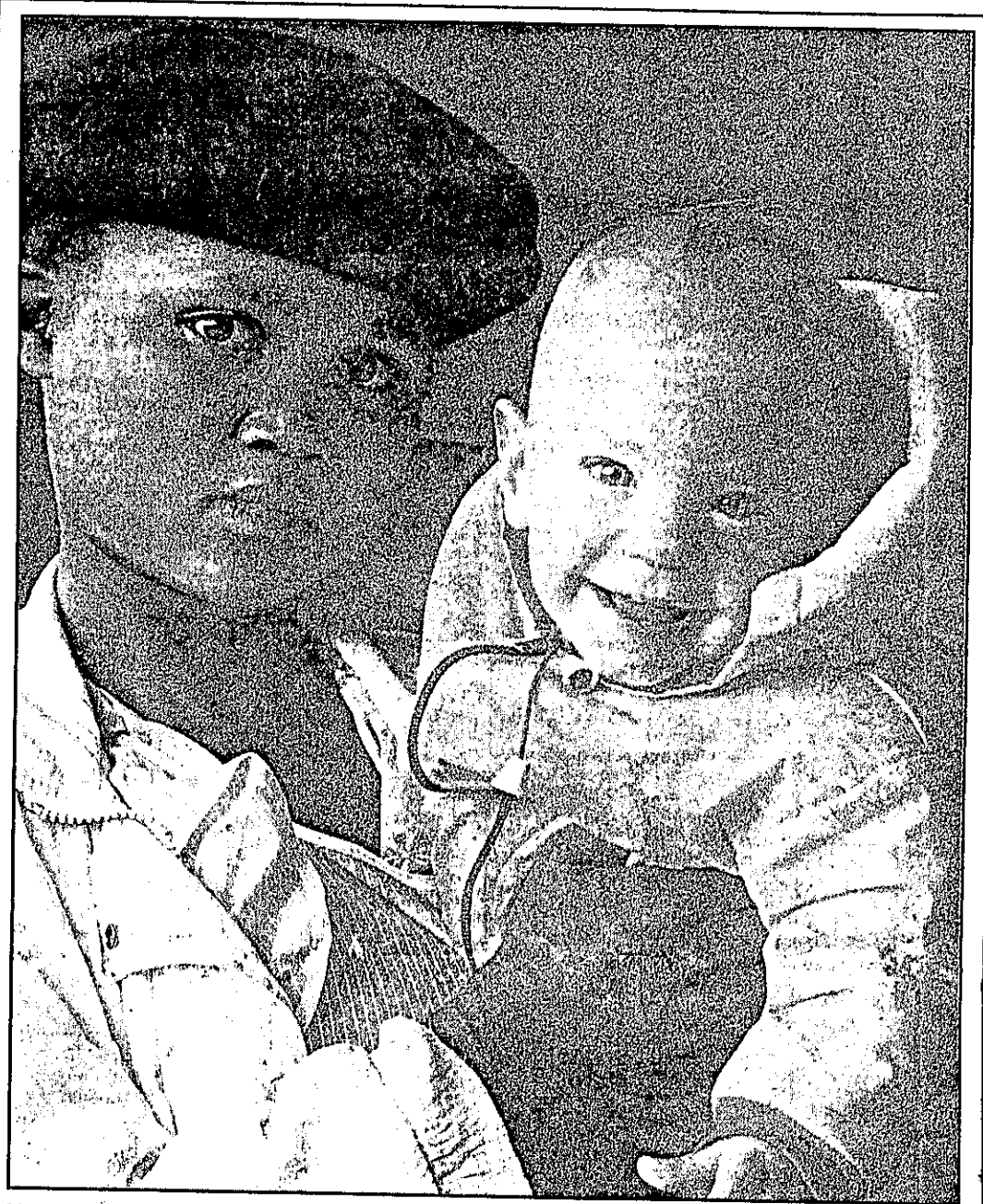
Anglo American spokesman James Duncan said the company did not support stayaways as a means of solving problems. Anglo would implement its policy of "no work, no pay".

The managing director of the South African Breweries Beer Division, Graham Mackay said SAB had also adopted a policy of "no work and no pay", and depending on the circumstances, disciplinary action may be brought against workers who heeded the stayaway call.

Cosatu's campaign, Mr Mackay added, was making a mockery of the ongoing talks between employers and organised labour.

Chain stores have arranged for housewives and students to fill in for protesters at the tills.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday called by Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the intention of the week of protest was to pressure President



No sale ... nanny Mina Thobedi was confronted by two men who offered R1 000 to buy fourteen-month-old Chandre for a witchdoctor.

● Picture by Sean Woods.

By Shareen Singh

Two men tried to buy a 14-month-old baby for a witchdoctor, a young Roodepoort mother told The Star yesterday.

Debbie van Ryneveld, of Witpoortjie, said she was shocked when her maid, Mina Thobedi, telephoned her at work and told her that two men had offered R1 000 for her son Chandre.

When Mina refused to hand over the baby, the men said they would send someone later with R5 000 to

## Men try to buy baby for witchdoctor

collect it for a witchdoctor.

Mrs van Ryneveld and her husband rushed home immediately and telephoned the police.

The police kept a watch on the house from a side street, Mrs van

Ryneveld said. At about 3 pm a man shouted to the maid from across the road that he had come to collect the baby.

But then he realised the parents were at home and said he would be back today.

Mrs van Ryneveld said her husband would be able to identify the man, but the police did not see the incident.

Since the ordeal she has taken Chandre and Mina to work with her. "I am too scared to leave my baby at home," she said.

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## 'Find the will'

Mr Naidoo said the State had the capacity to end the conflict, if it could find the political will. "The national mass action is designed to encourage it to find that will."

In Ulundi yesterday, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there had not been "one single call for a stay-at-home which had not been enforced upon the people".

It was tragic that the leadership of the ANC, including deputy president Nelson Mandela, still insisted that the armed struggle was necessary and should not be called off, he said.

● In Durban, ANC leader Walter Sisulu said Monday's stayaway action was decided upon because "we have no other weapon at our disposal" for ending the Natal carnage.

"The ANC reiterates in the strongest terms possible our support for the nationwide stayaway," he added.

Mr Sisulu said the steps needed to achieve Natal peace included disarming the KwaZulu Police, dismantling the "KwaZulu bantustan" and arresting known "warlords".

# Bush succeeds in keeping the comrade at arms' length

Star 29/6/90 (11A)



Not giving an inch . . . For all his bonhomie, President Bush made clear he will continue to press the ANC to renounce violence and rejected Mandela's appeal to be consulted on when to remove sanctions.

During his three days in Washington, Mr Nelson Mandela was treated as the leader-in-waiting of South Africa's first post-apartheid government.

He spoke to a joint session of Congress, he had a three-hour audience, plus lunch, at the White House, and his motorcades were almost as long as President Gorbachev's.

But the 71-year-old deputy president of the African National Congress must have known that, for all the courtesy and bonhomie, President George Bush is no soft touch.

On the issues of importance to Mr Mandela — sanctions against South Africa, financial assistance to the ANC, and the validity of violence in the struggle against apartheid — Mr Bush gave not one inch.

He made clear he would continue to press the ANC (as well as all other parties to the conflict) to renounce violence.

He informed Mr Mandela that the US would not directly fund the ANC.

He rejected Mr Mandela's appeal to be consulted on when to remove sanctions against South Africa.

The president's only promise was to consult Congress, in line with the provisions of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Mr Mandela appeared sufficiently jolted by Mr Bush's call for an end to violence that he took the unusual step of reprimanding the president for being inadequately briefed on conditions in South Africa.

For Mr Bush, an old CIA hand who prides himself on reading his intelligence briefs, this was an insult.

Washington was always going to be the most difficult stop on Mr Mandela's schedule, partly because of Mr Bush's declared desire to show a gesture

The ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, must have known President George Bush is not a soft touch, writes **LIONEL BARBER.**

of support for the reformist President F W de Klerk.

Besides, no US president is likely to feel comfortable embracing a Left-inclined head of a liberation movement such as Mr Mandela, still less a man who calls President Fidel Castro of Cuba, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and Mr Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) comrades in arms.

Mr Mandela did his best to bridge the divide.

The former amateur boxer spoke on Monday night of his admiration for Joe Louis, the black American heavyweight boxing champion who had been given a chance to rise to the top of his profession.

## Applause

He described the private sector as an engine of growth and declared that the ANC had no ideological position which dictated a policy of nationalisation.

In his speech to Congress, Mr Mandela likened his battle against apartheid to the fight for justice pursued by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Dr Martin Luther King. The applause flowed, but more memorable was the silence as Mr Mandela, too didactic, sought to educate members on the history of the struggle.

This was a big opportunity missed, said one informed African observer in Washington. Mr Mandela had the chance to make a big sales pitch for financial aid, and he failed to take it.

Congress has already set

aside about \$10 million (about R26 million) of taxpayers' money this year to be dispensed by non-governmental US organisations, such as the National Endowment for Democracy, to help black South African groups.

This week he spelt out that a cessation of hostilities would occur once the De Klerk government had removed the remaining obstacles to negotiations on a new constitution. These include the return of 20 000 political exiles, the release of 1 000 political prisoners, the repeal of repressive legislation, and full removal of the state of emergency.

Although Mr Mandela expressed confidence on this point, many observers believe such an agreement with the Pretoria government could be several months away.

Even so, Mr Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, conceded this week that a deal on political prisoners, coupled with the lifting of the state of emergency in the province of Natal, would be enough to allow Mr Bush to recommend suspending or modifying sanctions. — Financial Times.

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# Adulation blurs the real message to Mandela

Nelson Mandela's qualifications for a triumphal tour of the United States could scarcely be bettered.

Consciously or otherwise, many white Americans feel guilty about the lot of black Americans, vastly improved though the lot of many blacks nowadays may be.

Mr Mandela is a black with an heroic past, a man of tremendous presence and moral authority who has emerged from a quarter-century of imprisonment to negotiate the end of apartheid.

Above all, he is English-speaking but non-American, and can be hero-worshipped without consequences for the US. If he says anything threatening, it can be ignored.

No matter that he should publicly thank Messrs Gaddafi and Castro — devils incarnate for many Americans — for supporting the African National Congress's liberation struggle "to the hilt", or that he should call Yasser Arafat a comrade-in-arms.

No matter that he should re-

Despite the controversy surrounding some of his recent statements, Nelson Mandela's stature is such that he cannot be ignored, says The Independent of London in an editorial (119)  
Star 29/1/90

terate to American businessmen the ANC's commitment to nationalisation. Mr Mandela's status as a safe, avuncular and non-resident fusion of Martin Luther King and the Rev Jesse Jackson guarantees him immunity from censure, even from controversy.

The aims of his visit are to raise funds for the ANC (East European subsidies having ceased) and to make several important political points to President Bush and his Secretary of State, James Baker.

Mr Mandela wants economic sanctions against South Africa maintained in order to keep up the pressure on President de Klerk's Government as it negotiates a new political order with black leaders.

He wants the South African president to understand that much of the violence in his home country has been inflicted by whites against blacks.

It is logical, too, that he should identify some inconsistencies in American policy in Southern Africa: for example, in Angola.

## Military aid

Bizarrely, the Bush administration is asking Congress to approve an extra \$15 million, or about R39,3 million (on top of an annual \$50-million — about R130 million) in covert military aid to the Unita rebel movement led by Jonas Savimbi. The main backers of Unita have been the South Africans.

It is nonsense for the US to impose economic sanctions on the South African Government while co-sponsoring a movement with such a record of ruthlessness.

The pull-out of Cuban troops from Angola is ahead of schedule and the Soviet Union has suggested a superpower arms

cut-off. To no avail.

However naive Mr Mandela may seem about Messrs Gaddafi, Castro and Arafat, he is right about Unita. Yet it may be wondered whether his six-week tour abroad (including 12 days in the United States) is altogether wise or necessary. Leaving aside the trip's toll on his fragile health, the adulation which he receives must give him a misleading impression of the real world.

The message that communism and nationalisation have been tried and found wanting seems not to have got through to him. Muammar Gaddafi and Fidel Castro are widely reviled by those who cherish human rights.

The two great threats to political reform in South Africa are seen to be white extremists of the far right, and violence between the ANC's supporters and the Zulus of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

These will be the real tests of Mr Mandela's authority and stature.

...and they would  
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The police kept a watch on the  
house from a side street, Mrs van

her. "I am too scared to leave my  
baby at home," she said.

# SAP face unacceptable level of crime, says FW

Political Staff

Unacceptably high levels of crime and violence were jeopardising efforts to negotiate a new South Africa, President de Klerk said today near Pretoria.

Constitutional change invariably created uncertainty and even instability, he said, "but what our policemen have to deal with goes beyond what one may reasonably expect".

Addressing a police parade at the Hammanskraal Training College, Mr de Klerk said crime and violence were still prevalent in South African society. The Government was committed to creating peace, stability and a place in the sun for all.

"This aim is being jeopardised by the high incidence of serious crime such as murders, serious assaults, robberies, rapes and house-breakings," he said.

Political violence had an equal-

ly detrimental effect on efforts to negotiate a just constitutional dispensation.

The danger police were exposed to was not sufficiently appreciated by the public, Mr de Klerk said. In the 12 months ending May 31 this year, 69 policemen were killed while pursuing their duties and 28 had to leave because of medical disability.

## Cold-blooded

"While the duties of policemen are always accompanied by a measure of risk, it is totally unacceptable that members of the force should become victims of calculated and cold-blooded attacks on them and their families."

The Government had introduced measures to shore up the police force to deal with the crime, and had done all it could to keep the police out of the political arena.

# Nobel nomination made for Mandela

The Star's Foreign News Service

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If Mr Mandela should be awarded the prize, he would be the third South African to receive it. Chief Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were awarded the prize.

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# Inkatha nod for 'peaceful' ANC

Star 29/6/90

11A

By Kaizer Nyatumba

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today the ANC and others had the right to operate freely in the Natal-KwaZulu region, but challenged them to conduct their activities peacefully.

Responding to ANC Southern Natal convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota's challenge that he state publicly whether the ANC had a right to organise freely in his stronghold, Chief Buthelezi said he and Inkatha believed that freedom of political choice and association was paramount.

## Intimidation

He pointed out Mr Lekota was already organising freely in the area, as were the PAC and Azapo.

Chief Buthelezi, who said he had received reports of intimidation against Inkatha supporters by people claiming to be ANC members, challenged Mr Lekota "to publicly state" whether he would personally ensure that intima-

tion experienced by Inkatha members would stop.

Inkatha, he said, did not condone "in any way whatsoever" behaviour which threatened property, lives or other organisations.

Chief Buthelezi further challenged Mr Lekota to publicly state:

● Whether he and the ANC leadership would ensure that the July 2 stayaway would be peaceful and not result in loss of life.

## Widows, orphans

● That they and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) would accept responsibility for any violence on the day and compensate "each and every victim".

● That they will care for the widows, orphans and others who might lose "loved ones and breadwinners" because of the stayaway.

● That people who wanted to go to work but were prevented from doing so would be compensated by the ANC and Cosatu.

Mr Lekota, who is in Natal, could not be reached for comment.



# Buthelezi welcomes PAC offer to act in peace talks

**INKATHA President and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday welcomed the Pan Africanist Congress offer to mediate in talks between Inkatha and the African National Congress to end violence in Natal.**

"Anybody who can positively contribute to ensuring peace and stability become a lasting

reality for all suffering people in Natal have a role to play."

He said in a statement that before any decisions could be made about potential mediators however, it was up to the ANC leadership to announce whether they were willing to talk peace in

the region.

"Inkatha is ready for such an eventuality.

"We really do anxiously await the commitment of the ANC to accept what Dr Nelson Mandela is said to have told US President George Bush - that both the ANC and Inkatha must sit

around the same table and discuss the violence in Natal."

PAC earlier offered to mediate in Inkatha-ANC talks and said it would not support the ANC campaign or call for a national stayaway in Natal.

The organisation said "we cannot lend our support to any campaign from any quarter should the outcome be division and further violent clashes". - Sapa

11A

Sowetan 29/6/90

# Harsh attack on Mandela and praise for FW by top US paper

11A  
25A

NEW YORK - The *New York Times* yesterday took Mr Nelson Mandela to task for "changing the rules at the expense of President FW de Klerk" by reserving for the ANC and blacks the right to decide when the United States should lift sanctions.

The challenge to Mandela from the *Times*,

Sowetan 27/6/90  
**Sowetan Foreign News Service**

a highly influential newspaper that has been a constant champion of sanctions against South Africa and a remorseless critic of its policies, is the first by a major newspaper since he began his visit here eight days ago.

More surprising was its support for De Klerk's role in the process of

change, referring to him as South Africa's "other liberating politician".

It said Mandela had earned an ovation during his address to Congress on Tuesday by invoking America's own struggles to broaden democracy.

It added: "The one jarring moment came when, having urged that sanctions remain in force, he suggested that his followers be the judge of when to lift them."

Mandela had insisted that it was "up to the people of South Africa", meaning its black majority, to determine when "profound changes have occurred and irreversible process achieved".

"Taken literally, that means changing the rules at the expense of President de Klerk, South Africa's other liberating politician," said the paper.

"Mr Mandela says it would be a mistake to reward Mr de Klerk for repairing wrongs that never should have occurred.

"But the purpose of sanctions is to squeeze apartheid, not to undercut a leader committed to change," it said.

Mr de Klerk faces hostile white conservatives who claim he has nothing to show for his reforms, not even a renunciation of violence by Mr Mandela's African National Congress."

It said the acclaim for Mandela was neither an endorsement of the ANC nor a rebuff to De Klerk, and added: "Moving the goal posts makes no sense."

"This is especially so since Mr Mandela himself has been notably vague about conditions for his own movement's ending its 'armed struggle', feeding suspicions that hurt his cause as well as Mr de Klerk's."

# Labour thanked for apartheid struggle

CAP 7141 29/6/70 (119)

MIAMI BEACH, Florida. — Greeted by jubilant crowds, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela thanked labour leaders yesterday for their help during three decades of struggle against apartheid.

Mr Mandela's speech to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was delayed for five minutes while the 3 000 delegates chanted "keep the pressure on, keep the pressure on".

Mandela praised the 1.25-million member union for its battle to halt the investment of public pension funds in companies that do business with South Africa.

"They have known us when very few thought of our people as human beings," he said at the Miami Beach Convention Centre. "They have comforted

us at the moment of our greatest pain and anguish. Above all they have actively opposed the infamous system of apartheid tyranny."

Mr Mandela's visit to Miami was the shortest and potentially most controversial stay on his eight-city US tour.

The controversy in Miami erupted earlier in the week, when five Cuban-American mayors jointly denounced Mr Mandela for his failure to condemn human rights violations in Cuba.

The declaration came amid a growing political rift over whether community leaders should applaud Mr Mandela's work against apartheid or rebuke him for his support of Cuban President Fidel Castro, PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat and Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi. — UPI

# Mandela muffles mouthy missus

By SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The crowds may go wild when Mrs Winnie Mandela raises her fist and cries "Amandla!", but her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela, is apparently less amused by her fiery rhetoric.

On several occasions over the past week, she has hinted not too subtly that she is being reined in.

At Wednesday's ceremony at Martin Luther King's grave in Atlanta, she said with more than a touch of sarcasm: "I would like to thank the ANC deputy president (Mr Mandela) for his announce-

ment that the ANC is committed to the equality of women. Thank you, sir."

Addressing 20 000 "comrades" at Washington's convention centre the previous evening, she delighted the crowd by observing: "When he has spoken, I shouldn't speak. When we get back to the hotel, I'm going to be in trouble."

Mr Mandela and others on the podium behind her did not join in the laughter. Their faces were even stonier when she appealed for funds to help the families of ANC combatants because "if you

are a communist in South Africa, nobody wants to come near you".

While her notices in the US press had generally been adulatory, her remarks — including one that black schools in South Africa are legitimate "military targets" — have been at odds with her delegation's efforts to portray the ANC as a peaceful and non-ideological organisation whose resort to arms was defensive.

In most of her appearances with her husband, she has appeared solemn and increasingly tired, only becoming animated in front of a microphone.

CAP TIME 29/6/90 (11A) (12)

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Communist Party is not mesmerised by the concept of nationalisation, and in fact supports a mixed economy, SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

The transfer of legal ownership from private hands to the state does not, in itself, really bring about any fundamental economic change, he said in an extensive interview with local and foreign journalists.

"It's got to be combined in those areas where it is justified, and it is not necessarily justified in all areas.

"We support a regulated market economy and we support a mixed

# SACP wants mixed economy Slovo

CARE TIMES 29/6/90

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economy in a post-apartheid South Africa in which there will be a place for private domestic and foreign capital. We are not opposed to the market.

"The market mechanism is an effective mechanism for the realisation of surplus... but not an effective mechanism for the fair distribution of that surplus."

Therefore, "the state has got to play a very im-

portant role in ensuring that the surplus which society generates is not just appropriated by 2% of the people who happen to own the means of production".

Mr Slovo maintained that the SACP's economic policies were attractive to foreign investment, but admitted the party had to do more to explain its standpoint.

Despite the structural economic problems fac-

ing the country at present, a post-apartheid South Africa could become an industrial giant.

"We believe that with the dismantling of apartheid — with South Africa no longer being the polecat of the world — there will be prospects for the South African industrial base to grow in a very dramatic fashion," he said. — Sapa

# ANC's Nzo returns to Alex after 25 years

Star 30/6/90 (1A) (230)

AFRICAN National Congress general secretary Alfred Nzo visits his hometown, Alexandra, today — after an absence of 25 years.

According to the Alexandra Civic Association (ACO), Mr Nzo (67) will visit his former home at 82, 3rd Avenue, Alexandra at 10 am.

## Fallen heroes

He will then embark on mini-tour of the dusty township to see the changes that have taken place during his absence.

ACO spokesman Obed Bapela said that after the tour Mr Nzo will go to the local cemetery to pay tribute to "the fallen heroes".

## JOVIAL RANTAO

After that he will speak to the media before addressing his "welcome home" rally at the Alexandra Stadium at 2 pm.

Mr Bapela said that the rally would start at 10 am and requested residents to come and welcome Alexandra's long-lost son.

Mr Nzo was born in Benoni in 1925. He was one of five children of a mine clerk.

He worked for two years in Alexandra as a health inspector, where he made contact with the ANC youth league.

He was dismissed from his job because of his involvement in politics.

# Stayaway call raises fears of new violence

Sta 30/6/90

(107)  
(108)  
(109)



**SUE OLSWANG**

AN INCREASINGLY bitter propaganda war between the African National Congress and rival groups has raised fears of renewed violence in South Africa's black townships.

Supporters of the ANC — which is jockeying with rivals for position ahead of political negotiations with the Government — have been involved in widespread armed clashes with supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in recent weeks.

The latest tension centres on the ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) call for nationwide protests against "black-on-black" violence in the ongoing battle with Inkatha supporters in Natal.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu this week said the ANC and its union and activist allies had organised marches, stayaways and rallies throughout next week to demand President de Klerk's intervention to stop the fighting, which has claimed thousands of lives.

The ANC and its allies have also demanded the disbanding of KwaZulu homeland and its police force, both headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Zulu Inkatha movement, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have condemned the protests, saying they will increase strife instead of helping to end it.

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) has stated it will not support the campaign and many

# The black sheep of the

# volk

## When Afrikaners stop believing in apartheid

PAT DEVEREAUX

MEMBERS of the Bredenkamp family are deeply rooted in the Afrikaner community, but they have been ostracised by relatives, shot at, harassed by "strange men in the night" and threatened with death — all because of they have stopped believing in apartheid.

And when they all joined the African National Congress in February, it didn't make things any easier.

Residing in Pretoria's Conservative Party-controlled suburb of Queenswood has not been easy for Mr Louis Bredenkamp, Snr, and his wife, Mildred, in the past couple of years.

"I haven't seen members of my family for three years because of our political differences. And my own brother, an AWB member, is one of the people who has threatened to eliminate me," said Mr Bredenkamp, whose name has appeared on a Civil Cooperation Bureau hit list.

His lawyers have already compiled a dossier of attacks the family has been subjected to:

- Shots were fired at their home during the Pretoria anti-apartheid bus defiance campaign last year.
- Mr Bredenkamp was shot at after attending a braai at the home of a black colleague's home in KwaNdebele in December.

### Rhodesian war

• Two white men attempted to set Mr Bredenkamp's



... and a son's conscience is aroused while in a shebeen

BY PAT DEVEREAUX

A PRETORIA University student had his 18-day call-up cancelled this week by the SA Defence Force — and he believes it was because he is a member of the African National Congress.

"I was called up to do a military camp during my university holidays a fortnight ago. When I didn't report to Seven Medical Battalion at Verwoerdburg the SADF called my home about six times and threatened to arrest me," Louis Bredenkamp said.

"However, after my lawyers sent the Exemption Board an affidavit stating my reasons for refusing to serve, the camp was suddenly cancelled," he said.

"I assume that my case has caused a dilemma for the SADF as I am applying for exemption on the grounds of my political and moral beliefs and the fact that I am an ANC



His lawyers have already compiled a dossier of attacks the family has been subjected to:

- Shots were fired at their home during the Pretoria anti-apartheid bus defiance campaign last year.
- Mr Bredenkamp was shot at after attending a braai at the home of a black colleague's home in KwaNdebele in December.

### Rhodesian war

• Two white men attempted to set Mr Bredenkamp's car alight outside his home.

• And lately, according to Mr Bredenkamp, strangers have been seen watching the house at odd hours.

"We've reported all these incidents to the police who claim to be investigating," said Mr Bredenkamp.

Raised as a staunch Afrikaner, South African-born Mr Bredenkamp had an English education in Rhodesia. He later married Mildred who is English speaking.

"I grew up on a farm and had many black friends. But the turning point for me was when I served as a soldier during the Rhodesian war. I witnessed such atrocities I decided I couldn't take it anymore."

Returning to South Africa in 1975 he began to question the apartheid system. "I wrote to State President Mr P W Botha in 1987 and asked him for his definition of democracy. It took six months before I got a reply

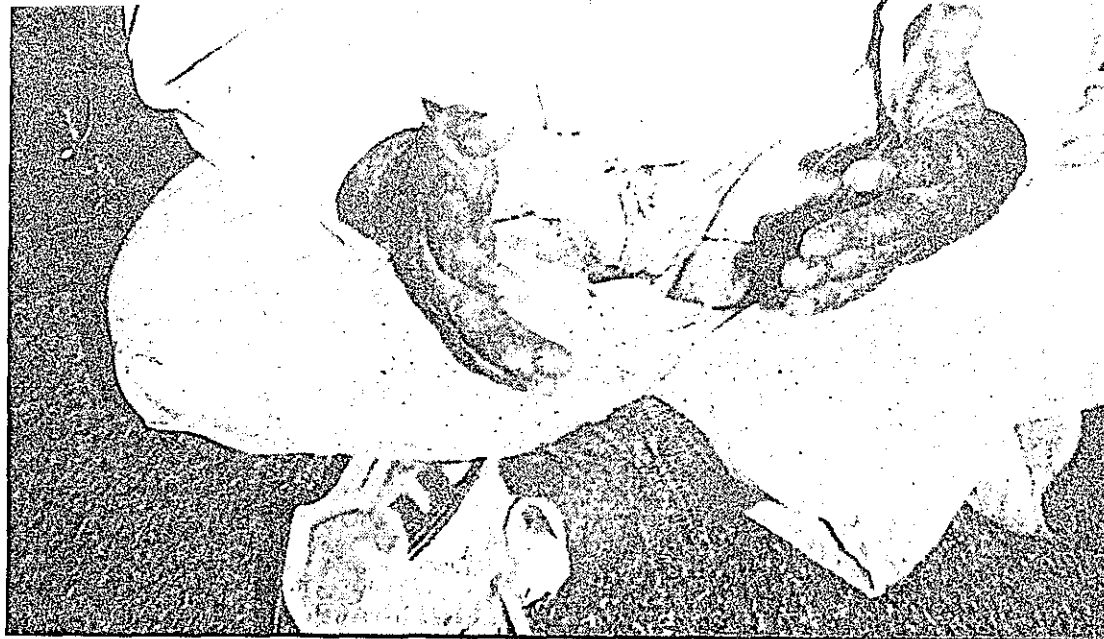
"Then I asked people in democratic organisations and their views made much more sense, so I joined them," said Mr Bredenkamp.

Although he denies influencing his family in any way, the young Bredenkamps seem to have followed in their father's footsteps.

The family were all arrested during the womens' march on Pretoria's Union building in August last year. Then in February this year all five members of the family became members of the ANC.

The youngest child Michelle (12) recently wrote to the newspapers complaining about South African Defence Force actions she had witnessed in Mamelodi. And a fortnight ago Louis Bredenkamp, Jnr, added his name to the list of conscientious objectors who refuse to serve in the SADF for moral and political reasons.

Asked about their views, Mr Bredenkamp said: "I think my family have become much more radical politically than I have ever been."



LOUIS BREDEKAMP: "The turning point for me was when I served as a soldier during the Rhodesian War." Photograph courtesy of City Press.

## Shark victim 'could have escaped'

### OWN CORRESPONDENT

MOSSEL BAY — Shark victim Monique Price could have escaped attack by submerging rather than staying on the ocean surface, according to what researchers believe.

Most shark attacks occur on the surface and it is possible that in the low visibility and choppy surf, the shark mistook Miss Price, her fiance Francois Swanepoel and friend Graham Nel for seals — which are known shark prey.

### Planning

Researchers believe that activity on the water surface attracts sharks because these ultra-sensitive creatures can pick up the vibrations.

If Miss Price had been closer to her companions and well below the surface, she would have been less conspicuous and their grouping together might have intimidated the shark.

Careful planning for emergencies and an assessment of the frequency of sharks in the area could have helped avert di-

saster, says Duncan Pattenden, an experienced diver and member of the National Association of Underwater Instructors (NAUI).

Attacks were obviously unpredictable and victims' reactions would vary, but adherence to certain rules could save lives, he said.

Mr Pattenden was responding to reports that Miss Price had entered the water after her companions.

The trio were out to recover an anchor lost from skiboat owner Hennie Terblanche's boat about 500m off the Hartenbos shore.

In his account of the attack, Mr Terblanche said the two men had gone into the water shortly before Miss Price, who was wearing a black wetsuit and compressed-air tank.

"She couldn't have been in the water for more than about two minutes when she started shouting 'Shark! Shark!' Suddenly this shark came out of the

water... I could see its white underbelly as it fought Miss Price."

He said the two divers swam towards Miss Price "in water thick with blood".

Mr Terblanche started the boat's motors and sped towards the divers. The shark disappeared.

Mr Pattenden said last Sunday's tragedy underlined the need for divers to be fully informed about the environment in which they sought adventure, and of emergency measures.

### Emergencies

Diving carried risks, but "it is as hazardous as you want to make it".

"Besides, there are many other reasons besides sharks for divers getting into trouble. There is really no special case for shark emergencies. Existing standards and procedures can be used effectively in almost all situations.

"The improvement of existing first-aid kits on skiboats would also help," he said.

• See full report in WEEKEND.

tion Board an affidavit stating my reasons for refusing to serve, the camp was suddenly cancelled," he said.

"I assume that my case has caused a dilemma for the SADF as I am applying for exemption on the grounds of my political and moral beliefs and the fact that I am an ANC member," said the 23-year-old final-year BSc student.

He added that he could not serve in the "apartheid" army until there was one-man, one-vote.

### First questions

Mr Bredenkamp said he had completed his initial two years' military service in Namibia and Angola in 1986.

"It was a natural step to go straight from school into the army. But I began to question things in the army after General Magnus Malan denied that the SADF was in Angola when I as a national serviceman was actually sitting there," he said.

He said initially he had been very "unpolitical but became conscientised in a shebeen".

"My father took me into the townships with him about three years ago... As I met more township residents I became more politically aware. I got involved in student politics and am an executive member of the Students Democratic Society. I joined the ANC in April this year," he explained.

Mr Bredenkamp added that while supporting the armed struggle he would not consider joining Umkhonto we Sizwe unless peace moves between the ANC and the Government failed.

# Tribute to 'Father Dauntless'

South 28/6 - 4/7/90  
1A

SURROUNDED by friends, some from his early days in South Africa, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston launched his book, "Father Huddleston's Picture Book", the latest International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) publication.

Tributes overflowed, including a message from the ANC president, Oliver Tambo. It was read by his wife Adelaide and recalled Huddleston's earliest days in South Africa.

"When he first arrived, I remember telling colleagues this new priest will prove to be very important to us; he is a man who will work with the people," Tambo said.

Huddleston was sent by his religious order, the Community of the Resurrection, to South Africa in 1943 to look after the vast parish of Sophiatown, Soweto.

## Undying

"On the day I arrived there," he recalled, "the doors of the church opened and about 2 000 kids poured out. I thought, how the heck am I going to get to know any of them!"

Huddleston was soon to win the undying love and admiration of not only his parishioners but all of those struggling against racial oppression.

After the National Party came to power in 1948, he became increasingly involved in the battle against a spate of discriminatory laws designed to consolidate a system of apartheid.

"They were never passed without protest and I was certainly a part of that protest," he insisted.

His unyielding commitment to the campaign to prevent the demolition of Sophiatown and the forced removal of its community became legendary.

He became known as Makhali (the dauntless one). It led ultimately to his recall to England but it also resulted in

**Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who earned the nickname of "the dauntless one" for his opposition to apartheid while in South Africa until the 1960s, and who continued fighting against racism as president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, was fêted by the launch of a new book in London recently. MOIRA LEVY reports:**

the ANC honouring him with the Isitwalandwe (Hero) award presented at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955.

The book launch was a night of reminiscences and tributes, and the book amounts to much of the same.

But it goes further, to record the work of Huddleston today as uncompromising president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, in the forefront of efforts to maintain sanctions.

## Timely

Its photos of giant protest rallies, especially the Congress of the People, are timely, as South Africa prepared to celebrate Freedom Day and the adoption of the Freedom Charter on June 26.

The Picture Book is also a picture book of the ANC: it records an important phase in South African history, a decade of angry defiance and protest.

Some of the pictures are incongruous, with Huddleston, tall and gaunt, striding through scenes of abject poverty and human dislocation, but always with a benign smile and gentle touch.

But that incongruity is not the only reason Huddleston stands out. He came through altercations with police and the



**THE CARING CLERIC:** Father Huddleston and friends at St Peter's Priory in Sophiatown

South African authorities unscathed only "because I was white and a clergyman. At that time I think clergymen were regarded as harmless.

"But I have tried to alter that in the course of my life," he writes in the book.

## Humour

That humour and determination come through clearly throughout the book and each time the man takes a public platform to remind the world, as he did at the book launch, that apartheid is "an evil that cannot be reformed" and that he is "determined that it be dead and buried before I am, otherwise I will have a lot to say to the Almighty when I get there."

The book is published by Kliptown Books of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa of which Trevor Huddleston is chairperson.

**Pictures: courtesy of IDAF and Bailey's African Photo Archives**



**ON A PLATFORM:** With Archbishop Desmond Tutu



**OLD FRIENDS MEET:** Archbishop Huddleston with Nelson Mandela shortly after his release



**THE CONGREGATION:** Father Huddleston was always surrounded by children



# 'I am a Yankee?'

Mr 6/5 22/6/78

114

## Thousands cheer Mandela

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — "I am a Yankee," Nelson Mandela told 50 000 screaming fans at New York's Yankee Stadium last night.

It was the culmination of an arduous day in which he had addressed 100 of America's most influential church leaders, attended a special eumenical service and, immediately before coming to the packed stadium, spoken to a crowd of more than 200 000 in New York's predominantly black district of Harlem.

The 40 000-seat Yankee Stadium was packed to capacity, with another 10 000 people crammed on to the field around a stage which had been erected for a Billy Joel concert which starts this weekend.

Joel lent Mr Mandela his stage and sound equipment, and a New York businessman paid the \$90 000 (R240 000) rental for the stadium.

The 50 000 Mandela admirers paid between \$5 and \$500 (R13,50 to R1 350) to see and

hear Mr Mandela. The proceeds are to go to the African National Congress and should be in the region of R1 million.

After Mr Mandela addressed the crowd, repeating essentially the speeches he made throughout the day in New York, he was presented with a jacket and baseball cap of the New York Yankees team.

The crowd reared its delight when Mr Mandela put the items on and, smiling broadly, said: "Now you can understand who I am. I am a Yankee."

About 200 000 people took to the streets of Harlem last night to welcome Mr Mandela to the "Soweto of America".

Three hours before the proceedings, tens of thousands of people were dancing and singing.

### Inspired

By the time the Mandelas arrived, the crowd was estimated by police to be between 200 000 and 250 000.

Mr Mandela said he had followed Harlem's own struggles against racial discrimination and economic inequality, and

he continued to be inspired by its indomitable fighting spirit.

● The African National Congress hopes to raise more than R500 million from Mr Mandela's world tour.

US Mandela tour organisers have set as a target to raise at least a million dollars a day while Mr Mandela is in America.

In New York yesterday, the US National Council of Churches handed Mr Mandela a cheque for \$200 000 (R500 000) and more than \$100 000 were collected in a street collection in Harlem.

### Bush meeting

Mr Mandela has so far not publicly said what his fundraising objective is.

● President Bush is to consult Mr Mandela as to how President De Klerk should be rewarded for recent political initiatives.

Mr Bush, who is to meet Mr Mandela in the White House next week, said this week when White House reporters asked him about Mr Mandela's message to maintain sanctions on South Africa.

## ANC, PLO are comrades in arms, insists Mandela

Mr 6/5 22/6/78

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The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Mr Nelson Mandela has unabashedly stood by his conviction that Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organisation are comrades in arms of the African National Congress.

He did so in a wide-ranging interview on Ted Koppel's Nightline television show last night.

Mr Mandela also rejected suggestions of any reward for President De Klerk, saying this was "playing with fire". Mr De Klerk should not be rewarded for correcting the injustices of a system his government had introduced and which his government now regarded as evil.

He said if anyone was to be rewarded it should be the ANC, which was seeking help to destroy apartheid. Mr Mandela reacted to mes-

sages from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party.

To Chief Buthelezi's query as to why the ANC deputy-leader had not telephoned him to sort out the situation in Natal, Mr Mandela said the two men should not hang their dirty linen out in a foreign country.

### INTO HOT WATER

To Mr Van der Merwe's blunt statement "Nelson, you are not taking my mines and my land", he said he would like to meet the CP politician and talk to him about it.

But Mr Mandela potentially got himself into hot water over the Arafat question.

President Bush a few days ago broke off diplomatic contacts with the PLO. The US Jewish community — much of

it concentrated in New York, where the Mandela interview was taped — is upset over the ANC's relationship with the PLO.

Mr Mandela said that although he had been inspired by the Jewish fight for self-determination he could not deviate from his principles: Arafat, Dr Fidel Castro of Cuba and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya had supported the ANC's struggle and they were his comrades in arms.

Senator David Boren, in the audience, said that while Congress might not agree with Mr Mandela on the PLO, it did not want the situation in South Africa to continue.

Asked by Mr Boren what reward the US could give Mr De Klerk for progress made, Mr Mandela said none should be given.

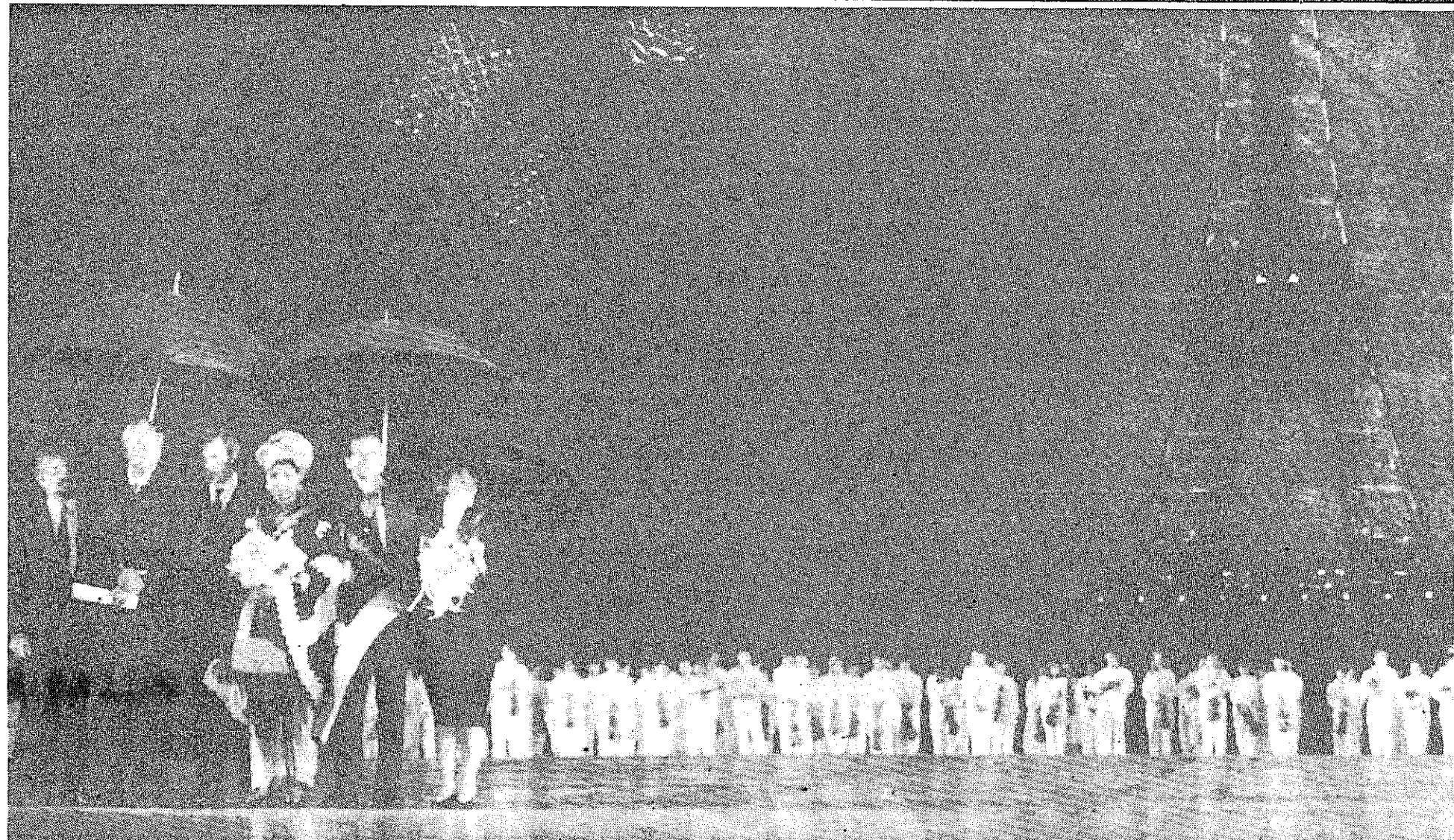


YANKEE DOODLE DANDY: Mr Nelson Mandela shows off his Yankee baseball team cap and jacket. Mr Mandela addressed over 50 000 people in the Yankee Stadium, telling the crowd: "I am a Yankee".



11A whole page

**NELSON MANDELA: STAGE SETTER ... SCENE STEALER**



June 6 ... Standing on the Plaza of Freedom and Human Rights in the rain, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela and Danielle Mitterrand against the backdrop of the Eiffel Tower listen to French President Francois Mitterrand. Behind them stand the hundred musicians who welcomed them  
Picture: Agence France Presse

# An African in Paris – and Rome and Bonn ...



June 12 ... The West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, meets Nelson Mandela in Bonn  
Picture: ASSOCIATED PRESS

NELSON MANDELA has arrived in North America on a 13-nation tour that has taken him on a zig-zag trip across Europe. Mandela-mania is expected to raise millions for the African National Congress in the United States, with dignitaries and personalities queueing to pay thousands of dollars to have a meal in the same room as the organisation's deputy president. Concessions have been granted to companies selling everything from ANC lapel pins, mini-busts of Mandela and even "freedom takkies" in black, green and gold — except one designer in Detroit got the colours wrong. Some of the best moments of his European tour are captured in these pictures, including his audience with the Pope in the Vatican and a political gala in Paris.



June 7 ... Continuing sanctions gets a thumbs-up sign from the ANC leader at a press conference in Paris  
Picture: Agence France Presse



June 15 ... Pope John Paul II takes Nelson Mandela's hand upon his arrival at the pontiff's library, before a private audience at the Vatican  
Picture: ASSOCIATED PRESS



June 7 ... Who is the First Lady of French fashion? Danielle Mitterrand greets Winnie Mandela on her arrival at Elysee presidential palace  
Picture: Agence France Presse



# Mandela fever in US

APU 20/6/90

## Incredible security for ANC leader's visit to America

### From RAMSAY MILNE

### The Argus Foreign Service

**NEW YORK.** — Mr Nelson Mandela's arrival in New York today has provoked the largest media blitz on a single subject since the mass public hysteria that surrounded Colonel Charles Lindbergh's historic solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927.

In top gear will be a huge security operation that includes 12 000 police, sharpshooters on rooftops — and a special bullet-proof "Mandela Mobile" in which the African National Congress deputy-leader will travel.

### Traffic jams

The "Mandela Mobile", with room for four people, is a specially-designed lorry with a bullet-proof enclosure that will enable Mr Mandela to stand up to acknowledge the applause of the many thousands of people expected to line the route.

At each event he attends, special agents, using tracker dogs, will carry out hourly anti-bomb sweeps of the surrounding areas. They will also use special electronic detectors to screen TV cameras and other media equipment.

Since early yesterday, TV and radio stations have broad-

cast hourly warnings of a huge traffic "grid-lock" in New York's crowded streets and urged motorists to use public transport instead.

When Mr Mandela steps off the aircraft at New York's JFK Kennedy Airport, he will be greeted formally by Mayor David Dinkins, the city's first black mayor, and, in an unusual gesture, by the Governor of New York, Mr Mario Cuomo, a Catholic, who did not offer a similar courtesy to Pope John Paul II during his visit in 1979.

Thousands are expected to greet Mr Mandela at the airport and to crowd the streets as his motorcade winds its way to his first stop, a Brooklyn high school with a predominantly black enrolment, where he will make the first of his many speeches during the day.

The best and biggest honour New York can offer — a Fifth Avenue ticker-tape parade, usually reserved for national heroes — will be the highlight of Mr Mandela's day.

The same squadron of helicopters that will fly over Mr Mandela's motorcade as it leaves the airport, will hover above Manhattan's "Canyon of Heroes" as he and his entourage are showered with ticker-tape.

The security operation, labelled "Operation Topaz", is

the biggest effort undertaken for a visiting dignitary.

In all, more than 12 000 policemen will keep an eye on every move Mr Mandela makes.

He is scheduled to speak at three huge outdoor rallies during his three-day visit to the city.

He will address the United Nations on Friday, when he is expected to deliver a speech that organisers of his visit have described as "one for the history books".

More than 5 300 journalists are covering Mr Mandela's eight-day United States visit. In addition to New York, Mr Mandela will visit Boston, Washington, where he will address a joint sitting of Congress, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

### R1 330 tickets

In a city where controversy is part of everyday life, it is inevitable that the Mandela visit should provoke some controversy.

Rock promoter Bill Graham, who has been co-ordinating a huge rally planned for New York's Yankee Stadium, abruptly resigned because he said he had irreconcilable differences with other organisers. However, the rally will go ahead as planned.

## And voices of dissent . . .

### The Argus Foreign Service

**NEW YORK.** — The first dissenting voices have been raised here against Mr Nelson Mandela's US visit in what what so far has been a crescendo of praise and jubilation for the ANC leader.

In an atmosphere in which any criticism of Mr Mandela would appear to be heresy, two major New York dailies today published editorials warning against the "left-wing rhetoric" that has heralded Mr Mandela's visit and the ANC's continuing communist links.

In a sudden spate of letters, other New Yorkers described tomorrow's ticker-tape parade for Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie as an "insult" to Ameri-

ca's war dead, for whom a Fifth Avenue parade is regarded as a national honour.

The influential Wall Street Journal, in a warning against "Mr Mandela's Friends", said that from tomorrow Mr Mandela will for millions of Americans "sit as a man of courage and moral stature".

But it warned that "the bright lights will wash out most of the complex issues that swirl around this man and his country".

The big-circulation New York Post said that communism had been rejected by many of the peoples upon whom it had been imposed and questioned whether Mr Mandela had come to terms with most of the world's rejection of

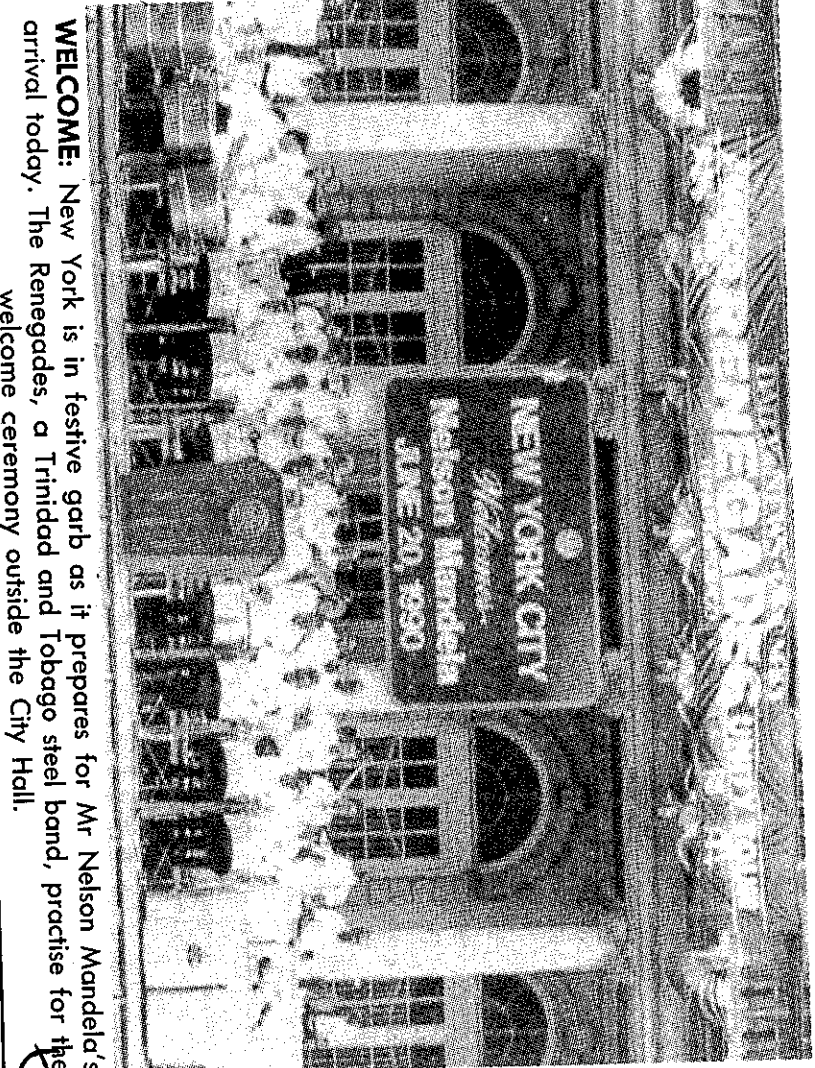
the doctrine.

The paper added: "Nelson Mandela — for all his striking dignity — has yet to demonstrate an ability to halt even black-on-black violence, let alone narrow the gap between the ANC and the De Klerk government."

A letter in one New York paper said: "Nelson Mandela shares the same philosophy as Yasser Arafat. He also has close ties to Libyan madman Muammar Gaddafi."

"Winnie Mandela's bodyguard is found guilty in the death of a black teen in her house.

"Now we will be giving the Mandelas a ticker-tape parade. God help us."



**WELCOME:** New York is in festive garb as it prepares for Mr Nelson Mandela's arrival today. The Rengades, a Trinidad and Tobago steel band, practise for the welcome ceremony outside the City Hall.

# No bitterness, only anger

*Sowetan*  
18/6/1990  
11A

THERE is no bitterness, but deep anger in the hearts of 13 female ANC members who returned to the country last week, some after 30 years in exile.

The women, all of them NEC or middle-leadership members of the organisation, feel no pain, although they have come back to discover some of their family members dead or untraceable and have to adjust to a South Africa very different to the one they fled.

Thirty-four-year-old Nosiviwe Mapisa, representative of the ANC Women's Section in Unkhonto we Sizwe's Angola region, is not bitter at a system that has kept her away from her son, Sixolile, who was two when she left in 1984.

"I am not bitter. I just wonder whether all this was necessary. I wonder whether negotiations couldn't have

been reached without people having had to leave their homes, without the arrests and without the bloodshed," she said.

"Women who left their children behind relied on relatives to keep their memories alive in their children's minds. I knew that my son would not forget me and would not take it personally that I had left him. My parents always told him that I had not deserted him, that I would be back with him one day."

Doris Skosana, a member of the Women's Section, waves off attempts to get her emotional on the topic of her son, whom she has not been able to trace since she left in 1981. The former University of Natal research assistant forces a pained smile as she discusses the circumstances that led to her leaving without the then three-year-old Fumziwe, at the height of the boycotts in Natal.

"I last saw my son when he left with a family friend to visit in Klerksdorp. I couldn't go for him when I left because I was advised to leave immediately. I left with my other son, who was 11 then. I have not been able to trace him and have not heard anything about him since I came back," Skosana said.

Despite all this, she said she was not resentful and still hoped to be reunited with her son.

## Voluntary decisions

"We just want to forget the past and move forward," said NEC member Ruth Mompoti, who was in the talks-about-talks delegation.

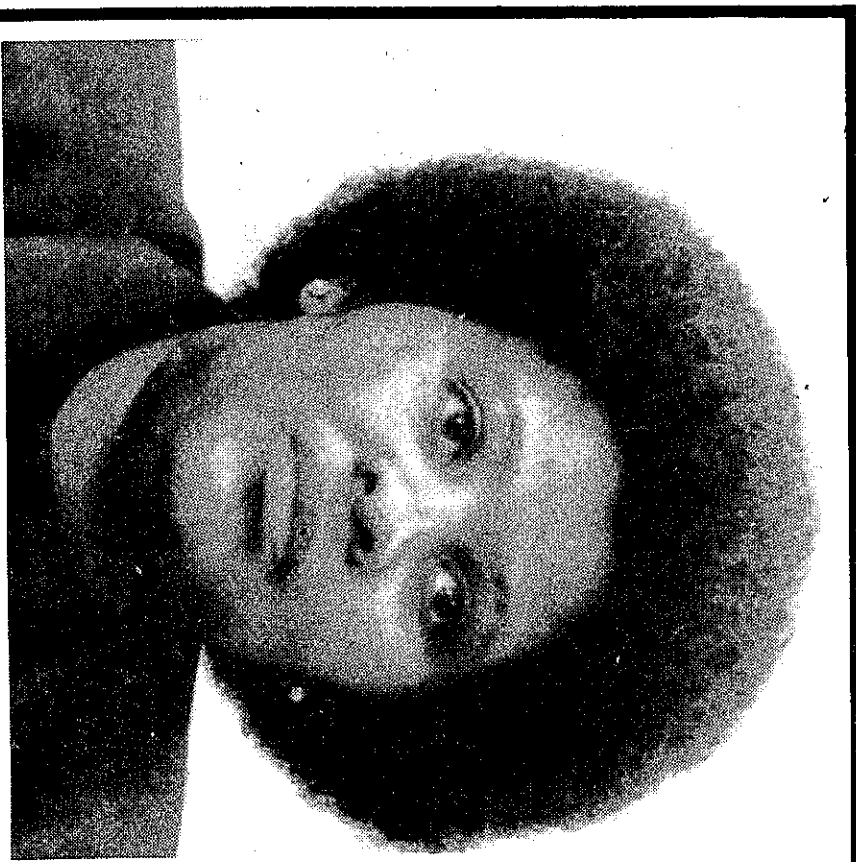
"The decisions we took to leave were voluntary. We always knew what we were about. We cannot blame whites because most of them did not know what was happening. It is the regime that was responsible."

"We only felt bitterness when people were dying in and out of the country. We are seeing some hope of building a new South Africa. We should all come together and contribute to realising it," she said.

The women, who were granted special indemnity to get into the country, are here to discuss among other things, the launch of the ANC Women's League and the drafting of a Women's Charter.



RUTH MOMPOTI



NOSIWIWE MAPISA



DORIS SKOSANA

African National Congress and Cosatu economic recommendations for a post-apartheid South Africa were released yesterday. Weekend Argus special writer CHRIS MOERDYK reports on the 11-page document that evolved from the two organisations' Workshop on Economic Policy held in Harare in April this year.

# ANC, Cosatu spell out economic plan

**T**AX and agricultural reforms, nationalisation and the "dismemberment" of the concentration of economic power in the hands of the country's major industrial conglomerates are a few of many necessary steps needed to bring peace and economic revival to South Africa.

According to African National Congress (ANC) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) economists, present-day South Africa is in a state of fundamental economic crisis largely brought about by the "distortions of the apartheid system" as well as domestic production problems and a changing and destabilising international environment.

And, they say, none of the strategies of the incumbent government are likely to alleviate "poverty and mass deprivation".

To address these, a future "nonracial and democratic state" would have to follow an economic policy that aimed to achieve economic growth through a process of increasing equality in the distribution of incomes, wealth and economic power.

According to the recommendations, this strategy calls for the active restructuring of production to meet basic needs, the expansion of employment and the redistribution of incomes, wealth and economic power.

"Within the context of a mixed economy, the State would assume the leading role in the reconstruction of the economy in order to facilitate the realisation of its developmental objectives."

**T**HIS would necessitate some form of overall macro-economic planning and co-ordination in which the State would involve mass-based organisations in planning with the criteria for State involvement being "efficiency and effectiveness".

ANC and Cosatu economists recommend that the financing of the reconstruction of a mixed economy should fall on domestic savings — including personal savings.

"Foreign capital should support domestic savings and not be seen as a substitute."

Nationalisation, they say, should be an essential part of the economic reconstruction programme. The new government should retain existing nationalised industries and should be prepared, as a matter "of fundamental policy",

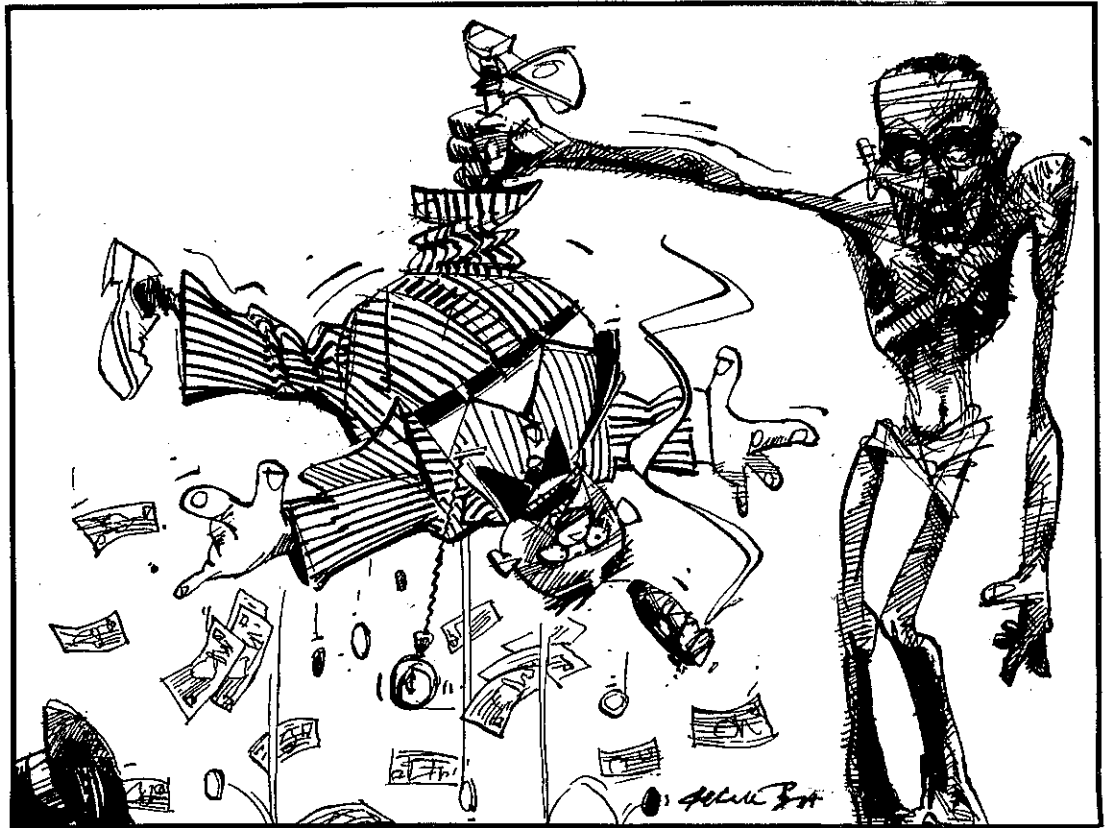
to renationalise privatised State assets. It also should set up new State corporations where necessary.

"Nationalised industries would operate within strict budgetary controls and they would not become vehicles for the enrichment of a large bureaucracy. In addition to these measures the (new) government would also facilitate forms of collective ownership including co-operatives."

With regard to mining, they believe mine workers' demands should be acknowledged. Measures should be initiated to root out racist labour practices on the mines.

The new government should investigate the use of fiscal policy to encourage venture capital in new mines and the possibility of the State making strategic investments in mines also should be considered.

The document also referred to the "recent shift of De Beers control to Switzerland" as a serious development. "Potential disinvestment of this type should



## POLICY IS TO NATIONALISE, REFORM TAX, BOOST ROLE OF WOMEN

be an urgent item in negotiations".

The new State should also undertake tax reforms to make taxation more equitable and effective in many areas.

"At present, the tax burden is carried disproportionately by individuals through personal direct taxation and indirect taxation. The new State would begin the process of shifting the burden of taxation, especially towards the corporations."

They also see the existing "extreme concentration of economic power" as being detrimental to the achievement of balanced economic growth in the interests of all the people of South Africa.

**A** new government, they say, would have to investigate this concentration of economic power with the objective of promoting a more efficient and effective use of resources.

"Where feasible, a policy of dismemberment of (industrial) conglomerates into units would be pursued to make the operation of conglomerates more compatible with the overall developmental objectives of the State."

According to the ANC and Cosatu recommendations, the issue of State expenditure and overall fiscal policy was particularly important with regard to current macro-economic imbalances including inflation and balance-of-payments deficits.

"The new government would seek to rationalise and restructure the financial sector and to develop new institutional arrangements for both the primary and secondary bond markets. Current financial deregulation policies and monetary policy exacerbate the problems of the present financial system. To correct this requires direct State intervention, including State regulation."

The organisations' economists also recommend pursuing exchange control measures in order to retain domestic savings within the country and to prevent destabilising speculative capital flows. In essence, the current exchange controls would continue in modified form.

They believe that foreign investment on terms consistent with developmental goals should be encouraged

**T**HE State and the trade union movement also should be legislatively empowered to ensure that foreign investors reinvested productively to promote continued growth.

ANC and Cosatu economists believe that the current State strategy of seeking to create employment through deregulation and privatisation is not a solution and should be opposed.

A (new) government should encourage the trade unions to play a role in employment creation through collective bargaining over resources for employment creation and by encouraging the direction of pension and provident fund investment capital towards productive investments in employment creating activities.

Government also would bear ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare and pensions. This would be exercised in the context of the negotiated provision of welfare benefits between capital and labour, and of private provision by those groups able to provide for themselves.

"The possibility of a national compulsory retirement scheme, underwritten by the State, would be investigated."

**I**N the only section of the document that refers to the plight of a specific sector of society, the economists believe that one of the legacies of apartheid and its economic system is discrimination against women.

"Women have been marginalised and relegated to being victims of unemployment and low wage employment. The new State would strive to promote the rapid integration of women into economic activity and promote the removal of gender inequalities in employment. A programme of action would be mounted by the State to address the problems of gender discrimination in and outside the workplace and to provide support for women, especially in areas such as ante- and post-natal care."

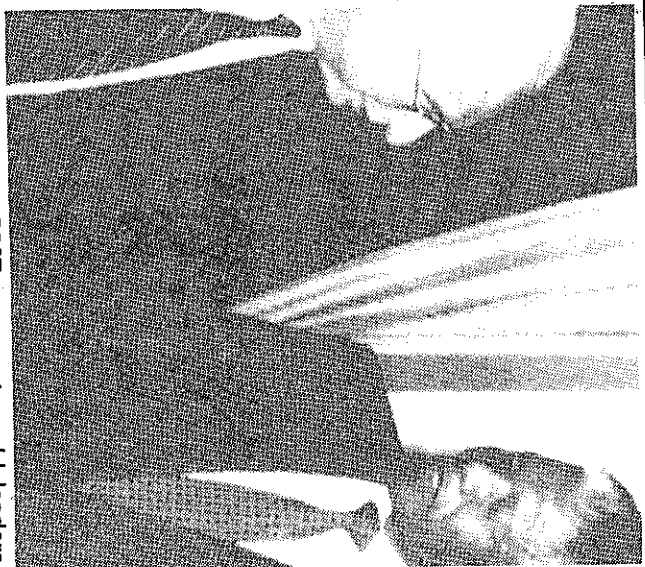
The ANC and Cosatu economists believe that agriculture is facing "a major crisis, both in the advanced capitalist sector and in the black rural areas."

Land distribution, they say, is a "central national grievance" and raising agricultural production is vital to the future economic prospects of the country.

A future government should, among other things, commit itself to:

- The immediate return of land to those removed from black freehold farms and to the repossession of land by certain categories of labour tenants;
- Redistribution of land and relocation of people by a land claims commission with grassroots participation;
- Promoting various forms of production, including smallholder production, co-operatives and joint ventures;
- Providing a secure food supply at affordable prices;
- Promoting rapid unionisation and encouraging rural community organisation to redress historical injustices, protect jobs and worker rights; and
- State intervention on environmental issues to sustain the long-term production capacity of land





WHEN IN ROME ... meet world leaders. ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met Italian president Mr Francesco Cossiga, and, later, with his wife Winnie, met Pope John Paul II. His visit to Italy is part of his world tour.

Pictures: REUTERS

# Pope blesses peace moves by Mandela

From IAN HOBBS

VATICAN CITY. — Pope John Paul II yesterday blessed Mr Nelson Mandela's initiatives for peace in South Africa — but carefully avoided taking a position on sanctions.

The pontiff greeted Mr Mandela emotionally, saying: "Thanks be to God that we can meet" and adding that he hoped South Africa would enjoy a new era of peace.

Vatican officials said the private 25-minute audience in the papal library between the pope and the ANC deputy president had been particularly warm and productive.

The pope, who survived years of Soviet despotism in his native Poland and a would-be assassin's bullets in 1982, had shown close interest in Mr Mandela's welfare while he was in prison. He was overjoyed to meet him as a free man.

Vatican spokesman Dr Joaquin Navarro-Vals said the pope was still keen to tour South Africa, but his agenda was crowded and political circumstances might be a factor.

The pope is visiting African countries, including Tanzania in September but the Vatican official said he doubted that the itinerary could be changed to include South Africa.

## Seemed awed

Rome was at its most eternal and glorious yesterday when Mr Mandela's motorcade swept into the Piazza of St Peter's, past the saluting Swiss Guards and into the Vatican state itself.

For the first time on his European tour Mr Mandela seemed the awed party as he and his wife Winnie led their 13-member entourage into the papal quarters.

Later cameramen and journalists watched as the pope and Mr Mandela, who had obviously reached a good rapport, prepared to say their farewells. Mr Mandela, at his most elegant in a tailored grey suit and addressing the pope as "Our Father", said he had tried to explain why the ANC had to maintain a hard line on sanctions.

Turning to the pope, he said: "Our Father, our position is that sanctions must be maintained."

He said he realised the pope could not take up a position on a political issue like sanctions "because the Vatican is not that sort of state". But he did strongly ask for the ANC's role in the peace process to be supported.

On another crowded day, but clearly one of the happiest since his release from prison, Mr Mandela received honorary citizenship of Rome — an award made in 1983 when he was still in jail.



**T**HE film *Being There* is the parable of Chance the Gardener, an idiot savant who rises, quite innocently, to immense fame and influence because the powers that be sense in his simple-minded references to horticultural lore a Solomonic wisdom on the vexing issues of the day.

Isolated behind the garden walls of his employer for most of his conscious life, he in fact has no knowledge of the world beyond.

His infallibility rests in the desperate eyes of his beholders. When the truth ultimately begins to dawn on them, they dare not admit it.

Nelson Mandela may not be such an empty slate. That apart, it is worth pausing to wonder the extent to which he is the world's rather than his own creation.

Could it be that the Mandela to whom we must all now do obeisance was invented as he sat in his jail cell because the various parties to the SA drama needed a figure that did not exist in nature?

**M**andela's claim to greatness — a claim, let it be said, that he has not made himself — rests principally on three things: his last words at the Rivonia trial, his long and nobly endured incarceration at the hands of the SA government and the testimony of those, both friend and foe, who saw him during that time and who have been in his presence since.

Of the first, it may be said that however fine Mandela's speech, the circumstances that led to its delivery involved a murderous conspiracy. Staunch ANC veterans who opposed the resort to violence were subsequently liquidated for their views.

As for the confinement, it happened to him, he did not do it himself. That he endured it with dignity and without cracking may be said of most of his fellow prisoners.

This brings us to the matter of testimony. Consider the witnesses. To be sure they now tell basically the same story, at least in public. This might seem persuasive.

It is less so, however, when one

# Is Mandela merely the hero the world needs so badly?

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**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

stops to think about how the judgments were arrived at.

Pretoria, for example, is now determined, perhaps even more so than the ANC itself, that Mandela be great and good.

His authorised hagiographer Fatima Meer pointed out here the other day that "however they look at it, Mr Mandela is the best thing the government has and they had better look after him".

Confronted with a highly factionalised opposition, President F W de Klerk and his men are desperate for some kind of transcendent hero who can act as what the French, in Algeria, called a "valable interlocuteur".

Given his mythic status as the ANC's symbol of struggle over the past quarter century, they have seen little alternative to settling on Mandela. In the process, they have had to build him up among their own constituency just as the ANC marketed him as an international rallying instrument during his years in jail.

Their wish for him to be the kind of leader on whom they could pin their hopes has long since convinced them that he is that leader. As witnesses to his true character or intentions, they cannot therefore be trusted.

Abroad the urge to invest Mandela with all but superhuman qualities is no less great. Out here, nobody is interested in the individual as he really might be.

What people want is a saint, a sort of moral celebrity. Woe betide the policymaker, politician, scholar or journalist who evinces the slightest scepticism. Mother Theresa is scarcely more sacrosanct.

This is particularly true in the US where the civil rights movement has adopted Mandela as a sort of Martin Luther King reborn.

**T**he sentiment is summed up by Roger Wilkins, co-ordinator of Mandela's US tour, who declared in the New York Times that the ANC deputy president was "our cousin, our king". The pun was apparently intended.

Such is the abyss into which racial politics has fallen here that news organisations have felt obliged to sanitise their coverage of Mandela's activities and statements.

The Washington Post, it is true, did remark upon the ideology of his first speech in Cape Town. That was a rare breach of protocol, however.

Mandela's praise of Fidel Castro as a beacon of human rights and embrace of both Col Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat (whom he has met now on three occasions) went largely unreported until members of the Jewish community started threatening to stage protests during his visit.

The last non-head-of-state invited to address a joint session of Congress was Lech Walesa. His invitation was made from genuine, across-the-board respect for a leader who had led the overthrow of a tyrannous regime without recourse to violence.

Mandela, on the other hand, is being accorded the same privilege less from any consensus that he should receive it than out of fear of the domestic political consequences if he did not. As it happens, very few of the congressional leadership were even consulted before the invitation was extended by House Speaker Thomas Foley at the insistence of Congressman William Gray.

To the contrary, the Mandela session was presented to most members as a fait accompli. Not even Senator Jesse Helms, perhaps the ANC's most dogged critic on Capitol Hill, could bring himself to complain.

Perhaps it does not bother Man-

dela that he is being used. However, the extent to which he is letting that happen surely casts doubt on whether he is the historic leader he is alleged to be.

One may even be inclined to think that the movement he represents sees him as little more than a useful PR tool to be trundled out when needed but otherwise kept on a tight rein. President George Bush might do well to think about this before the two meet.

Whoever runs the ANC clearly does not want him to spend a great deal of time at home. They have already blocked his inclination to make peace with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

And now, a septuagenarian fresh out of surgery (however minor), he is supposed to undertake an itinerary that would exhaust a man half his age. His 10-day schedule in the US alone includes no less than eight major rallies, not counting the New York ticker tape parade and addresses to Congress and the UN General Assembly. In one 48-hour period, he must, among other lesser duties, speak at rallies in Atlanta, Detroit and Los Angeles, address a union convention in Miami and visit a car assembly plant in Detroit.

He is granted not a single day off throughout. This, say the organisers, ANC US representative Lindiwe Mabuba among them, is an abbreviated version of what they originally had in mind, specially pared down for the sake of his health.

Not, of course, that they admit his health might be a problem. Local ANC officials insist more loudly than anyone he is as healthy as an ox, problems in Geneva notwithstanding.

**I**nsanity. And to what end? Merely to ensure that sanctions stay in place to strengthen the ANC's constitutional demands? That Mandela permits it is evidence at best of foolishness, but also of vainglory.

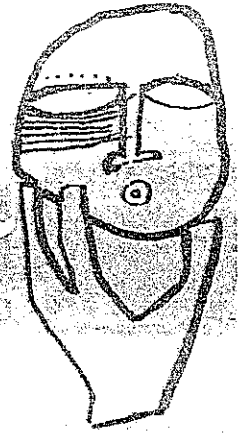
That his colleagues seem determined to have him proceed suggests the only use they have for him is to parade him overseas like some seductive but ultimately expendable artifact.



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# The Creative Act



**A SERIES ON COMMUNITY PLAY-MAKING FOR EVERYONE**



Benjy Francis



This is the second instalment in the Afrika Cultural Centre's introduction to its series on play-making. Look out for *The Creative Act* page in Sowetan every Tuesday in the coming weeks. The *Creative Act* will discuss the methods, problems and issues involved in the making of theatre.

Sowetan 12/6/90



Bheki Peterson

## THE CREATIVE SOURCE: YOUR ROLE IN THEATRE

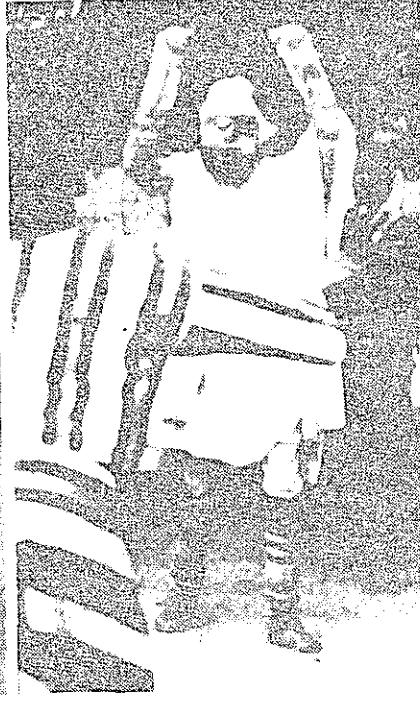
We mentioned last week that theatre is an important creative medium that can be used to entertain and to communicate ideas to people. What has become lost to us is the many ways in which theatre can be used. Our current attitudes towards theatre can be broadly summarised into the following positions. When we hear the word theatre most of us tend to think of a fancy building in town where plays are performed. The plays we perform in the township we call *sketches*. We tend to see these as insignificant. We have come to believe that *real* theatre is that which is either European or that which has been greatly influenced by western forms of theatre. Hence the association of theatre with plays done in city venues with bright lights, where actors wear fine costumes, perform on stages that are decorated and talk in pretentious accents. The dominance of western theatre in our society has led us to think that it is the only form of theatre worth doing.

Our response to western theatre is unclear. On the one hand we are impressed by its grandeur and magical quality. Yet we may feel awkward about what it is talking about (content) and the manner in which it is saying it (style). We might regard such theatre as foreign. But because we have been taught at school and through the media, like the Press and TV, to be in awe of western art we are undecided about how to evaluate it. In fact, most times we end up calling it good art because we have come to assume that the more obscure art is, the more complex and sophisticated it must be. The result of all this confusion in our minds about theatre is the conclusion that theatre can only be done by them, others and not me or you.

We are trapped, then, between the socially and politically created dominance of western theatre and our inability to break through the lies and distortions that we have been fed about our history and culture. Where we attempted to understand our predicament we tended to console ourselves by rightly noting that we are a people who are disadvantaged in many ways. We have accepted a passive role. We do not have access to grand buildings in the townships. The ones that we can use are not 'theatres' but multi-purpose halls. We also remind ourselves that we are not actors, at least not trained or *real* ones with impressive postures and sexy accents. Given all these questions and problems we become indifferent



A scene from a classical western play.

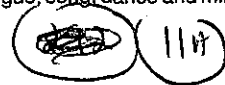


A scene from from an African performance in Nigeria.

or we congratulate ourselves that at least we are doing *sketches*. So you can see how, we end up undervaluing our own work and practices.

The tendency to underestimate our own theatrical practices is not a new one. Historically, some scholars have argued that theatre is a new art form in Africa and that it was introduced by missionaries who used drama at mission schools. What missionaries introduced to Africa was a different practice of theatre and not the idea of drama itself. Missionaries encouraged the development of formal drama. That is, theatre that is written down and which emphasises the word as the site of action, plot or narrative. Africans, before colonialism, had a wide range of vigorous dramatic traditions which formed part of the practice of African orature. By orature we mean the different forms of oral literature such as *izinganekwane*, *izibongo*, dances, songs, riddles and proverbs. If you examine the nature of African orature you cannot fail to

notice that *the act of performance* is an important ingredient. Consequently, African performance, performing arts or theatre if you prefer, drew on the different parts of orature and combined them into an appealing dramatic style which used dialogue, song, dance and mime as its core elements.



What can we conclude? Firstly, that we must not underestimate our history and experiences because they happen to differ from those of others. *Our experiences, stories, songs and dances are our creative source point.* Secondly, we can also create theatre if we draw on our own experiences and dramatic traditions, whether they be urban or rural experiences, orature or modern styles of music, dance and story-telling. This does not mean that we must turn our backs on ideas or influences from elsewhere. We need to be more selective about what we accept and how we use it.

Each week we will set posers and tasks for you to work through practically. **To Act is to Do!** Each week you should take this page into your work space (any space that allows the group privacy and movement to explore creative ideas) and engage in the tasks set out. Discuss *The Creative Act* page and evaluate its content and suggestions. The series will lead you, as you work with your group, to create your very own play. If you have comments, questions or want back-copies of *The Creative Act* write to us at: *The Creative Act* P O Box 42705, Fordsburg 2033. You can also call us at (011) 838-3034.



### BUZZZZZ WORDS

In the Buzz words space you will find explanations of difficult or new words used in our series. You may know some of the words but we will be using them in new ways. This week's buzz words are:

- posture:** the way we stand, sit or walk
- accent:** a manner of talking determined mainly by how we emphasise words
- colonialism:** the conquest by force and other means of one country by another
- dramatic traditions:** the different forms of performance developed in a community over time.

Please note that concepts such as action, plot, narrative and mime will be discussed in detail in an article looking at the elements and skills of theatre.

next week



# Negotiation not the answer, says PAC president

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**B** The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng, 76 and in ill health, was released unconditionally from prison in November 1988 after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence following his conviction in the Bethal terrorism trial.

**A** The PAC was formed in 1959 after Robert Sobukwe led a breakaway from the ANC. After years of hibernation, it seems to be experiencing a resurgence. It is believed to be attracting support particularly from people who are disaffected by the rapprochement between government and the ANC.

**ti** The PAC claims that since it was unbanned in February, its registered membership has grown to more than 100 000. AMEEN AKHALWAYA questioned Mothopeng on the movement's growth and beliefs for *Leadership* magazine.

**e** *City Press* will publish more of this interview next week.



**PAC president Zephania Mothopeng ... "We do not recognise the government, so the question of negotiations does not arise."**

**W**HEN you were released from prison in 1988 you said you weren't aware of a PAC revival, but were pleased to hear about it. Do you now have a sense of a PAC revival within the country?

I am now a witness to this phenomenon - an increase in the number of people who are joining the organisation, not just expressing their sympathy with it, but becoming card-carrying members.

**There have been conflicting signals about PAC policy regarding negotiations between representatives of oppressed communities and government. In terms of the PAC negotiating with government, what is the bottom line?**

Firstly, we said from the time we were established that we do not recognise the government, so the question of negotiations does not arise. The question is one of the repossession of our land from foreign colonial oppressors. It has nothing to do with negotiations.

Insofar as the bottom line is concerned, it is a question of the people of Azania deciding.

I'll explain again what I mean by "people of Azania", because people always pretend they don't understand.

From the 17th Century we had inter-marriage between the indigenous African people and those people who were brought in as slaves by the colonialists, and later as indentured labourers. Those people have now formed one large indigenous group. I can't think of asking somebody if he is a Malaysian or Indian in Azania. They will feel insulted. They are the new Africans.

We are asked if it isn't wishful thinking for us to talk of them as Africans and others of the same age as colonialists. We say these (latter) people's forefathers are the ones who conquered the country, they remain perpetually the conquerors, and yet they tell us they came here at the same time.

Today they can't even understand when we tell them they are not Azanian and they belong elsewhere, even though they have been here for such a long time.

**If you refuse to communicate or negotiate with government, how can you expect it to hand the country back to you and say: "Okay, we recognise this belongs to the indigenous people of the country"?**

If people ask this, they have misunderstood our point of take-off. Our liberation will be brought about by the Africans themselves, by having to struggle for it. They will not achieve it at the negotiating tables.

We know it is our duty to free ourselves and our freedom shall come, not by negotiation but by achievement. And by the time people have to go to the negotiating table, that will just be a formality of the result which I have already explained - the whole set-up must be reverted to the indigenous people.

**Is that really practical? How do you expect to reach that situation?**

I don't know why people think the colonialists in Azania cannot be ejected from their positions. What is "practical"? Does it mean, "can it be done"? I say yes, it can be done. If it can be done elsewhere, it can be done here.

This question comes from the people of the West. But take Vietnam - there they can be shown how a big power was humiliated. Recently, it was Afghanistan.

**Surely you are looking at a different situation when you talk about Vietnam and Afghanistan - about occupying armies rather than settled populations? In this country we are talking about some four, five million people who are classified white.**

This is a question of terminology. Those people are settled here because they've been given what was not due to them. They are here as colonialists. A large proportion of them hold dual citizenship. Their hearts are in Europe, their financial interests in Africa.

**The PAC has been talking about a constituent assembly. How do you see such a constituent assembly being established?**

After attaining our freedom on the battlefield, or any field, we will still need to know what the people want. We will have to have elections.

A constituent assembly is the most democratic way of bringing about a new constitution.

## PAC economic policy not finalised

**By PATRICK MAFAFO**

**THE PAC favours a mixed economy, promoting private sector development as well as co-operatives, says PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.**

"The PAC does not wish to promote the illusion that the State alone can develop the economy of the country or start new economic organisations."

However, he says, the PAC has not yet produced a comprehensive economic policy document.

The PAC stands for a political order and economy that will represent the economic and political interests of all Africans in the country, he says.

The South African economy might have grown, but it has not developed. He cites examples such as skills and wage disparities.

"The bulk of the African people are either unemployed, under-employed or poorly remunerated, thus reducing the size of the domestic market."



# The day SA exploded

By CHARLES MOGALE

VIRGINIA Mashinini will always remember June 16, 1976, as the day her son turned South Africa upside down.

Tsetse Mashinini, then president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), shocked even his own mother who came home from work to find the township ablaze.

"I was not even remotely aware that Tsetse was involved in politics. I remember that day (June 16) when I came home from work. I was in a train and shocked to see smoke all over the township. When I read the newspaper I discovered Tsetse was in the forefront," said Mashinini.

"Then the police came looking for him, but he did not sleep at home those days. I was very afraid for him."

Meanwhile, Tsetse had hit international headlines as the schoolboy who had changed the face of South African politics.

The riots, which started when the student march led by Tsetse was disrupted by police gunfire, spread throughout the country, leaving hundreds dead.

South Africa came under tremendous world pressure until the government stopped enforcing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools.

Tsetse skipped the

The day was June 16, 1976. Soweto pupils, led by Tsetse Mashinini, marched against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. Police opened fire, sparking riots that led to the death of 575 people that year. Next Saturday the day will again be commemorated. CHARLES MOGALE spoke to Tsetse's mother, Virginia Mashinini.

country soon afterwards, and the last time his family saw him was in Botswana in 1977. In 1978 he married a Liberian beauty queen who has never met his family. They had two daughters and were separated in 1987.

Mrs Mashinini bore the brunt of her son's political activities.

"I was detained for seven months at a prison in Standerton. When I came out, my supervisor at work did not even want to see me, so I lost my job as well."

The family has grown used to police harassment, which resulted in

Tsetse's two brothers - Mokele and Lebakeng - also skipping the country.

Mashinini flatly refuses to discuss Tsetse's whereabouts, or even rumours about his ill-health. They fear a spotlight on the student leader could endanger his safety and jeopardise his chances of returning to the country.

"I am grateful some mothers are being reunited with their children. I am not one to think only about my own child," said Mashinini.

"I am looking forward to all mothers being reunited with children who left the country."



Tsetse Mashinini's parents Virginia and Joseph Mashinini have endured constant harassment from police since 1976. **Photo: ANPRIES MCINEKA**



Tsetse Mashinini led the June 16, 1976, protest march that sparked a wave of violence. **Photo: Courtesy of SOWETAN**

(11A) C/News 16/6/90

# 'The government is going to see real black power in action'

The events of June 16, 1976, changed the face of South African politics forever. KHOTISO SEATHOLO, a former official of the Soweto SRC who took over leadership from Tsetetsi Mashinini, gave this personal review of that fateful day. He spoke to CHARLES MOGALE.

"ON June 13 we held a meeting in Orlando, where a decision was taken to march on the 16th to protest against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

"At Naledi High we informed the students and some teachers the day before, so they would not be caught by surprise. On that day, assembly went on as usual, but afterwards the students refused to go to classes.

"Many students had come without books, and those who did not want to march were implored not to interfere with those who wanted to. After assembly, David Kukumela got on to the stage and told the students how we were going to march.

"We moved out of the school and collected pupils from other schools, who had also been notified. At one junior secondary in Senoane, the principal put up some resistance.

"About 5 000 of us were marching to join the group in Orlando. On the way, Tebello Motapanyane, Sibongile Mthembu (now Mrs Ismael Mkhabela) and myself dashed ahead of the crowd and warned three whites in a car to turn back. They thanked us and moved away.

"As we were advancing towards Orlando West, we heard stories that people had been killed. We heard shots and we stopped at a bridge between Or-

lando East and West. The police were shooting from the other side of the bridge, and I do not know how many were killed or injured. We scattered.

"Tsetetsi then got on top of a scrap car and addressed us. He said the racists had demonstrated their brutality. This time they were mistaken because they were dealing with a different brand of black man. He warned that the government was going to see black power in action.

"He pleaded with us to disperse for later reorganisation.

"As we were dispersing, I saw a white man being attacked with a pickaxe.

"As we were marching back to our homes, there was tearing all over, and helicopters hovering above the township. Many people had been killed, others maimed.

"The people were angry at the police, but could not get at them. So administration buildings and government vehicles, symbolic of oppression, were attacked by the people.

"In those days the word was 'Black Power', which led (then Minister of Police) Jimmy Kruger to blame the Black Consciousness Movement for the polarisation of black and white people.

"He immediately banned all gatherings until the end of June. "I later fled the country and



Khotiso Seatholo... fled the country after June 16.

sneaked back in. I was arrested when the police raided a secret meeting I had with a Johannesburg journalist. I had an alibi, but the police had a picture of me in their files.

Seatholo was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for recruiting people for military training. He was released on April 2 this year after serving seven years.

"Looking back, I think it was all worth it. South Africa had come to believe it was beyond challenge.

"On June 15, 1976, the Rand Daily Mail carried a story in

which a top British politician said the potential for revolution in the country was non-existent. He said blacks were walking the streets with smiles on their faces.

"On the other hand, blacks did not believe in their power to challenge the system. June 16 proved they could. The aftermath is that people believe in themselves.

"The unfortunate thing is that lives were lost. However, as Steve Biko said, there is no struggle without casualties.

"Looking at the situation today, I recall an incident where we apprehended a man who was circulating damaging pamphlets in the name of the SRC, titled: 'Kill the Whites'. All we did was show the man that he was being used, and we released him without harming him.

"Today people do not hesitate to use the necklance, which is a terrible way of killing anybody. Those who support that are politically bankrupt because they cannot argue their case.

"We have to start demonstrating the democracy we are fighting for by practising it ourselves with those who do not agree with us."

CC

By PATRICIA CHENEY: Washington  
**AMERICA'S Mandela Mania is threatening to degenerate into chaos as politicians, preachers and promoters scramble to get a piece of the man.** *Times* 3/6/90

The excitement shows signs of descending into a frenzy not seen on these shores since the Beatles were here 25 years ago.

The ANC office has been so besieged by requests from T-shirt hustlers and other hawkers that it has opened a file labelled "Sharks".

Add to that the fact that each of the eight cities included on the American tour has a separate scheduling committee — involving over 100 "organisers" in all — and you have chaos in the making.

With just 17 days to go until Nelson Mandela arrives for his 10-day trip, the "national" organisers — including TransAfrica's Randall Robinson and singer Harry Belafonte — are still fighting off cities that have been left off the itinerary.

"Mayor Richard Daly's office was literally weeping over the phone because Mr. Mandela is not going to Chicago. . . Indianapolis is pleading to be included," said Diane Jago-

di, the PR firm which is handling the nuts and bolts of the tour.

"Everyone wants their photo opportunity with him, but there will just have to be some hurt feelings."

Some of those feelings will probably belong to controversial Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

"The number one man that Nelson Mandela must talk to and spend time with in America is Louis Farrakhan," Farrakhan himself told *Time* magazine.

So far, though, Mr Farrakhan's name does not appear on the schedule.

**Hazy**

In some places like Los Angeles, the ANC is struggling to keep a grip on the juggernaut and is reportedly fighting with the local Mandela Visit Freedom Committee over who has the final say about the black leader's schedule.

In desperation, some of the organisers called up nationally-syndicated columnist William Raspberry to broadcast a plea for restraint:

"I know we all want to lay down palm leaves and touch the hem of his garment and I know he will want to be as co-operative as he can, but eight cities in 10 days is already too much," said Harry Carey, a volunteer of the Los Angeles Southern Africa Resource Centre.

Roger Wilkins, a founder of the Free South Africa movement and a co-ordinator of the visit, agreed.

"I was struck by the number of people who, while they understood the man's physical limitations, were nevertheless saying, 'He's got to see us'," he told Mr Raspberry.

"I reminded them that we are talking about a human being — not an ambulatory photo opportunity.

"This is a 71-year-old man, not a 27-year-old athlete. His job is to lead the struggle for social and political justice in



FLASHBACK . . . Beatlemania erupts during the Fab Four's 1965 tour

# MANDELAMANIA!

It's going to be a Hard Day's Night for ANC leader as frenzied US gets set for a welcome to beat the Beatles



MAYOR DAVID DINKINS  
 A New York welcome



HARRY BELAFONTE  
 National organiser



NELSON MANDELA  
 Man for the masses

South Africa not to polish the eggs and inflate the status of individual Americans."

"We can't allow ourselves to just eat him up."

Given all the in-fighting, requests and changes of plan, precious little can be said for sure about Mr Mandela's visit.

According to a tentative itinerary put out by Fenton Communications, the ANC deputy president will arrive in New York on June 20 and will be welcomed by Governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor David Dinkins.

A ticker-tape parade through Manhattan is scheduled, but the mayor's office told the Sunday Times it was "not a sure thing."

While in New York, Mr. Mandela will probably address the United Nations. He may also speak at a mass rally and will attend a reception given by Mayor David Dinkins.

The schedule for Boston is even hazier.

There will be an "event at

the John F Kennedy Library", a "community event with anti-apartheid activists" and a "meeting with corporate presidents."

Some effort was apparently made to have Mr Mandela address a rally in the Boston botanical gardens, but it was moved to the more easily-secured Boston Common and now appears to have been dropped altogether.

In Washington between June 24 and 26 Mr Mandela will have a meeting with President George Bush, address a joint session of Congress, attend a congressional black caucus breakfast and attend a National Press Club luncheon.

On June 27 in Atlanta, he will give a speech at the Martin Luther King Jr Centre and receive an honorary degree from a "consortium of black colleges".

**Squeeze**

The next day the ANC leader will shuttle between Miami and Detroit — 2,163km apart — to give a "speech to trade unionists".

Then on to Los Angeles for a rally and an "entertainment community event".

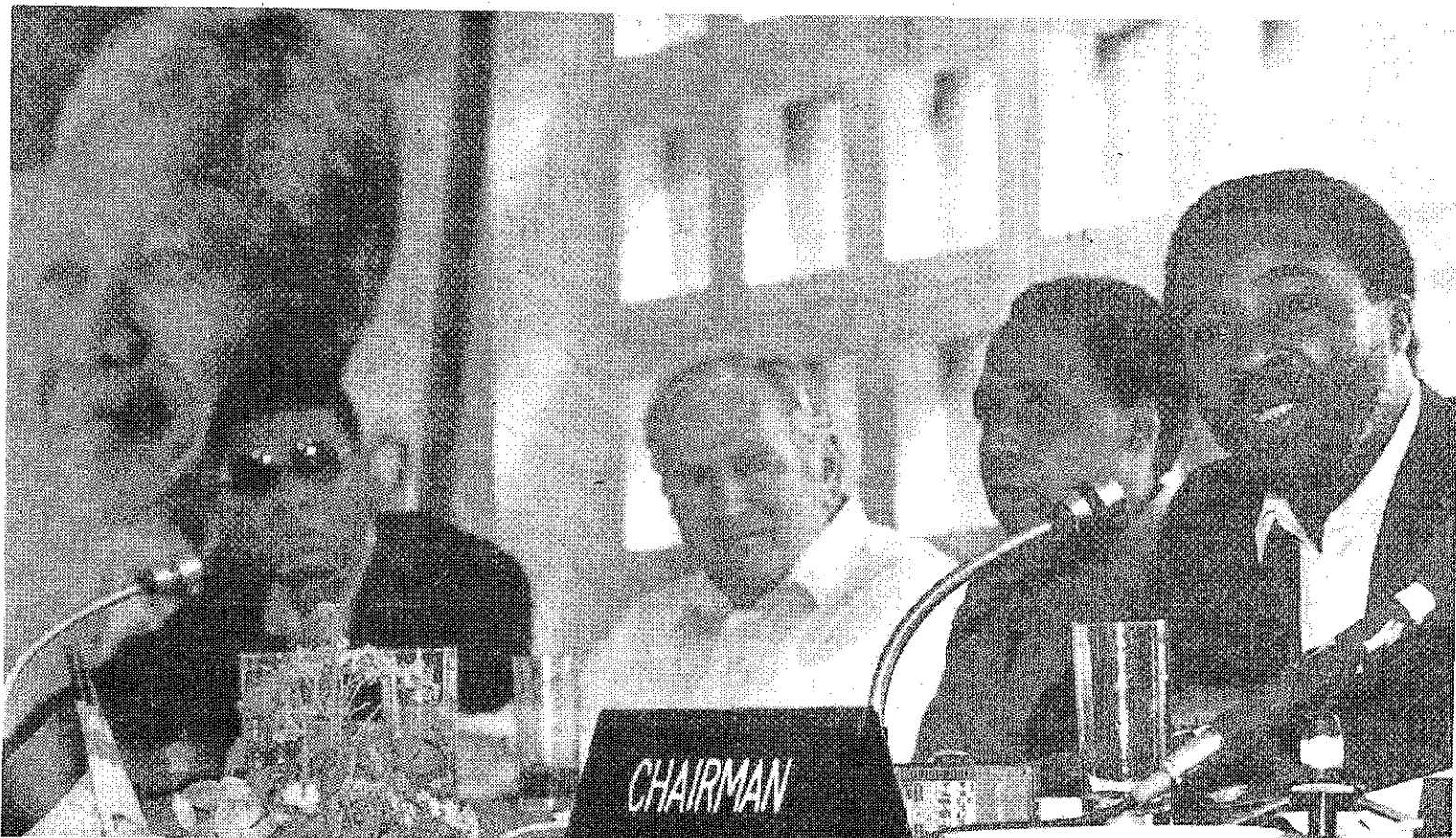
Exactly what celebrities will be involved in the entertainment is not clear because so many want to jump on the bandwagon.

Mr Mandela's last stop — squeezed in as an afterthought — is San Francisco on June 30.

By that time, Soweto will probably seem a haven of peace and quiet.

"Mr Mandela is just seen as a commodity," an ANC official lamented to *Time*.





ANC international relations director Thabo Mbeki addresses the conference. With him are Venda military leader Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, retired SADF Major-General Wally Black and MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani

Pictures: RASHID LOMBARD

THE African National Congress presented wide-ranging proposals on negotiations and South Africa's future security system at a conference in Lusaka last weekend.

Addressing ANC and South African Defence Force officers, ANC information and publicity director Pallo Jordan spelt out the ANC's three-phase negotiation programme.

It begins with the negotiation of a ceasefire between the ANC and the South African government

Both Jordan and Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani stressed the movement's commitment to ending hostilities, and negotiating a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Hani said the ANC's side of the bargain would be to suspend its armed struggle, while the government would be required to remove troops from the township and halt "search and kill" operations.

Jordan said the ceasefire agreement would lead to the formation of an interim government which would include all parties involved in the initial talks. Invitations should be extended to groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha and the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging.

"The elements of government, the democratic opposition and even the anti-democratic opposition should be involved. There is a need for an ad-

## For the first time, ANC peace strategy in detail

In a key speech to the conference, ANC information director Pallo Jordan described the three phases of the ANC's peace plan. **GAVIN EVANS** reports

administration enjoying the confidence of at least the majority of South Africans."

Jordan added that it would be necessary to give serious consideration "to mechanisms to guarantee the negotiations process succeeds, and to ensure the integrity of the interim government.

"We have no blueprint; it could be a body like Untag or something else. This is a subject for negotiations".

Later ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki told members of a commission that the embryo of the interim government could lie in the joint ANC-government commissions formed after the Groote Schuur meeting last month.

The second phase, Jordan said, would involve non-racial elections for a constituent assembly which would be the forum in which "a new democratic constitution for South Africa would be negotiated".

The constituent assembly would have one year to draw up a new constitution, after which it would dissolve, and the third stage, involving new elections for a new South African government, would begin.

Once these election were held, the armed struggle, which had been suspended in the first phase, would be formally terminated.

Umkhonto weSizwe intelligence chief Keith Mokoape spelt out the ANC's proposals about the implications of the transition period for the security forces of both sides.

He said one of the immediate steps the SADF should take was to demobilise its "surrogate forces such as armed Angolans, Namibian so-called Bushmen, Zimbabweans and Mozambicans". In particular he stressed the need for 32 Battalion to be demobilised and removed from Natal.

He also called for developments within the "homeland" armies to be "left to take their natural course.

"To attempt to suppress popular changes as happened in Bophuthatswana, or to install officers hand-picked by the SADF, can only fuel a situation that would otherwise have been contained by democratic forc-

es." Mokoape argued for the abolition of military conscription, and called for a process of political education to be initiated among troops.

Referring to the clause in the Groote Schuur Minute on "the stopping of violence from whatever quarter", Mokoape said the SADF and Umkhonto "must come together, build together and avoid unnecessary casualties.

"A basis of mutual trust has to be established between the two command structures. It can only be established by a formal round-table discussion on how the two sides wish to see themselves guaranteeing the success of the unfolding process. Out of that must result the setting up of some form of joint and politically accountable command and facilitating structures on a regional basis."

He added that it was important "that the bulk of the two forces become acquainted with one another."

The soldiers on both sides "must be taught that the establishment of a new order is on the agenda and that they are subordinated to it. They should stand ready to defend it".

"Both forces should allow glasnost

within their ranks and in their establishments. With glasnost comes the need for restructuring: perestroika. The best vehicle for that restructuring is *toenadering* between the SADF and MK. *Toenadering* allows for the gradual removal of suspicions. It allows for one to appreciate the shortcomings of the other while drawing the good out of common strengths".

Senior ANC official and Umkhonto weSizwe member Edwin Mabitse said his movement's army was "already ready for integration", and would accept a situation where the "vast majority of appointments in a new army are based on the skills of the soldiers involved" and where officers were appointed on an agreed basis.

Forces such as the Pan-Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army should also be integrated, he said.

Later Chris Hani told delegates that Umkhonto weSizwe was currently upgrading its leadership core by sending it to countries such as Nigeria on special officers' courses.

"Some of our comrades are very well trained and there will be no need for further training", Hani said, adding that many would require upgrading.

"When integration occurs we need the same test for all potential officers to make sure they meet the required standard."

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**R70 000**

**TO  
DINE  
WITH  
MR M**

DAVID BRAUN of the Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

**G**UESTS at exclusive formal dinners with Mr Nelson Mandela throughout the US will pay up to R140 000 for the privilege of dining with him.

Glittering fundraising dinners at R70 000 a plate are being arranged for the deputy-president of the African National Congress in New York, Boston and Los Angeles. At a reception in Los Angeles tickets will cost between R2 700 and R140 000.

The dinners and receptions, mostly hosted by big-name stars of the US entertainment world, are intended to raise money for the Mandela Freedom Fund, the kitty established by US anti-apartheid activists for the African National Congress.

The African National Congress in the US has appealed for between R250 million and R350 million from the international community to help the ANC settle in South Africa. It is clear that one of the primary goals of Mr Mandela's US tour is to raise as much money as possible.

**T**HE organisers of the 10-day Mandela tour have declined to say what their fund-raising objectives are, but American newspapers have reported that each of the eight cities to be visited by Mr Mandela have been asked to collect upwards of R2.7 million.

Fundraising activities range from charging a small fee to hear Mr Mandela at a mass rally, to the sale of authorised Mandela tee-shirts, bronze busts, buttons, pins, posters and hats.

Several American entertainers have also pledged generous donations, including Bill Cosby, Eddie Murphy (who has promised R54 000) and Robert De Niro (who is trying to raise R700 000).

In Boston 150 couples with deep pockets have been invited to a black-tie dinner at R13 500 a plate, and another 150 couples at the same function will be charged only R13,50 a plate.

Among the corporate sponsors of the tour are: Reebok, which will give thousands of T-shirts for sale at Boston rallies, Ackery Communications, which will give R250 000 in billboard space for greetings along Mr Mandela's motorcade route in Boston, and the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston, which is giving about R200 000 in accommodation to the delegation.

Mr Mandela is being flown from Europe to the United States in a private Boeing 727 belonging to Mr Marvin Davis, a former movie tycoon.

In his six-week international tour, Nelson Mandela has used every trick to counter arguments for easing sanctions and his remarkable display of political wit has made an indelible impression on European leaders. Political Reporter ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE reports from The Hague.

# Wit and charisma impress Europe

**A**NC deputy president Nelson Mandela this week rose to the occasion with a remarkable display of political wit which made an indelible impression on European leaders who, in less than two weeks, will review their sanctions policy on South Africa.

Mr Mandela, on a six-week international tour of 14 countries, grasped every opportunity in France, West Germany, Switzerland, Italy and the Netherlands to call for the maintenance of full sanctions against South Africa.

And he used every trick in his formidable political book to counter arguments for the easing of sanctions as a means of encouraging further reforms in South Africa.

The recently released ANC leader took Europe by storm with his dignity, charisma and lack of bitterness against a racist system which kept him in jail for more than 27 years.

This, coupled with a shrewd strategy of giving President De Klerk all the credit he deserves for his bold reform, succeeded — in Mr Mandela's words, "beyond my wildest dreams".

Addressing top politicians and the strong men of European business, Mr Mandela combined a passionate plea for the Western world's continuous support against apartheid with a bold warning that the process of negotiation would be threatened if punitive measures were relaxed.

**H**E praised Mr De Klerk as a man of courage and integrity who wanted to undo the wrongs of the past, but emphasised that racial discrimination remained firmly in place and that the country was still governed by an unrepresentative white minority.

He argued that the abolition of apartheid would be retarded if the government was rewarded too soon, and concluded that the ANC's call for the continuation of sanctions was supported by the entire African continent.

Demonstrating his pragmatism, Mr Mandela — who came up against criticism from particularly the business community which expressed reservations about the ANC's economic policies — said his organisation did not have an economic blueprint but stood firm on its policy of the redistribution of wealth.

"We don't care if the cat is white or black, as long as it catches the mice," he said.

He carefully portrayed the ANC as a reasonable political force which was prepared to share power and wanted to mobilise the widest possible support for the joint initiatives of the National Party and the ANC.

This led to the disclosure that the ANC was even in contact with white rightwingers in an effort to "soften their hostility" towards Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela's performance impressed Europe's political leaders who are eager to reward Mr De Klerk for his moves to end apartheid but who do not want to be seen as lending support to racial discrimination.

Mr Mandela's arguments for the maintenance of sanctions until "profound and irreversible" change has taken place seemed to have been met with some approval by the influential European Community member countries he visited, and has made the outcome of the EC's sanctions debate in Dublin on June 25 largely unpredictable.

**M**ANY options have been tossed around among the 12 EC countries.

Under one extreme, there has been proposals that punitive measures be dropped. On the other, that full sanctions be maintained at least for the time being.

Some countries favour the easing of sanctions in the form of the relaxation of cultural and sports restrictions; others the easing of loan restrictions or increased trade in some areas, particularly coal imports from South Africa.



ANC leader, Nelson Mandela meets Catherine Lalumiere, French general-secretary of the Council of Europe during the leader's two-day visit to Strasbourg.

Another suggestion, which observers believe is gaining support due to Mr Mandela's visit, is that sanctions be maintained but a message of encouragement be sent to Mr De Klerk as a verbal acknowledgement of his reform.

Analysts believe that the EC countries' political directors have formulated proposals for the easing of sanctions in some form or another at a meeting in Brussels on June 6.

The next stage, they say, will be a meeting between foreign ministers of the respective countries in Luxembourg this weekend to consider the proposals of their political directors.

The foreign ministers will then report back to their governments before the Dublin summit.

Evaluations of Mr Mandela's European performance varies from "incredible" to "shrewd" and observers predict a stormy Dublin meeting of which the outcome will not be decided before the moment Europe's heavyweights tackle each other in the debate which could significantly influence the power stakes in South Africa.

During his nine-nation European tour last month, Mr De Klerk did not once ask for the easing of sanctions but made his point by using unquestionable socio-economic statistics to prove his case that international aid was necessary to uplift the country economically and to create stable conditions for reform.

**B**Y contrast, Mr Mandela is using every opportunity to call for the maintenance of sanctions.

Only time will tell which of the two leaders' game plans will be the most successful.

ANC spokesmen have admitted that even the slightest easing of sanctions could be interpreted as a setback for the organisation.

But as the sanctions debate heats up many observers believe that — if sanctions are relaxed at all in Dublin — the EC will phrase the easing in such a way that neither of the two political leaders loses face.

## NY blacks in tug of war for Mandela

DAVID BRAUN of the Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

**N**EW York's two black communities of Harlem and Brooklyn are engaged in a mild squabble as to which is more deserving of a visit from Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to arrive at New York's JF Kennedy Airport next week for the start of a 10-day tour of the United States. The African National Congress has been so flooded with invitations from people and communities who want to see him that his appearances have been carefully rationed.

After vying to get him to appear in their respective neighbourhoods, New York's two largest concentrations of blacks, in Harlem and in Brooklyn, are engaged in a slanging match as to which is the more deserving.

Brooklyn, which has the biggest concentration of New York's blacks, has lost out, however. All it will see of Mr Mandela is through the smoked glass of his limousine as his motorcade whisks between the airport and Manhattan for a lunch-time ticker-tape parade.

Mr Mandela is to visit Harlem, perhaps the most famous black neighbourhood in America.



# Mandela's arrest: Questions about CIA involvement

**B**LACK Americans and anti-apartheid activists are furious at the way the White House this week shrugged off the allegations by saying that the Bush Administration could not be held responsible for anything that may have occurred during the Kennedy Administration.

Activists believe President Bush should apologise to Mr Mandela if the allegations are founded.

Mr Bush told reporters on Tuesday he had no comment on the report and that he had not looked into it.

The national coordinator of Mr Mandela's US tour, Professor Roger Wilkins, told a press conference in Washington that he found "totally unacceptable" the answers given by White House Press Secretary Mr Marlin Fitzwater to questions on the alleged CIA involvement in Mr Mandela's arrest.

Mr Fitzwater earlier this week took exception to being cross-examined on the issue, at first refusing to comment on intelligence matters and then storming out of the press briefing room at the White House.

He later returned to say he should not be hammered for something that may have occurred during the Kennedy Administration.

**P**ROFESSOR Wilkins said he found it astonishing that the White House was prepared to accept the legacies of presidents in different centuries, such as those of presidents Washington and Jefferson, but that it was so quick to distance itself from a presidency of only three decades ago.

Allegations that the CIA tipped off South African security forces of the whereabouts of Mr Nelson Mandela three decades ago are starting to throw long shadows over the ANC leader's tour of America, writes DAVID BRAUN of Weekend Argus Foreign Service in Washington.

He said the report of the CIA's involvement in Mr Mandela's arrest did not appear to be out of character for the CIA that people knew in the 1960s, when attempts were made by the agency on the lives of the Congo's Patrice Lumumba and Cuba's Fidel Castro.

He said he thought the US government would want to do more than dismiss the report when the subject of the report was about to visit the US. To dismiss the report would be rude to the guest of the US and contemptuous of the American taxpayers, Professor Wilkins said.

ANC chief representative in the US Ms Lindiwe Mabuza told the conference the organisation had not been in touch with the US government about the report.

She said, however, she felt it was the duty of the American people to get more information about the incident so that history could be better informed as to what exactly happened.

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