

BLACK POLITICS

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Unbanning of ANC won't be 'end in itself'

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The Star Bureau

LONDON — The unbanning of the ANC, one of the stumbling blocks to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, would not be an end in itself, but would increase pressure for the dismantling of apartheid, a leading member of the organisation has indicated.

that its armed actions had failed to meet expectations.

This was the result of logistical problems occasioned by, among other things, the closure of Umkhonto we Sizwe's camps in Angola.

X Report Restricted

In an interview with the London-based periodical, *Southscan*, Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, further implied that the ANC was aware

● *Parts of this report have been cut, because Mr Hani is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.*

DIYDI TO DEI A TIONO

Gumede will step in for UDF to stop Natal carnage

AFTER two years of restrictions UDF co-president Archie Gumede is ready to contribute to attempts at finding a lasting solution to the Natal conflict.

He wants to intercede for the UDF as a matter of urgency in the fighting which has claimed the lives of more than 2 000 people over the past three years.

Gumede feels the solution lies with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"If he tells his followers not to respond with violence to criticism then the violence could end.

"The UDF, together with Cosatu, recently met his deputies and I sincerely hope the chief minister is going to respond positively.

"If he does not respond favourably I will assume the violence benefits him in his efforts to prevent the achievement of the people's aspirations."

For Gumede the future cannot be built on grudges.

"Peace can only exist when there is a common goal. I plead for calm. Give leaders in the country a chance to effect the necessary changes for prosperity."

Gumede was restricted in terms of the State of Emergency in February 1988.

A year later he was placed under house arrest. But after last Friday's far-reaching speech by President FW de Klerk at the opening of Parliament, the Durban lawyer can once again pursue his political career.

He spoke about his restriction and other issues affecting South Africa.

"The days of my restriction were very tough as I was unable to talk to more than 10 people at a time," he said.

"With restrictions over my head, it became virtually impossible for me to get involved in peace initiatives in the violent conflict sweeping Natal.

His message to De Klerk was: "Don't land South Africa in chaos by stalling now. Get on with the task you have already undertaken."

Gumede said the future was bright "as long as appreciation and understanding of the interests of all prevails".

However, he was uncertain about the present so-called "truce".

"The international community should, accordingly, maintain their concern about what is taking place in South Africa. Sanctions should remain in force in so far as it is necessary."

Now that restrictions on his movements have been lifted, Gumede wishes to visit the headquarters of the ANC in Lusaka as soon as possible - but he does not have a passport.

"My previous applications have been unsuccessful. Two months ago I filed another application and, now that I am free to move, I am going to follow it up with the authorities.

"I would like to see one big organisation under the umbrella of the ANC one day in this country. As a supporter of the Freedom Charter I believe there is no other organisation as equipped as the ANC to ensure the actual implementation of that historic document."

Depending on the course taken by any restructuring within the UDF, Gumede, together with Albertina Sisulu, will go on steering the UDF ship towards the shores of freedom. - ANO.

Top ANC leaders assemble in Sweden

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The largest assembly of ANC leaders outside Africa is gathering in Stockholm for a summit with ailing president Mr Oliver Tambo, to respond to President F W de Klerk's statement opening parliament.

The meeting of all the most senior ANC executive members will give an "emphatic" response to Mr De Klerk, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Tambo, who is said to be making a "fantastic" recovery in a Stockholm clinic from a stroke that partially disabled him six months ago, will not appear in public.

The summit will be held behind locked doors. All press conferences and public meetings will be led by Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki and SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo.

A spokesman for the ANC executive said Mr Sisulu and his group would fly straight home on Monday to deliver the full details of the summit with Mr Tambo to their colleagues.

De Klerk speech will be let-down — MDM

B10² 11/21/90

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will make general commitments and express pleasant sentiments, but is unlikely to make specific undertakings in his speech at the opening of Parliament tomorrow, mass democratic movement (MDM) leaders believe.

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday it was clear De Klerk had to address himself to the main issues raised in the Harare Declaration — including the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the lifting of the state of emergency.

"But I suspect he will be vague. It is clear government is trying to defuse expectations. For us, the important thing is how far he is prepared to go," Morobe said.

Both Morobe and an unofficial MDM source said they believed De Klerk remained bound to take into account the views of the "securocrats" who were worried about a repeat of the 1984 to 1986 uprisings.

This, the source said, explained the "so-called problems" regarding Mandela's release. De Klerk was unlikely to name dates, times and other specifics of his intentions regarding the emergency and the legal status of the ANC.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the largest assembly of ANC leaders outside Africa is gathering in Stockholm for a summit with their ailing president Oliver Tambo, to respond to De Klerk's opening of Parliament statement.

The meeting of all the most senior ANC executive members would give an "emphatic" response to De Klerk, spokesmen said yesterday.

Tambo, recovering in a Stockholm clinic

ALAN FINE

from a stroke that partially disabled him six months ago, will not appear in public.

The summit with Tambo would be held behind locked doors, and all media conferences and public meetings would be led by Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo.

A spokesman for the ANC executive said they hoped De Klerk would respond positively to the "gravity" of the situation facing SA.

Sisulu and his group are due to return to SA on Monday to deliver to their colleagues the full details of their summit with Tambo.

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Direction

KIN BENTLEY reports that the British government has not drawn up a firm list of political changes it expects De Klerk to announce.

But it does expect him to "say something new to develop the direction in which he has been going", a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday.

With violence between police and anti-rebel cricket tour protestors featuring prominently in the UK media this week, political commentators have virtually dismissed hopes of major changes being announced.

The Whitehall spokesman said only the British government was looking for "fresh changes and the repealing of some Acts".

Juicy Lucy's MD quits SA

EDYTH BULBRING

JUICY LUCY MD Sydney Cohen, 48, has resigned his position and will emigrate to Australia at the end of March. Juicy Lucy is a division of Anglovaal's Pleasure Foods.

Cohen said yesterday his emigration to Sydney, Australia, was not a vote of no-confidence in SA's political situation. However, he said he lacked confidence in the economy.

He would be investigating opportunities in the fast food industry, or positions in general management in Australia.

His main reason for emigrating was to keep his family together as his three children wanted to emigrate. He doubted whether his wife and himself would have emigrated alone, he said.

The family had discussed emigrating for many years and once permission to emigrate came through, they decided to "make the break", he said.

Pleasure Foods MD Mike Filberbauer said yesterday he was sad to see Cohen leave. He had not yet reached a decision on his replacement.

There are two sets of clues, but the answers are the same

A BILL of rights for South Africa is not — as one position taken has it — meant to protect the interests of the white minority against a future black majority government.

Instead, a bill of rights can be a major instrument to guarantee that the whole population, including the black majority, effectively realises the rights they have for so long been denied.

To project a bill of rights as essentially a mechanism to frustrate majority rule is to doom it from the start.

It should be used to enlarge, rather than to freeze, the area of human rights and to eliminate, rather than perpetuate, racial distinctions and the fruits of such distinctions.

The bill of rights must not be seen as a positive, creative mechanism that would encourage orderly, progressive and rapid change in the direction of real equality.

In the South African situation, it would thus provide for general, civil and political rights — including a multi-party system based on freedom of speech, association and organisation — but there would be no freedom to call for apartheid to be maintained or restored.

Other rights, such as the right to peace, development and a clean environment, must also be addressed.

This might upset lawyers used to Anglo-American legal conventions who argue that such concepts are political, not legal, and as such have no place within a bill of rights.

Sweeping

Any serious look at the needs of a post-apartheid society, however, shows that sweeping changes will be needed to ensure that the majority of the people have genuine and not merely token access to the rights, privileges and benefits of society.

A fundamental feature of a meaningful bill of rights for South Africa is that it must be structured around a programme of affirmative action.

Not only individuals will be looking to the bill of rights to increase their freedom and improve the quality of their lives, but also whole communities — especially those whose rights have been systematically and relentlessly denied by the apartheid system.

Politics of human rights

South 1/2 - 7/2/90

A bill of rights is being debated by a broad spectrum of South Africans, from the Nationalist Party to the African National Congress. In this focus, SOUTH looks at the proposals of Judge Pierre Olivier's SA Law Commission and an ANC viewpoint:

The advantage of corrective action is that clear and irreversible goals with an undeniable social and moral purpose are stated, but considerable flexibility is permitted in terms of how the goals are to be realised.

There is no area of South African life that apartheid has left untouched. It will therefore be necessary to extend affirmative action to every aspect of South Africa society — for example, in the areas of health, education, work and leisure.

The assumption in most current writing on a bill of rights is that its final watchdog should be a body of highly-trained and elderly judges, applying traditional legal wisdom in what is considered a neutral and objective manner.

Disturbance

If the goal of a bill of rights is selfishly to guarantee the continued existence of property and social "rights" and that these suffer minimum disturbance — one has to put "rights" in inverted commas, as the power to ensure your child goes to a whites-only school cannot be dignified with the word "rights" — then who better to fulfil the role than those who not only belong to and share the values of the very group to be protected, but whose whole professional mode has been shaped in the context of the interests, values and styles of that group?

If, on the other hand, the "dog" is to watch the interests of the oppressed, it would have to have a totally different pedigree and training.

It is unthinkable that the power to control the process of affirmative action in South Africa should be left to those who are basically hostile to it.



Judge Pierre Olivier

At present, the great need will be to give people confidence in parliament and representative institutions, to make them feel their vote really counts and that parliamentary democracy serves their interests.

The principle of equal rights, which in other countries is regarded as so ordinary as not to merit any explanation or require any defence, is projected as something quite wondrous in South Africa.

It is considered so astonishing as to

be constitutionally illusory and practically unattainable.

Yet, essentially this is what the anti-apartheid struggle is directed towards — the achievement of full equality between all South Africans, independent of race, colour, ethnic origin, sex or creed.

The measure of the success of any new constitutional order will thus be the degree to which it enshrines and helps materialise the principle of full, genuine and inalienable equal rights.

In the ANC's view, as race classification and group areas will disappear from legislation, they will vanish from citizenship and the electoral system.

There will be a common voters' roll made up of all adult South Africans to elect a parliament representative of and speaking in the name of the whole nation.

The constitution in this sense will be completely non-racial. There will be no special privileges for racial or ethnic groups.

Race will enter the constitution only as a negative principle in that the constitution will be not only non-racial but also anti-racist.

The anti-racist character will specifically:

- outlaw racial discrimination;
- prevent the dissemination of racist ideas and the organisation of racist parties; and
- ensure that measures are taken to overcome the effects of past racial discrimination.

Persecuted

What guarantee would exist in a constitutional order based on majority rule against minorities being persecuted by the majority? It may be argued that, while recognising the evils of apartheid, it would be unjust to inflict on future white generations the very kinds of discrimination which their fathers have been and are inflicting on blacks.

At the pragmatic, it may be contended that if one wishes to persuade whites to relinquish power now, they must be given reasonable guarantees against persecution in the future.

The general scheme already outlined presupposes guarantees against the persecution both of individuals and of groups — but accomplishes this without introducing racist concepts.

Besides, the cultural diversity of the country will get a degree of constitutional recognition that will permit groups to develop certain aspects of what they might call their own way of life with a view to enriching the texture of society as a whole. This is the guarantee of equal rights for all national groups.

Isolation

The increasing precariousness of the apartheid regime inside South Africa and its growing isolation internationally could tempt it to stage-manage a solution similar to the Lancaster House agreement in Rhodesia.

It could, namely, try to negotiate a constitution and a bill of rights that keep racist principles alive and guarantee privileges (not rights) for whites, but that nevertheless permit some kind of majority-rule.

The position of the anti-apartheid forces has long been that the people as a whole, acting through a democratically elected constituent or national assembly, should be responsible for drawing up a constitution for a democratic South Africa.

Negotiations for a transitional arrangement could in fact pave the way to dismantle apartheid relatively peacefully and to establish a democratic South African state.

The goal of a race-free democratic society would not be negotiable. The means of getting there, however, and in particular the timetable and method of transferring power from a racial minority to the people as a whole, would be.

In this context, it is more important than ever that opponents of apartheid do not lose sight of the goal of genuine democracy in South Africa.

To suspend sanctions because apartheid managed to don attractive new clothes would be to betray the country to racial oppression and exploitation. It would be to negate the principles of equality and democracy.

It would also be to postpone peace in South Africa and delay the reconstruction necessary to ensure that the country truly becomes a country that belongs to all who live in it and a proud member of the community of nations.

(This article was extracted from an ANC document on a bill of rights.)

Bill could lead to end of apartheid

South 1/2 - 7/2/90

The South African government finally appears to be coming round to considering a bill of rights. If it accepts proposals on the issue, it could mean the scrapping of apartheid in South Africa RORY RIORDAN reports:

TRADITIONALLY, a bill of rights is the constitutional instrument used to protect the individual against the power of the state.

It can be used to circumscribe the power of the state to prevent free expression, free association and other human rights, while also making detention without trial and other forms of government tyranny illegal.

A good bill of rights is also a measure against which all present and future legislation can be assessed. If such legislation infringes upon the human rights provisions of the bill of rights, the legislation can be rejected by the courts.

The National Party government until 1986 adamantly opposed a bill of rights. The Constitutional Committee of the President's Council which devised the tricameral parliament, had refused to consider a bill of rights for South Africa.

On the other side of the political divide, the ANC has advocated a bill of individual rights since at least 1942 when, in African Claims, they proposed such a document for South Africa. Mr Govan Mbeki was on the drafting committee.

Today, Albie Sachs is working on a bill of rights project for the ANC.

His draft report has been widely circulated for comment, both inside and outside South Africa.

In 1986, the NP government appears to have changed its attitude to a bill of rights. It appointed the SA Law Commission, a government body, to investigate two issues: the relationship between individual and group rights; and how the courts could play a better role in protecting these rights.

The Law Commission appointed a team of researchers under Judge Pierre Olivier to perform this investigation, and circulated a working paper on "Group and Human Rights" for comment in 1989.

The Commission is now preparing its final report, which it expects to have ready by the end of 1990. It will then be handed to the government, who may or may not use it recommendations.

What value is the working paper for democracy in South Africa?

In the words of Etienne Murenik, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand: "Judge Olivier's report has been described as the most important document to emanate from an official body in the past 40 years.

My own view is that we could just as easily make that 400".

Some major points of the SA Law Commission's proposed bill of rights are:

- it unequivocally commits South Africa to equal, universal franchise for all adults;

- it states clearly that a bill of rights is the instrument to protect the individual against the state. It is not the instrument to protect groups one against the other; such protection, if desired, should be in the constitution itself;

- it outlaws state involvement in discrimination — any institution that receives state funding may not discriminate because of race. The proposed Bill does allow for discrimination to continue at schools, hospital, for example — provided that no state money is involved;

- it allows for the principle of affirmative action programmes to try to redress the historic imbalances of apartheid;

- the Commission recommends the bill of rights be implemented in five stages; the fourth would entail "reaching consensus in a future constitution and finalising the bill of

rights". The fifth is the legitimisation, by referendum, of the new constitution — including the bill of rights:

- it would commit South Africa to a future dispensation based on an acceptance of international human rights norms. Should the proposed bill of rights be accepted, South Africa could sign the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The proposals, however, also have shortfalls. The most obvious is that it appears to entrench capitalism and private property.

Most worrying is that it is being created without consultation with the ANC. Judge Olivier argues that he would welcome ANC participation. He sent a letter to the recent Paris Conference in this regard.

But ANC suspicions of South African government bodies are deep-seated. To the writer's knowledge, the ANC has not yet responded to the letter.

Thus the fundamental hurdle still awaits the SA Law Commission's proposed bill of rights: Can one construct a political initiative in South Africa today — no matter how good — which will be accepted by the majority of the people if the mass populist movements have not been involved in its having been drawn up?

This is the hurdle that the SA Law Commission must resolve. I do not believe they can.

(Rory Riordan is Director of the Human Rights Trust in Port Elizabeth.)

South Africa has been through the previous forms of apartheid. The previous forms of apartheid had an all- through. screen plays, working on the film "The Cockroach" and enjoying his re- # Tembi Mtshali singing her last farewell to the juju...

A poet of many shades

South 112 - 712190 (11A)

By Heather Robertson
POLITICAL activist, cultural worker, journalist, photographer — these are the many shades of District Six born poet Abduraghiem "Giemie" Johnstone.

Many have seen him on stage, looking like an Eastern mystic with his 'bokbaardjie' and Gandhi spectacles, or heard him dropping poetic lines at political rallies, cultural events, funeral services or more sedate readings at UCT and the Baxter.

Others would have seen him behind the lens in Crossroads and Nyanga East. Still others would have seen him behind the computers at the Congress of South African Writers offices in Belgravia Rd, rapping with young writers and activists about the struggle, love, poetry and how to produce a pamphlet.

Buchu Books have recently published a compilation of his much read works entitled "Poems from the Valley of Amazement".

Who is the person behind the shades and spectacles and what compels him to write?

Johnstone started writing in 1973 when as a young high school student at Alexander Sinton he was exposed to the "angry" poetry of the Black Consciousness movement.

He explains: "In the BC movement we used culture as a vehicle of struggle. We were involved in agitprop theatre, music and poetry as a means of conscientising."

After high school, Abduraghiem spent seven years in India, teaching English and studying Arabic poetry. His experiences in India had a great influence on his writing, worldview and spiritual being.

Abduraghiem sees himself performing a dual role as a writer in South Africa

— namely to advance the struggle and to be critical of it.

"South African writing has got to be contextual as far as the struggle goes, but it has also got to be all-embracing, a celebration of life.

"My role is to advance the struggle, support the vanguard movement and be critical at the same time. As someone working as an activist and media worker I use writing to capture social spaces for writers — that is, the right of writers to express themselves now and in a post-apartheid South Africa."

He places his writing in the context of an alienated society plagued by violence, gangsterism, drug addiction and rape but insists "art should be aimed at eradicating alienation."

He adds: "Sometimes when culture is

used as a populist form it's like a short 'high', but it doesn't question or advance a people's cause.

"A poet can bring about consciousness about issues such as ecology, the realisation that the mountains and the sea belong to all and we must protect it. Poetry is about consciousness and beyond."

Johnstone finds inspiration in everyday experiences — from mountains, to birds, children and political rallies.

"One can be inspired by symbols, people, battles. For example, the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, when the boers were defeated, is one which inspired me to write a celebration where our people have broken out of the culture of silence. Poetry is inspiration and hard work."

The ANC's constitutional guidelines and the 1990 birthday speech hardly give any mention of the arts. Johnstone responds to this omission:

"It's up to cultural workers to see that their interests are crystallised as part of the new constitution. I feel that all arts groups — including the Congress of South African Writers — should not be part of any government. Artists and journalists have to retain their autonomy, not only to praise government but also to criticise it. Artists must fight their own battles. They must build their own organisations.

"For a long time culture has been knocking at the doors of the UDF for recognition, but to no avail because the UDF is overextended or doesn't take culture seriously.

"There is a danger in a political movement prescribing to artists or writers. So, the cultural movement will have to sort itself out."

For someone who locates himself and his writing among the people, Johnstone finds they react differently to his poetry.

"Sometimes when I read in the people's camp at rallies, the crowds are today. But some of my militant poems at times of uprising are well received.

The state, however, has been unambiguous in its response to his verse. He has been visited by security police who warned him 'jy moet ophou lees (You must stop reading)'

Despite this, it is clear that Abduraghiem will always write what he likes.



Abduraghiem Johnstone

Incisive look at distortions in SA

ABDURAGHIEM Johnstone's first volume of poetry provides not only an insight to the distortions of South African society but also an intriguing mystifying look into the "poetic mind".

Stark images of blood, hatred and suffering abound, but it is the parallel experience of having worked through the traumas of the poet that make this collection particularly memorable.

Johnstone creates a haunting landscape that toils under a "moon / Draped in blood," — one that is witness to poverty, unabated deaths and the tragic violation of children.

But it is ultimately the suffering and senseless destruction of children that most concerns this poet — many of the

poems are dedicated to children, while others gain meaning against the background of future generations.

Indeed, the collection is dedicated to those who "...will walk / in the forests and mountains / without having to say — / "Ecology is bourgeois".

Johnstone confirms the wisdom of children throughout. But while we recognise the sanctity of innocence, we find that children, too, are capable of revenge and have "...acquired arms..."

Other themes encapsulate as effectively the spectrum that is South Africa, ranging from war, revolution, detentions and homelessness to love, culture, labour and the treatment of women.

What is undoubtedly the most striking feature of Johnstone's poetry is the brevity and simplicity with which these

aspects are covered.

The poem "Focus" seems to offer some insight into the logic of the genre. In "Goniwe and Ford Calata", a poem about two community leaders mysteriously killed near Cradock.

We are told the time, the place (Nine o'clock / Road-block), we are given a hint (Blood oozing) and no more, as the poem concludes "The pigs are smiling."

What then of the poet behind these images?

"Poems from the Valley of Amazement" tells us at least that he has to a certain extent worked through many of the problems and dilemmas he depicts in this edition

It is the nature of his poetry, however, to leave us at somewhat of a loss in drawing conclusions: he provides the

images, stark as they may be, but we determine their effect upon us.

It is possibly it is this frustration on the reader's part that is most enjoyable; the genre is deceptive as the poems are short, yet distressing.

It is partly the superb use of this genre that makes the poems successful: the brevity is stretched to the extreme as these short statements become taut with meaning that leaves the dismal messages fixed.

But the imagery is undoubtedly the strongest aspect of Johnstone's poetry and leaves the reader with an exhausted tolerance level.

This particular genre depends largely on incongruity and antithesis, a feature that Johnstone uses to the full — we are told of "cesspools of glee",

"wingless butterflies" and of hunger that "hangs limp from a woman's breast."

But all is not imagery and style. This poet questions and challenges many aspirations and beliefs: whether we will remember the glorious revolution, whether its after-effects will be bearable and where we will go once freedom arrives.

The poem, "Reflections" tells of our sometimes mindless activity once caught up in a fight for freedom, it questions the nebulous use of dogma and ends simply — "Reflect."

After all these illustrations of the "valley" have been revealed, he tells us that "This is just a land of poetry" — a comment that rings true in his dead-centre images that indelibly mark the reader's memory. - Denise Fouché



Mandela

story ¹¹

^{South} delay 1/2 - 7/2/90

SOUTH'S account of the capture of Nelson Mandela, taken from "Higher than Hope," a biography by Fatima Meer, is not featured in this edition, as was advertised last week.

It will be published at a later date to coincide with the launch of the second edition of the book which is still on the press.

FW meets Mandela today



President De Klerk



Mr Nelson Mandela

CAPL Times
1/2/90

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will meet today in a bid to iron out problems related to the ANC leader's release.

The surprise meeting, the second between the two leaders, will take place at an undisclosed venue and time.

It comes on the eve of Mr De Klerk's crucial speech to Parliament at its opening tomorrow.

A senior government source said last night that the meeting could have a significant impact on the final draft of Mr De Klerk's address and the eventual date of Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Mandela appears to want his release to be part of a comprehensive package which includes the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency, while the government favours a staggered programme of reform measures.

Should the two leaders be able to fashion a compromise, Mr Mandela's release could take place within weeks. It is understood that Mr De Klerk plans to hold a press conference on February 12.

While Mr De Klerk is not expected tomorrow to announce the precise date of the ANC leader's release, he might say that Mr Mandela will be freed as soon as arrangements can be finalised — as happened before Mr Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialists were freed.

As expectation and speculation about Mr De Klerk's speech continues to mount, government members are acutely aware of the dangers of another "Rubicon".

Government sources said that while the speech did not go as far as some might have wanted, under the prevailing conditions it would nonetheless be a "courageous" statement.

One source said the speech would be "not be that

dramatic" but would contain "some drama". The government believes it has made "an all-out effort to do as much as possible under the circumstances".

It is understood that the latest wave of nationwide unrest played a much greater role in deliberations around the speech than any fear of a right-wing backlash from whites.

Among the announcements Mr De Klerk is expected to make tomorrow is that the state of emergency is to be at least partially lifted, resulting in an end to the curbs placed on 34 opposition organisations.

An announcement on the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act is also possible.

NEW CAPS

PAC faces obscurity after Mandela release

South 1/2 - 7/2/90

THE imminent release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela could push the rival Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) even further into obscurity.

Mandela's release, expected in the new parliamentary session along with other major concessions by the government, is set to turn 1990 into "the year of the ANC".

This could be the final blow to the PAC which appeared in 1989 to voluntarily sideline itself by misjudging the changing political climate and reiterating that it rejects negotiations with the government out of hand.

The ANC in contrast has consistently stated it has never opposed a negotiated solution; it is committed to talks if the government breaks the negotiation deadlock by creating a climate conducive to serious discussions.

Out of step with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, South Africans and the world which have greeted the Harare Declaration on negotiations with the SA government, PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng declared his movement rejected negotiations "absolutely".

Out of step with international "realpolitik" which favours talks over tanks to resolve regional conflicts, PAC foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said in Harare late last year that the armed struggle was "the only guarantee to frustrate the machinations of the regime".

The journey into obscurity by the Pan-Africanist Congress could be accelerated with the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. However, the PAC appears to have voluntarily sidelined itself, reports NOEL BRUYNS:



PAC's Mothopeng

Out of step with the ANC, the MDM, the UDF and Cosatu, which together enjoy the support and sympathy of the majority of South Africans and which with other Charterists are working for a non-racial future society, the PAC seems imprisoned in the time-warp of the 70s when Black Consciousness had its heyday.

The latest SAIRR "Race Relations Survey" quoted Ebrahim as saying the PAC would not even deal with individual white liberals such as Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The PAC's Africanist ideology was



Nelson Mandela

one of its reasons for breaking away from the ANC in November 1958.

It accused the ANC of reneging on its African nationalist tradition by adopting the "multi-racial" Freedom Charter of 1955 and cooperating too closely with liberal whites.

Three decades later, the two liberation movements remain deeply divided.

However, after talks with PAC officials in Dar Es Salaam last September, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said: "I am convinced the differences are more historic than present."

The ideological cleft has not been narrowed by Mothopeng distancing



ANC's Oliver Tambo

himself from Charterists willing to negotiate if Pretoria fulfils their tough preconditions, or by rubbishing the peaceful marches that took place throughout the country as part of the Defiance Campaign.

However, the release of Mandela may pave the way for the two liberation movements to re-unite into a future "patriotic front".

Mandela himself subscribed to Africanism, as did the ANC, in the early days of the movement — although both he and his movement have become less sectarian.

A senior PAC member earlier this month described the ANC leader as a person committed to unity, saying his release could add momentum to

the ideal of unity between the two organisations.

His isolation over the past 28 years has raised him above factionalism, making him South Africa's best hope for sanity and unity.

He demonstrated his openness by speaking not only to State President FW de Klerk and his predecessor, Mr PW Botha, but also inviting PAC stalwart, Mr Jafta Masemola, who was imprisoned on Robben Island with him, to discussions at his Victor Verster Prison house last October.

However, it is believed that speculation about unity is still very premature.

The ANC at present has a strong centre-stage presence, has been seen to be leading the liberation struggle, and is committed to the Charterist vision.

The PAC on the other hand continues to espouse Africanism and has lived in relative obscurity.

The ANC has no need to accommodate the presently-weak PAC, while the PAC cannot submit to the ANC without losing its identity or reason for existing.

Until and unless the PAC leadership-in-exile in Dar Es Salaam shrugs off the threat of self-imposed marginalism and sidelining through taking up positive and realistic initiatives to give the movement a better image, it will continue to be regarded — as one writer described it — as Aladdin's genie.

"It suddenly pours out of the bottle, its head reaching up into the clouds and its feet straddling the land. Then it is gone again, the bottle capped, and life resumes its orderly rhythm," writes John de St Jorre in "A House Divided: South Africa's Uncertain Future".

Mandela called for the immediate end to the State of Emergency. He

US viewers

AMERICAN viewers watched live TV coverage of Nelson Mandela's release from the Victor Verster prison in Paarl for more than four hours - while the historic occasion was screened on SABC's TV1 for barely an hour yesterday afternoon.

Phoning from Boston, an ecstatic Mrs Sarah Wilson Cianbrone said the ABC and CBS channels started beaming the event as early as 7.30am (1.30pm SA time) yesterday.

Song and dance at Jan Smuts

Smuts 12/2/90

111

JAN Smuts Airport yesterday vibrated with song and dance as a huge enthusiastic crowd of African National Congress supporters waited for the arrival from Cape Town of their leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Watched closely by a contingent of police in riot gear, the crowd chanted slogans and sang freedom songs a few paces from the main concourse as minutes to Mandela's freedom ticked by.

The crowd started gathering at the airport as early as 11am.

As it started to swell to more than

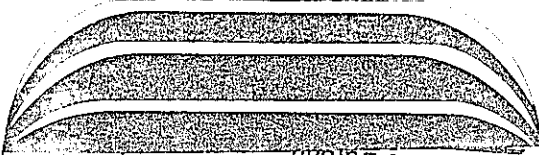
By SY MAKARINGE and PHANGISILE MTSHALI

800, more police reinforcements, some with dogs, were brought in to prevent the people from moving into the main concourse.

All entrances were sealed off.

At about 4.30pm, black policemen announced through a loudhailer that "the person you are waiting for will not be coming today".

He was ignored and the people continued doing the toyi-toyi dance.



COMPUTER COURSES
AT 1989 PRICES
ONLINE COURSES

Man wounded as gunman fires at Jesse's motorcade

SHOTS were fired at a vehicle in the entourage of US politician the Rev Jesse Jackson in Cape Town's Nyanga township yesterday. One man was reported wounded.

Mr Jackson blamed the police for the incident but they denied responsibility. The shots had been fired by a black man with an R4 rifle near the Nyanga town council offices, said the police public relations division in Pretoria.

"He fired on an opposing group and at other SAP members in the area.

"An SAP foot patrol returned fire but the man

Sunday Times Reporter

escaped.

"The shots heard by Mr Jackson were thus not fired in his direction.

"Police found a number of spent R4 cartridges at the scene."

Later two men, apparently the worse for drink, were ejected from a ritzy Sea Point hotel after trying to confront Mr Jackson and Dr Allan Boesak.

The men came into the hotel just as Mr Jackson and Dr Boesak arrived for a news conference.

Journalists at the hotel entrance were told by him that a conference had been arranged for the Press and that he would speak there.

"Just for the Press? What about us ordinary guys who want to know what is going on?" demanded one of the men loudly, and continued to harangue Mr Jackson and Dr Boesak, who walked away.

Shortly afterwards one of the men was ejected from the building by hotel staff and the other was asked to leave.

After a further altercation outside, in which one of the men was knocked down by a punch from a hotel staffer,

they apparently agreed to leave the grounds.

Mr Jackson told reporters that Nelson Mandela would be out of jail today, but not free.

His release was a hopeful step in the right direction, but the lifting of sanctions would require the release of all prisoners and an end to the state of emergency.

He was not free to live in the neighbourhood of his choice, choose where he wanted to send his grandchildren to school, vote, or run for office in his own country.

Until freedom came, these restrictions would stimulate resistance to apartheid.

'Hit squad' men guarded by ANC

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — African National Congress officials yesterday threw a tight security screen around the suite of rooms the ANC has rented at Harare's Holiday Inn, where they are believed to be hiding former South African security policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee.

Journalists were told an ANC decision had been taken "at the very top level" not to allow any press access to Mr Coetzee until today.

Mr Coetzee was not booked into the hotel under his own name but the ANC had a section on the sixth floor booked in the name of its officials.

ANC security men who met reporters as they got out of the lifts would not confirm that another alleged "hit squad" member, Swedish subject Mr Heine Human, 39, would be presented to the press today at the same time as Mr Coetzee.

Doubts have been cast about the mental

JOHANNESBURG. — The David Webster Trust hopes to meet President FW de Klerk before Parliament reconvenes tomorrow to offer "new and compelling arguments" for a judicial commission of inquiry.

According to a statement issued by the group yesterday, the trust first made a written request for a meeting with Mr de Klerk on November 27 last year to discuss the failure of the police investigation into the assassination of Johannesburg activist and academic Mr David Webster. — Sapa

state of Mr Human, who came to Harare last month and reportedly told Swedish diplomats he had inside knowledge of the murder of Ms Dulcie September, an ANC representative in Paris.

Sources here say today's ANC press conference, timed to overshadow president President FW de Klerk's speech tomorrow opening Parliament in the eyes of the

international news media, might also be attended by Mr "Spyker" Tshikalange and Mr Martin Dollincheck, both former South African security officials.

The ANC is reported to have compiled a detailed dossier on South African "hit squad" operations with the help of the three, as well as 12 former recruits to the "Askari" programme, an exercise to "turn one-time ANC Mkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas" and deploy them on secret missions for the security forces.

The 12 are said to have reverted to their former allegiance to the ANC's military wing and may testify in Harare. The Zimbabwean government has never before acknowledged the presence of military cadres, in any capacity, on its soil.

The ANC's dossier is said to make specific allegations against the present speaker of the South African Parliament, former law and order minister Mr Louis le Grange, and his successor Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Plans to meet to resolve differences before ANC leader's release

They're getting ready to celebrate

They're getting ready to celebrate
APUS 1/12/90

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — More than a dozen US organisations joined the African National Congress this week to form an American National Nelson Mandela Reception Committee.

The latest reception committee is the first to be created worldwide to co-ordinate celebrations for Mr Mandela's release, a spokesman for the ANC in Washington said in an interview.

The American committee is being organised by the ANC's New York and Washington offices.

LOBBY GROUP
Among the organisations which are taking part are TransAfrica, a lobby group which spearheaded the campaign to force Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1986, the Mozambique Support Network, the Southern African Support Project, the Lutheran Task Force, the Socialist Workers' Party and the office of Congressman Mr Walter Fauntroy, a prominent anti-apartheid activist.

The ANC spokesman said the committee planned to stage a demonstration outside the South African embassy tomorrow. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest at President F W de Klerk's decision to delay the release of Mr Mandela and protesters will demand the immediate release of the ANC leader and others.

He said the committee was planning several other activities to mobilise US support for Mr Mandela's release.

When Mr Mandela did eventually step to freedom, he said, the committee would co-ordinate celebrations across America. These would include street parties in the major cities, the forming of a human chain and special events at schools and colleges.



PROTESTERS' CALL: A poster calling for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela reflects the mood of the moment.

APUS 1/12/90

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A spokesman for the President's office said it was not procedure to make known or comment on Mr De Klerk's appointments unless he decided to make these known through a statement.

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On the security issue the authorities are trying to ascertain whether, in the present volatile political atmosphere, Mr Mandela's release would worsen the situation. He may be able to give assurances that would satisfy Mr De Klerk.

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Mrs Winnie Mandela was not available for comment today.

However, it is believed that Mr Mandela told her on Saturday that a meeting with Mr De Klerk was on the cards.

She is due in Cape Town tomorrow to take part in the MDM march. It could not be confirmed if a visit to Victor Verster prison would be added to her agenda.

Picture: DOUG PITNEY, The Argus

Revealed:

11A
~~21A~~

South 1/2 - 7/2/90

The official document

A SECOND paper by Nelson Mandela, entitled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding," criticises state president FW de Klerk for his recent statements on reform and takes a clear stand on the "talks about talks" issue.

Details of the document were made available to SOUTH this week.

In the document, Mandela makes an important departure from a previous document, first published in SOUTH last week, on the question of "talks about talks".

He calls for the creation of a "proper climate," echoing the view of the ANC that certain pre-conditions must be met before negotiations can begin.

Mandela begins the document by complimenting De Klerk for freeing the eight political prisoners in October last year.

He says the conflict and violence in South Africa would never be settled unless the government and the ANC reached agreement.

The document states that the government had over a period of time consistently insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks.

Mandela said he wanted to make it clear to the government that the ANC would never make such a commitment at the insistence of the National Party.

He said the history of the ANC itself had been such a commitment.

TO PAGE THREE

Cosas welcome rally (11A)

SPEAKERS from several organisations in the Vaal will address a rally this weekend to welcome 10 former Congress of South African Students members in the area who have been released from prison after serving jail terms. *Sowetan 1/2/90* (~~1/2/90~~)

Speakers will include representatives from the Vaal Youth Congress, Vaal Students Congress, Vaal Civic Association, Congress of South African Students, South African National Students Congress and the South African Youth Congress.

The rally will be on Saturday at the Presbyterian Church in Zone 7 Sebokeng. It will start at 12 noon and everybody is welcome.

MDM (11A) (2/27)

sets pace with ^{south} 1/2 - 7/2/90 marches

By CHIARA CARTER

THE government faces a crisis as a week of marches heads towards a dramatic showdown at the gates of parliament.

The Mass Democratic Movement is determined to take centre stage as world attention focuses on South Africa with widespread expectations that state president FW de Klerk will announce further reforms when parliament opens on Friday.

The MDM has called on people to march in their thousands to demand that parliament be disbanded and Nelson Mandela released.

Anonymous

Faced with the MDM's refusal to seek magisterial permission for marches, the authorities may choose to allow a peaceful march to take place to avoid confrontation at the opening of parliament which could overshadow De Klerk's reform strategy.

Allowing Friday's march to proceed will be a retreat for the government, which insists marchers must first get magisterial permission. A crackdown on the protesters, however, would be a major blow for De Klerk's reform initiatives.

Police fired teargas at about 300 people who marched in support of squatters threatened with eviction from the Uitkyk settlement in Kraaifontein on Tuesday afternoon

The authorities, however, gave permission the next day for a march by about 4 000 people through central Cape Town to the police headquarters in Caledon Square. They said an anonymous individual had applied for permission.

The marchers handed a memorandum to a South African Police repre-



Marchers gather in front of Cape Town's City Hall on Wednesday after a protest through the city centre

sentative at Caledon Square.

The memorandum demanded the right to peaceful protest and said the Defiance Campaign Committee protested against excessive police actions.

"In spite of what your police may do, we will continue to defy and resist without magisterial or police permission," the memorandum said.

The UDF publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Cheryl Carolus, this week said the MDM planned to step up its Defiance Campaign.

"We will defy laws which seek to prevent us from building a just

peace."

She said the MDM believed that freedom of association was a right and not a concession, and would "defy the ban on open-air gatherings to make our voice heard".

Carolus said the MDM, which represented the majority of South Africans, would set the pace for reform — not De Klerk.



A police photographer in action at Wednesday's march

Plans to meet to resolve differences before ANC leader's release

FW, Mandela fever

They're getting ready to celebrate

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Last-minute meeting for FW, Nelson

B/day 11/2/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk will meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela today to try to remove the final stumbling blocks to his release.

De Klerk is also likely to brief Mandela on the contents of his address to Parliament — details of which were disclosed to the full Cabinet for the first time yesterday.

Cabinet Ministers yesterday would not discuss the contents of the speech, but one senior government source described it as "courageous". "It's an all-out effort to do as much as is possible in the prevailing circumstances," the source said.

Government members are all too aware of the dangers of Friday's speech turning into another "Rubicon" and have warned against raising "undue expectations". A source said while the speech had "elements of drama" in it, it was "not that dramatic".

It is still considered highly unlikely that De Klerk will give specifics about Mandela's release date or even announce his release. But, depending on the outcome of today's talks, De Klerk can be expected to give an indication that the ANC leader will be released in a matter of weeks. A date being touted in parliamentary circles is February 12.

Sources said while most of the opening speech had been completed, De Klerk would add the final touches only after meeting Mandela.

Mandela is reportedly insisting that the ANC be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted before his release.

Sources said the outbreak of violence linked to the rebel English cricket tour and the general unrest potential in the country



● MANDELA



● DE KLERK

had occupied a major part of yesterday's Cabinet deliberations.

Because of this, the speech would not go as far as government might originally have liked, but was still "courageous" from an NP viewpoint. But government was not hesitating to introduce reform measures because of fears of a right-wing backlash.

In his speech De Klerk is expected to outline government's plans to get negotiations going.

A partial lifting of the state of emergency, further details of the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act and an outlining of government's new fiscal and monetary policy can also be expected in the speech.

Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis are understood to have been working on the latter aspect of the speech for several weeks.

Although a senior government source confirmed today's meeting between De Klerk and Mandela, it is not clear where it will take place. Unlike their previous

□ To Page 2

FW and Nelson

11A B/day 11/2/90

□ From Page 1

meeting, it is unlikely to take place at Tuynhuys as preparations are well under way for Parliament's opening ceremony.

Government officials are also taking precautions to prevent details of the opening speech from becoming known before De Klerk's address because of fears that an early leak could affect capital and equity markets.

MERVYN HARRIS reports that hesitancy emerged among foreign and local investors on Diagonal Street yesterday ahead of the speech.

Dealers said investors were reluctant to take up positions as the finrand investment currency was expected to move sharply in

reaction to any proposals.

A favourable response could see further strong demand for the currency, while a negative view could bring the price of the finrand down.

The currency has already moved up sharply on the so-called Mandela factor.

The currency yesterday weakened to R3,3900 from R3,3450 in what dealers described as thin and quiet trading in both London and Johannesburg.

The withdrawal of buyers to the sidelines and a lower gold price resulted in share prices easing across most sectors on the JSE. The overall index declined 20 points to 3 194.



Angolan troops close in on key Unita base

APGUS
1/12/90

LUANDA. — Angolan government troops have crossed the Lomba River, a natural barrier between government forces and territory held by Unita in south-east Angola, military sources said here.

Fierce fighting has been reported on the banks of the Lomba since Unita rebels, dug in south of the river, halted about 9 000 government troops, backed by Soviet-supplied tanks and air-support, who began an advance on the key rebel base of Mavinga in late December.

The military sources claimed government forces bridged the Lomba in the last few days and were fighting for control of the vital airstrip at Ma-

vinga, 19km south of the river.

There was no independent confirmation of the claims.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi cut short a planned five-nation European tour on Tuesday, claiming he had to return to organise Unita defences against intensive bombing raids by the government's Soviet-built MiG and Sukhoi aircraft over the Mavinga area.

He said government ground forces did not threaten Mavinga, a strategic position guarding the rebel's bush headquarters about 250km further south-east.

An editorial from the Angolan state news agency, Angop, yesterday ac-

cused Dr Savimbi of attempting to gain international sympathy by presenting himself as a victim of government aggression.

Angop claimed the rebels heightened the 16-year civil war by killing four Cuban soldiers in a raid last week. The agency said American and South African advisers had arrived recently to help Unita forces in southern Angola.

The guerrillas claim Soviet advisers are helping government forces.

Cuba called a temporary halt to the withdrawal of its troops backing the Luanda government last week after the slaying of the four soldiers. — Sapa-AP.

Old friends Sisulu and Tambo to reunite

The Argus Foreign Service
STOCKHOLM. — High above the harbour here, where gargantuan ferris wheels hoot and churn the water as they leave for Finland, is the spot where two South African comrades will be reunited this week for the first time in more than 25 years.

The last time Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo could meet without restraint was before the 1964 Rivonia

trial, in which Mr Sisulu and others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

When the recently released Mr Sisulu arrives in the snowy Swedish capital today for a series of top-level meetings with politicians, one of his priorities will be to visit Mr Tambo, who is in the city for treatment for the effects of a stroke he had last year.

After the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and Mr Sisulu, Mr Tambo now 72, shouldered much of the burden of leading the ANC — he has been one of the leaders since 1958 and president since 1977 — and it is believed the pressure contributed to his stroke.

The two friends are likely to meet at the smart Erstagards Clinic in central Stockholm, where Mr Tambo is patient.

ANC to unveil its own hit squad study

HARARE — ANC official yesterday threw a tight security screen around the suite of rooms they have rented at Harare's Holiday Inn hotel, where they are believed to be hiding former SA security policeman Dirk Coetzee. *B104 1/2/90*

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Coetzee was not booked into the hotel under his own name but the ANC had a section on the sixth floor booked in the name of its officials.

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MICHAEL HARTNACK

Swedish subject Heine Human, 39, would be presented to the Press today at the same time as Coetzee.

Doubts have been cast about the mental state of Human, who came to Harare last month and reportedly told Swedish diplomats he had inside knowledge of the murder of Dulcie September, an ANC representative in Paris.

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The Zimbabwean government has never

To Page 2

Hit squad study

before acknowledged the presence of military cadres, in any capacity, on its soil.

CHARLENE SMITH confirms that the ANC is expected to release the results of its investigation into death squads in Harare today in a 90-page document backed by former SA security operatives, including Coetzee and Tshikalange.

ANC National Executive Committee member Jacob Zuma said details of the

ANC's investigation would be released, but would not divulge further details.

Attorney's for the David Webster Trust have requested an urgent meeting with President De Klerk before the opening of Parliament on Friday to "put new and compelling arguments" for the reconsideration of his decision to call for a judicial commission of inquiry into political assassinations, the trust said in a statement yesterday.

From Page 1

South 112 - 7/2/90.

The official Mandela 11A document

He continued to examine what De Klerk had been saying about reform in South Africa and criticised him.

In the document, he drew attention to De Klerk's inaugural statement where he had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together and negotiating a new constitutional dispensation.

Mandela said he believed that the cornerstone of the statement was the need for reconciliation.

He questioned De Klerk's meetings with homeland leaders, saying there was no need to seek reconciliation with them as they were the government's creation.

He said these meetings had nothing to do with reconciliation.

The large majority of South Africa's population understood reconciliation as that between the government and the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations. The government could not avoid this issue.

Mandela said it was at this level that the country was yearning for reconciliation.

Experience had shown that the government was only interested in making peace with those who agree with them.

This did not help but only impeded negotiations.

In his previous document Mandela had suggested two "stages" to negotiations. The first would be a meeting between the government and the ANC where preconditions for negotiations would be discussed; the second would be the actual negotiations.

Obstacles

The ANC, however, had stated that the onus would be on the government to create a proper climate for negotiations. He was therefore not in favour of the two "stages", Mandela said.

According to the ANC, the government had to eliminate the obstacles to negotiations, the second document stated.

The climate would be created if apartheid legislation was scrapped, the state of emergency lifted, banned organisations were unbanned, political prisoners were released, exiles were allowed to return and all executions and political trials halted.

Mandela said in the document that unless the proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of talks was totally unrealistic.

He reiterated his commitment to the ANC and said the "two stage" approach had been his own thoughts at the time.

He said in the document he had always indicated that whatever he did was subject to his organisation — the ANC — and he adopted their stand.

SOUTH's sources confirmed that Mandela handed the second document personally to Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on the afternoon of December 12, 1989.

At this meeting the two ministers informed him about the meeting with De Klerk the following day. The document formed part of his discussions with De Klerk.

SACP prepares for recruiting drive

367 22/2/90
The Star Bureau (11A)

LONDON — The South African Communist Party plans to launch a major recruitment campaign in South Africa soon.

A press statement released here by the central committee said a public SACP "leadership core" within South Africa would soon be announced, and CP members would "go into the country to strengthen the core as soon as possible".

The campaign of "mobilisation and organisation" will focus on the "tens of thousands of militant workers and youth who have ... openly associated themselves with SACP ideals".

The statement concedes that President de Klerk has implemented some important steps, but "his regime is committed to brutal economic policy that is anti-worker, and indeed against the interests of the majority of South Africans".

Mandela to talk to Relly and Bloom

By Michael Chester

Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to hold talks in Soweto on Monday with two key South African business leaders to exchange views on possible new economic scenarios.

The first session will be with Anglo American's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, who has reacted with alarm to Mr Mandela's suggestions that such business sectors as the mines and banks,

should be nationalised.

Most businessmen are also disturbed by Mr Mandela's suggestion that sanctions be maintained to continue pressures for faster reform.

The second round of discussions will be with the Premier Group's former chairman, Mr Tony Bloom, an ardent supporter of reform who left South Africa last year to settle in Britain.

He is expected to arrive at the weekend.

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P addresses Parliament today amid a belief by political analysts that government is quietly fulfilling all five of the basic preconditions of the ANC's negotiation steps listed in the Harare Declaration.

After ANC leader Nelson Mandela's latest messages to government, De Klerk's speech will be watched for further indications that government is paving the way for Mandela's release and freer political activity by banned organisations.

The ANC's negotiation declaration was adopted in Harare last November and subsequently endorsed by the OAU, the UN General Assembly and the Johannesburg Conference for a Democratic Future.

RAU political scientist Prof Deon Geldenhuys said government was not announcing that it was moving toward fulfilling the terms of the Harare Declaration because "they want to be seen to be calling the shots, they do not want to appear to be responding to external pressure. The government is trying to steal the high ground. The ANC at this stage has the government over a barrel."

Geldenhuys did not believe that government would announce when it had fulfilled the initial preconditions of the Harare Declaration, for the same reasons.

Mandela has claimed, through his lawyer, Dullar Omar, that his release would be delayed because basic pre-negotiation conditions had not been met. The issue of Mandela's release is expected to be addressed in De Klerk's speech today.

Edgar du Pisani, research director at the Institute for International Relations, said moves towards negotiations meant government would have to fulfil certain conditions. "The government created the present situation and will have to remove constraints. There is a liberalisation process going on, particularly in areas of social policy. But liberalisation, while essential, is not sufficient for negotiations or democracy."

The first negotiating precondition of the Harare Declaration is that all political prisoners and detainees be released unconditionally.

Without saying so, De Klerk moves to meet ANC's terms

CHARLENE SMITH

B/Dun 2/2/90

Although detentions are continuing, the numbers of detainees have diminished dramatically. The Prison Review Board is reviewing the sentences of certain political prisoners, including Barbara Hogan who was sentenced to 10 years' jail in 1982 for treason.

However, SA Prison Services spokesman Maj Dave Smith said the service could not furnish additional information or decisions with regard to the release of individual prisoners.

The second Harare Declaration precondition is the removal of bans and restrictions on proscribed and restricted organisations and people.

The ANC and the PAC remain banned. Although no organisations have formally been derestricted, several, including the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign, have "unbanned" themselves and are openly operating. No measures have been taken against them or the restricted individuals who for some months have flouted their emergency restrictions.

Since De Klerk took office, state of emergency restriction orders have declined by a fifth, to 554. However, listings — a more severe form of restriction against individuals — have, in terms of the Internal Security Act, risen from 537 to 580.

The third precondition calls for the removal of all troops from the townships.

SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said SADF troops remained in the townships in support of police units. He could not say whether there were more or fewer troops than in the past. However, residents in major urban townships report a dramatic reduction in numbers of troops. In some townships no troops are evident.

The final two demands are the ending of the state of emergency and the repeal of all legislation, including the Internal Security Act — "designed to circumscribe political activity", and the cessation of all political trials and political executions.

DP law and order spokesman Denis Worrall said that from a practical point of view it would not be difficult for government to lift the state of emergency, "given the fact that it is not being fully implemented in practice".

Worrall noted that there were only a few people left in detention in terms of emergency regulations, restrictions on newspapers were not being implemented and meetings and marches were being permitted. He and a wide range of political analysts believe government would

also engender a strong positive response locally and internationally if the state of emergency were lifted.

Du Pisani said lifting the emergency, if accompanied by other measures (including Mandela's release, unbanning the ANC and the removal of security legislation), would prevent the imposition of additional sanctions. Existing sanctions would remain in place until SA moved into negotiations, "and some will only go when the outcome of those negotiations is in place, for example, a new constitutional framework".

Lawyers and legal academics have said that in the past three months a softening of penalties against offenders in terms of the Internal Security Act has been noted.

Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies director Prof John Dugard said charges under the Internal Security Act were increasingly being dropped. The state was not enforcing all bans on meetings, nor prosecuting those who quoted listed people or were found in possession of banned documents. He did not believe the Act would be scrapped at this stage, but its removal, or part of it, would be important to free political activity and fulfil a Harare Declaration prerequisite.

"Certainly Section 29, which allows for indefinite detention, has brought the administration of justice

into disrepute and should be scrapped."

Dugard said the removal of the state of emergency would be important in two regards: in diminishing the power of the police and in psychological terms. "It would indicate that the government believes the ordinary laws of the land are sufficient, and that we are no longer in a state of siege."

One prominent Johannesburg advocate said he would not be surprised if political trials where violence was not a factor ceased, or those convicted on non-violent charges were pardoned.

People accused of harbouring ANC guerrillas or of receiving training abroad as guerrillas — and who have not committed acts of violence — are increasingly receiving suspended sentences.

There has also not been a single execution this year while the number of hangings last year was less than half that of 1988.

However, veteran repression monitor and Human Rights Commission co-founder Dr Max Coleman said detentions were continuing, although they had diminished greatly.

"People are still getting killed at gatherings, as happened at Khiffa song, Carletonville, last week when two people were shot by police."

He added: "There is more restraint on high-profile matters at present, but out of sight repression continues. I don't know if it is a matter of policy, or that new measures have not yet filtered through, but every single measure of repression is still in place and being used."

Nonetheless, the ANC in Lusaka remains confident that government will meet most, if not all five of the Harare Declaration preconditions. It expects a mutual ceasefire could be decided on by the end of the year, and that the first ANC negotiating team will arrive in SA by June.

However, it believes De Klerk's speech today will give the strongest indication of whether or not the government is committed to negotiation, and therefore rapid movement on Harare Declaration preconditions. "We don't know if De Klerk has the courage to cross this Rubicon," a senior spokesman said.

● ANC, PAC and SACP unbanned

● Mandela to be set free soon

● All executions are halted

● Political prisoners to be released

FW opens doors to freedom

5/11/90
S/ANC
2/2/90

Delay over release is 'unavoidable'

Political Correspondent

The Government had taken a firm decision to release jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela unconditionally, but unfortunately a further short delay was unavoidable, President de Klerk said today.

The Government would take a decision soon on the date of his release and was serious about finalising the matter without delay, he said in his opening address to Parliament today.

"Normally, there is a certain passage of time between the decision to release and the actual release, because of logistical and administrative requirements.

"In the case of Mr Mandela, there are factors in the way of his immediate release, of which his personal circumstances and safety are not the least.

"He has not been an ordinary prisoner for quite some time." At a briefing on Mr de Klerk's speech, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was asked if the delay in the release was caused by administrative problems.

ADMINISTRATIVE

He was asked whether it had to do with the political conditions that he has apparently placed on his release.

Dr Viljoen said the reasons were mainly "administrative". He said Mr Mandela had been informed already of the parts of



Mr Nelson Mandela as he was in the early 1960s.

the speech which affected him. Mr de Klerk said in his speech that he believed his decisions on creating a negotiation climate including the United Democratic Front and Cosatu go to the heart of what black leaders — also Mr Mandela — have been advancing over the years as their reason for having resorted to violence.

"The allegation has been that the Government did not wish to talk to them and they were deprived of their rights to normal political activity by the prohibition of their organisations."

Mr de Klerk said that the justification for violence which was always advanced no longer existed.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced today the immediate unbanning of the African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

His move is seen as a dramatic gambit to launch negotiations with the black majority.

In an historic speech at the opening of Parliament today, Mr de Klerk announced a series of far-reaching measures to create a negotiation climate.

He has met nearly all the conditions posed by the ANC and other organisations for negotiations. He released political prisoners, freed all restricted organisations, and scrapped most of the state of emergency. He also suggested that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would be released unconditionally as soon as administrative and security arrangements could be made.

The decision means that all members of the ANC in exile who had not committed ordinary crimes in South Africa, would be able to return.

The Government would take a decision on Mr Mandela's release date soon.

With these steps there was no longer any reasonable excuse for political violence, Mr de Klerk said.

"The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk."

The steps included: ● The release of all genuinely political prisoners — but not those who have committed ordinary crimes with political motives.

● A firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally as soon as administrative and security arrangements could be finalised.

● The lifting of emergency restrictions on 33 organisations, including the United Democratic Front and Cosatu.

● The scrapping of the regulations under which the organisations were restricted.

Mr de Klerk said he intended lifting the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justified it and he appealed for co-operation from the public. But he said an emergency situation still existed especially in Natal.

● Detention without trial is retained, but is reduced to a maximum of six months. Detainees acquire the right to legal representation and a doctor of their own choice.

● To suspend the death penalty until Parliament passed judgment on several reforms proposed by Government — including a fuller discretion for judges to decide on passing the death sentence. There will be automatic right of appeal.

● To repeal the Separate Amenities Act this session. Deaths of the measures would be given in Government Gazettes tomorrow.

The measures did not imply the Government would condone violence and terrorism nor that it condones the ANC's economic policy and aspects of its constitutional policy.

Mr de Klerk said he was convinced the measures were justified from a security and political point of view.

"Our country and all its people have been embroiled in a conflict tension and violence struggle for decades. It is time for us to break out of the cycle of violence and break through to peace and reconciliation.

"The silent majority is yearning for this. The youth deserve it.

"With these steps the Government has taken it has proven its good faith and the table is laid for sensible leaders to begin talking about a new dispensation to reach an understanding by way of dialogue and discussion.

"The agenda is open..."

He gave several reasons for the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP.

● The collapse of communism in Europe weakened the ability of the banned organisations to receive help.

● The activities of the ANC, PAC and SACP were no longer such a threat and the organisations had made important shifts towards peaceful solutions.

Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela could play a constructive part in negotiations. He had declared himself willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process.

The time for talking has arrived, and whoever still makes excuses does not really wish to talk," President de Klerk told Parliament today.

Mandela criticises F W report

STATE 2/1/90
Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk's statements on reform and reconciliation have been criticised by Mr Nelson Mandela in a publication titled "A Document to Create a Climate of Understanding", it was claimed yesterday.

In the document, extracts of which were published yesterday in *South* newspaper, Mr Mandela is reported to have said a climate for negotiation would be created if apartheid laws were scrapped; the state of emergency lifted; banned organisations unbanned; political prisoners released; exiles allowed to return; and all executions and political trials halted.

UNREALISTIC

Unless a proper climate was created for talks about dismantling apartheid and the measures used to enforce it, the idea of negotiations was totally unrealistic.

In the document, said to have been handed to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen on December 12, Mr Mandela criticised Mr de Klerk for meeting homeland leaders.

South carried extracts from the document in

yesterday's report. Last week it published an earlier document given to the Government.

Examining Mr de Klerk's statements on reform, Mr Mandela said the President had stated that the only way to peace was through reconciliation, seeking solutions together and negotiating a new constitution.

But he questioned Mr de Klerk's meetings with homeland leaders, because they were the Government's creation and had nothing to do with reconciliation.

The document compliments Mr de Klerk for releasing eight political prisoners in October. But Mr Mandela said the conflict and violence in South Africa would not be settled until the ANC and the Government reached agreement.

The Government had insisted that the ANC make a commitment to peace as a precondition for talks. Mr Mandela said the ANC would never make such a commitment at the insistence of the National Party. The history of the ANC had itself been such a commitment.

South editor Moegsien Williams said the newspaper report was a summary of the document. "We did not get the actual document this time. However, our sources are impeccable," he said.

last year's general election.
The indictment said the two men assaulted Mr Pokota Makgalemele on August 29 at Gold

Miner will apply for bail on February 5. Mr David Johannes de Beer of Kruger Avenue, Vereeniging, was granted bail of R1 000.

whether to prosecute the Untag members as only certain members enjoy diplomatic immunity under the agreement with the UN.

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'I joined ANC for sake of my children'

By John Ryan, ^{STAR 2/2/90}
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Self-confessed "hit squad" leader Mr Dirk Coetzee has confirmed he has decided to become a member of the ANC.

The former police captain said in an interview yesterday, after his scheduled press conference was cancelled, that he had decided to do so because he would like his two young children to be part of the future.

Asked why he had felt it necessary to join the ANC — whether it was a form of insurance against retribution for what hit squads had done — he replied: "If I hadn't done so, it would have been like being the sales manager of Mercedes Benz and driving a Corolla."

Mr Coetzee admitted a police departmental conviction in 1984

for trying to bring US \$150 000 (R385 000) into South Africa illegally to evade taxation.

He said he had done so as a favour to a man called Jan Pont, although he stood to earn commission from the deal.

The departmental inquiry had also found Mr Coetzee guilty of making a false statement under oath, illegally obtaining official information to which he was not entitled and uttering that information.

Referring to his allegations of hit squad killings, he said the attitude engendered among members was that force had to be met with force.

"We believed we were fighting terrorists and anti-Christ people. Some of us were also drinking heavily."

Mr Coetzee conceded that neither the former president, Mr

P W Botha, nor his successor, Mr F W de Klerk, may have known about the existence of hit squads.

"But many in authority did."

Mr Coetzee said he would stay in Harare for several days to brief lawyers, in the light of the Government's decision to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the alleged activities of hit squads.

The eagerly awaited press conference was cancelled yesterday by the ANC "because of circumstances beyond its control".

Mr Coetzee said he was most disappointed. He had wanted to meet the press to show he was not the bad guy he had been made out to be.

In an interview with Radio France International, Mr Coetzee again alleged South African

Government Ministers had known of the existence of hit squads.

"As I've just learnt yesterday, President de Klerk has appointed a judicial commission of inquiry under Judge Harms and of course I will give my full cooperation with this commission to try to get each one that was involved with the hit squads, the planning from the lowest level up to the highest Government level — because I can assure you there are Ministers involved — to admit their part, and then either act accordingly or come to some agreement with the ANC," he said.

The interview was broadcast on Radio 702 Newstalk last night. The names of high-ranking state officials he mentioned were "bleeped out".

Hit squad probe 'could take years'

BIDW 2/7/90

CHARLENE SMITH

THE newly appointed commission of inquiry into political murders has been criticised for having terms of reference that are so broad it could take years for the investigation to be completed, lawyers and attorney-generals have said.

The full terms of the commission of inquiry announced by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee are expected to be contained in a special Government Gazette printed today, a Department of Justice spokesman said.

The commission has been briefed to probe "murder and acts of violence allegedly committed with political motives".

The fact that a commission had finally been appointed was welcomed by many commentators. However, some of them, including SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, said full support for the commission would be dependent on whether the deliberations of the commission were public.

However, Chikane said President F W de Klerk was to be congratulated for taking a "courageous step toward justice and reconciliation, despite the potential damage of the findings to his government".

There was confusion among attorney-generals as to the precise terms of ref-

erence of the commission. Transvaal attorney-general Don Brunette said all inquest files where there was suspicion of political assassination would be forwarded to the new commission.

At this stage, there were only three inquests in the Transvaal involving possible state complicity which might need re-opening. However, if murders by ANC, PAC and right-wing death squads were also investigated, there would be hundreds of cases.

Impossible

The figure could increase to thousands if unrest victims of necklacing, firebombs, etc. were included.

Human rights lawyer Peter Harris, who is also a member of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, which handed a memorandum on its hit squad investigations to the McNally inquiry last year, said although the board welcomed the commission, its terms were so vague it was impossible to predict whether it would serve any purpose.

Harris was especially concerned about its terms of reference with regard

to "hit squad activities in the ranks of the SAP".

"Will it investigate the killings in Natal, the necklacing murders in the Eastern Cape and police shootings in the townships? If so, it could take years to reach any findings."

The DP expressed similar concerns and called on De Klerk to give head of the commission Mr Justice Harms the budget and authority to appoint an independent team of investigators to help him and to ensure that hearings were conducted in public.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin said the organisation would be delighted to give whatever information it had to a commission. He welcomed the appointment.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that the CP has said De Klerk's appointment of a commission amounts to a motion of no confidence in his Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

CP law and order spokesman Moolman Mentz said last night: "The government's complete somersault clearly indicates that Mr De Klerk has no confidence in Mr Vlok's ability to handle this situation."

The CP called on Vlok to resign immediately, he said.

February 1989 - January 31, 1990: 565
Past 24 hours official toll: 0
TOTAL: 1 233

He said it was too early
legal proceedings were to be instituted
against Law and Order Minister
Adriaan Vlok.

'African heads may have to mediate in Natal'

ULUNDI — Natal's devastating violence might finally need the mediation of African heads of state, KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a representative of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko yesterday.

Buthelezi, also Inkatha president, stated the possibility in a memorandum on discussions with former Zairean foreign minister Bula Nyati Mandungu, who is now special advisor to Mo-


buto. He said it was time to get negotiations going in SA by telling State President F W de Klerk "we are prepared to back anything he does to legis-

late real change into existence". He was not afraid of a white president taking the right steps in the right direction. But there was need for caution about proposing a "once-only, big-bang event" which would launch black politics into a position of ascendancy and make whites subservient.

The violence in Natal between the "ANC/C/UDF/Cosatu alliance" and members of Inkatha had already cost more than 2 000 lives, and he feared that unless it was diffused national negotiations might not take place despite white willingness for them, Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

Power struggle to control access to Mandela

W/Mail
2/12/90 - 8/2/90

11A 

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

INTENSE in-fighting is developing behind the scenes for control of the "Nelson Mandela story".

Official arrangements for Mandela's release are being made by the Mass Democratic Movement's National Reception Committee, which has rented a building in central Johannesburg to be used as offices for Mandela.

However, some individuals and networks are believed to be bypassing official organs.

One of those trying to move in on the release is a mysterious French busi-

nessman, Dr Alain Guenon, who sought an invitation to Winnie Mandela, grew close to her and became involved in the affairs of the family and the plans for the release.

He is believed to be part of an attempt to open a press centre to coordinate the media coverage of the re-

lease. He approached the South African Youth Congress to assist with this.

Winnie Mandela's relationship with Guenon has given rise to some tension between her and the National Reception Committee.

The Mass Democratic Movement is concerned to centralise planning for Mandela's release and attempts have been made to persuade Winnie Mandela to drop Guenon.

Sources say the African National Congress has asked Winnie Mandela to disassociate herself from Guenon.

Control of media access to Mandela after his release will have major financial and political consequences. There is speculation that millions of dollars are being offered by the immensely powerful American television networks for exclusive access to the ANC leader.

●To PAGE 2

**Mystery
Frenchman
in tug-o-war
for control
of publicity**

Tug-of-war for control of Mandela media

W/Mail 2/12/90 - 8/2/90
●From PAGE 1

Access to Mandela and the presentation of what he says and does will be a powerful political weapon.

Guenon has produced an historical film about the ANC and another on the South African Defence Force. He has also produced more than one series for the SABC. He hunts with Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, stayed with Swapo leader Anton Lubowski shortly before his assassination, and is involved in deals for the establishment of a Sheraton Hotel in Namibia.

He said this week he was a former professor of philosophy from La Sorbonne in Paris. He is also known to be a collector of 16th-century European art.

He runs "a small news agency" in Johannesburg, Adage News. Adage is a registered company in Paris, though its clients are not known.

Adage also recently produced a film about the ANC, directed by Jurgen Schadeberg and due to be shown soon on M-Net.

Research conducted by the *Weekly Mail* in Paris showed Adage is linked with a number of typical front companies — institutions which have no employees, no assets, no normal office work, no products, and yet large amounts of money passing in and out of their accounts.

Guenon is believed to have been involved in financial dealings with Winnie Mandela in the past. His name cropped up recently in connection with the killing in Namibia of the Swapo politbureau member Anton Lubowski. It was reported in *Windhoek* last year that some of the money found in the Lubowski estate belonged to Guenon.

The Mandela family has recently been referring media inquiries to Sayco. Sayco has said that it was not happy with the way the MDM distanced itself from her after the "football club" scandal of last year.

Asked yesterday if he was involved in business with Winnie Mandela, Guenon said: "She is not a capitalist, as far as I know."

Asked if he was setting up a press centre for the Mandela release, Guenon said: "I've been asked to help, but there is nothing very serious so far."

Constitutional Guidelines, Albie Sachs, takes an irreverent but constructive look at the 'cultural struggle'. He argues that the 'struggle' is not about toeing the ANC line but having the freedom to choose.

By IVOR POWELL

A NEW in-house African National Congress seminar paper may lead to a radical redefinition of the organisation's cultural policy.

Presented to an ANC leadership seminar, the paper — entitled *Preparing Ourselves for Freedom* and authored by ANC stalwart Albie Sachs — challenges nearly every tenet of the movement's orthodoxy in the field of culture.

Among other seeming heresies, Sachs calls (albeit with his tongue somewhere in his cheek) for a ban on ANC members' "saying that culture is a weapon of the struggle".

He goes on to chide the art and literature coming out of the liberation movement as being "narrowed down so much that all that is funny or curious or genuinely tragic in the world is extruded".

"Can it be," he asks, "That once we join the ANC we do not make love any more, that when the comrades go to bed they discuss the role of the white working class?"

Even the ANC's own August 1989 Constitutional Guidelines are not allowed holy cow status: "... the reasoning should not be: the Guidelines lay down the following for culture, therefore we must line up behind the Guidelines and become a transmission belt for their implementation. On the contrary, we need to analyse the guidelines, see what implications they have for culture, and then say whether we agree ..."

"Apartheid has closed our society, stifled its voice, prevented the people from speaking and it is the historic mission of our organisation to be harbingers of freedom of conscience, debate and opinion."

While endorsing the ANC's pre-eminence in the struggle, Sachs argues that the true leadership position lies in being "non-hegemonic", and in "showing the people that we are fighting not to impose a view upon them but to give them the right to choose what kind of society they want ..."

In the meantime, he urges: "We need to accept broad parameters rather than narrow ones: the criterion being pro- or anti-apartheid ... Certainly it ill behoves us to set ourselves up as the new censors of art and literature, or to impose our own internal states of emergency in areas where we are well organised. Rather let us write better poems and make better films and compose better music."

His paper is being compared with South African Party General Secretary Joe Slovo's recent reassessment of the role of socialism in South Africa, as embodied in a discussion paper entitled *Has Socialism Failed?* Both papers, it seems, represent a new spirit of *perestroika* infusing the ranks of the ANC and its allies as the liberation movement moves above ground.

Sachs, a leading member of the organisation's legal commission, is recognised as one of the movement's most influential intellectuals — as well as being one of its most likeable characters. He is also well known as an aficionado of the arts and wrote his *Jail Diaries* as a play, which went on to achieve considerable acclaim. During the past few years and especially since the 1988 assassination attempt in which he lost an arm, Sachs has been shifting from a relatively hardline ideological position into the humanist vanguard of the ANC.

Sachs' arguments raise problems which need to be addressed — and present an optimistic and seductive view of a post-apartheid future.

● See also PAGE 23

William 2/2 - 8/2/90
One of the major architects of the

11A
Culture 'no weapon of struggle'

X

X

ANC press conference cancelled

114
2/2/90

By MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — The African National Congress yesterday cancelled plans to present former members of an alleged South African hit squad to the international press here after a humiliating rebuff from the Zimbabwean government.

"All we are saying is that it is not possible to hold the press conference at this time in Zimbabwe," ANC secretary for information and publicity Mr Pallo Jordan told a throng of journalists, many of whom had travelled to the Zimbabwean capital to hear the allegations of Pretoria's former security agents.

An ANC statement said the men would shortly be put before the press in Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

Mr Jordan shrugged off suggestions that the ANC had been influenced by President F W de Klerk's announcement on Wednesday that a judicial commission under Mr Justice Louis Harms would investigate the activities of "hit squads" within South Africa or outside its borders.

Mr Jordan declined to discuss the future of former security police captain Dirk Coetzee and Swedish citizen Mr Heine Human, both of whom were brought to Harare for the press conference.

"It is hardly a wise thing to do," he said.

Mr Jordan denied that the ANC had been subjected to pressure to cancel the press conference, or that he had seen the Zimbabwean Minister of

Foreign Affairs, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, earlier during the day.

However, he and the ANC's chief representative in Harare, Mr Max Mlongeni, are known to have had a lengthy meeting with Dr Shamuyarira, who is also secretary for information in President Robert Mugabe's policy-making politburo.

There was no comment from the Zimbabwean government on the cancellation of the press conference.

However, sources here say Zimbabwe has always been eager to deny Pretoria's military any pretext for cross-border incursions and have therefore never acknowledged presence of members of the ANC military wing, or persons "actively involved in the armed struggle".

After a 100-minute meeting with President Mugabe here on Wednesday the British Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker, said there was a "new realism" in Zimbabwe's attitude to fast-changing developments.

With Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, President Mugabe is one of the mediators in the attempt to negotiate a peace between President Joaquim Chissano's Mozambican government and Renamo rebels.

South Africa is felt here to have a key role in any projected negotiations, and allowing Harare to be used for the ANC press conference could have upset delicate moves between all four countries involved.

Mr Jordan said there was a possibility documents relating to the "hit squad" allegations might be released here by the ANC later.

ANC men's

death sentence

STAR 2/2/90

is set aside

UMTATA (11A) Two ANC members who allegedly placed a limpet mine in the toilet at the Mzamba Wild Coast Hotel on the night of April 18, 1986 — which claimed two lives — had their double death sentences set aside by the Appellate Division in a judgment handed down in Umtata yesterday.

The appellants were Ndibulele Ndzamela and Fumzile Myapi.

However, another appeal against sentence and conviction in a terrorism charge was dismissed.

The trial court judge had sentenced each of them to 18 years' imprisonment. — Sapa.

A White House ^{11A} invite for Mandela

PRESIDENT George Bush will invite Nelson Mandela to visit the White House as soon as he is freed, presidential representative Marlin Fitzwater said last night.

"President Bush will invite him to Washington for a visit as soon as it is convenient for him," the White House press secretary said.

She said "ther are indications" Mandela will be released today. "We don't kknow for sure. We will certainly support his release. We're hopeful he will be," Fitzwater said.

— Sapa: 212190 - 812190
W/maz

It's Pik and Thabo!

Two weeks after President F W de Klerk opens parliament, the National Party government will break its own ban on the ANC with a flourish — by sharing a platform with the arch-enemy. They won't be in the same room — the debate will be on TV — but Foreign Minister Pik Botha will publicly square up to ANC crown prince Thabo Mbeki. FIM 2/2/90

This extraordinary about-turn in Nat policy is the result of delicate behind-the-scenes planning by the well-known American TV journalist, Ted Koppel, host of the ABC network's *Nightline* programme. So the electronic face-to-face will be a media event with international interest.

Koppel's able research assistant, Terra Sonnenschein, recently returned to Washington (where *Nightline* is normally produced) after successfully concluding the final negotiations for Koppel's SA programmes. They will be broadcast worldwide over four days this month. Sonnenschein also spent a week in Lusaka to obtain Mbeki's co-operation.

37

FIM 2/2/90

The FM understands that Botha and Mbeki will appear with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the final screening of *Nightline* on SA on February 16. Initially, Botha was unwilling to share the airwaves with Mbeki, but, in the end, Buthelezi's appearance changed his mind. (11A)

Botha and Buthelezi will most probably face Koppel in the same studio; but satellite arrangements have been made to accommodate Mbeki (still prohibited from entering SA) on the same programme. Furthermore, it was probably one of Botha's conditions that the format of the programme should exclude direct confrontation between him and the ANC leader.

In 1985, Koppel hosted a similar programme when he had well-known SA political commentator Otto Krause and the SA Council of Churches' Beyers Naudé in the same studio, while ANC leader Oliver Tambo joined in via satellite.

Koppel, who is due to arrive in SA soon, accompanied by the usual swarm of researchers and technicians, will kick off *Nightline* from SA with a face-to-face interview with De Klerk on February 13. This will be followed the next evening by a debate in Wits University's Great Hall — and this will include representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement and Education & Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, formerly in charge of the Bureau for Information. *Nightline's* Thursday night broadcast will feature Koppel interviewing De Klerk's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Once all this becomes known, the Conservative Party will doubtless lambast De Klerk for allowing Botha to share a platform with the ANC. This, CP spokesmen will doubtless say, is yet more evidence of government softening towards the banned organisation.

38

FIM 2/2/90

It certainly is. (11A)

Assuming that Botha (or De Klerk for that matter) does not have second thoughts about taking part in Koppel's programme, the encounter will again highlight the difference between the De Klerk style of government and that of his predecessor, P W Botha. During the latter's rule, two senior officials of the Department of Constitutional Development (one of them newly elected Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan) were stripped of their security clearance, following contacts with the ANC.

At least Pik Botha will know that the generals have since left Tuynhuys. ■

The politics of protest

It is not easy to find out what really happens when policeman meets protestor.

The reporting of the cricket tour protests (and others) has been remarkable for the number of wildly different versions in the media. One newspaper said the protest at the match in Kimberley was peaceful; another reported that a fence was almost broken down and stones were thrown on to the field. And the SABC's radio and TV news teams often appear to have been at another event altogether.

When the visiting players arrived at Jan Smuts Airport, one British journalist apparently reported on an event he had not seen, in a manner which implied that he had.

On Tuesday, the Radio 702 cricket correspondent noted that the protest at the Bloemfontein match was peaceful; a moment before, the same station's newsreader spoke of the SADF taking control of Bloemfontein township Mangaung because the SAP had lost control of demonstrators.

Are the police being mulish, even mutinous — and deliberately brutal? Or are they simply attempting to keep the peace in very trying circumstances, without proper equipment and clarity of purpose?

After more than a decade of the lid being kept firmly in place, the police are obviously not accustomed to handling huge demonstrations — but neither are the protestors. And most of the reporters, either rusty or naive, seem to have forgotten how to get all sides of the story, and prefer to settle into advocacy journalism in which the good guys have been picked in advance.

Whatever the reality, the simmering violence seriously threatens President FW de Klerk's reform initiative. The problem must be dealt with quickly, unequivocally and in a peaceful way — and it is in the end a problem for the politicians, not the police (who can deal only with symptoms, not the root causes).

As the *FM* went to press, the situation appeared to be worsening. Three protest marches were planned for Cape Town's CBD. The largest, on Friday, will be to the gates of parliament to coincide with De Klerk's opening address. Winnie Mandela is due to take part. Hundreds of foreign journalists will report on the event. Official permission has not been granted for the gathering, and police have warned that they will break it up.

Optimists were ready to believe that De Klerk's message of compromise and tolerance was getting through to the police (*Current Affairs* Jan-

uary 26), and perhaps it has. But some methods used against anti-tour protestors, and black scholars in Cape Town, suggest that it might not have.

Is it significant that the latest crackdown started only days after De Klerk told 500 senior police officers that their job is to keep law and order and not play politics? He said in essence that politicians will in future deal with political issues, including public protests, and that the strong-arm tactics of the past will be unnecessary.

Whether or not the latest police actions were unnecessarily brutal, the public relations effect was such that they were. Mention water-cannon, razor wire and teargassing, and it begins to look as if the police are making a political statement.

It is understood that De Klerk is extremely concerned, but is unlikely to do anything until after the opening of parliament.

The police are not in an easy position. How long should they wait, at a protest, before acting to prevent injury and damage to property? If the law is broken and they are criticised for acting upon that offence, surely it is the law that is at fault? And that is a matter for the politicians.

The situation that has arisen was inevitable. The MDM no doubt needed to test the outer limit of government's new-found tolerance by seeking ways to defy official rules for peaceful protest. Refusing to apply to magistrates for permits to demonstrate is their chosen strategy.

Once again, we see police colonels surrounded by chanting mobs, trying to wage unwinnable street debates on issues of political principle with shrewd MDM leaders. The police tend to be (understandably) impatient

with clever talk, and they become intransigent; so does the mob.

The situation also dents our battered international image and highlights the apparent inability of government leaders to deal even at this relatively uncomplicated level with extra-parliamentary political opponents. Simply to insist that protests must be officially sanctioned invites conflict and plays into the hands of township anarchists.

Law & Order officials argue that to compromise or allow protests to proceed without formal approval brings the law into disrepute — and they have a point. Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe insists that the police will enforce existing laws.

But justifying police action against "illegal" protestors and blaming the organisers for injuries and damage to property doesn't resolve the political problem. To his credit, Minister Adriaan Vlok revealed last week that he invited anti-tour leaders to discuss their protests "and to state government's viewpoint on legal and peaceful protests," but was spurned.

How to end the violence must be a government priority. It will be tragic if peaceful resolution were to be derailed by petulant street mobs bent on little more than provoking nervous, short-fused policemen.

Both sides deserve a better deal. ■

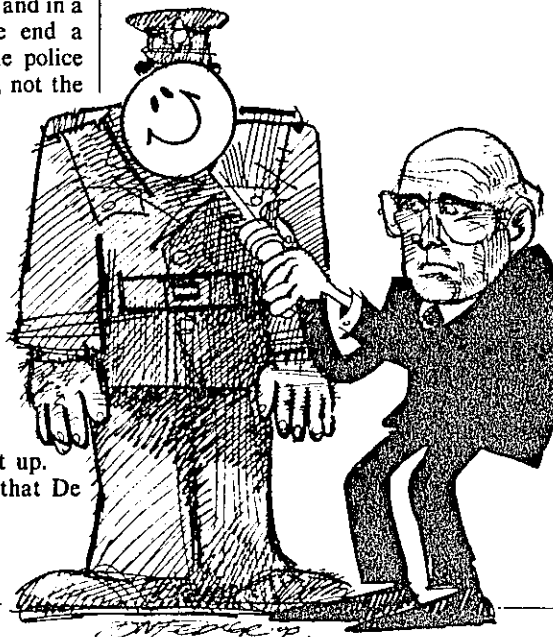
TALKING TO THE ANC

It's Pik and Thabo!

Two weeks after President FW de Klerk opens parliament, the National Party government will break its own ban on the ANC with a flourish — by sharing a platform with the arch-enemy. They won't be in the same room — the debate will be on TV — but Foreign Minister Pik Botha will publicly square up to ANC crown prince Thabo Mbeki. *F/M 2/2/90*

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F/M 2/2/90.

MANDELA'S MESSAGE

Who can we believe?

11A

It would be unwise to assume that because in 1948 the National Party held similar economic views — especially on nationalisation — to those that Nelson Mandela and the ANC appear to hold now, we can afford to be sanguine about a prosperous post-apartheid SA.

This economy paid a heavy price in wasted resources during the Fifties and Sixties in the use of the departments of State, government utilities and public corporations to uplift white Afrikaans speakers and the fostering of crazy social engineering schemes to impoverish blacks.

It is true that at that time this country enjoyed one of the highest rates of economic growth in the world. But that was because of the increase in mining output — especially gold — which flowed from a mining industry created by private enterprise and nourished by limited government.

Had it not been for Hendrik Verwoerd's increasing intrusion into the affairs of all South Africans, this country at that time could have grown at the spectacular pace that new industrial countries of the East grew in the Eighties.

If Mandela and the ANC adopt policies similar to those of the Nats in those days, not only will our businessmen be better off in eastern Europe, there will be no honorary doctorates from the University of Belgrade for the comrade commissars. If the ANC adopts the economic policies on which the NP came to power, all South Africans in a post-apartheid SA will face a future of greater deprivation.

Conventional wisdom among liberal whites is that Mandela and the ANC are adopting a negotiating stance when advocating nationalisation and that, once the negotiations are over, the reality will be a post-apartheid economy more capitalist than even mixed. There may be truth in that proposition. Certainly, in recent years the gap between the ANC's asking price and Pretoria's offered price has been narrowing. But the well-intentioned who keep on hopping over the Limpopo in quest of every possible indication that the ANC is going soft on Marxism, tend to return with more straws in the wind than solid evidence that that has taken place to any material degree.

Those who took heart at black businessman Richard Maponya's suggestion that Mandela had been converted to capitalism on the journey from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison should think again. Is Maponya — rich and given to conspicuous consumption — likely to be taken into the confidence of a man like Mandela, who has served 25 years of austerity and hardship because of his beliefs?

We have grave doubts that Mandela is more pragmatist than socialist. But, of course,

while he is incarcerated and the ANC is banned, we will not know for certain and are unable to engage in constructive debate with the reluctant comrades. While this situation remains, the temptation is going to be for Pretoria to use force rather than persuasion against those with whom it disagrees. And that will inevitably elicit from the other side similar intransigence.

The sensible course that President F W de Klerk has taken to allow peaceful protest and replace violence with persuasion, needs to be extended logically to Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC. But similarly, if the ANC wishes to demonstrate that it is not merely another NP in sheep's clothing — that will ultimately favour coercion towards its own enrichment above the rule of law and general prosperity — it should discipline its violently protesting cadres.

It is typical of every "liberation" movement in Africa that once it is in power, it wants to promote a dramatic shift of resources from business to black workers. The outcome everywhere has been greater impoverishment. Politically, it has to be explained away as social justice: poor but equal.

The most recent example is Zimbabwe. Robert Mugabe achieved his grand redistribution gesture by raising minimum wages and simultaneously outlawing any dismissals. This has contributed in no small measure to a declining growth rate in 10 years of independence, greater unemployment than ever seen there in modern times and a government that, in its frustration at being unable to deliver its promised prosperity, is becoming increasingly authoritarian.

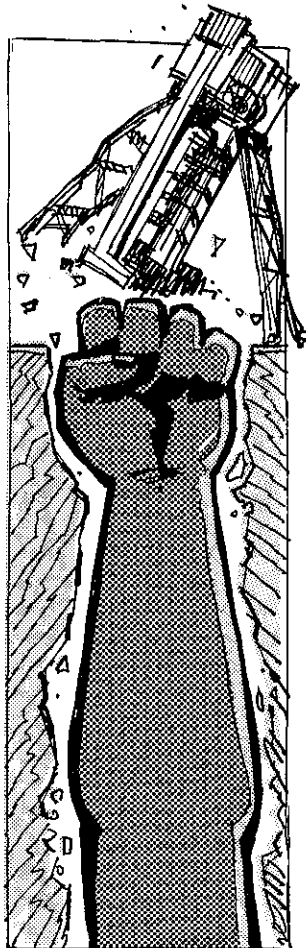
Mining and banking are indeed the towering heights of SA's economy. Their sophistication is among the foremost in the world. This is no accident. It is because of private initiative and capital.

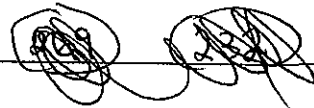
If a future ANC government wishes to dog Mugabe's footsteps towards impoverishment, then nationalising those towering heights is the right way to go.

This is an issue that is going to dominate politics here in the foreseeable future. We cannot assume that the events of eastern Europe alone will win the argument for capitalism. Racial polarisation has gone too far.

Explanations that depend more on emotion than reason — such as the notion that eastern Europe and Soviet Russia has not experienced socialism but "statism" which is akin to apartheid — need to be debated in public and exposed for the fallacies they are.

But when the other side is in jail or banned and a State of Emergency persists, it is difficult to do that with even reasonable credibility.

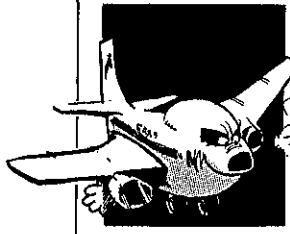




SAA AND DEREGULATION

The sky's their limit

■ Freeing domestic routes will test SAA's business acumen to the utmost

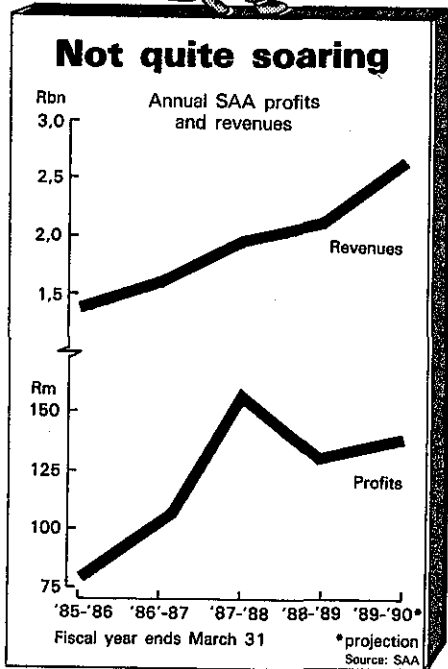
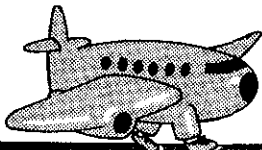


Is SA Airways finally getting real about deregulation and privatisation? Aspects of it, that is. Or are the SAA mandarins so accustomed to flying high that their intellectual wheels hardly

ever touch the ground any more? While there have been welcoming noises from the airline on freeing up the skies, a lot still remains to be done.

In December, SAA came close to wrecking a pioneering venture by international charter operator Masterleisure by stubbornly refusing to make concessions needed for the scheme's viability. And now SAA is opposing an application from a new black-controlled company, Liberty Airlines, for scheduled flights to the US — even though its own rights to the route were cancelled in 1986 by sanctions law.

These prospective challenges to SAA's supremacy are, of course, aimed at lucrative international routes — a no-go zone for competition as far as SAA is concerned. It is on domestic routes that it claims greater flexibility. Nonetheless, on the face of it, these examples suggest nothing so much as an attitude: that SAA would do almost anything to torpedo competition and thwart de-



regulation.

Do they, or is there more to the story? SAA is obviously in two minds when it comes to deregulation. In arguing against opening up international flights to competition now, it rests its argument on the fact that sanctions prohibit SAA from flying to Australia, the US and — most important — over most of Africa, which means an uneconomic bypass of the continent for points north. On direct flights to Europe, SAA takes 90 minutes longer than British Airways and its other competitors. "It's not a level playing field," complains SAA CE Gert van der Veer.

He has a point — certainly as long as SAA represents in so many minds the international carrier of an apartheid government. Whether it would fare better as an independent is not really at issue at this stage. Why it should prevent independent carriers going where it is forbidden by law to go — the US — is a little more baffling.

Back home, SAA says it supports deregulation of domestic flights — and has done so for two years. Van der Veer says:

"We have no objection to competitors entering the field. For any organisation it's healthy to have competition. We know what the international competition does for us: it makes us a better airline. Even if no one else enters the market, the threat of competition keeps you on your toes."

Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, whose Cabinet portfolio includes SAA, seconds this view. "SAA is in favour of private enterprise and deregulation, but the view is held that the forces of the free market should be the same for all participants."

Trouble is, the "forces of the free market" just don't apply. With State protection, SAA has monopoly control over most of the country's domestic routes — the very ones it claims to want to open. A matter of "Lord make me chaste, but not yet...?"

SAA could argue that it's not its job to open up the routes. The technical responsibility lies with the National Transport Commission. Last year, Transport Affairs Minister Eli Louw urged private airlines to approach the commission for new routes. Which is fine, except that under the restrictive provisions of the Air Services Act, they have little chance of success. When reviewing an application, the commission must consider whether the current service on the route is satisfactory; it usually does not have the power to grant allow a parallel service.

Nonetheless, in response to Louw, several

applications were indeed filed. For example, late last year, Magnum Airlines — the recently formed merger of Magnum, Citi Air and Border Air — applied to fly four routes now served only by SAA. These applications may be heard in April — and SAA not only hasn't objected to them, but has urged the commission to approve them, according to Van der Veer. "But the commission may not have the discretion to do so," he cautions, until the Act is changed or scrapped. "Eli Louw was ahead of the game."

That change could occur this year. A re-



Van der Veer ... being helpful at home

port commissioned by Pretoria found that domestic flights should be totally deregulated and the report is now being studied. Van der Veer says it calls for a "totally different game, identical to the US, with no economic barriers to new competitors, only safety and technical standards." Proposals for a new Act may then go before parliament this year.

Meanwhile, SAA says it's been preparing for deregulation since 1984. Many more discount fares have been introduced — so that now nearly 40% of its domestic passengers fly on discount tickets, from 5% six years ago. It froze hiring for three years and now has 11 000 employees, down from 12 000 in 1985, despite a big jump in traffic. Profits, though, have not been spectacular: a projected R140m for the year ending March 31 on revenues of R2,67bn, down from a R160m profit on R2,01bn in 1987/1988. Does this say something about efficiency?

The profit profile, precisely, is what will soon have to change. On April 1, SA Transport Services, which includes SAA, will switch from being part of government to a public company, with all the shares held by Pretoria. The difference is that the airline's profits will be taxed for the first time, so business skills will be put to the test as never before. For the first time, the airline will have to keep its books in the same shape as other companies and it will have to show a

initiative — if it has not already.”

Informed government sources told the *FM* last week that arrangements had been made to announce the release four days before the opening of parliament. This was agreed after Cabinet colleagues rejected Foreign Minister Pik Botha's proposal that Mandela be released before Christmas.

After that, a government committee, chaired by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, suggested the four-days-before-parliament option. The committee, known as MKO on circulars (the *FM* has been unable to find out what the abbreviations stand for), met last week every day.

The *FM*'s sources say that in the end it was Viljoen himself who persuaded De Klerk not to give the go-ahead for the plan. Keep Mandela's release as a last card to play, Viljoen apparently told the President.

However, in government circles there is concern that the initial euphoria about De Klerk is making way to a feeling that government is losing control. Not only has De Klerk been criticised in his own department for refusing to appoint a judicial commission into alleged police death squads, but the latest incidents of violence at protest marches have severely dented De Klerk's image and his ideal of “a new SA.”

The Mandela issue has also underlined the deep personal differences between Pik Botha and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Coetsee, a main player in the Mandela saga, is thought to be keeping things too close to his chest; Botha, on the other hand, knows the immense positive effect Mandela's release can have for the De Klerk administration. In some government circles it is even thought that Mandela is manipulating Coetsee.

With former US presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's visit almost on us, De Klerk's options in picking a date for the release are disappearing. Any announcement on the release during or after Jackson's visit might be used for political gain in the US.

Difficult though it may be for them, government newspapers — enjoying their newfound leeway as reform crusaders — are again finding themselves in a position where they have to defend the NP's reluctance to act decisively. The Cape Nat mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, has once again harped on the idea of possible divisions in black politics as a reason for the impasse.

If the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners are the obstacles which newspapers like *Die Burger* now mention as reasons for a breakdown, they have only themselves to blame. Mandela (and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for that matter) has always maintained that talks aren't possible in the face of such obstacles. However, all is not yet lost. Some sources say the announcement will be made on Friday — a release date seven days after Friday is mentioned — and others say that the security service has already been put on alert for that day.

It is now up to De Klerk to decide on which side of the Rubicon he wants to stand. ■

NELSON MANDELA

11A

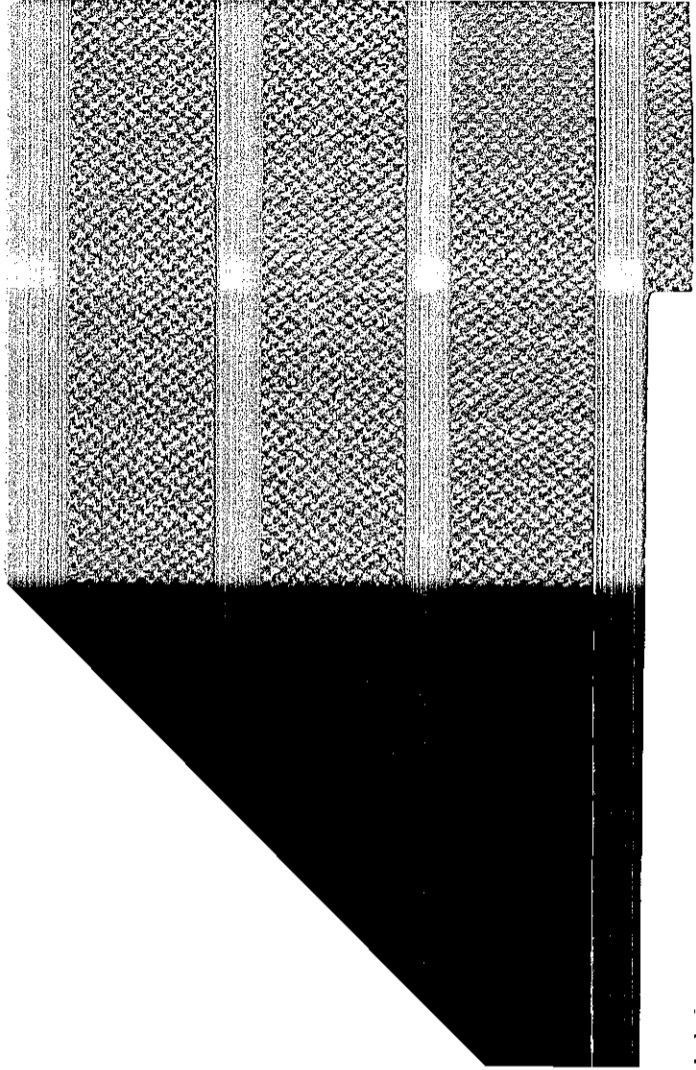
A delicate balance

President F W de Klerk was given another opportunity to get us across the Rubicon this week, with his opening address in parliament — despite protestations that raised expectations were not the fault of the National Party. FIM 2/2/90

As the *FM* went to print, this week's contingency plan to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been abandoned; and even Nat supporters believe time is running out for De Klerk to wrest back the initiative.

Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer disagrees that Mandela's release will be sudden and unannounced. “I think De Klerk feels the need to maintain the impetus and he can do so by announcing the date of Mandela's release. If he does not, then he must find some other way to maintain momentum, such as removing some of the other obstacles — unbanning the ANC, lifting the State of Emergency or releasing other prisoners. If he does none of these, government will lose the

ARTS



Miriam Makeba: 'A universe of wit and grace and vitality and intimacy... Invention and modulation of mood,' says Albie Sachs

From solidarity to artistic freedom

W/M 2/2/90 - 8/2/90

11A

Do comrades discuss the white working class in bed? Does apartheid colour liberation art a uniform grey? Should progressives be allowed to refer to culture as 'the weapon of the struggle'? In this edited version of an ANC seminar paper, ALBIE SACHS, one of the ANC's most influential intellectuals, addresses these and other questions

THE first proposition I make, and I do so fully aware of the fact that we are totally against censorship and for free speech, is that our members should be banned from saying that culture is a weapon of struggle. I suggest a period of, say, five years.

Allow me as someone who has for many years been arguing precisely that art should be seen as an instrument of the struggle to explain why suddenly this affirmation seems not only banal and devoid of real content, but actually wrong and potentially harmful.

Instead of getting real criticism, we get solidarity criticism. Our artists are not pushed to improve the quality of their work, it is enough that it be politically correct. The more fists and spears and guns, the better. The range of themes is narrowed down so much that all that is funny or curious or genuinely tragic in the world is extruded. Ambiguity and contradiction are completely shut out, and the only conflict permitted is that between the old and the new, as if there were only bad in the past and only good in the future. If we had the imagination of Sholokhov, and one of us wrote *And Quiet Flows the Tugela*, the central figure would not be a member of the United Democratic Front or the Congress of South African Trade Unions, but would be aligned to Inkatha, resisting change, yet feeling oppression, thrown this way and that by conflicting emotions, and through his or her struggles and tortments and moments of joy, the reader would be thrust into the whole drama of the struggle for a new South Africa.

Instead, whether in poetry or painting or on the stage, we line up our good people on the one side and the bad ones on the other, occasionally permitting someone to pass from one column to the other, but never acknowledging that there is bad in the good, and, even more difficult, that there can be elements of good in the bad; you can tell who the good ones are, because in addition to being handsome of appearance, they can all recite sections of the Freedom Charter or passages of Strategy and Tactics at the drop of a beret.

In the case of a real instrument of struggle, there is no room for ambiguity: a gun is a gun is a gun, and if it were full of contradictions, it would fire in all sorts of directions and be useless for its purpose. But the power of art lies precisely in its capacity to expose contradictions and reveal hidden tensions.

And what about love? We have published so many anthologies and journals and occasional poems and stories, and the number that deal with love do not make the fingers of a hand. Can it be that once we join the ANC we do not make love any more, that when the comrades go to bed they discuss the role of the white working class?

It is as though our rulers stalk every page and haunt every picture; everything is obsessed by the oppressors and the trauma they have imposed, nothing is about us and the new consciousness we are developing. Listen in contrast to the music of Hugh Masekela, of Abdullah Ibrahim, of Jonas Gwanga, of Miriam Ma-

keba, and you are in a universe of wit and grace and vitality and intimacy, there is invention and modulation of mood, ecstasy and sadness; this is a cop-free world in which the emergent personality of our people manifests itself ... It bypasses, overwhelms, ignores apartheid, establishes its own space. So it could be with our writers and painters, if only they could shake off the gravity of their anguish and break free from the solemn formulas of commitment that people (like myself) have tried for so many years to impose upon them.

Our culture, the ANC culture, is not a picturesque collection of separate ethnic and political cultures lined up side by side, or mixed in certain proportions, it has a real character and dynamic of its own ... This must be one of the greatest cultural achievements of the ANC, that it has made South Africans of the most diverse origins feel comfortable in its ranks. To say this is not to deny that cultural tensions and dilemmas automatically cease once one joins the organisation: on the contrary, we bring in with us all our complexes and ways of seeing the world, our jealousies and preconceptions. What matters, however, is that we have created a context of struggle, of goals and comradeship within which these tensions can be dealt with.

The (ANC's August 1989 Constitutional) Guidelines are more than a work-in-progress document, they set out well-deliberated views of the National Executive Committee as enriched by an in-house seminar, but they are not presented as a final, cut-and-dried product, certainly not as a blueprint to be learnt off by heart and defended to the last misprint. Thus, the reasoning should not be: the Guidelines lay down the following for culture, therefore we must line up behind the Guidelines and become a transmission belt for their implementation.

On the contrary, what we need to do is to analyse the Guidelines, see what implications they have for culture, and then say whether we agree and make whatever suggestions we have for their improvement. In part, we can say that the method is the message; the open debate the NEC wants on the Guidelines corresponds to the open society the Guidelines speak about. Apartheid has closed our society, stifled its voice, prevented the people from speaking, and it is the historic mission of our organisation to be the harbingers of freedom of conscience, debate and opinion.

It is important to distinguish between unity and uniformity. We are strongly for national unity, for seeing our country as a whole, not

just in its geographic extension but in its human extension. We want full equal rights for every South African, without reference to race, language, ethnic origin or creed. We believe in a single South Africa with a single set of governmental institutions, and we work towards a common loyalty and patriotism. Yet this is not to call for a homogenised South Africa made up of identikit citizens. South Africa is now said to be a bilingual country: we envisage it as a multi-lingual country. It will be multi-faith and multi-cultural as well.

The objective is not to create a model culture into which everyone has to assimilate, but to acknowledge and take pride in the cultural variety of our people. In the past, attempts were made to force everyone into the mould of the English gentleman, projected as the epitome of civilisation, so that it was even an honour to be oppressed by the English. Apartheid philosophy, on the other hand, denied any common humanity, and insisted that people be compartmentalised into groups forcibly kept apart. In rejecting apartheid, we do not envisage a return to a modified form of the British imperialist notion, we do not plan to build a non-racial yuppie-dom which people may enter only by shedding and suppressing the cultural heritage of their specific community.

While each one of us has a particularly intimate relationship with one or other cultural matrix, this does not mean that we are locked into a series of cultural "own affairs" ghettos. On the contrary, the grandchildren of white immigrants can join in the *toyi toyi* — even if slightly out of step — or recite the poems of Wally Serote, just as the grandchildren of Dinizulu can read with pride the writings of Olive Schreiner.

We are for ANC leadership. Yet this does not mean that the ANC is the only voice in the anti-apartheid struggle, or that it will be the only voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

On the contrary, we exercise true leadership by being non-hegemonic, by selflessly trying to create the widest unity of the oppressed and to encourage all forces for change, by showing the people that we are fighting not to impose a view upon them but to give them the right to choose the kind of society they want and the kind of government they want.

We need to accept broad parameters rather than narrow ones: the criterion being pro-og anti-apartheid ... Certainly, it ill behoves us to set ourselves up as the new censors of art and literature, or to impose our own internal States of Emergency in areas where we are well organised. Rather, let us write better poems and make better films and compose better music.

The South Africa in which individuals and groups can operate freely, will be a South Africa in the process of transformation. A constitutional duty will be imposed upon the state, local authorities and public and private institutions to take active steps to remove the massive inequalities created by centuries of colonial and racist domination. This gives concrete meaning to the statement that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened.

Warm ANC reunion in snowy Stockholm

AK6UJ 2/2/90 114

From SUE LEEMAN

The Argus Foreign Service
STOCKHOLM. — Between them they have notched up more than a century in South African jails, generated piles of complicated legislative paperwork in Pretoria and caused many Cabinet headaches.

But as old South African comrades celebrate their reunion in this snowy northern city, they are putting all that behind them.

"We have come to Sweden to see the president-general of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo," declared Mr Walter Sisulu when he and leading ANC figures arrived here yesterday.

"We want to thank the Swedish people for keeping Oliver Tambo here and for what they have done for us in the past."

"GOOD HEALTH"

He emphasised that Mr Tambo, who is in Sweden for therapy after a stroke last year, is still the ANC's chief executive and said it would take a conference to elect new leaders.

The party of 10, which includes Mr Govan Mbeki, his son Thabo, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Wilton Mkwayi, is having to fit talks with Mr Tambo into a tight five-day schedule.

● The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans. — F.W.

● The justification for violence ... no longer exists. — F.W.



Mr Walter Sisulu

There was some confusion last night after a Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman said they had not yet seen him — but the visitors are keeping their plans for visits to Mr Tambo a secret, particularly from the Press.

However, it is understood some saw Mr Tambo last night and were encouraged by his condition. His wife Adelaide has been quoted here as saying he is in "good health".

On arriving at Stockholm's Arlanda Airport the visitors were taken to lunch with Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and this was followed

by a Press conference where they discussed ANC policy.

Later they had dinner at the Foreign Ministry, where the conversation centred on questions surrounding President De Klerk's address to parliament today.

During the rest of the visit members of the party will have meetings with anti-apartheid and "solidarity" groups and church leaders.

DIPLOMATIC STATUS

The Swedish government has always recognised the ANC as a liberation movement and its representatives here have diplomatic status.

But the man the Sisulu group has really come to see spends his days in the Erstagards Clinic on the cliffs overlooking Stockholm harbour.

Members of the Tambo family, many of whom live in London, have been regular visitors, but this is the first time for more than 25 years that the ANC president has seen such a large contingent of senior ANC figures from inside South Africa.

The visitors were expected to spend several hours with him discussing policy, recent developments, the Mandela question and, inevitably, the chances of Mr Tambo's return home after three decades in exile.

Coming-out-of-jail party planned

The Argus Foreign Service

GLASGOW. — A mass celebration outside the South African consulate in Glasgow is planned for the evening of the day on which jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela's release is announced.

"We want everyone to consider altering their plans for the evening, and to come to Nelson Mandela Place outside the consulate from 5pm for a mass celebration," said Mr Brian Filling, chairman of the Scottish committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Celebrations would be encouraged and organised throughout Scotland, he added and Mr Mandela will be invited to fly to Scotland to receive freedom-of-the-city awards at Aberdeen, Dundee and Midlothian.

It's D-Day for FW De Klerk

● From page 1

He will not be presenting any final package for negotiation.

Speculation about De Klerk's speech is reaching fever pitch in political and diplomatic circles amid indications that he will go no further than to set out in broad terms the Government's plans to get negotiations going.



TERROR LEKOTA

Demands

In most political circles it is felt that, in order to create a climate for negotiations, De Klerk will have to take note of the demands for the unbanning of the ANC and other political movements, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

The United Democratic Front expects De Klerk, at the very least, to boldly commit the National Party to meeting the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said in a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday that nothing less would be acceptable to the liberation movement and the international community.

Lekota warned: "The

Government must also note the high expectations of the masses of the people, as well as the preparedness of our activists to engage in direct non-violent action.

Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, said De Klerk would obviously want to continue creating a climate for negotiation.

This was why he believed De Klerk could still announce Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC today.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was clear that De Klerk could not afford to say something about Mandela after all the expectations that had been created.



President Bush



Mr Hank Cohen

ANC leader's role seen as a co-ordinator

ARL 2/2/90

HA
227

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela's role in South Africa could be to try to bring all the African organisations together so they could have a common negotiating position, according to US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Hank Cohen.

Interviewed on a CNN television news show, Mr Cohen, who returned from a visit to South Africa and other countries in Africa this week, described Mr Mandela as a national black father figure, a person who had the capability of being a co-ordinator.

"I think most black leaders agree that they want to negotiate a new constitution, but they all have different ideas, and they must come together right now and forge a common position, and I think this is what

Mandela's role essentially will be," Mr Cohen said.

The Assistant Secretary said Mr F W de Klerk could not move too fast. He had a lot of opposition on the extreme right, and he had to keep people confident in the system.

The whole world felt the earnestness of Mr De Klerk depended on his releasing Mr Mandela, he said.

Mr Cohen said he told Mr De Klerk during their recent meeting that the US support was for negotiation, and it would put pressure on both sides, the government and the black majority, to engage in good faith negotiations.

He said negotiations could be done. A narrow window had opened. If it was not done within the next couple of years, he feared there could be a return to chaos that was experienced between 1984 and 1987.

SOWETAN

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Chicken Licken

D-Day for De Klerk

Sowetan 2/2/90



FW de KLERK

By SOWETAN REPORTER and SAPA

THERE was speculation yesterday that Nelson Mandela will be released from prison today.

The rumour started in the United States and was picked up by South African news agencies but could not be confirmed by late last night.

However a spokeswoman for President FW de Klerk said: "That is pure speculation."

Meanwhile, in a day of drama in Cape Town yesterday, the media chased around for the time and venue of a meeting between Mandela and State President Mr FW de Klerk, a meeting that the Government later denied.

A statement from De Klerk's office said: "In response to numerous media queries and widespread speculation, it can be stated that a meeting did not take place between the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and Mr Nelson Mandela."

"Furthermore, no such meeting is planned before the opening of Parliament..."

Until late yesterday, media representatives from various parts of the world were arriving in large numbers in South Africa, basing themselves in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

There was intense local and international interest in De Klerk's speech opening to Parliament today.

He is expected to announce the release of Mandela and give the Government's plans for creating a climate for negotiations for a new constitution.

The impression among Nationalist MPs is that De Klerk's speech will be aimed at setting the scene for pre-negotiations, "talks about talks", on the start of negotiations to provide for black political rights and a new democratic system.

● To page 2



NELSON MANDELA

'Confidential' permit for Cape march

By THEMBA MOLEFE

CAPE TOWN'S Chief Magistrate gave the nod to today's march on Parliament after a "mysterious" source applied to him for permission.

The chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, yesterday refused to reveal the name of the applicant saying it was confidential.

The Mass Democratic Movement said it had not sought permission for the march and was unaware that permission had been sought on its behalf.

A spokesman for the MDM in Cape Town said the march, which be-

gins at 8am in the city centre, goes on as planned. He said the mysterious granting of permission was a ploy to defuse the intensity of a march.

Meanwhile, it is believed that Mass Democratic Movement leaders have agreed to change key elements of the plan for today's march on Parliament after consultation with Cape Town City Council - and that details had been delivered to the magistrate's office.

Today's march, to coincide with the opening of Parliament and to protest against the tricameral institu-

● To page 2

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SEALY PREMIUM COMFORT

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Life as usual in Soweto as F W speaks

114 DAWN BARKHUIZEN

LIFE in Soweto continued as usual as State President F W de Klerk made his dramatic speech in Parliament yesterday.

There was no sign of public interest during the 11 am speech and residents went about their daily business, apparently oblivious that the ANC, SACP and PAC were in the process of being unbanned.

Radios were turned up full — but people were listening to music not politics. *9/21/90*

At the Baragwanath taxi ranks, hundreds of taxi drivers washed their minibuses, hawkers sold their wares, commuters stood patiently in queues.

The news would obviously take time to filter through.

At Mrs Winnie Mandela's Diepkloof house, the mood was sombre and there was no sign of jubilation.

Friends said Miss Zinzi Mandela was in mourning and preparations were being made to bury her boyfriend, Mr Sizwe Sithole, who allegedly hanged himself in police detention on Monday.

Nobody was home at Mr Walter Sisulu's Orlando house, from which an ANC flag fluttered.

World coverage direct from Nelson's house

STATE
3/2/90

(11A) DAWN BARKHUIZEN

MAJOR international news agencies, complete with mobile satellite dishes for on-the-spot broadcast, converged on Nelson Mandela's matchbox house in Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday as news of his impending release was announced.

Post Office workers hooked up emergency telephone lines and there were seven telephones on the pavement ready for direct dialling to newspapers across the world.

The house in Ngakane Street, which Mandela occupied prior to his arrest, has been freshly painted and the ANC flag hoisted in the garden.

Recently released Robben Island man Mr Wilton Mqwayi, has been living in the house but is currently abroad. The house is directly over the hill from "Winnie's Folly", the R750 000 mansion Mrs Winnie Mandela built three years ago but never occupied. It is rumoured Mr Mandela will move into the matchbox house.

The mansion may be converted into offices for the ANC. Post Office sources said top priority had been given to installing 21 telephone lines.

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CASUALTY: Alexandra resident Mr Dumisani Thsabalala receives first aid from bystanders after smashing into shop window during yesterday's confrontations with police. © Photograph: Boy George Mashinini.

'Viva ANC and Comrade de Klerk'

SHOUTS of "Viva ANC, Viva!" and "Amandla!" rang from the pavements and rooftops of Johannesburg as the State President unbanned the ANC yesterday.

Leaflets saying "Viva ANC!" fluttered down from buildings. People waved clenched fists, posters and ANC flags from their cars or office windows in spontaneous glee. "Viva ANC!", shouted an ebullient

SKW
7/1/80 **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** WA

group on the steps of the South African Council of Churches offices in Marshall Street.

"Viva Umkhonto We Sizwe!"
"Viva Nelson Mandela!"
"Viva Comrade F W de Klerk! Viva!"
Minutes later police teargassed the group.

Right slates F W's 'black day'

RIGHTWING extra-parliamentary organisations have slated State President F W de Klerk's decision to unban organisations such as the ANC and the SACP.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, vowed that the AWB would defend its people and property "with violence" to

SRK
3/3/90

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE and
ALAN DUNN

restore law and order.

"With this step the Government succumbed to leftist extra-parliamentary organisations. Right-wing politics have been made powerless."

He said the AWB would take up the State President's invitation to

the leaders of "all groups and nations" to participate in negotiations.

Yesterday's announcements signified the "total collapse" of the National Party and the Government, said the AWB leader.

Professor Johann Scha-

bort, leader of the now unrestricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), said: "It is a black day for South Africa when terrorist and communist organisations are legalised."

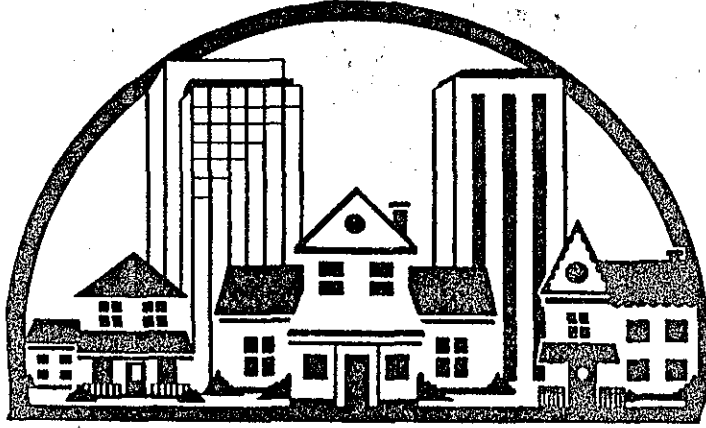
The BBB would immediately resume its role of "assisting the Conservative Party by creating the right climate on the ground".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said it was unwise to unban political organisations "if the outcome will be a unitary state".

If Mr de Klerk's reference to universal franchise meant a one man, one vote system, it would mean the end of white democracy in South Africa.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party and official opposition, said yesterday that President de Klerk had no mandate to make the changes he did.

Dr Treurnicht described the speech as "most revolutionary", and spoke of "shocking announcements".



COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

**A SPECIAL SURVEY ON THIS TOPIC
WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE STAR
ON WEDNESDAY 7 MARCH 1990**

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Dancing, ^(11A) singing in ^{SW 1/2/90} the streets

**STAFF REPORTERS,
SAPA and
CORRESPONDENTS**

IT WAS a far cry from Trafalgar Square on VE Day in central Johannesburg yesterday as news of Mr de Klerk's opening of the doors to freedom slowly penetrated.

Crowds started to gather and dance in Wanderers Street, but the momentous announcements went unnoticed by many at first.

In a pub not far from The Star beer was ordered as usual and patrons looked disinterestedly at TV with Mr de Klerk addressing Parliament — the sound was turned off in deference to hair-of-the-dog nerves.

A group of commercial college students next to the City Hall cheered on a street corner when told the news.

In a group of young coloured people one said: "We will not have the vote, but it is very good news."

A well-dressed man near the Stock Exchange had one concern: "I wonder if the gold price will go up."

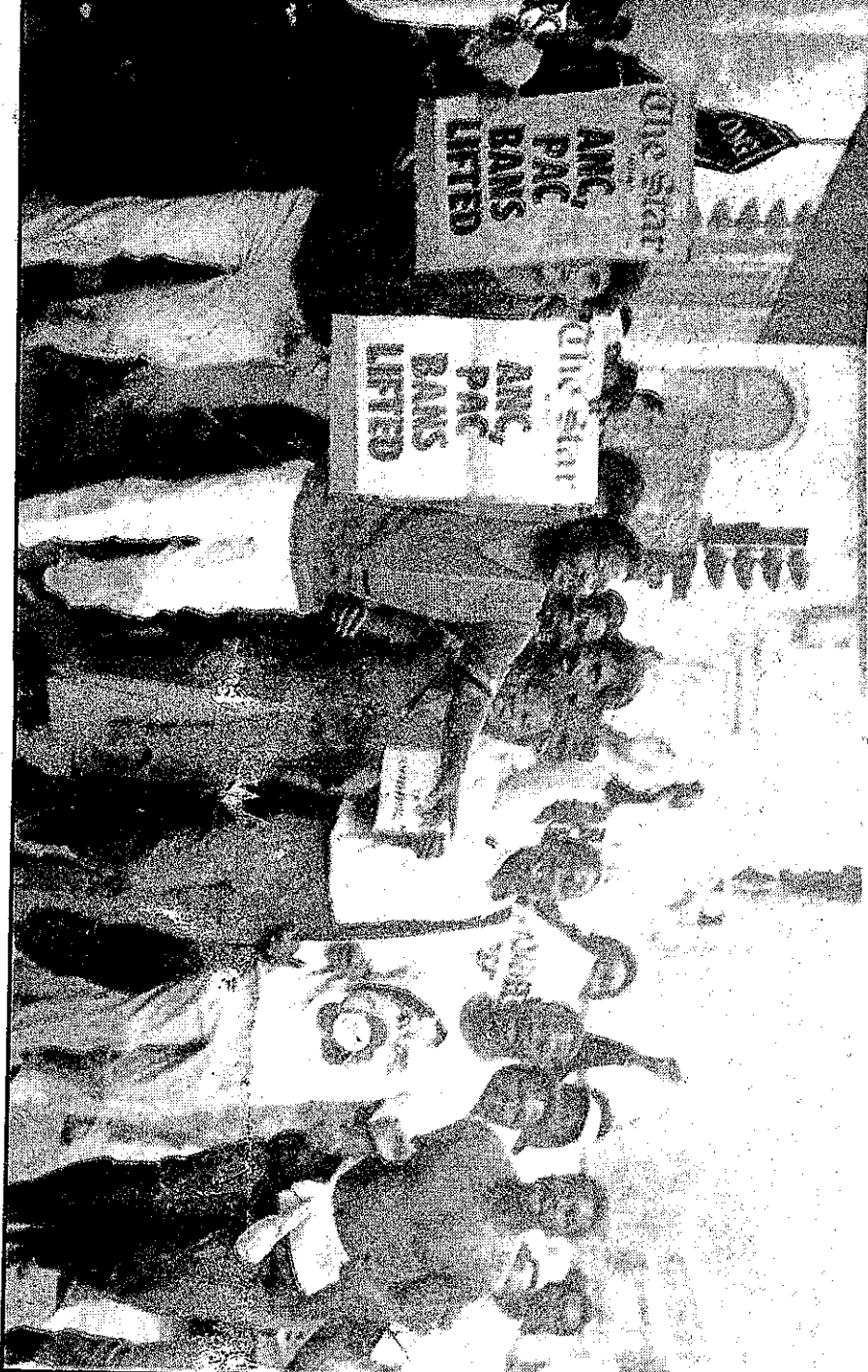
A teacher, Mr Daniel Ntsala, said it was the start of a new era for South Africa. "I'm crying tears of joy," he said.

Mrs Maureen Moeng, an Alexandra housewife, described Mr de Klerk's announcement as a new beginning but Mr Goodenough Mncube wanted to know if it would help him find a job.

Mr Pressage Nkosa, general secretary of Act-stop, said he was disappointed the State President had not included the

● TO PAGE 2.

the ANC took to the streets of Johannesburg yesterday after news that the ANC, PAC and the SACP had been unbanned and



Dancing ^(11A)

● FROM PAGE 1

scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

"But he has proved to be a godsend for the people of South Africa and hopefully will be able to show the whites they have nothing to fear."

Cosatu and ANC supporters in Pretoria shouted with joy at the announced unbanning of the ANC.

Members of Cosatu ran down the corridors of Fasa House in Paul Kruger Street. Workers burst into song raising clenched fists.

At the South Municipal Workers' Union in Brown Street, there were similar responses. "It's the best news I've had in years," an emotional Mr Nelson Rakau, regional secretary of SAMWU said.

About 100 chanting marchers waving and carrying posters sang and

danced their way up Strand Street in Cape Town displaying placards reading: "Unlock apartheid jails".

A police van followed but there appeared to be no incidents.

In Parliament Coloured and Indian MPs applauded Mr de Klerk's words, rising from the benches and clapping.

The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, called for order.

"We take exception to the Speaker's remarks when we respond in appreciation," the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of Labour Party said.

The announcement was also greeted with cheers in Namibia's Constituent Assembly in Windhoek.

The country's future president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said the move is "positive and encouraging", but that Namibia would only establish full diplomatic relations with a South Africa which was "truly free, democratic and non-racial".

ANC: (IA) It's a (IA) victory, 3/2/90 but not enough

ROBIN DREW
and
SAPA-REUTER

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders visiting Sweden welcomed South Africa lifting the ban on political organisations, saying "victory is in sight".

Former ANC Secretary-General Mr Walter Sisulu told a news conference, that President de Klerk had done a great deal by lifting a 30-year-old ban on the organisation.

"But he has not yet gone far enough," and added that economic sanctions must be maintained.

The ANC would have liked to have seen Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners set free immediately and soldiers removed from townships.

Mr Sisulu said Mr de Klerk had shown "he is a man the ANC can, and will, talk to."

"But this is merely a beginning. We want the ending of apartheid and the regime to be committed to that. That's what we are aiming at, and what the world is committed to now."

ANC leaders in Stockholm issued a statement saying the removal of the ban "goes a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

But the ANC was concerned that not all political prisoners would be released and demanded that the state of emergency be lifted.

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo and SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo were due to travel to Sweden yesterday from Lusaka.

The two organisations will hold a meeting to review the political situation after yesterday's announcement by President de Klerk.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the ANC leaders released last October, said he was surprised at Mr de Klerk's lifting the ban on the SACP. "We did not expect that."

Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson welcomed President de Klerk's announcement.

Mr Andersson said the international economic

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC is cool

● FROM PAGE 1

sanctions against South Africa, which Sweden and other Nordic governments observe strictly, must not be relaxed until all vestiges of apartheid had disappeared.

A senior ANC political analyst in London said President de Klerk's speech heralded a new era in the history of South Africa and was an important development in the history of the ANC. Star 3/2/90

Commenting in a television programme, he said the ANC was "absolutely committed to a negotiated solution for South Africa".

He said his gut reaction to the announcement was: "Thank God things are moving."

The ANC had hoped for, but had not expected, its unbanning, according to its information officer in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina.

But South Africa had not yet created the climate for negotiations, ANC chief spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan, said in a lukewarm reaction.

In his initial reaction, Mr Jordan said President de Klerk had taken only one major step towards creating

the proper climate — unbanning organisations.

"We have been demanding this for decades, but it forms part of a package. This was set out in the Harare Declaration. We have always said that the package must be taken as a package.

"Although the unbanning was an important victory for the democratic forces, what Mr de Klerk has done is to treat the package as some sort of smorgasbord, taking what he wants and leaving behind what he does not want."

"There was no real visible movement apart from the unbanning.

"The state of emergency remains in force although the Government is going to amend the actual application of it; the release of Nelson Mandela, though the intention has been announced, has not yet been implemented, and the release of political prisoners is conditional, with only certain prisoners being released.

"With respect to ending detention without trial, the provisions have been amended, but the statute remains on the law books.

"So, all in all, the only issue of which there has been forward movement is that of the unbanning of organisations."

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Govt shifts focus to crucial future summit with ANC

Star 23/2/90

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government appears to have abandoned attempts to break through into Africa until it can strike a deal with the ANC and other black groupings internally.

There were indications that this crucial policy shift was made yesterday in two important announcements by President de Klerk. He welcomed the ANC national executive's decision to send a delegation to discuss obstacles to negotiation with him.

He also announced that the mini-summit with African leaders in Zaire had been postponed.

Government sources said the summit was unlikely to take place at all as it was unnecessarily provocative to the ANC and to Africa at a time when South Africa was seeking reconciliation.

The "postponement" is seen as a blow to SA's attempts to revive African diplomacy, but it also suggests the Government has finally accepted that the route back to Africa and the world lies through first addressing issues in SA.

The sources made it clear that a mixture of political pressure from the ANC and OAU, and technical problems and over-confidence on the part of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had led to the meeting being called off.

On SABC's "Network" programme last night, Mr de Klerk conceded that ANC pressure could have played a part in the meeting being called

off. The Government had accepted the need to seek a broader consensus within the country before undertaking such ventures.

The Government is now focusing its attention on the all-important impending summit with the ANC inside South Africa.

It is likely that the ANC will meet at least a delegation consisting of the Government's seven-man negotiation committee — Mr de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy Mr Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Development Aid and Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr de Klerk has stressed that these will not be negotiations, but talks about negotiations.

The ANC will discuss the composition of its delegation at a special meeting of the national executive committee in Lusaka next Thursday which Mr Nelson Mandela will attend.

Other probable ANC delegates will be acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the director of international affairs, Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Pallo Jordan, the director of information, senior NEC member Mr John Nkadi-meng, as well as internal leaders such as Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM.

Mandela to talk to Relly and Bloom

By Michael Chester

Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to hold talks in Soweto on Monday with two key South African business leaders to exchange views on possible new economic scenarios.

The first session will be with Anglo American's chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, who has reacted with alarm to Mr Mandela's suggestions that such business sectors as the mines and banks

should be nationalised.

Most businessmen are also disturbed by Mr Mandela's suggestion that sanctions be maintained to continue pressures for faster reform.

The second round of discussions will be with the Premier Group's former chairman, Mr Tony Bloom, an ardent supporter of reform who left South Africa last year to settle in Britain.

He is expected to arrive at the weekend.

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PAC will talk if conditions are right

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3/2/90
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JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Seph Mothopeng yesterday committed himself to convening the first legal consultative conference of PAC members inside the country in the light of President F W de Klerk's speech.

An announcement in this regard could be expected next week, the recently released long-term prisoner said at a press conference here.

In London, Mr Ngide Muendane, acting spokesman for the PAC in Western Europe, said: "If, and this is a big if, the conditions are right and it is possible to hold a PAC national conference without fear of being victimised by the state machinery, then the PAC will immediately set up preparations for a National Conference, where the mandate is going to be whether to negotiate or not, and the terms of negotiation."

Mr Mothopeng said the PAC did not recognise the legitimacy of the Pretoria regime and had therefore never recognised its banning, nor had it called for its unbanning.

As for the PAC's military wing, Mr Mothopeng said it had been established to achieve certain objectives, and it was unrealistic to expect that the PAC would dissolve it till these objections were realised.

"The State President's announcement is significant only insofar as our task of organising will be more manageable. We expect a rapid growth in membership.

"Sanctions, partially applied, brought partial change, and when fully applied will bring about complete change," he added.

The PAC would be prepared to negotiate with Mr De Klerk "tomorrow" — provided the agenda included the ownership of resources, particularly land.

In London, a PAC spokesman said the PAC executive was deeply concerned that prohibitive security and "racist" laws remained in place — and they would have to be eliminated before the necessary "climate for negotiation" was in place.

"The ball has always been in their court. Now that they show signs of being prepared to talk, we are also prepared to talk."

Another spokesman said the PAC would deal with anyone with the sincere intention of getting rid of white privilege to create an equal society.

"De Klerk has not completely shown his willingness to do this. He has not yet removed restraints which would allow us to engage fearlessly in the goal of a new free South Africa.

"It is my intention that when we go home we must urge white people to join the PAC. They are welcome to join the PAC as Africans. They are us. We are them. We are one."

In Dar Es Salaam, Mr Waters Toboti, information director of the Tanzanian-based group, said Mr De Klerk's reforms were meaningless and pledged to intensify its fight against apartheid.

He said it was impossible to speak of reforming apartheid and that Mr De Klerk was merely trying to neutralise his opponents.

"We are going to intensify the armed struggle to greater levels through the training of more cadres and through confrontation with the enemy on the ground," he warned.

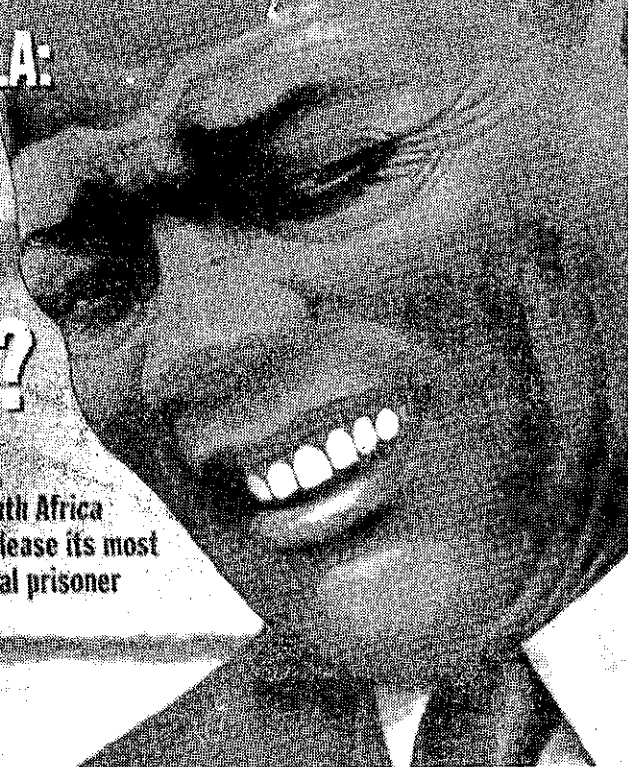
Mr Toboti also accused the ANC of selling out by considering talks with Pretoria.

In Harare, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania warned that the unbanning of political parties announced by President De Klerk "more or less restores the situation which existed in April 1960" and warned against complacency. — Own Correspondents and Sapa

TIME

**MANDELA:
Free
At
Last?**

After 27 years,
a changing South Africa
prepares to release its most
famous political prisoner



MARKING TIME ... Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was the subject of Time Magazine's cover story in yesterday's edition.

Future of UDF 'under debate', say leaders

MP
CMF Tork
3/2/90

A DECISION on the future of the UDF after yesterday's unbanning of the ANC would be taken only in April, UDF leaders said yesterday.

Asked whether the UDF would continue to exist after yesterday's historic events, recently released Delmas trialist Mr Popo Molefo said "the structure of the UDF will be debating the relationship" between the UDF and an unbanned ANC.

This will probably be done at the UDF's national congress from April 6 to April 9, he added.

Meanwhile, the UDF and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses are to meet urgently within the next few days to discuss whether or not to affiliate themselves to the now-legal ANC.

TIC leader Mr Cassim Saloojee, also a senior member of the Mass Democratic Movement, said the natural home for the Indian congresses was the ANC.

Speaking at a press conference in the city yesterday, UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said the

organisation welcomed President F W de Klerk's reform steps, which he said were "a direct result of the struggles waged by our people".

He urged whites "to shed the fear of the past" and said that in the past it had been drummed into whites that the ANC was the enemy.

Mr Lekota said sanctions should be maintained and intensified because sanctions and the "just struggle of the people" had steered the government in the right direction.

He said the ANC would not at this stage be prepared to enter into negotiations with the government — not till the Harare Declaration was implemented in full.

● The UDF, founded in August, 1983, represents more than two million people. The TIC is the oldest political organisation in the country, founded in 1889 by Mahondas Gandhi. The ANC was founded in Bloemfontein in 1912. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

ANC wants sanctions to remain

CAF Tint's 3/2/90
11A

STOCKHOLM. — ANC leaders visiting Sweden welcomed the lifting of the ban on political organisations but said economic sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu told a news conference that President F W de Klerk had done a great deal by lifting a 30-year-old ban on the organisation. Mr De Klerk had shown "he is a man the ANC can and will talk to".

"But he has not yet gone far enough," Mr Sisulu said, and economic sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

The ANC would like to have seen Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners set free immediately and South African soldiers removed from black townships.

ANC leaders here issued a statement saying the ban's removal "goes a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

"Victory is in sight," said Mr Sisulu, who was imprisoned with Mr Mandela for 26 years till his release last year.

No armistice now

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the ANC leaders released last October, said he was surprised at Mr De Klerk's lifting of the ban on the SA Communist Party. "We did not expect that."

The ANC and SACP are to hold a caucus meeting to review the political situation after Mr De Klerk's speech.

In Harare the ANC secretary for information and chief spokesman, Mr Pallo Jordan, said the organisation would continue guerilla operations till a climate for constitutional negotiations had been created through preparatory talks.

"An armistice can only take place once a democratic government is in place."

He said the lifting of the ban met only one of the conditions for talks laid down in the ANC's August 1989 Harare Declaration on the basis for a peaceful settlement in SA.

A senior ANC spokesman in Harare said the unbanning of the organisation was an important victory for the people of SA and a response to irresistible international pressure.

'All together'

"Although the ANC, SACP and PAC have been unbanned, repressive measures can still be deployed against them, because the capacity is there in terms of statutes," he alleged.

Ms Barbara Masekela, of the ANC's cultural affairs department and sister of fellow exile and famed trumpeter Mr Hugh Masekela, said the news had dribbled through to Harare in "bits and pieces".

Ms Masekela left South Africa in 1960 and has not returned since.

Asked whether she intended returning to South Africa, she said: "We won't come one by one, we'll all come back together."

In London, a senior political analyst of the ANC said Mr De Klerk's speech heralded a "new era in the history of South Africa".

The analyst, who goes only by the name of "Mzala", said the ANC was "absolutely committed to a negotiated solution for South Africa".

The next step, now that the ANC had been unbanned, was facing the question of a new constitution for South Africa and the dismantling of the present one.

Responding to a question from the interviewer, "Mzala" confirmed that his gut reaction to Mr De Klerk's announcements was "thank God things are moving". — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sana

2/2/90
11A

Long history of ANC and PAC

From PAT DEVEREAUX
and JOVIAL RANTAO
in Johannesburg

THIRTY years ago, in April 1960 at the height of the Sharpeville crisis, the government banned the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress and declared a state of emergency.

But yesterday's surprise unbanning of the PAC, the ANC and the SACP by President F W de Klerk's government indicates that the government has changed its tactics and will not be repeating the mistakes of the 1950s when dealing with political opposition.

The 1960 banning of these organisations resulted in a dramatic move away from non-violent resistance by the black population and the adoption of a more militant approach.

Over the next six months over 11 000 political activists were detained and ANC and PAC leaders were forced to go into exile. The SACP had been outlawed much earlier — soon after the National Party came to power in 1948.

Still reeling from the banings, the ANC and PAC attempted to construct underground organisations. Representatives from a broad range of black groups met in December 1960 and again in March 1961.

These conferences saw the launch of a campaign for a national convention. The first phase was to begin with a three-day stayaway to coincide with South Africa's becoming a Republic on May 31.

Under the leadership of a national action council headed by Mr Nelson Mandela, the 1961

stay-away call created a massive impact. Its success was said to be due to mass support by members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The State responded with nightly township searches by the police and over 10 000 people were arrested. Armoured vehicles patrolled the townships for the first time.

Confronted by the State, the ANC leaders joined members of the South African Communist Party in plans for guerrilla warfare. Mr Mandela left the country in 1962 to gain external support. He returned in July after training in Algeria.

DECEMBER 16 heralded the start of guerrilla warfare. Explosions backed by the armed wing of the ANC and the SACP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, rocked South Africa's four main cities.

At the same time Pogo, a movement loyal to the PAC said to be more militant than the Umkhonto, led a revolt in Paarl in November 1962 and planned an uprising for April 1963.

But the planned uprising was stopped in its tracks and 3 000 people were arrested, leading to the collapse of the movement.

Soon Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and other leaders of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command were arrested. Their arrests led to the lengthy Rivonia trial, after which most of them were jailed.

The imprisonment or exile of leaders of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) led to a lull in black resistance and the backbone of the struggle appeared to be broken.

But the 1960s saw the birth of a new philoso-

phy which emphasised black leadership, values, and traditions. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement was important to the revival of national resistance.

By 1976 conflict had reached a crisis point, culminating in the students' rebellion against Black Education. Their protests were met by police bullets.

Conflict continued to flare and subside throughout the next two decades, with the government's policies coming under fire overseas.

In the 1980s the political climate once more reached a stage which echoed that of the 1950s, with UDF and MDM mass civil disobedience campaigns as well as large scale political protest.

But this time it appears history won't be repeated. The Government's dramatic unbanning of organisations and the lifting of restrictions means a move toward a new political climate in South Africa.

The oldest South African resistance organisation is the ANC, which was formed on January 12, 1912.

Initially it had a conservative leadership with a gradualist approach to political reform. After the National Party was elected this leadership was supplanted by a younger generation of radical nationalists.

In 1949, under the influence of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party an attempt was made to infuse fresh life into the ANC by appointing Dr AB Xuma as chairman, and a new policy was proposed which would limit the ANC to the constitutional and political interests of the black people.

In 1943 the ANC formulated its aims clearly:

to protect the rights of black people, to fight discriminatory measures and to promote unity among blacks.

THE ANC also agitated against the pass laws and 540 delegates attended a national convention in 1944. A petition was circulated, but the hope of attaining a million signatures was not fulfilled.

On June 26, 1952 the Defiance Campaign started when 250 leaders of the ANC and South African Indian Congress — later followed by 8 000 specially-trained volunteers — infringed regulations governing blacks.

This followed a refusal by the Prime Minister to consider granting administrative, executive or legislative powers to blacks over whites.

The ANC made it clear that the government's refusal left no other way than to prepare people for a passive defiance campaign.

During this period membership of the ANC grew from 20 000 to 100 000. Many of the participants were arrested and sentenced and the campaign gradually petered out.

In 1956 the "Congress of the Democrats" was held in Kliptown, Johannesburg where the Freedom Charter was adopted.

In 1958/9 a rift developed between those supporting the Freedom Charter and the Africanists. The Africanists broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

The banning of the PAC and ANC in 1960 ended 48 years of peaceful struggle against oppression and in the second half of 1961 the Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) the ANC's military wing, was formed. A recent London-based journal estimates the ANC has 10000 guerrillas.

On July 11, 1963, security police hid in bakery vans and laundry vans and raided Lillesleaf farm, Rivonia.

They found nine people in the house and open on a table lay "Operation Mayibuye", a blueprint for guerrilla warfare in South Africa. It had been drawn up by Arthur Goldreich, formerly a commander in the Israeli guerrilla army.

On October 9, 1963 one of the most monumental trials ever to take place in South African history began — the Rivonia Trial. Eleven men, including Mr Nelson Mandela, stood in the dock at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria and were charged with sabotage, plotting a bloody revolution and the overthrow of the Government.

Mr Mandela was president of the ANC's Transvaal division and a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe's high command.

Eight men, including Mr Mandela, were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. Six of those found guilty were arrested at Rivonia.

In October last year Rivonia trialists Mr L Walter Sisulu, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were unconditionally released from prison, leaving Mandela as the only accused from the Rivonia Trial in jail.

After it was banned the ANC forged links with the South African Communist Party (SACP). The SACP is now represented in the ANC's national executive. The SACP views the Freedom Charter only as a part of a transitional programme to a socialist state.

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Unbanning of ANC takes old foes back to parting of the v

PAT DEVEREAUX and JOVIAL RANTAO

THIRTY years ago in April 1960 at the height of the Sharpeville crisis, the Government banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and declared a state of emergency.

However, yesterday's surprise unbanning of the PAC, the ANC and the SACP by F W de Klerk's Government indicates that the Government has changed its tactics and will not be repeating the mistakes of the 1950s when dealing with political opposition.

The 1960 banning of these organisations resulted in a dramatic move away from non-violent resistance by the black population and the adoption of a more militant approach.

Over the next six months over 11 000 political activists were detained and ANC and PAC leaders were forced into exile. The South African Communist Party (SACP) had been outlawed much earlier — soon after the National Party came to power in 1948.

Still reeling from the banings, the ANC and PAC attempted to construct underground organisations. Representatives from a broad range of black groups met in December 1960 and again in March 1961.

These conferences saw the launch of a campaign for a national convention — the first phase was to begin with a three-day stayaway to coincide with South Africa's becoming a Republic on May 31.

Under the leadership of a national action council headed by Mr Nelson Mandela, the 1961 stayaway call created massive impact. Its success was accredited to mass support by members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

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The planned uprising was stopped in its tracks however and 3 000 people were arrested — leading to the collapse of the movement.

Soon after that, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and other leaders of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command were arrested. Their arrests led to the lengthy Rivonia trial in which most of them were jailed.

The imprisonment or exile of leaders of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP and Sactu led to a lull in black resistance and the backbone of the struggle appeared to be broken.

However, the 1960s saw the birth of a new philosophy which emphasised black leadership, values, and traditions. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement was a cornerstone to the revival of national resistance in this country.

By 1976 conflict had reached a crisis point which culminated in the students' rebellion against Black Education. Their protests were met by police bullets.

Conflict continued to flare and subside throughout the next two decades with the Government's policies coming under fire from the international community.

In the 1980s the political climate once more reached a stage which echoed that of the 1950s with the UDF and MDM's mass civil disobedience campaigns as well as large scale political protest.

But this time it appears history won't be repeated and the Government's dramatic unbanning of organisations and the lifting of restrictions means a move toward a new political climate in this country.

The oldest South African resistance organisation is the ANC which was formed on January 12 1912.

Initially, it had a conservative leadership with a gradualist approach to political reform. After the National Party was elected this leadership was supplanted by a younger generation of radical nationalists.

A year after its formation, the ANC organised a protest against the proposed introduction of passes for black women in the Free State.

In 1919 it sent delegates to the first Pan Africanist Congress in Paris. In the same year a passive resistance movement against passes was waged, which led to disturbances in Johannesburg and elsewhere on March 21. As a result, 700 blacks were arrested.

In 1920, when large numbers of blacks on the mines organised



THE WAITING IS OVER: A joyous Mrs Winnie Mandela captures the excitement of the moment as she addresses crowds in Greenmarket Square in Cape Town yesterday.

a strike, the ANC supported the workers.

In 1927 the movement was represented by Mr J T Gumede and Mr J A la Guma at the World Congress against Imperialism which was organised by the Communist International in tern in Brussels.

In 1930 ANC meetings were prohibited in rural areas of the Western Province under the amended Riotous Assemblies Act.

On Dingaan's Day (December 16) 1935, a union-wide "Congress of the People" was held in Bloemfontein to oppose the proposed Hertzog Bills, which removed blacks from the voter's roll, prohibited them from pur-

chasing land in areas outside black reserves and restricted the movement of blacks to urban areas and locations.

In 1940, under the influence of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party, an attempt was made to infuse fresh life into the ANC by appointing Dr A B Xuma as chairman, and a new policy was proposed which would limit the ANC to the constitutional and political interests of the black people.

In 1943 the ANC crystallised its aims: to protect the rights of black people; to fight discriminatory measures; and to promote unity among blacks.

In 1943, the ANC also agitated against the pass laws and 540

delegates attended a national convention in 1944. A petition was circulated, but the hope of attaining a million signatures was not fulfilled.

When the acting Prime Minister refused to personally receive the petition, delegates marched to the Houses of Parliament. Clashes with the police occurred and leaders were arrested.

On June 26 1952 the Defiant Campaign began when 250 leaders of the ANC and South African Indian Congress — later followed by 8 000 specially trained volunteers — infringed regulations governing blacks.

This followed a refusal by the Prime Minister to consid-

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All the ANC's men

- THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE**
- President General — Oliver Tambo.
 - Secretary General — Alfred Nzo.
 - Treasurer General — Thomas Nkobi.
 - President of the Congress of South African Trade Unions — Steve Dhlamini.
 - Chief of Staff Mkhonto we Sizwe — Chris Hani.
 - ANC Research Department — Pallo Jordan.
 - Mac Maharaj.
 - Simon Makana.
 - Head of International Department — Position vacant.
 - Director of Education — Henry Makgothi.
 - Publicity Secretary — Thabo Mbeki.
 - External Information Director: Editor of *Sechaba* — Francis Meli.
 - Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe — Joe Modise.
 - Chairman of Political Committee and General Secretary of SACTU — John Nkadimeng.
 - Special Aide to the President General — Mazwai Piliso.
 - Head of Women Section — Getrude Shope.
 - General Secretary of the SA Communist Party — Joe Slovo.
 - Chairman of the SACP, Deputy Treasurer General, and Deputy Secretary General — Dan Tloome.
- INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES:**
- German Democratic Party — Anthony Mangala.
 - United Kingdom — Solly Smith.
 - Sweden — Lindiwe Mabuzza.
 - Zimbabwe — Reddy Mazimba.
 - Tanzania — Stanley Mazimba.

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In 1958 a rift between those
supporting the Freedom Charter
and the Africanists resulted in
a split. The Africanists broke
away to form the Pan Africanist
Congress (PAC).
Both the PAC and ANC were
banned on April 8 1960 after the
Sharpeville massacre, which left
67 people dead and many in-
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The ban ended 48 years of
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It was here that Mr Mandela,
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famous political leader.
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guilty were arrested at Rivonia.
Two others, Mr Arthur Gol-
dreich and Mr Harold Wolpe,
were also arrested but escaped
from the Johannesburg Fort
after bribing a young warden
with R4 000. Mr Bob Hepple
turned state witness, but was re-
leased on bail and fled the coun-
try.
Mr Denis Golberg was condi-
tionally released from prison in
1985 and Mr Govan Mbeki was
released unconditionally from
Robben Island in December
1988.
In October last year, Rivonia
trialists Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr
Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond
Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi
and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were
unconditionally released from
prison, leaving Mr Mandela as
the only accused from the Ri-
vonia trial in jail.

Role of police might be enhanced, says professor

THE role of the South African Police and certain other security services could very well be enhanced in a South Africa in which their traditional enemies, the ANC, PAC and the Communist Party, were no longer illegal, a security expert said yesterday.

"Their role will not be downgraded until there is complete constitutional change in South Africa. The PAC, ANC and SACP will still continue with active measures," said Professor Deon Fourie, a strategist at the University of South Africa.

There would still be a need for intelligence gathering and for security branch activities to counter possible illegal activities such as arms smuggling, subversion and possible violence.

The unbanning of the three organisations would make them easier to monitor and for them to "betray themselves" should they still engage in illegal activities, Professor Fourie said.

He was responding to President de Klerk's announcement at the opening of Parliament that the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party would be unbanned with immediate effect.

These organisations can now be watched even more closely. Previously they were underground. Now that they

are legal it will be easier to keep tabs on them, said Professor Fourie.

The SACP was still a conspiratorial party which had not changed in its aim of working for a takeover in South Africa.

"They will still want watching."

Professor Fourie said rallies would still have to be policed and security police would still have to watch for illegal activity.

"Initially there will probably not be a tremendous change in the role of the SAP. Scenarios such as dissident groups splitting from the ANC could very well emerge.

"Even if the Soviets are no longer going to support revolution here, the Cubans could be a different story. We would have to watch for signs of them supporting revolution here."

Some sections of the security forces, who have long been told that the ANC, PAC and SACP were the enemy, would probably be "confused" about the new policy, but the security forces would remain loyal to the Government, Professor Fourie said.

STR (HA) 3/3/90
CRAIG KOTZE

'ANC's terrorist status to stay'

Mr. Hani 3/2/90

LONDON. — While its ministerial doors remain open to selected ANC "moderates" like Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Nelson Mandela, the British government yesterday still officially regarded the organisation as "terrorist".

While declining to confirm the official status quo of no ministerial contacts with the ANC, labelled "terrorist" by Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, a Foreign Office spokesman indicated that the government was adopting a pragmatic "wait-and-see" approach to developments following President F W de Klerk's unbanning of the organisation.

"The key point is to see how the ANC now responds to the steps taken by the SA government."

The spokesman said it had been confirmed a number of weeks ago already that former ANC secretary-general Mr Sisulu would be officially received by British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd if he paid a visit to Britain.

It was indicated at the time that Mr Sisulu was welcome as he was regarded as a "moderate" leading element in the ANC. It was made clear that ANC militants regarded as extremist, like Mr Chris Hani, leader of the organisation's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were not welcome.

Mr Sisulu firmly declined the unofficial invitation. — Sapa

Radicals stay tough, but moderates want to talk

CP Press 4/7/90

11A

CP Reporters

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday he would negotiate with President FW de Klerk if talks centred on issues such as ownership of land and resources and one-person-one-vote in a unitary state without group protection or a minority veto.

Responding to the unbanning of the PAC, he said: "The PAC does not recognise the legitimacy of the South African government and therefore never recognised the banning of the organisation."

Mothopeng said his first task was to convene a consultative conference of PAC members in the next few weeks, and a full conference when exiles

returned.

He said it was unrealistic to expect the PAC to disband its army, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla), as it was formed to meet certain national objectives.

Mothopeng called for complete mandatory sanctions as "partial sanctions have achieved partial change".

The Azanian People's Organisation praised De Klerk for breaking out of the old trappings of apartheid thinking. But his bold steps were still unsatisfactory, said Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza. His moves treated the symptoms and not the cause.

An hour after FW de Klerk's speech on Friday, presiding bishop of the

Methodist Church Stanley Mogoba phoned Nelson Mandela.

"In his message Mogoba said he was prepared to visit Mandela as he was his chaplain. Remember Mandela is a Methodist," said a spokesman for the Bishop's office.

"The new name of the game is adaptation and change. Everyone will have to compromise and change. If FW de Klerk and a party that had always been regarded as monolithic can do so, then only selfishness and greed can stop others from also doing so," said Mogoba in a statement.

Cosatu said De Klerk's announcements fell short of the expectations of the majority of South Afri-

cans and the world.

Though it welcomed the changes as "far-reaching and courageous", Cosatu emphasised that the cornerstones of apartheid remained intact.

Cosatu called for a comprehensive initiative by the government to meet all clauses in the Harare Declaration.

But Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi praised the announcements and welcomed them as proof to those "who doubted De Klerk's sincerity".

"I am prepared to enter into negotiations and it is my prayer that the next few weeks will witness all important black political leaders making the same statement," said the Kwa-

Zulu leader.

Actstop publicity secretary Cas Coovadia welcomed the changes.

"We welcome this in the spirit of change in South Africa. The decision taken by De Klerk fully justifies the struggles of the masses of our country," he said.

De Klerk's address fell short of fulfilling the eight steps towards negotiations listed by the ANC in the Harare Declaration, the UDF said on Friday.

"A climate of free political activity clearly has not been created. Only two of the eight clauses of the Harare Declaration have been met and even these are not unequivocal," said the statement.

It said De Klerk's initiatives failed to meet the following clauses:

- Removal of troops from the townships;
 - Lifting the state of emergency;
 - Release of all detainees; and
 - An end to all repressive legislation, including the Internal Security Act.
- National director for Lawyers for Human Rights, Brian Currin praised De Klerk for "his brave and far reaching initiative".

"We hope the unconditional banning of the organisations will result in negotiations as soon as possible. We call upon all political leaders who are in, exile to return to SA and participate in negotiations about our future."

Currin supported De Klerk's decision to suspend all executions.

The Association of Law Societies, representing over 7 000 attorneys, said it was much encouraged.

And in another development, the National Forum has praised De Klerk for "taking noble steps" and called upon all black people to accept his hand of goodwill.

The University of Witwatersrand Council welcomed the changes.

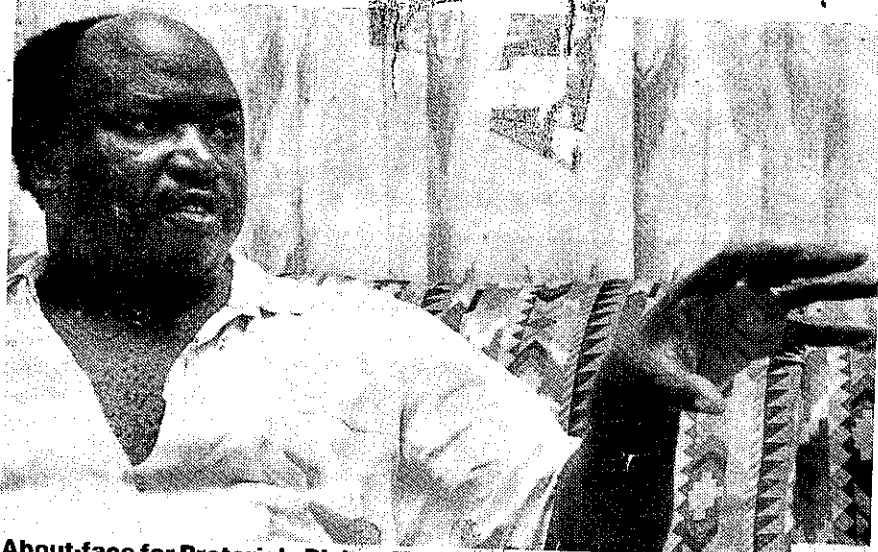
"We applaud this normalising of political life in South Africa. Of special significance to us is the lifting of restrictions on a number of local and national student organisations," said the statement.

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) said the stand taken by De Klerk was bold in courage and vision.

C/Press 4/2/90

11A

Bishop drops anti-sanctions stand



About-face for Pretoria's Bishop Mzilikazi Masiya. ■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

By CHARLES MOGALE

PRETORIA sanctions buster Bishop Mzilikazi Masiya this week made a dramatic about-turn when he announced: "I was used."

Masiya, an arch-critic of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said he would start steering clear of "sensitive" issues such as sanctions because he had been misused by some whites, and American companies in particular.

"When I entered the matter I did so because of my sincere beliefs.

"I campaigned for in-

vestment, in return for the false promise that these companies doing trade in South Africa would help ease the burden of my people. They have not kept their side of the bargain and I realise now that I was misused by some people."

Looking back, he said, his sponsors just needed a black face to bolster their anti-sanctions arguments.

"I did what I did with the belief that the companies involved, (in anti-sanctions campaigns), would donate money towards my people's education, housing and the gen-

eral upliftment of their lives.

"If you go to these companies now, they will tell you what they do for their top or middle-management guys. There has not been one attempt on a national scale to do anything for black people," Masiya said.

"What I said and did made some people hate me and I do not want to be hated. I am black and I suffer the same things suffered by my people. Anyway, I was done down by the 'other side', so why persist with something like that?"

Masiya would not comment on whether he sincerely believed sanctions would not work.

"Some people say it is the blacks who will suffer, some say the money maker will suffer more. Anyway, the money maker is not keeping his promises, and I am going to stop being used by him. My people have not benefitted from my campaigns, so why continue?"

"To those people who were hurt by what I did, I apologise. We should start forgiving and working towards reconciliation."

Gags are off hundreds

S/ Times 4/2/90

By DRIES van HEERDEN

SCORES of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unbanned.

For some, like long-time SA Communist Party chief Bram Fischer, it came 15 years too late.

He died in 1975, but may now be freely quoted in SA — a privilege denied him for decades in terms of strict Government censorship.

Government Gazette No 4427, Vol 296, No 12287 of February 3 1990 changed all that — the result of Friday's announcement by President F W de Klerk that the ban on the ANC, the SACP and the PAC has been lifted. It also removed the gag from 175 of

its most prominent present and past members.

The bland, official tone of yesterday's special gazette notice belies the important consequences of the move.

Since the early 60s no statements of any ANC leader could be quoted without express ministerial consent.

Scrapped (11A)

The words, thoughts and ideas of men like Mr Oliver Tambo, the movement's president, its chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and its spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, were kept from sensitive

South African eyes and ears. The most stringent ban was imposed on Sechaba, the official mouthpiece of the ANC, and Umsebenzi, the SACP's newsletter. Possession of such material meant strong action and severe punishment.

Yesterday the scene changed dramatically. The lists were not only wiped clean — they were completely scrapped.

In the case of people "listed" as communists in terms of the Internal Security Act, they were now officially "delisted".

They include some of the most prominent activists who dominated protest poli-

□ To Page 2

'Non-persons' come back to life

S/ Times 4/2/90

□ From Page 1

tics in the last half-century — 110 in all.

● Bram Fischer, brilliant advocate and son of the last Prime Minister of the Free State Republic, who turned his back on his roots and embraced communism;

● Joe Slovo, another top lawyer, who succeeded Fischer as general secretary of the SACP. The first white to be elected to the ANC's executive;

● Harry Gwala, ANC activist of long standing, who has been the philosophical inspiration for the younger generation of ANC cadres;

Escape

● Alex la Guma — who died an exile in Cuba — was known all over the world as a brilliant writer, but virtually unknown in the country of his birth;

● Albie Sachs, who lost an arm in a car-bomb explosion in Maputo in 1987;

● Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich who made a daring escape from the Marshall Square police cells in 1964.

Also now legitimate are a further 65 activists — including almost the whole of the ANC's national executive. They may now be quoted freely by virtue of the fact that the organisations they belong to have been unbanned.

Among them:

● Oliver Tambo, ANC president since 1968 but presently recuperating in a Swedish clinic, after suffering a debilitating stroke;

● Senior ANC members

secretary-general Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, information chief Pallo Jordan, intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, and NEC members Dan Tloome, Thomas Nkobi and Steve Tshwete;

Axed (11A)

● The top structure of Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, including its commander-in-chief, Joe Modise, and his deputy, Chris Hani;

● Long-time activists like Dennis Brutus and former newspaper editor Donald Woods;

● Journalists Biko Modisane and Can Themba (deceased) and acclaimed poet Lewis Nkosi;

● PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo, in exile in Tanzania.

Yesterday's Government Gazette cut like a sharp axe through the forest of Government regulations issued over the past four decades to sustain Government action and snuff out opposition.

Most of the state of emergency, reimposed on June 9 last year, still stands. But certain important changes have been made.

Access

● The media regulations preventing reporting on any incident of unrest have been scrapped completely. This issue of the Sunday Times is the first newspaper published since the restrictions have been officially lifted;

● A new regulation has been drafted which will still

prohibit visual coverage of unrest and security force action;

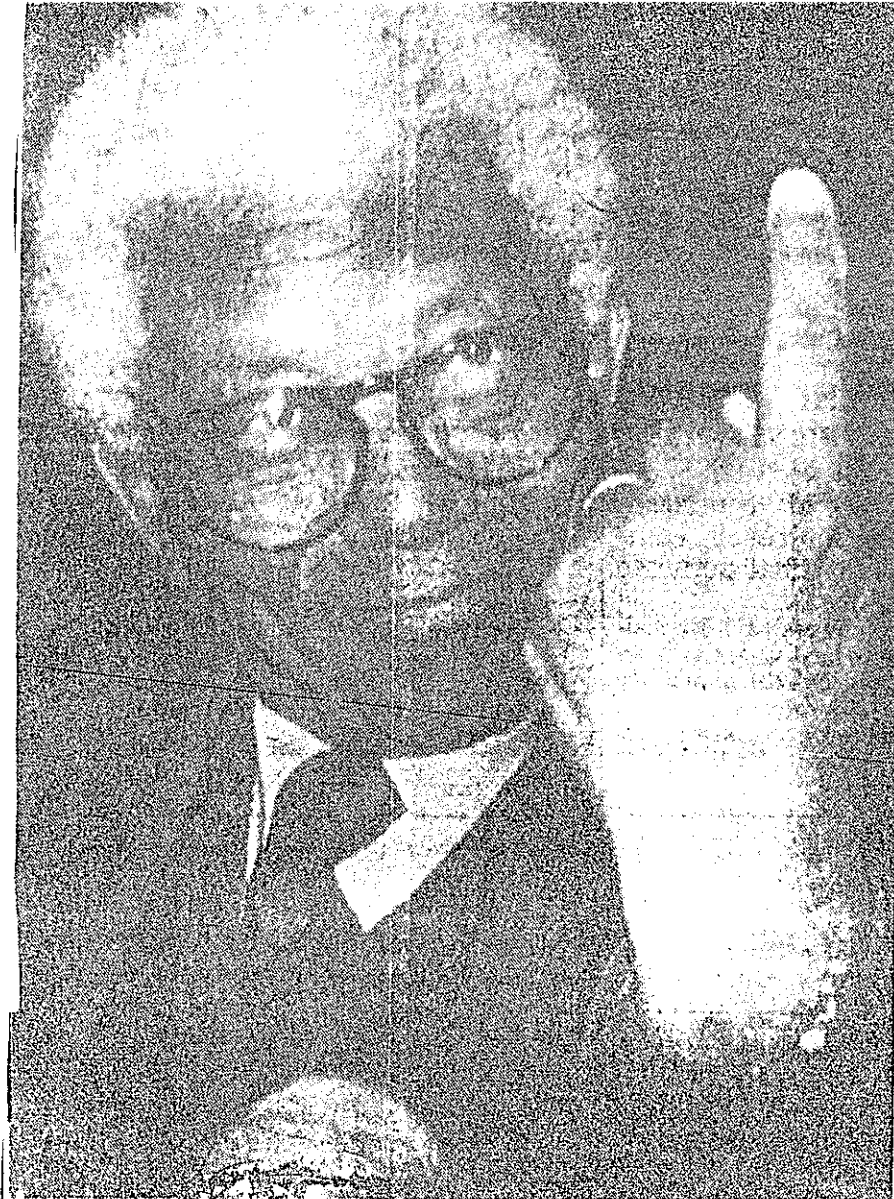
● The detention of persons in terms of the emergency has been limited to a maximum of five months;

● Detainees will now have full access to a lawyer and a medical practitioner of their own choice;

● A new post — Special Adviser to the Minister of Justice — has been created to monitor detentions. He has been given sweeping powers, including full and confidential access to all detainees. He will report directly to the Minister and may refer matters to an attorney-general for prosecution if he finds any irregularities.

Fifty-eight different regulations and notices issued over the years by the Government to regulate political activities have been summarily scrapped — the oldest dating back to May 23 1952.

The majority of these are of a technical nature, designed to close small loopholes discovered in Acts of Parliament.



Walter Sisulu speaks in Stockholm, Sweden, after the unbanning of the ANC

Jubilant exiles rejoice at prospect of coming home

S/Times 4/2/90 11A

THE mood among South African exiles living abroad was electric this weekend as first prospects of their return home were raised.

For some it will be the first time they set foot on South African soil in nearly four decades. Their children and some wives would be seeing the country for the first time.

Many, black and white, now resident in countries like Britain, Holland, France and Sweden are in the process of applying for refugee status and are officially "stateless" — with no travel documents — while awaiting a decision by the authorities.

Welcome

No one knows exactly how many there are — but the ANC put the figure yesterday at "tens of thousands". Its centre in Tanzania, Dakawa, has 8 000 people alone.

The South African Embassy in London said it would "welcome" inquiries from people wishing to go back and wanting advice.

Privately, sources said there should be no obstacle provided individuals had not been convicted of a "common-law criminal act".

"But it may still take some time to convince them they won't be arrested at Jan Smuts Airport," one said.

Officially, the ANC immediately raised a stumbling

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

block and said that while political prisoners remained in prison for "murder, terrorism, and arson" there was no question of the leadership setting foot in the country.

The issue was raised by ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki in a live TV debate with National Party spokesman Con Botha on Friday.

Mr Botha said he assumed from the President's speech that even those who had engaged in military training abroad would be granted amnesty.

Mr Botha said: "I sincerely hope, along with the rest of my party, that Mr Mbeki will now return to South Africa."

"He will be welcome to come back to our country and to place on the agenda those matters he would like to bring into the negotiating process. He is now free to do so."

Mr Mbeki said it was impossible for him to return while ANC members engaged in "military conflict" were still regarded as criminals.

"The question of our return to the country is a matter that must be part of the evolution of this whole process."

But while Mr Mbeki remained guarded, the excitement among individual

members remained high. Their hopes were voiced in London by Albie Sachs, still being treated in Britain for the car-bomb injuries he received in Maputo two years ago.

"It's a tremendous thing to contemplate, going back," he said.

Former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods, in California for a lecture tour, said he had been phoned at 2am US time from London by his wife Wendy telling him the news.

"I am very excited. At first Wendy and I hope to go there on a visit."

"It's not such an easy thing uprooting a family of seven, but we will be thinking about it very seriously."

Cricket

"What I would really like to do is go back there and get involved in a serious television service, a hard news analytical programme, something like that."

"And I would really love to be involved in helping plan the first real international cricket Test series."

ANC executive committee member Aziz Pahad said: "For the first time in 30 years I'm legal again."

"Now we will have to consider returning. Maybe we will continue the struggle at home."

EMERGENCY DECLARED IN SIMMERING CISKEI

S/ Times 4/2/90

PANIC buttons have been pressed and a state of emergency proclaimed in the two largest towns in the Ciskei, where the ANC and the PAC are still banned.

But in neighbouring Transkei, restrictions on both banned organisations are likely to be lifted soon.

Speaking from Washington yesterday, the chairman

By BILL KRIGE

of the Transkei Military Council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said: "It's not an issue any longer. Now that President De Klerk has delivered the goods, I expect we will act very shortly."

"We're all looking forward to a new southern Africa." The government of Presi-

dent Lennox Sebe, under siege from various quarters, yesterday responded to "lawlessness" by proclaiming an emergency in the sprawling political hotbeds of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha.

Two weeks ago Mr Sebe told President F W de Klerk that independent Ciskei would go it alone and not hold a referendum on a possible return to SA.

11A

Difficult

By contrast, Transkei, which last December anticipated President De Klerk by unbanning a number of organisations (but not the ANC or the PAC), is planning a referendum on its return to the SA fold.

President Sebe's Ciskei Government not only maintains bans on the ANC in its heartland, but has also made it extremely difficult for opposition groups of any description to function.

Mandela may be freed next weekend as peace bid hots up



F.W. DE KLERK
On the new road

FW SWINGS INTO ACTION

S/Times 4/2/70



Page One OPINION

A page has been turned in history

WE awake on this summer, Sabbath morn in a country where hope has displaced fear, despair and anger. Where there is a feeling that South Africans may yet have a decent chance of making it.

After decades of evading the truth, the hard, inescapable realities are at last being addressed with candour and sincerity. A page of history has been turned and all of us, regardless of pigment or political persuasion, today confront a new future.

It's Sunday, prayers are in order. Down the years we've had been many moments of high drama in the South African story: decisions to Trek, to resist white colonial expansionism, to fight Queen Victoria's armies, to enter two world wars, to take up arms against apartheid and to declare a republic. Leaders of all hues have regularly confronted momentous choices in a harsh and unforgiving continent.

But as of them skated around the 'Big One': finding a political accommodation for the rich diversity of people in our land. As a result, the growing power of blacks and the strong, but ultimately diminishing power of whites remained suspended in uneasy equilibrium. The world, and many South Africans, began to believe that an apocalyptic ending was inevitable.

This week, in an act of Gorbachevian boldness, President De Klerk has moved to the question...

PRESIDENT DE KLERK is acting swiftly to translate his dramatic peace initiative into action.

Already a special team of negotiators has embarked on an "outreach campaign" to draw exiled political activists into the negotiation process.

Yesterday, Government sources said Mr Nelson Mandela may be released next weekend — an event that would instantly raise political activity to levels of unprecedented intensity.

ANC leaders assembled in Stockholm, Sweden, yesterday to prepare a formal response to Mr De Klerk's invitation to talk.

They did so against a background of mounting international and domestic acclaim for Mr De Klerk's bold decision to "normalise" South African politics by enabling all parties — including the ANC and the PAC — to operate freely (see page 2).

A top-ranking Government team has been instructed to roll up its sleeves for an intensive programme of informal approaches to leaders and parties outside Parliament. The Government is anxious to demonstrate its sincerity, both at home and abroad.

In the event of the De Klerk initiative failing, it plans to ensure that the ANC and not Pretoria, is identified as the "spoiler".

In Lusaka, the ANC's information chief, Mr Pallo Jordan, told the Sunday Times that Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Friday "opened up a number of new possibilities on which we will have to take decisions soon."

The ANC's full National Executive was expected to meet within the next few days.

Opened

The initial reaction from the ANC's leadership has been cautious — an indication that the boldness of the Government's moves caught it unawares.



cases, our membership over-laps anyway," he said. A more problematic issue was the "return of the exiles". Should prominent ANC leaders return to South Africa to organise the movement internally and eventually participate in the negotiation process?

The ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, yesterday poured cold water on speculation that he would return soon.

Speaking from Stockholm where he had visited ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in hospital, he said...



BLONDE JANE TAKES OVER ON TV QUIZ

By CAROL KERRIGAN

SHE'S no plain Jane and she's just landed the TV job of her dreams.

Gorgeous Jane Riley, former Wheel of Fortune girl at Sun City, is the new hostess on Martin Ballie's Telly Fun Quiz, which returns to TV1 on Wednesday evening.

She replaces Sue Kelly Christie — and will partner another TV newcomer, Michael Copley, who replaces comedian Eddie Ekestein on the show.

Their contracts are not being renewed.

At 21, Jane has had an eventful life. Two years ago she was widowed and left to raise her daughter Natasha when her husband Neville died in a car crash.

Now three-year-old Nata-

sha is her mum's greatest fan.

"This is the most exciting thing that's ever happened to me and it's the step I needed to achieve my ambition," said Jane.

"Eventually I'd like to have my own serious current affairs programme. I don't want to be typecast as just another dumb blonde."

The show will differ from the old format with bigger prizes and more difficult questions.

Said Sue Kelly Christie yesterday: "We had a ball on the show and there were no rows involved in our leaving. I'm planning a one-woman cabaret show so I don't have a moment to spare."

Added Eddie: "We had great fun and I wish Jane and Michael all the best."

Sunday Times sues SABC

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Sunday Times is taking the SABC to court over its refusal to broadcast a television advertisement.

The newspaper is bringing an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court to compel the SABC to run the advert.

This week the SABC refused to carry a commercial for the R1-million Flinders Keepers Competition because the contest is co-sponsored by rival M-Net.

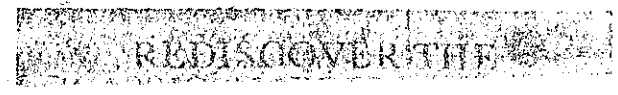
Winner

Sunday Times lawyers served papers on the SABC's attorneys this weekend.

The SABC's chief legal adviser, Mr Leander Gaum, refused to comment yesterday.

The first Flinders Keepers Contest — launched last year — attracted a blockbuster 2.7-million entries. It was won by Tessa Brucker of Winterton, Natal.

This year's competition begins in the Sunday Times Magazine on February 25.



— to operate freely (see page 2).

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The ANC's full National Executive was expected to meet within the next few days.

Opened

The initial reaction from the ANC's leadership has been cautious — an indication that the boldness of the Government's moves caught it unawares.

While stressing the pressure — including the "armed struggle" and sanctions — should be kept up, spokesmen nevertheless praised Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech as "an important announcement which will go a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

Senior government sources said yesterday Mr De Klerk's negotiating team — senior Cabinet members Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mr Kobie Coetsee — would start "Operation Outreach" immediately to follow up Friday's dramatic speech at the opening of Parliament.

The momentous decision to unban the ANC and other bodies has opened the way for government representatives to start dealing with the organisations directly.

Hitherto, contacts with leaders like Mr Walker Sibulu have taken place in secret. Cabinet Ministers said yesterday the Government had "seized the high ground".

Secret

It would not compromise on its refusal to negotiate with parties that espoused or pursued violence — and it believed it would receive solid international backing for its position.

For its part, the ANC is faced with many difficult decisions. It, too, can also expect strong pressure from foreign governments — especially Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union — to be flexible.

Yesterday, Mr Jordan said the legalisation of the ANC meant the movement could activate underground structures that had been operating in secret for the past 25 years.

"You may soon see ANC branches being established all over the country," he said.

He did not foresee clashes of interest between an official ANC and its allied organisations, the United Democratic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

"We adhere to the same principles and work towards the same goals. In most



cases, our membership overlaps anyway," he said. A more problematic issue was the "return of the exiles".

Should prominent ANC leaders return to South Africa to organise the movement internally and eventually participate in the negotiation process?

The ANC's chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, yesterday poured cold water on speculation that he would return soon.

Speaking from Stockholm where he had visited ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in hospital, he said many important issues still had to be cleared up.

The most important was the position of ANC members in jail.

Forward

Mr De Klerk indicated that those convicted of purely political offences would soon be freed — but these imprisoned for violent crimes would not be affected.

ANC sources estimate there are about 350 ANC members in jail. Only about a third had been convicted of deeds of terrorism or violence.

Referring to Mr De Klerk's announcement as "a lucky dip", Mr Jordan said the ANC did not differentiate between its members. "What he regards as terrorism we consider to be people taking up arms to fight for freedom," he said.

"We are not considering unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle. Any cessation of hostilities or a ceasefire will have to be negotiated between us and Pretoria."

However, Mr Jordan said a decision on the return of some prominent ANC members

□ To Page 2

Gags at

SCORES of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unbanned.

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spokes were

FW swings into his reform action

□ From Page 1

bers would have to be taken soon. *S Times* 4/2/90
The ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, told the Sunday Times the De Klerk speech opened up a number of new possibilities. "It was a dramatic moment in our history. He is obviously travelling on a road completely different from his predecessors. This is indeed a major move forward," he said.

However, Mr Zuma said the ANC was still awaiting clarity on a number of issues. "Unbanning the ANC is important, but what about all the other repressive laws on the books?"
Mr Jordan said the ANC's cautious reaction should not be regarded as an attempt to stall the process. "We are not nitpicking. To operate effectively above ground we should be placed

on par with other parties in the country. "There are still too many laws and regulations that will inhibit our effectiveness," he said. Government sources said yesterday the next hurdle was the release of ANC kingpin Mr Mandela. It was reliably learned the President's original target — the middle of February — was unchanged. Diplomatic sources said

SA had conveyed a secret message along these lines to the Organisation of African Unity via its chairman, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak. Friday's unbanning of the ANC is understood to have cleared the major last-minute obstacle to Mr Mandela's release. It is believed Mr Mandela stood firm on the question of the ANC's status in eleventh-hour brinkmanship.

DE KLERK'S SHUTTLES

Blacks urged: demonstrate goodwill towards whites

STAC 4/2/90

(S) (S) (11A)

Mandela condemns 'mindless violence'

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday invited all South Africans to join forces against the "dark hell of apartheid" and work together towards a non-racial democracy.

He strongly condemned "mindless violence", urged black pupils to return to school, and called for disciplined action during the "irreversible march towards freedom".

A huge crowd of people packed into Soccer City, the First National Bank Stadium at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, to welcome Mr Mandela back to the Transvaal and to Soweto, the home he last saw almost three decades ago.

Marshals occasionally lost the battle to control the crowds as an estimated 130 000 people struggled to catch a glimpse of the African National Congress leader on his return to the township which, he said, had played a pioneering role in the struggle for democracy.

Mr Mandela's 26-minute address met with roars of approval from an ecstatic crowd

He said the struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts.

"The ANC will pursue the armed struggle against the Government as long as the violence of apartheid continues," he said.

Salute to Tambo

As organisers battled to control the crowds, Mr Mandela warned he would not complete his speech if people were "unable to listen".

The rally was cut short to prevent chaotic scenes such as those which marred his first public address in Cape Town on Sunday.

The only other speaker was Mr Walter Sisulu, who pleaded with the crowd to give a dignified welcome to "the man who has led a struggle for nearly 50 years".

Mr Mandela announced that he would soon fly to Lusaka to consult the ANC's external leadership.

Thereafter, he would fly to Sweden to meet ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo - "to shake hands and congratulate the man who has led this movement" and who had placed the ANC at the country's political centre-stage.

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

He said although the ANC was as opposed to black domination as it was to white domination, many whites feared majority rule.

"We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots and convince them that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better home for all.

"We call on those who, out of ignorance, have collaborated with apartheid, to join our liberation struggle."

Mr Mandela presented three clear demands to the Government:

- Security forces should act with absolute impartiality in strife-torn Natal and arrest people who continued with violence;
- The Government should "respond constructively" to demands that all political prisoners be freed, and
- It should alleviate the black education crisis by expanding the infrastructure and "abandon its policy of forcing our children out of the schools".

Referring to the heated debate on the ANC's economic policy of nationalisation and wealth redistribution, Mr Mandela said black workers could not be excluded from the country's wealth.

"The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as present employers claim to be. Yet we are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address inequalities caused by apartheid."

His return to Soweto filled his heart with joy, yet with a deep sense of sadness, he said.

"Sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system.

"The housing shortage, the schools crisis, unemployment and the crime rate still remain.



Mr Nelson Mandela shares a joke with Mrs June Mlangeni and Mrs Albertina Sisulu (right) at yesterday's rally. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

"As proud as I am to be part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly disturbed by the statistics of crime that I have read in the newspapers.

"Although I understand the deprivations our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is unhealthy and it must be eliminated."

What the ANC said

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE latest announcements go a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations, ANC president Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and his colleagues said in a statement from Sweden on Friday.

However, the ANC leader expressed concern that President FW de Klerk will not release some political prisoners, has maintained the state of emergency and continues the practice of detention without trial.

"These decisions subtract rather than add to the process of creating the proper political climate. They must be reviewed and changed without delay."

The ANC will take urgent measures to review the new situation and determine the next step towards ending apartheid before negotiations begin.

It also urged the government to release Nelson Mandela without further delay. C/P 4/2/90

"Questions concerning his personal security cannot be and are not the exclusive concern of the South African regime. They must be decided together with his organisation, the ANC."

In an attempt to prepare itself for negotiations, the ANC will consult with the MDM and all other anti-apartheid forces. The consultations will include the assessment of the prospect of genuine negotiations to end apartheid.

"The ANC will take urgent measures to review the new situation that has emerged, to determine the steps we have to take to move our country towards finally ending the apartheid system."

However, the ANC has called on the international community not to lessen the isolation of South Africa. (IA)

"The normalisation of relations between South Africa and the rest of the world must continue to depend on ending the apartheid system. No country committed to ending white minority domination will do anything to lessen the isolation of the apartheid regime."

Further, the ANC has called for unity among all anti-apartheid organisations in the country.

"All forces within our country that are committed to the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial society must work for unity with even greater vigour."

STRUGGLE NOT OVER

Violence erupts at tour protest



STONES, empty soft drink cans and sticks were hurled at rebel England cricket captain Mike Gatting by a crowd of anti-tour demonstrators in Maritzburg yesterday. Violence erupted after Gatting, his vice-captain John Emburey and team manager David Graveney went with South African Cricket Union chief Ali Bacher to meet leaders of the anti-tour demonstrators. C/PRESS 4/2/90

A crowd of about 4 000 jeered and chanted as the tour party walked through a tunnel of demonstrators to receive a memorandum detailing reasons the demonstrators are opposing the tour and details of the lack of facilities in Natal, from the UDF's Natal president Archie Gumede.

Groups of trigger fans gathered inside the stadium at the fence and cheered the English cricketers.

But to a chorus of chants of "Gatting go home" the four men stepped back down from the platform stones and cans were hurled at them. Witnesses said one can

Contralesa ch wins court or

From Page 1

Struggle continues

prisoners would apply for exiles.

Viljoen's announcement has been greeted with joy by, families and ends of thousands of people who left the country because of the banning of the organisations since 1960. Many also left for the 1976 school risings.

Thousands of exiles are scattered out in Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Angola and a number is in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC's headquarters.

The Africa News Organisation reports that

the ANC said developments taking place inside the country were "quite pleasing", but cautioned that the climate conducive to negotiations had to be created.

Steps to be taken by Pretoria in this direction included the total lifting of the state of emergency and the dismantling of apartheid.

ANC President Oliver Tambo has called for unity among all South Africans to ensure that that the process of negotiations was attained.

He said the situation also called for the great-

est unity of all forces within South Africa that were committed to a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa.

Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party arrived in Stockholm on Friday for strategic talks with the ANC.

"We have been in the wilderness for 40 years," said Slovo, who with ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo visited ANC president Oliver Tambo. Walter Sisulu has already seen Tambo.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibuya, headlines and sub-editing by J Belfon, both of 204 Eloff Street Ext., Johannesburg.

ANC exiles rule out early return

THE ANC said yesterday it would not stop its military campaign and ruled out an early return of its headquarters from exile in Zambia after the unbanning of the organisation this week.

The tough stance contrasted with an ANC statement on Friday welcoming the new legal status and calling President FW de Klerk's decision "an important announcement which will go a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations", Sapa reports.

Political analysts said the ANC was disappointed that a general amnesty had not been granted to exiles and that those involved in military activities could still be charged.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said in Lusaka yesterday: "We have always said the notion of unilaterally abandoning armed struggle is out of the question.

"Any cessation of hostilities will have to be negotiated and will arise out of a mutually-binding ceasefire."

Jordan, an ANC inner-cabinet (National Executive Committee) member, said a decision on returning to South Africa would be made "in the not-too-distant future".

De Klerk did not refer in his amnesty to exiled ANC militants, many of whom would probably be charged with terrorism.

Likening Pretoria's moves to a "lucky dip" where De Klerk chose what he liked, Jordan said: "What he regards as terrorism, we consider as people taking up arms to fight apartheid and for their freedom."

ANC militants and officials in Lusaka responded with some buoyancy and caution to Pretoria's measures.

"I am going home next week," another ANC member of the top policy-making committee, jokingly told reporters.

Chief ANC Information officer Tom Sebhina, who is apparently still listed in South Africa, indicated that the possibility could not be ruled out that he would be home in two years' time.

The PAC mission in exile was not available for comment yesterday.

Constitutional Minister J. Deneys Molloy said this week made the concession to exiles involved only those who were not known to have committed acts of violence in the country. He said the same principle involving the release

Names of 175 come off security list

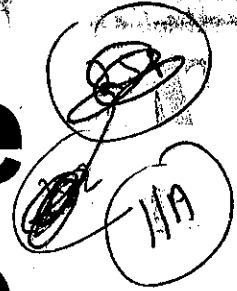
A total of 175 names have been removed from the Internal Security Act consolidated list.

These include Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, Tom Sebhina, Donald Woods, Helen Joseph, Marius Schoon, Albie Sachs, Archie Sibeko, the late Ruth Slovo, the late JB Marks, Harry Gwalá, Govan Mbeki and Rowley Arenstein.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee published notices repealing the prohibition of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the PAC, Poqo, and the South African Communist Party. - Sapa

To Page 2

Hit squad probe hailed as tribute to Abraham Tiro



9/11/1990

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into hit squad allegations is a tribute to Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro on the 16th anniversary of his death, said Black Consciousness Movement president Lybon Mabasa this week.

Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee announced this week that President De Klerk had decided to appoint a commission of inquiry to probe "murder and acts of violence allegedly committed with a political motive".

The decision was welcomed by the Black Consciousness Movement as a recognition of the existence of hit squad as early as the early 1970s.

Tiro, a South African Students' Organisation

member, was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana on February 3, 1974.

"Tiro's name has become synonymous with police harassment, hit squads and brutality in the political scene in South Africa," said Mabasa.

"He was the first young person to suffer a brutal death at the hands of political assassins in the employ of the State," he claimed.

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Dr Asvat, a well-known "people's doctor" was killed in his Rockville, Soweto, surgery in January last year.

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He said: "Comrade Tiro was respected as a leader by the Azanian nation because he belonged to the exploited of this country."

The organiser of the service, Mbongeni Banzinzi, said the BCM in Grahamstown, which had been very strong in the early 1980s had died down, but had been revived since last year.

■ From Page 1

C/Pres 4/2/90

11A



Nelson Mandela ... his release is expected in a few days and he will play a vital future role.

No more to be changed until policy made

C/Pres 4/2/90

ALL hangings have been stopped and no further executions will take place until Parliament has taken a decision on new government proposals.

The government has been considering the issue of hangings for some time and on April 27 last year the Minister of Justice indicated there was merit in suggestions for reform in this area.

The government feels it is now in a position to be able to make concrete

proposals for reform, after consultations with a broad range of bodies, including the Chief Justice and, through him, the benches and academics and other interested parties.

The following broad principles had been decided upon from a variety of options:

- That reform in the area was indicated;
- That the death penalty should be

limited as an option of sentence to extreme cases and specifically through broadening judicial discretion in the imposition of sentence; and

- That an automatic right of appeal be granted to those under sentence of death.

If the proposals are adopted they should have a significant influence on the imposition of death sentences and should ensure that every case in which a person has been sentenced to death will come to the attention of the Appellate Division.

No executions have taken place since November 14.

New and uncompleted cases will still be judged in terms of the existing law. Only when the death sentence is imposed will the new proposals be applied, as in the case of those currently awaiting execution. - Sapa.

'Time for violence to end, reconciliation to begin'

C/Pres 4/2/90

THE season of violence in Southern Africa was over and the time for reconstruction and reconciliation had arrived, De Klerk said.

He said Southern Africa now had an historical opportunity to set aside its conflicts and ideological differences and draw up a joint programme of reconstruction.

"It should be sufficiently attractive to ensure the region obtains adequate investment and loan capital from the industrial countries of the world. Unless Southern Africa achieves stability and a common approach to economic development rapidly, it will be faced by further decline and ruin."

The government was prepared to enter into discussions for formulating a development plan.

"The government believes the obstacles in the way of a conference of these states have now been removed sufficiently. Hostile postures have to be replaced by co-operative ones - confrontation by contact, disengagement by engagement, slogans by deliberate debate."

He said there had recently been unusually positive results in contacts and relations with other African states.

"During my visits to their countries I was received cordially, both in private and in public, by Presidents Mobutu, Chissano, Houphouet-Boigny and Kaufida.

These leaders expressed their clear concern about the serious economic problems in our part of the world. They agreed that South Africa could and should play a positive part in regional co-operation and development."

De Klerk said South Africa's positive contribution to the independence process in Namibia had been recognised internationally.

Similarly, its efforts to help bring an end to the domestic conflict in Mozambique and Angola had received positive acknowledgement.

Turning to foreign relations in a broader sense, De Klerk said that without contact and co-operation with the rest of the world: "We cannot promote the well-being and security of our citizens."

The year 1989 would go down in history as the year in which Stalinist Communism expired. These developments would entail unpredictable consequences for Europe, but they would also be of "decisive importance" to Africa.

"Indications are that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe will receive greater attention, while it will decline in the case of Africa."

The collapse, particularly of the economic system in Eastern Europe, also served as a warning to those who insisted on persisting with it in Africa. - Sapa

10

THE UNBANNINGS

Crowds sing freedom songs in city streets

By SOPHIE TEMA and SELLO SERIPE

PEOPLE took to Johannesburg's streets dancing and singing freedom songs after President FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and PAC on Friday.

Groups of excited people shouted at every street corner "Viva ANC, Viva PAC" as they moved down the streets with clenched fists raised.

"Release Mandela and bring back our brothers and sisters who are in exile to a free Azania," they shouted.

Sanna Twala, 72, from Soweto stood for almost 30 minutes at the corner of Eloff and Commissioner streets singing *Siyabonga Baba, Siyabonga Jesu* - "We thank you Father, we thank you Jesus" with tears streaming down her cheeks.

As she sang some people joined her in the chorus. She then stopped and said: "I am singing with joy in my heart because this is the day that I have always prayed for."

"I am grateful to God because little did I realise that people like Mandela would be released during my lifetime. I remember when I last saw Mandela. He had appeared in court on charges of treason. He was a

young and handsome lawyer and showed qualities of a good leader."

She said: "*Buya Madiba, buya uzosikhulula - come back Madiba, come and set us free.*" Madiba is Mandela's clan name.

Eva Sidumo said she was shocked when she suddenly saw a group of youths moving down Eloff Street carrying a Russian flag and singing freedom songs.

"I inquired from other people what was going on and was told that the ANC and PAC had been unbanned," she said.

"I thought that I heard them wrong. I then asked a white man who was standing in the doorway of a shop who confirmed that what I had heard was true. I have a brother in exile. And when I thought of his possible return to South Africa I got into a state of hysteria and loudly called out the name of De Klerk.

"I could not help but praise President de Klerk for the announcement and felt that if he was close to me I would shake his hand."

Ezrom Dube, a bank messenger, said: "Let our brothers and sisters come home. Let our leaders come out of exile then we can solve our problems together as a

nation."

"This is a good Friday," declared Welcome Mokoena, 27, of Mapetla. "Perhaps the Nobel Prize will go to FW de Klerk this year."

Adding that the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and the PAC was long overdue, Mokoena said he hoped the next step would be to halt the bloody Natal violence.

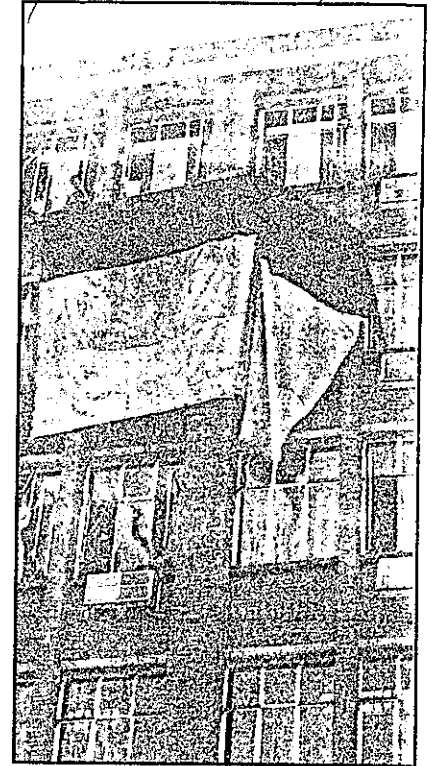
Petrus Phadi, 22, of Thokoza, said: "February 2 will go down in history as a very important day in South Africa. I hope it will be declared a public holiday."

De Klerk had earned the respect of the black masses, said Nicholas Mohare, 30, of Diepkloof Zone 4.

"However, as long as the exiles are not allowed to return home, the black masses will continue to pester the government."

"Eugene Terre Blanche can eat his heart out," said motor mechanic Peter Mokoatsi, 28, of Central Western Jabavu.

"His threats of carrying out violent acts against the black community will be met with resistance. Gone are the days when they (AWB) used to push us around in our country."



The ANC flag draped from a Hillbrow building.

Group rights under a new spotlight

APR 4/2/90

THE government is asking the Law Commission to investigate ways of protecting group rights in a future constitution.

President FW de Klerk said any constitution which disregarded the reality of South Africa's diverse population would be harmful.

The task given to the commission is to protect the human rights of all the country's citizens, as well as associations, minorities and nations.

"This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a

new constitution."

The commission must identify the main types and models of democratic constitutions, analyse ways the relevant rights are protected in each model and find ways in which such constitutions could be made to succeed.

De Klerk said he wanted the Law Commission to give priority to its current investigation into the protection of fundamental human rights.

He said the government accepted the principle of the recognition of the funda-

mental individual rights which formed the basis of most Western democracies.

"We acknowledge the most practical way of protecting those rights is by an independent judiciary.

"However it is clear a system for the protection of the rights of individuals, minorities and national entities has to form a balanced whole.

"The formal recognition of individual rights does not mean the problems of a heterogeneous population will simply disappear." - Sapa.

Others, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP. On this page we carry excerpts from the speech.

Surplus predicted for govt budget spending

APR 4/2/90

GOVERNMENT expenditure was now thoroughly under control and it appeared the year would close with a budget surplus.

Outlining the government's economic plans, De Klerk also said fiscal and monetary policy would be co-ordinated in the coming year to allow a continued easing of the tax burden - especially on individuals - the generation of surpluses on the current account of the balance of payments and reconstruction of gold and foreign reserves.

Referring to government spending, he said the government's financial year only ended in two months' time and several other important economic indicators for the 1989 calendar year were still subject to refinements.

"In respect of government expenditure, the budget for the current financial year will be the most accurate in many years.

The government intended to co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy in the coming financial year in a way which would ensure that the present downturn would take the form of a soft landing which would help to make adjustments

as easy as possible.

It was also intended the economy would consolidate before the next upward phase so that "we will be able to grow from a sound base".

He said a new South Africa was possible only if it was bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment.

The central message of the advice received by the government was that South Africa would have to make certain structural changes to its economy, just as its major trading partners had to do a decade or so ago.

Substantial progress had already been made towards reducing the State's role in the economy.

This had been achieved by restricting capital expenditure in parastatal institutions, by privatisation, deregulation and curtailing government expenditure.

This did not mean the State would give up its indispensable development role. The government would concentrate an "equitable portion of its capacity" on these aims. - Sapa.

ANC

APR 4/2/90

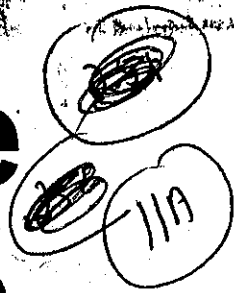
11A TIMELINE

Through 30 years of persecution and exile, of underground action and guerrilla war against apartheid, the ANC has embodied the aspirations of millions of South African blacks.

This is how the ANC has come up through the years:

- 1912 The ANC began as a cautious middle-class group whose appeals against the removal of blacks' land and civil rights failed to moderate government race policies.
- 1948 Young radicals like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu took over the leadership after the white Afrikaner National Party's electoral victory.
- 1952 The ANC backed the first systematic campaign against the government when thousands of blacks were arrested for defying discriminatory apartheid laws.
- 1955 The ANC organises a congress and adopts "The Freedom Charter" at Kliptown calling for a non-racial democracy.
- 1959 Divisions within the movement led to creation of the PAC, which objected to white participation, argued for black self-reliance in the fight against white rule and proposed South Africa be renamed Azania.
- 1960 The ANC is banned and it forms a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Other movements banned are the SACP and the PAC. The ANC bases itself in Zambia, while the PAC moves to Tanzania.
- 1963 Mandela and most other ANC leaders had been caught and sentenced to life imprisonment.
- 1976-1986 After years of stagnation, the ANC gained new waves of young recruits when new South African opposition groups and youth revolts were crushed.
- 1988 ANC guerrillas mined South African border roads, ambushed black policemen and planted bombs in public places. But the organisation renounced attacks on civilian "soft targets" in August.
- 1990 The ANC, PAC and SACP are unbanned.

Hit squad probe hailed as tribute to Abraham Tiro



9/11/90

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into hit squad allegations is a tribute to Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro on the 16th anniversary of his death, said Black Consciousness Movement president Lybon Mabasa this week.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced this week that President De Klerk had decided to appoint a commission of inquiry to probe "murder and acts of violence allegedly committed with a political motive".

The decision was welcomed by the Black Consciousness Movement as a recognition of the existence of hit squad as early as the early 1970s.

Tiro, a South African Students' Organisation

member, was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana on February 3, 1974.

"Tiro's name has become synonymous with police harassment, hit squads and brutality in the political scene in South Africa," said Mabasa.

"He was the first young person to suffer a brutal death at the hands of political assassins in the employ of the State," he claimed.

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He said: "Comrade Tiro was respected as a leader by the Azanian nation because he belonged to the exploited of this country."

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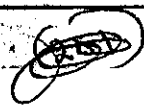


PHOTO BY SANDILE MEMELA



People demonstrate their joy in spontaneous rallies in Johannesburg.

Protest rally became a march of triumph

C/Pres 4/2/90 11A

THE MDM-organised protest march in Cape Town against the tricameral political system in South Africa changed into victory celebrations at the historic Grand Parade when the unbanning of the ANC by President FW de Klerk was announced.

But in Greenmarket Square, Winnie Mandela, sharing a platform with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said "we warn De Klerk we will not be prepared to accept a bone with no meat".

Tutu told the marchers: "We are not anybody's doormat. We are marching as part of our struggle for justice and peace. We are walking so you will be able to give the police real police work -

so that they will arrest murderers and criminals and hit squads."

Pausing outside the House of Assembly, the crowd broke into loud chants of "Viva ANC" and spokesmen called over loud-hailers for the dissolution of Parliament.

An ANC flag was draped over the head of the nearby statue of General Jan Smuts.

Most shop-owners in Adderley Street closed their doors as the marchers walked past but reopened for business again as soon as the road was clear.

At the end of the march on the Grand Parade leaders spoke to the crowd. Among those present at the rally were UDF national vice-president Archie Gumede, UDF treasurer Mohammed Valli Moosa and recently-released treason trialists Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe.

National Union of Metalworkers general secretary Moses Mayekiso said "we want De Klerk to announce the dissolution of Parliament today".

However, he said it would be unreasonable if the people failed to acknowledge De Klerk's "bold and courageous concessions".

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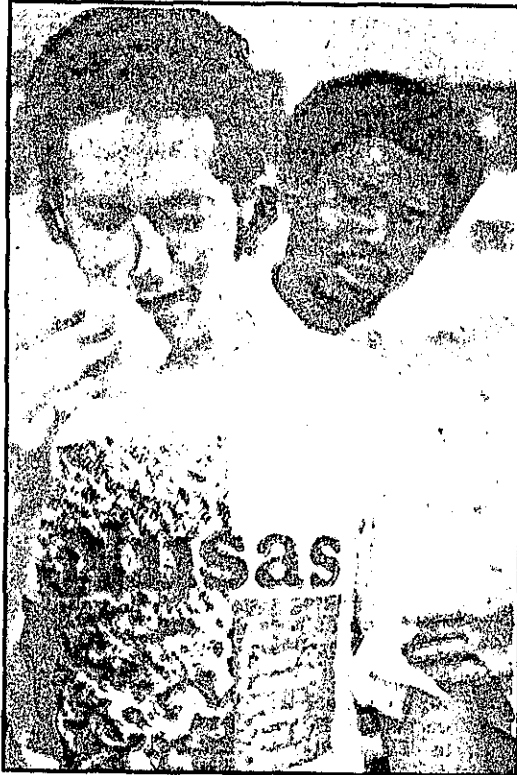
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Capt Attie Laubscher of the local police liaison department said police were satisfied that the march went off peacefully, but that incidents of stonethrowing were reported from four railway stations when the marchers returned home.

Two policemen and one member of the public were slightly injured, he said. - Sapa.



Wits SRC president John Beagle was hurt when police broke up a demonstration on campus.



Demonstrators march past the Parliament building in Cape Town and down Adderley Street to Grand Parade.

LONG Live... FW.
That's what one poster read shortly after the National

Party leader made his historic announcement in Parliament on Friday.

Yes, FW de Klerk. Are you surprised? You shouldn't be.

The bearer of the poster? No, he was not a black nor a "coloured" nor an Indian. He was also not a political activist - but what you would describe as the man in the street.

The logical thing to have done was to stop and ask the man the reason why he thought FW should live long. But like many other people walking the streets of Johannesburg I was too engrossed and excited about FW's announcement.

Were the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party really unbanned? Inconceivable, I would have said a few years ago.

What are the implications? Does this mean they can now campaign and mobilise the masses freely and openly without fear of prosecution? I kept asking myself. And I'm sure South Africans from all walks of life are also asking this question.

After 30 years - that's when the ANC, PAC and the SACP were banned and forced to operate under

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

**Viva ANC, PAC
and ... FW!**



ground - does it mean those who went into exile because of their commitment to these organisations can come back home?

Despite the ruthless way the government treated these organisations, they relentlessly continued to fight for their survival.

Inside the country, the fight to keep the ANC alive was never stopped. Many people went to jail simply because they identified themselves with the movement.

Not long ago one man was sentenced to four years in prison because his coffee mug bore an ANC inscription.

A friend was kept in solitary confinement for nearly a year because security police found *Sechaba*, an ANC bulletin, in his possession. Suffice to say

my friend was forced into exile soon after his release because the police promised to make his life miserable.

There are numerous other stories of people who were on the wrong side of the law simply because they were sympathetic towards the ANC. With a stroke of a pen FW has reversed all that.

Perhaps the lone poster bearer had a point. FW did the unthinkable. He did what his predecessors failed to do. He is prepared to tolerate a dissenting voice - and not only that, he says he is prepared to sit around the table and talk. Commendable stuff.

The poster reminded me of many white South Africans and foreigners who never stopped asking any black person they got a

chance to meet about what the ANC or PAC had in mind for this country.

FW has now opened that door.

There is, of course, a lot we still expect from the State President. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act are still very much on the statute books.

The Land Act of 1936 and 1913 which deprived blacks of their land has still to be addressed.

The road ahead for FW, and his government is not an easy one. However, of all the NP leaders before him, he will go down in history as a bold man who took the bull by its horns.

I was asked by one caller about the future of the MDM, UDF, Azapo and many other organisations that mushroomed after

the banning of the ANC and PAC 30 years ago.

It can now be said - and thanks to FW - that all these organisations would not have been there in the first place had the PAC and the ANC not been banned.

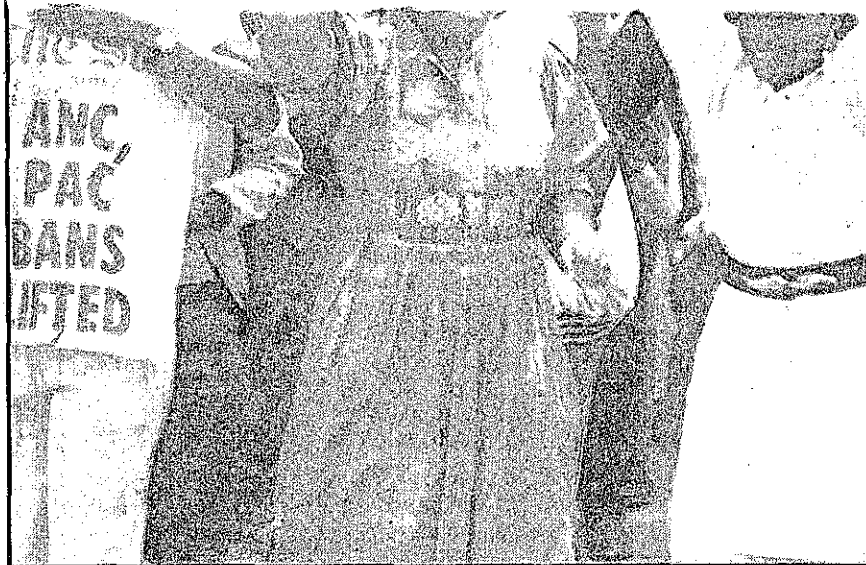
The time has finally come that they disband and throw in their lot with these two organisations. This will clear up the confusion we learnt to live with over so many years and help create a climate for unity.

We know the PAC and ANC have to iron out their differences, but is it not time to form an alliance before we go to the negotiating table?

FW has shown he is a pragmatic politician who seems prepared to put his money where his mouth is. Since becoming State President he has not deviated from his promise to work towards a totally changed South Africa.

He should be encouraged to move further by scrapping all apartheid laws. This is the time for our leaders to go back to the drawing board and work out a strategy to force further changes.

In the coming days we want to see more posters saying: "Long Live ANC", "Long Live PAC" and "Long Live FW" - and down with those who think change in this country is impossible.



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C/Proc 4/2/90

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SACP recalls its founder members



Gladys Marks.



John Marks.

By SOPHIE TEMA

2/2/88

11A

AS THE SACP celebrates its unbanning this week it will also look back sadly to the death of its founder member John Marks, the man who sacrificed his life for the organisation. *Agnes 4/2/90*

He died in exile and was buried in Moscow at "Heroes' Acres" close to Moses Kotane - who was known as "the man on the motorbike" because he rallied schools along the Reef on a motorbike for the boycott of Bantu Education introduced in black schools in 1952.

Gladys Marks, 82, his widow, this week recalled the efforts her husband made and the dreams he had for a free South Africa.

She remembered how her husband had prophesied: "The new generation will fight for their rights and they will obtain their freedom."

Gladys said she wished her husband was alive to share in this great moments with all the people of this country, and the fruit of the efforts of all those who sacrificed their lives and families for a better South Africa.

In 1984 Gladys visited the grave of her husband and that of Kotane in Moscow.

During her visit she was accompanied and assisted by Moscow authorities and welcomed by South African exiles who provided a huge wreath which was laid on the grave of her husband.

"What De Klerk, has now done will not be forgotten," she said.

CATL Trips 5/2/90

~~114~~ 114



MEDIA ATTENTION ... A young boy with a wooden gun, dancing a toyi-toyi, is filmed by foreign media outside the Roman Catholic Church in Khayelitsha, on Saturday, where almost 3 000 people gathered for a "victory celebration".

DANCE OF JOY ... A young Khayelitsha resident chants as he does a "victory" toyi-toyi outside the Roman Catholic Church at the weekend.

Pictures: OBED ZILWA

What you couldn't read - but now can!

South 5/2 -14/2790

IT is now legal to possess ANC publications. **Q11a**
SOUTH summarises parts of a recent issue of "Sechaba,"
the ANC monthly magazine, to indicate what South
Africans until now were not allowed to read. **Q11a**

The editorial says the struggle has had its successes and should be continued.

"The defiance campaign must continue The struggle of the working class must go on, organised in militant and united trade unions. The armed struggle is a method of resistance which we cannot relinquish yet. The campaign for sanctions must continue."

"Sechaba" also published statements to the welcome-back rally for the seven ANC prisoners released in October last year from the president, Mr Oliver Tambo; one of the released prisoners, Mr Walter Sisulu; from the SA Communist Party (SACP), and from the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The SACP said "our people" had been unbanning the ANC and the SACP in recent months in mass defiance.

"It is with pride that we have seen our Party's red flag flying side by side with the black, green and gold of the national liberation movement.

"This symbol expresses the indestructibility of our historic alliance."

The ANC International page was devoted to a speech by Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC international department, to the Southern African Coalition in London on the sanctions campaign, and part of his address to anti-apartheid activists in Switzerland on the

By NOEL BRUYNS

Harare Document.

The magazine included a message from those on Death Row, and a story entitled "End apartheid executions!" There was a profile on trade unionist Vuyisile Mini, one of the first ANC patriots to be hanged by the apartheid regime 25 years ago.

"Sechaba" featured an interview with Sue Dobson, the undercover ANC activist who worked as a press officer at the Bureau for Information in Pretoria. Dobson spoke of "disinformation and dirty tricks in Namibia" to promote Pretoria and discredit Swapo.

Dobson's husband, Peter, spoke to "Sechaba" about sanctions-busting strategies used by Pretoria to acquire computer technology and the use of computers in the SA Defence Force.

The magazine featured extracts of a paper by exiled South African lawyer Kader Asmal on "The illegitimacy of the apartheid regime in international law."

The fact that the ANC is now unbanned and one may possess its literature will mean that ordinary South Africans will have access to more information on what Pretoria does not want them to know.

We should be in for much more interesting reading from now on

ANC will talk to big business — Nzo

STOCKHOLM — The African National Congress (ANC) remains committed to nationalisation, but an ANC government in South Africa would seek negotiation with big business, its secretary-general said.

"The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get the resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes," Mr Alfred Nzo said.

"We have stated in public documents we are for a mixed economy," said Mr Nzo, who has joined veteran ANC leaders in

Sweden for a reunion and informal talks.

"There is the question of nationalisation that people are so worried about. A democratic government still needs to have resources to deal with problems in the interests of the people," he said.

Mr Nzo was asked what role could be played by South African business leaders such as Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, the country's biggest company, and an outspoken op-

ponent of apartheid.

Mr Nzo confirmed that an ANC government would negotiate with big business over its economic plans, but said a democratic government could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources.

"If Mr Gavin Relly owns an establishment that controls the economy of the country and he owns it alone and it exists only to feed Mr Gavin Relly, you cannot as a democratic government satisfy the conditions of the people," he said.

Last month, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said in a statement from prison that nationalisation of South Africa's mines, banks and monopoly industries was ANC policy, and any modification of this view was inconceivable.

South African businessmen have expressed disappointment at Mr Mandela's statement, which was issued to disprove a report from a black entrepreneur who said the ANC leader now favoured free enterprise. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tutu to adopt lower profile

STAR 5/21/90
By Guy Jepson

11A

Archbishop Desmond Tutu will downgrade his high profile political role as a result of the dramatic changes ushered in by President de Klerk on Friday.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament, Archbishop Tutu said the unbanning of political organisations, the release of jailed leaders and the return of political exiles changed his role in South Africa.

More reports on Pages 6, 13

"I have said I am really an interim leader," he said on Friday.

"But now there is not going to be as much need for people such as me to be speaking out and saying things which others could not say because they were restricted, in jail or in exile."

REVIEW SANCTIONS CALL

On the question of sanctions, the Archbishop said he and other church leaders had adopted the position that they would review their call for sanctions if the process of dismantling apartheid reached a stage where it was irreversible.

He said this stage had not necessarily been reached but he indicated his wish to consult church leaders and his bishops on the matter.

● In Cambridge, Massachusetts, Archbishop Tutu yesterday urged fellow-members of Harvard University's governing board to back disinvestment in South Africa until the changes promised by President de Klerk become reality, reports Sapa-AP.

SA envoy challenges ANC to talk

STRAC 5/12/90
The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — South Africa's Ambassador to The Hague, Mr A E Nothnagel, has challenged the ANC to return to South Africa and negotiate.

Speaking to the ANC's London representative, Mr Aziz Pahad, on Dutch radio, he said: "If you are really genuine in what you say, there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time still remain in London ... Let the people of Africa come back to South Africa, and let us decide what the future should be."

Referring to ANC reservations about President de Klerk's speech, he added: "I think with all these preconditions really you, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr de Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table."

(11) PRECONDITIONS

Mr Pahad responded: "We have preconditions ... we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London ... We have already said our organisation is based inside (South Africa), our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is in the process of discussion and we will work that out in a quiet, systematic way."

"Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation."



Children of the townships celebrate the unbanning of political organisations announced by State President de Klerk on Friday. Scores of children took to the streets in Rockville, Soweto, on Sunday. © Picture by Alf Kumalo.

the crowd of 700 singing Swedes at a four-hour long anti-apartheid rally here. "Terrorists" whose names have echoed through black townships for the past three decades; Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo both fresh from a meeting at the Kremlin, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg... and Oliver Tambo recuperating in a Swedish clinic from a stroke. Many in exile for half their lives, the ANC's leadership say they now await word from President de Klerk on their homecoming.

The white father of the anti-apartheid movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, called the ANC leaders "great freedom fighters" and said it was an unforgettable and historical reunion which would lead in time to the "total liberation" of South Africa. Mr Walter Sisulu then paid tribute to the Swedes — who in 1988 alone gave the ANC 70 million krona (R28 million) — and thanked them for granting the Nobel Peace Prize to Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Tutu.

STAR 57490
Exiles dance for joy at 4-hour rally

The Star's Foreign News Service **11A**
STOCKHOLM — They met, they sang and they danced like they never did before — 20 of Pretoria's newly unbanned revolutionaries together yesterday for the first time in more than 30 years. One by one they came up before

Don't become complacent, blacks warned

PIETERSBURG — The announcements on Friday by President de Klerk merely restored the position of the oppressed to that which prevailed prior to the bannings in 1960, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) said in Harare at the weekend.

The organisation said Mr de Klerk's announcements fell short of even that position because political prisoners and other "combatants of the liberation movement" were still re-

garded as criminals.

The BCMA cautioned black people against complacency and said developments around Friday's historic announcements had the potential of "making our dispossession and impoverishment permanent".

It said the agenda for negotiations had already been limited in order to protect white privilege under the term "minority group rights".

This would probably mean that the Government would re-

tain the Land Act, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, which were "the pillars of the system".

"The oppressed and exploited people of Azania need to watch closely the developments around this process. Arrangements made under it could make our dispossession and impoverishment permanent."

● At a meeting of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) held in Pietersburg on Saturday, it was resolved that all efforts to free "the oppressed" should continue as before.

The meeting also resolved that sanctions were one tool in the hands of the oppressed black majority which had been used to bring freedom to the country.

It was emphasised that sanctions had not been applied to bring the Government to the negotiating table but to achieve freedom.

The meeting endorsed the position of the exiled BCMA that the unbanning of political organisations was not sufficient action by the Government in order to have sanctions lifted.

Mr de Klerk's announcement on Friday fell far short of creating that situation and was therefore no cause for jubilation, Azapo said. — Sapa.

STAR 9/2/90 (114)

The left contemplates forming a united front

By ESMARNE VAN DER MERWE of the Political Staff

AR645
5/2/90 (11A)

SEVERAL extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding and merging with the African National Congress in the wake of its unbanning last week.

POLITICS

Extra-parliamentary sources said yesterday the issue of dissolution in order to officially join ANC ranks was being hotly discussed at grassroots and leadership levels.

Many organisations which have sprung up to take the place of others which have been restricted, would either amalgamate with their predecessors or disband completely to merge with the ANC.

Others subscribing to the Freedom Charter would, however, not dissolve because of their specific constituencies. These included women's organisations, trade unions and youth organisations.

On the other hand, sources said, existing women's organisations could join the ANC women's league and youth bodies could become part of the ANC's youth league.

Two of the oldest and most prominent organisations in the liberation movement considering disbanding are the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee said it was "very likely" that the organisa-

tion — formed in the early 1900s and officially part of the congress alliance of the early 1950s — would now disband.

"The TIC has always accepted the leadership of the ANC in the liberation movement. Our vision is based on a non-racial democratic society. There seems to be very little reason for ethnic groups to continue."

Future

Another source said although "it is early days", many organisations in the Mass Democratic Movement were currently considering their future role.

"We have to make sure that we will not lose members in the process of transformation — we have to take our communities or specific constituencies with us. The decision is mainly an organisational one."

He said one possibility was to convert local structures into ANC offices and branches.

Other organisations who are debating the issue are the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organisation formed in 1983, and the South African Youth Congress.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said the UDF would take a decision on whether to join the ANC at a national council meeting from April 6 to 9.

Sayco general secretary, Mr Rapu Malekena, announced at the weekend that the organisation would disband to merge with the

ANC, which was leading the "revolution".

The Pan-Africanist Movement, which has claimed it is not a shadow organisation for the Pan-African Congress (also unbanned on Friday), would probably also disappear. The two organisations jointly addressed a press conference on Friday.

The question of a realignment of extra-parliamentary forces is but one of many which would become crucial in the weeks to come.

The National Party government — revelling in the international and local praise still pouring in after President De Klerk's dramatic speech on Friday — has placed the ball squarely in the court of the black majority.

Government opponents will have to address many issues.

Structures

One is the return of thousands of exiles, estimated at up to 50 000, and the creation of official structures.

Another is inevitable power struggles between hardliners and moderates, aggressive young leaders and the old guard, supporters of communism and those in favour of a mixed economy.

The ANC and internal organisations have already indicated that President De Klerk had not gone far

enough for exiles to return or the armed struggle to be abolished.

Some activists disagreed with Mr De Klerk's view that all people were now free to participate in negotiations.

Many restrictive laws still existed, people could still be charged with terrorism, and exiles could not return as they had not been offered immunity from arrest, they said.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, foreign affairs spokesman, yesterday said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remained an obstacle to the suspension of violence.

Prisoners

It was unlikely that the ANC would agree to a staged release of political prisoners, or that exiles would return to South Africa before all political prisoners were released.

The ending of apartheid could not happen by continuing to divide South Africans along racial lines, but he said it was likely the ANC would agree to certain requirements — such as separate electoral rolls — during the period of transition towards the abolition of apartheid.

ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan said in Lusaka at the weekend the organisation would not shift its headquarters to South Africa, nor abandon its military campaign.

STAR 5/2/90

(11A) ()

Fight will continue — ANC

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders have cautiously welcomed South Africa's reforms but pledged to continue the armed struggle for the time being.

For most of the veteran nationalists, President de Klerk's announcement on Friday that the ANC is now legal was only the start of the reform process they are demanding.

"They just have to give in to us. If they do not, it is just hard luck," Mr Govan Mbeki (79) told a rally of Swedish anti-apartheid campaigners in Stockholm.

"If it seems this announcement is a change of heart, we must not believe it," Mr Mbeki said, adding that he believed white racism in South Africa remained unchanged.

EXILED MEMBERS

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu (77), released in October after 25 years behind bars, said Mr de Klerk had to make clear the legal position of exiled nationalists who face terrorism charges if they return to South Africa.

The ANC leaders said the armed struggle would continue for the time being and urged their supporters in Sweden to keep up economic sanctions on Pretoria.

"It is going to take a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered," said Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, which was also legalised by Mr de Klerk on Friday. Mr Slovo is also a member of the ANC's executive council.

In Lusaka, the ANC said at the weekend that it would not suspend guerilla actions, but conceded that its military campaign was likely to receive a "lower profile" than in the past.

"We have always said that the notion of the ANC unilaterally abandoning armed struggle is out of the question," said ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan. — Sapa-Reuter.

Groups have 'never recognised Govt'

Intensify struggle, urge Pan-Africanists

By Jovial Rantao

Pan-Africanist organisations say the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP has no meaning to them and they have called for the struggle to be intensified on all fronts.

Spokesman Mr Cutter Seleka said at the weekend that five organisations which belong to the Pan-Africanist structure had never recognised the legitimacy of the South African Government.

The organisations are the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Movement, the Pan African Students Organisation and the Africanist Women's Organisation.

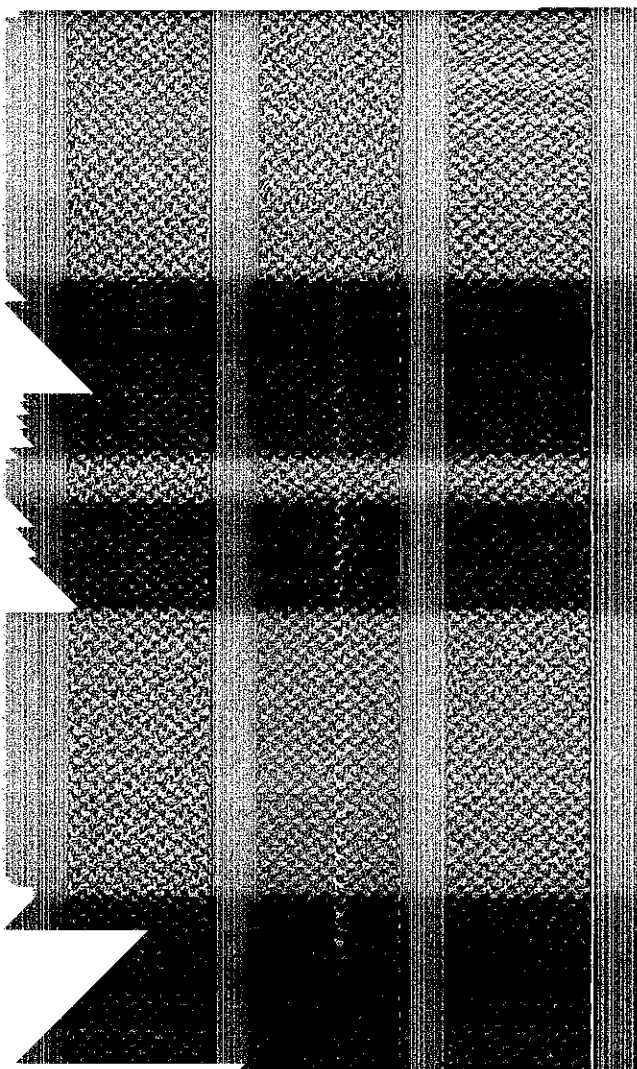
"We have not, for the past 30 years, recognised

the banning of our organisations and therefore Friday's announcements mean nothing to us."

As far as the Pan-Africanist organisations were concerned, political changes, such as those announced on Friday, did not affect their political programmes, Mr Seleka said.

"We make a clarion call to our people to intensify the struggle on all fronts. We also urge members of the international community to be always vigilant to President de Klerk, George Bush and Margaret Thatcher's manipulations, so as not to withdraw the weapon of sanctions."

He said the organisations demanded "the return of the land to its rightful owners and the establishment of a socialist order".



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and United Democratic Front secretary Mr Patrick Lekota are greeted by Ms Zenani Mandela-Dlamini upon their arrival in Boston on Saturday.

It's still too early for celebrations, says Tutu

BOSTON — Jubilation over the pending release of Nelson Mandela must be tempered with the realisation that apartheid is far from ended, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop, who is visiting Boston, urged continued political and economic pressure on South Africa.

"We have not yet the complete dismantling of apartheid and this is the pinpoint of the sanctions programme. We want apartheid totally dismantled," he said.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's promise to free Mr Mandela in the near future, Archbishop Tutu said his initial reaction was joy, but that soon faded.

"Of course, you see apartheid is still in place," he said.

The archbishop said he was looking forward to relinquishing his position as

South Africa's pre-eminent opponent of apartheid now that Mr Mandela was to be released from prison.

"I said long ago that I was just an interim leader until he comes out," he said. "He's been making us work too hard."

THINK-TANK

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. They were met at Logan International Airport by Mr Themba Vilakazi, head of the Boston-based Fund for a Free South Africa. Mr Vilakazi had just returned from Zambia.

The group was met by Ms Zenani Mandela Dlamini (30), eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and a political science student at Boston University.

Archbishop Tutu, a member of Harvard University's board of overseers, was in Boston to attend a meeting at the school.

Mr Lekota said he planned to attend a meeting of the Albert Einstein Institute, a Cambridge think-tank which advocates the use of non-violent sanctions to solve political unrest.

Mr Mandela's daughter, greeted fondly by the archbishop, told reporters she was sceptical of the recent changes in South Africa, despite the news that her father would be released soon.

"This has been going on for 300 years," she said. "What happened on Friday, I'm not overly excited about it. Release some political prisoners? To me, that's nothing. We want total majority voting in South Africa. Until that happens, I will not be satisfied." — Associated Press.

Police plea on ANC weapons

51240 By Craig Kotze

(11A)

Police have urged all members of the ANC's armed wing inside South Africa to hand over their weapons and explosives — but warned that perpetrators of terrorism and other crimes would be hunted down relentlessly.

President F W de Klerk on Friday unbanned the ANC, PAC and the SA Communist Party. The unbanning of the ANC includes members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said members of

Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country could hand over their weapons to police, or contact police anonymously and say where the weapons could be found.

"But we must stress — the SAP will not cease its vigilance in combating terror and other crimes. Everyone will have to accept that we will hunt down relentlessly all perpetrators of violence and terrorism," Brigadier Mellet said.

Police would continue to investigate crimes already committed, such as murders, explosions and acts of terror.

Snags still block Mandela's release

STAR 5/290 (11A)

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Snags concerning the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are still standing in the way of any rapid move for official contact between the Government and the ANC.

This emerged today as the Government was waiting to hear the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiatives on Friday. The response will determine whether the Government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Sources close to Mr Mandela indicated today that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems — not just administrative ones — which still appear to be holding up Mr Mandela's release.

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was "out of the question" that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency. Sources also point out the definition of who was a political prisoner qualifying for amnesty was also likely to be a point of difference.

Mr Mandela's opinion was that all ANC operatives — even those guilty of offences such as terrorism and murder — should qualify for amnesty because they had committed the offences within the armed struggle.

The sources believe the chances of Mr Mandela's release during the next week or two were fading because of the snags.

National Party sources on the other hand are expecting Mr Mandela to be released any time from the end of this week, once the impact of Mr de Klerk's announcements on Friday has had time to sink in. It seems the Government is prepared to discuss these problems, but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu is reported to be flying to South Africa to deliver the ANC's official response to President de Klerk's initiative.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether Mr Sisulu would see Mr de Klerk to deliver the response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Mr Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

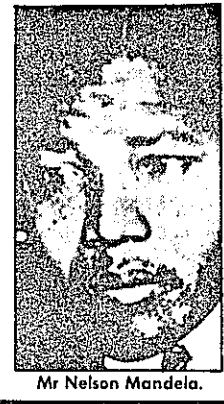
See Pages 2, 6, 7, 13 and 14

They said they believed the "talks about talks" would begin with Mr Mandela once he was freed.

Several extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding to merge with the African National Congress in the wake of its unbanning last week.

Extra-parliamentary sources said yesterday that the issue of disbanding to join ANC ranks officially was being hotly discussed at grassroots and leadership levels.

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Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Star's comprehensive guide to Nelson Mandela

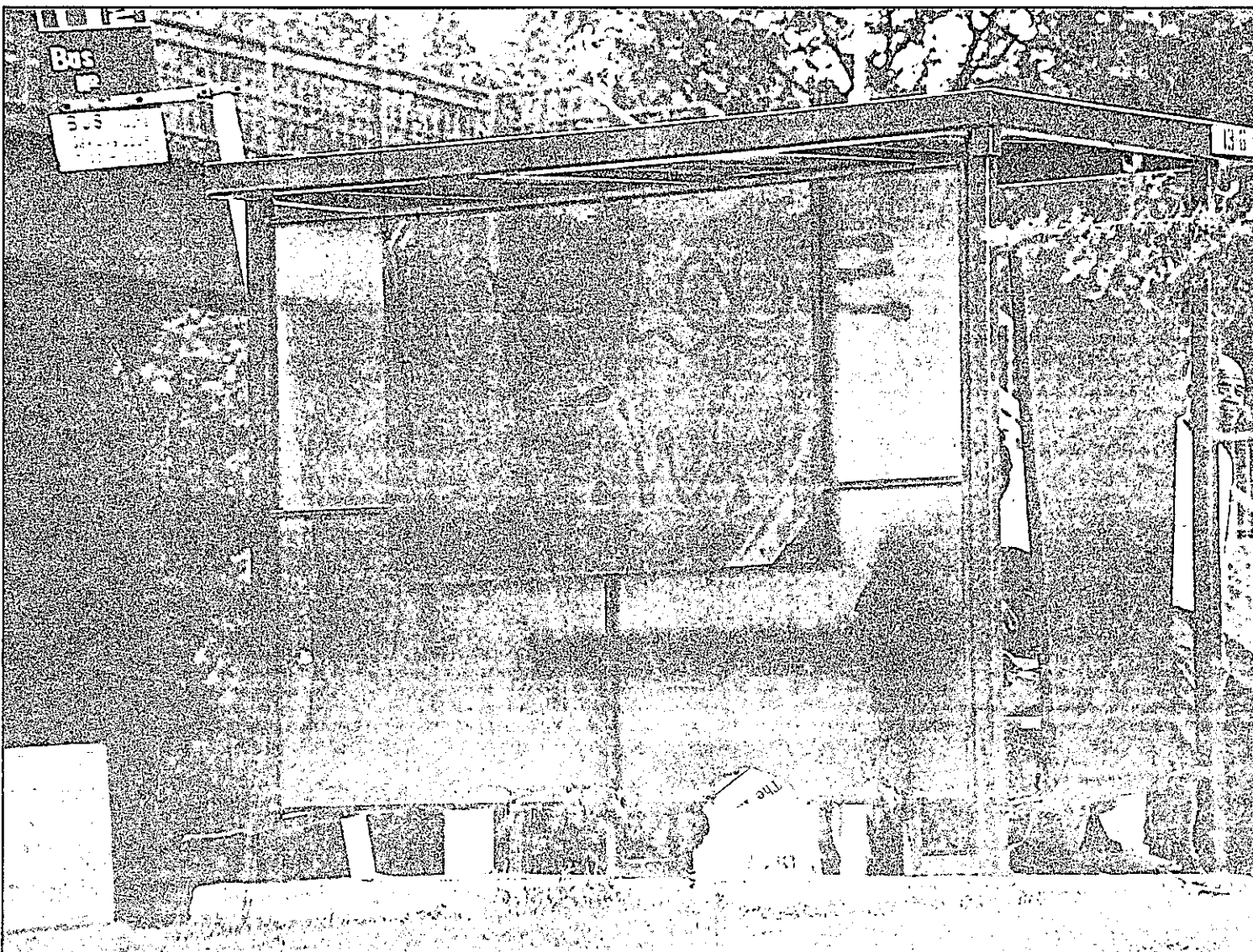
What do you really know about Nelson Mandela? Today, especially in South Africa, he is more myth and mystery than man.

Several "instant" paperback books on the world's most famous prisoner will be marketed worldwide in the coming months.

But this week The Star brings you a special eight-page daily supplement, which, by Friday, will tell you more than you have ever known about the life and style of Nelson Mandela.

Don't miss the beginning of this dramatic, detailed series.

Don't miss one chapter of this four-part, 32-page collectors' biography. It's in The Star from tomorrow.



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Others subscribing to the Freedom Charter would, however, not dissolve because of their specific constituencies.

These included women's organisations, trade unions and youth organisations.

Two of the oldest and most prominent organisations in the liberation movement which are considering disbanding are the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress.

Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) president Mr Cassim Saloojee said it was "very likely" the organisation — formed in the early 1900s and officially part of the Congress alliance of the early 1950s — would now disband.

Mr de Klerk said on television last night that the Government was prepared to discuss all reasonable problems.

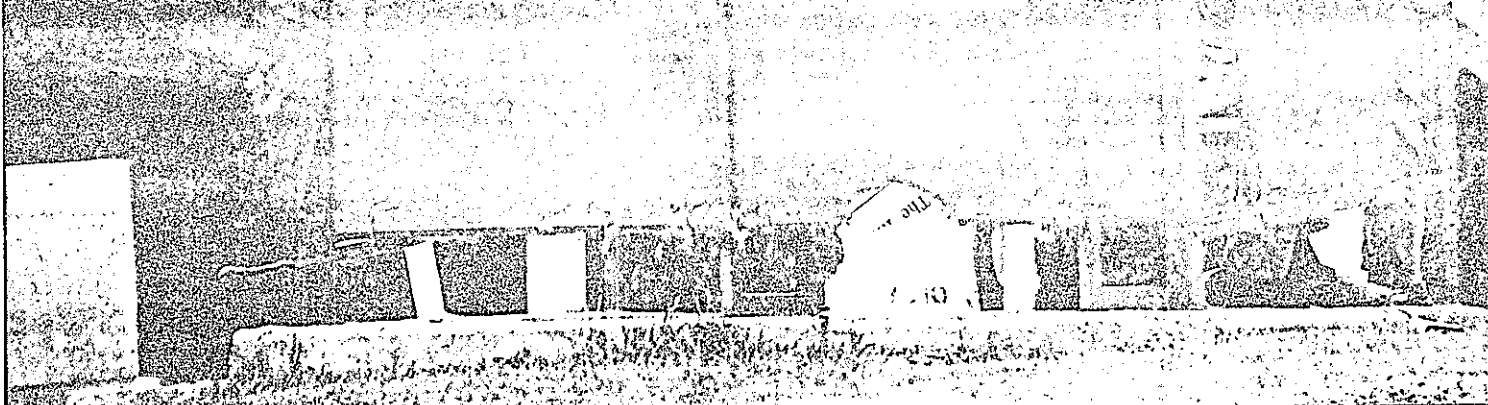
He said the door was open for negotiations and the ANC was not disadvantaged by the state of emergency as it applied to all parties.

The ball was in the ANC's court and they were in the limelight. If they continued to call for sanctions and planned violence they would have no moral ground and would be seen as enemies of peace.

The world would then turn against them and they would also face a united front of South Africans. His decisions meant that the organisations could no longer justify violence with the excuse that they had no choice because they were banned.

They would now have to put standpoint to standpoint in open debate and he was not afraid to enter into debate with them. After the collapse of communism, the ANC would have to make the difficult decision whether to renounce this failed ideology or to defend it.

There is some evidence that international pressure could start to be exerted on the ANC if it does not respond positively to Mr de Klerk's speech.



The northern suburbs of Johannesburg are not normally noted for their pro-Government graffiti. But this lyrical little piece of political spray-painting, on a bus stop on Jan Smuts Avenue near Empire Road, is typical of the rash of FW-friendly responses since his dramatic speech on Friday. © Picture by David Sandison.

Man foils robbery attempt, arrests 2

A 32-year-old man overpowered two assailants and recovered R20 000 they had allegedly stolen from him minutes before at Ouklip Garage in Wilro Park early yesterday.

Police said Mr Andre Potgieter was held at gunpoint by three men at 7.15 am. They demanded money and he handed over R20 000. But he overpowered and arrested two of them and recovered his money as well as the gun they had used. — West Rand Bureau.

The Bookie's Bet

Vaal tomorrow: Best bet — Liberty Lane, race 3. Best eachway — Lindross, race 6.

Security review after shots fired at embassy

572180 Pretoria Bureau and Sapa (344)

The British embassy is reviewing security at its five offices countrywide after unidentified people believed to be members of a right-wing organisation fired shots at its embassy in Pretoria yesterday.

Earlier in the weekend, graffiti saying "The right-wing struggle begins now" was sprayed on the iron railings surrounding the embassy compound in Hill Street, Pretoria.

The Transvaal Republic Vierkleur was hoisted on a flagpole in the grounds just after midnight yesterday.

The British government yesterday held urgent talks with the SA Police and Department of Foreign Affairs on the incident and requested all-night armed protection outside the embassy. This is now being provided by police.

Mr John Sawers, press liaison officer for the embassy, said "at least three shots" were fired.

He said: "It is suspected that the attack by the right wing might have come about because we, the British government, have emphasised our support for the decisions announced by President de Klerk."

Police are investigating the incident.

De-censored

The Star is no longer operating under the media regulations.

We are able to report without having to resort to devices to get round the restrictions, though still having to watch carefully the security laws.

Photographs of demonstrators and police actions in "unrest" are still banned, but we shall continue to challenge the regulations and keep readers aware of events and informed of censorship.

Police plea on ANC weapons (251)

572140 By Craig Kotze (11A)

Police have urged all members of the ANC's armed wing inside South Africa to hand over their weapons and explosives — but warned that perpetrators of terrorism and other crimes would be hunted down relentlessly.

President FW de Klerk on Friday unbanned the ANC, PAC and the SA Communist Party. The unbanning of the ANC includes members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said members of

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"But we must stress — the SAP will not cease its vigilance in combating terror and other crimes. Everyone will have to accept that we will hunt down relentlessly all perpetrators of violence and terrorism," Brigadier Mellet said.

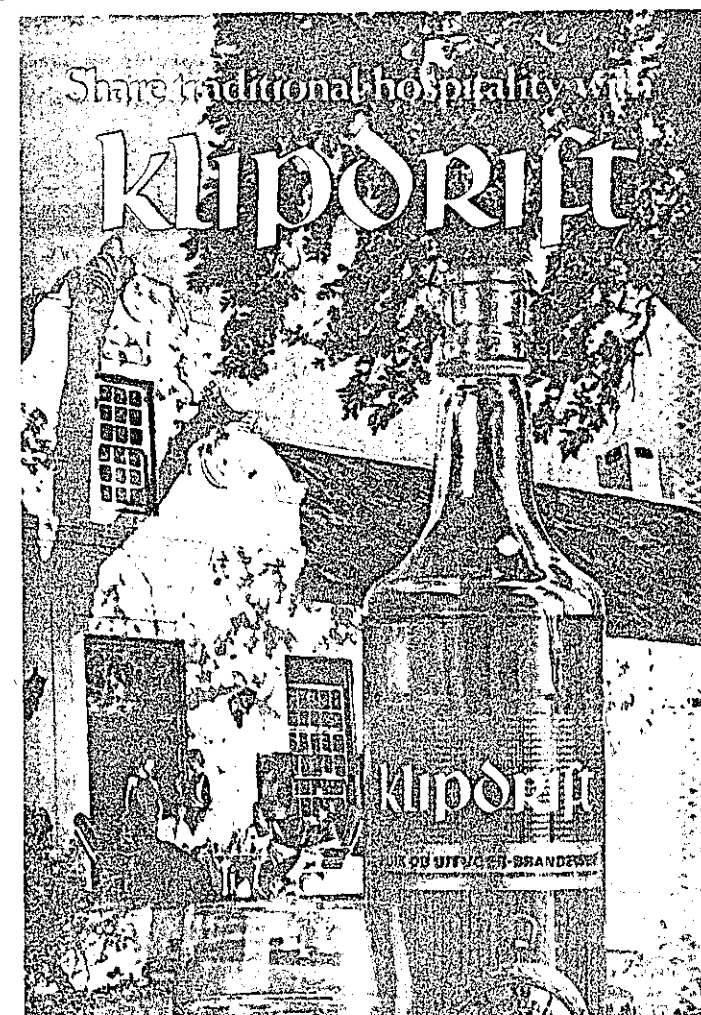
Police would continue to investigate crimes already committed, such as murders, explosions and acts of terror.

Lifting of 30-year gag too late for listed Anne

The official gag on Mrs Anne Heymann of Johannesburg was lifted this weekend after more than three decades — but she died of pneumonia in hospital on Saturday.

Mrs Heymann was listed as a former member of the SA Communist Party. On Friday President de Klerk announced the lifting of restrictions on listed people.

Mrs Heymann, of Norwood, is survived by her husband, Mr Isaac "Issy" Heymann, whose name has also been removed from the list.





SUPPORT GROUP ... Supporters of the ANC dance with the organisation's flag outside the Supreme Court yesterday where the terrorism trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and 13 others resumed after a six-week recess. There was intense media interest in the trial following speculation that charges may be withdrawn against some of the accused following an announcement by State President F W de Klerk that people who had been jailed for membership of the organisation would be released.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

State seeks Yengeni trial adjournment

By RONNIE MORRIS

THE state yesterday asked for the Yengeni trial to be adjourned till next Monday for it to reconsider its position in the light of President F W de Klerk's speech last week.

Mr Hendrik Klem SC, leader of the state team, said that in view of announcements at the weekend the state would have to study the proclamation and reconsider its position.

Mr D P de Villiers QC, for the defence, said they wanted the trial to proceed as smoothly as possible but had no objection to the adjournment. The defence would use the time to make representations to the state, he said.

Mr De Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan African Congress and lifted the restrictions on several organisations.

At the resumption of the trial yesterday seven television camera crews

waited outside the Supreme Court while 15 local and foreign journalists waited inside the court following speculation on the possible withdrawal of charges against some of the accused.

Mr De Klerk announced that people who had been jailed for membership of banned organisations would be released but prisoners who had been jailed for offences such as terrorism, murder and arson would not.

The main charge against all the accused is one of terrorism but according to the charge sheet some are charged with furthering the aims and objectives of the ANC, being couriers, arranging accommodation for members and recruiting members while others are charged with handling or storing weapons or for alleged involvement in acts of violence.

The cross-examination of a security policeman, Detective-Sergeant Dirk Gerhardus Steenkamp, proceeded till the lunch adjournment.

Court drops 7 charges against news editor

MARITZBURG. — Seven of 29 charges against Post Natal news editor Mr Muhamed-Rafiq Rohan were withdrawn when he appeared in the College Road Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Rohan now faces 22 charges involving terrorism, attempted murder, causing explosions in Durban and possession of bombs, explosives and firearms.

The accused, who pleaded not guilty to all charges and who declined to make a statement, gave the black-power salute when he entered the dock.

Captain P C Brand testified yesterday that he had been called to the Bulwer Park electrical sub-station after a blast which damaged a transformer.

He then lifted a mini-limpet mine out of a drain with a fishing net and placed it behind a tree. It exploded 10 metres away from him.

Mr Rohan is charged with having attempted to murder Captain Brand or members of the SA Police or the general public who were near the scene.

No one was injured in the two blasts. The hearing continues today. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

FW speech used in court

PRETORIA. — A copy of President F W de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament on Friday, in which he declared the ANC unbanned, has been handed to the Regional Court here in mitigation of sentence of a man convicted of being an ANC member and of terrorism.

Last year Mokwena, 29, was convicted of being a member of the then-banned ANC and on a charge of terrorism, in that he received military training from the ANC, and was arrested in possession of handgrenades. — Sapa

Supreme Court Reporter
THE families of the accused in the trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and 13 others yesterday said they were confused with President F W de Klerk's announcement last Friday and demanded that all the accused be set free.

After the trial was adjourned at the request of the state to reconsider its position following Mr De Klerk's announcement, the families called a press conference to discuss the position of the accused.

Mr De Klerk had said that people who had been jailed for membership of banned organisations would be released from jail, but that prisoners who had been convicted on charges of murder, terrorism and arson were not affected by the move.

The families demanded that all the accused be released and said they did not know the

Yengeni trialists demand freedom

difference between public violence and guerilla acts. They had arrived at the Supreme Court with the understanding that their loved ones would be released, a spokesman said.

They also wanted to know what would happen to Bongani Jonas, who late last year was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for refusing to testify for the state in the Yengeni trial.

The families said a refusal by Mr De Klerk to accept the Harare Declaration would not be conducive to negotiations.

6 whites to be charged after attack on blacks

KLERKSDORP. — Six white men were arrested and are to be charged with murder, attempted murder and assault after an attack on blacks near Jouberton on Saturday, police said yesterday.

Police said that on Saturday morning six men entered Jouberton in four cars and a bakkie. They picked up a number of blacks, saying they had work for them in Klerksdorp.

The men then took the people to the police station and wanted to have them charged with minor crimes.

Police said the whites

were not prepared to make statements and undertook to return the blacks to Jouberton.

The blacks were dropped off on the Ystertryd road, near Jouberton, and attacked with fists, feet and sjamboks. One was allegedly kicked to death. — Sapa

MANDELA



the road to FREEDOM

EXCLUSIVE

Argus
Starting in
5/2/90
The Argus
tomorrow

NELSON MANDELA could be released any day now.

President F W de Klerk has told parliament and the nation that "the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally" and that it will decide soon on the date.

TOMORROW *The Argus* starts an exclusive four-part series *Mandela ... The Road to Freedom* in a special eight-page tabloid.

Months were spent researching and preparing this story on the dramatic events surrounding Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous prisoner.

Drawn from interviews with those close to Nelson Mandela, and from other sources, *Mandela ... The Road to Freedom* sets out to reconstruct an overview of 25 years and more of political and personal drama, passion and poignancy.

It starts in *The Argus* tomorrow. don't miss it!

Picture: DION TROMP, The Argus

PRISON VISIT: Almost hidden by a battery of microphones, Mrs Winnie Mandela talks to reporters outside Victor Verster Prison after visiting her husband.

'It's too early for peace

From DAVID BRAUN in Washington, and GARNER THOMSON in London

THE ANC has proposed that armed conflict would be deemed to have terminated in South Africa only at the point that a new constitution is adopted, according to the organisation's secretary for international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Writing in the Sunday edition of the New York Times, Mr Mbeki said all thinking South Africans were sensitive to the atmosphere of mistrust that was a necessary product of the country's history.

"Given this, it must be stated plainly that no South African can now be certain that negotiations, once they start, will succeed.

"Hence the need for two stages: a suspension and, later, a termination of hostilities.

"In addition, the threat of a resumption of hostilities would itself encourage the achievement of a political settlement," he said.

Mr Mbeki said that in spite of President De Klerk's remarks in Parliament last Friday that armed struggle in South Africa was no longer justified, the issue of a negotiated cessation of violence by all sides had not lost its importance.

Only recently, when Mr De Klerk addressed 500 senior police officers, he drew attention to the prospect of an "Armageddon" that could lead to the death of five million South Africans. This realistic view recognised that apartheid had generated a physical confrontation between oppressor and oppressed, which could only be ended by abolishing this system, Mr Mbeki said.

□□□□

The ANC had recently reaffirmed the preference for a settlement arrived at by political means. Consistent with this position, the ANC proposed that, once the climate for negotiations had been created, the first issue to be negotiated by the South African liberation movement and the apartheid regime was a mutually binding suspension of armed hostilities.

Mr Mbeki added: "The recognition by Mr De Klerk that apartheid has inevitably led to a violent confrontation should make it easy for him to understand that the ANC will never lay down arms unilaterally.

"And since apartheid is the root cause of the violence, only when apartheid is ended can the suspension of hostilities to which we have referred be transformed into a termination of hostilities.

"For this reason the ANC has proposed that armed conflict would be deemed to have



Thabo Mbeki



terminated only at the point that a new constitution is adopted.

Mr Mbeki said that to save lives, the ANC proposed a mutual suspension of armed conflict, even before negotiations for a new constitution began.

"This is important to eliminate any actual or perceived intimidation, and to insure the greatest freedom of expression among the people."

Speaking on British Independent Television's Eyewitness programme yesterday Mr Mbeki repeated his organisation's readiness to begin talks to bring about the mutual ending of violence.

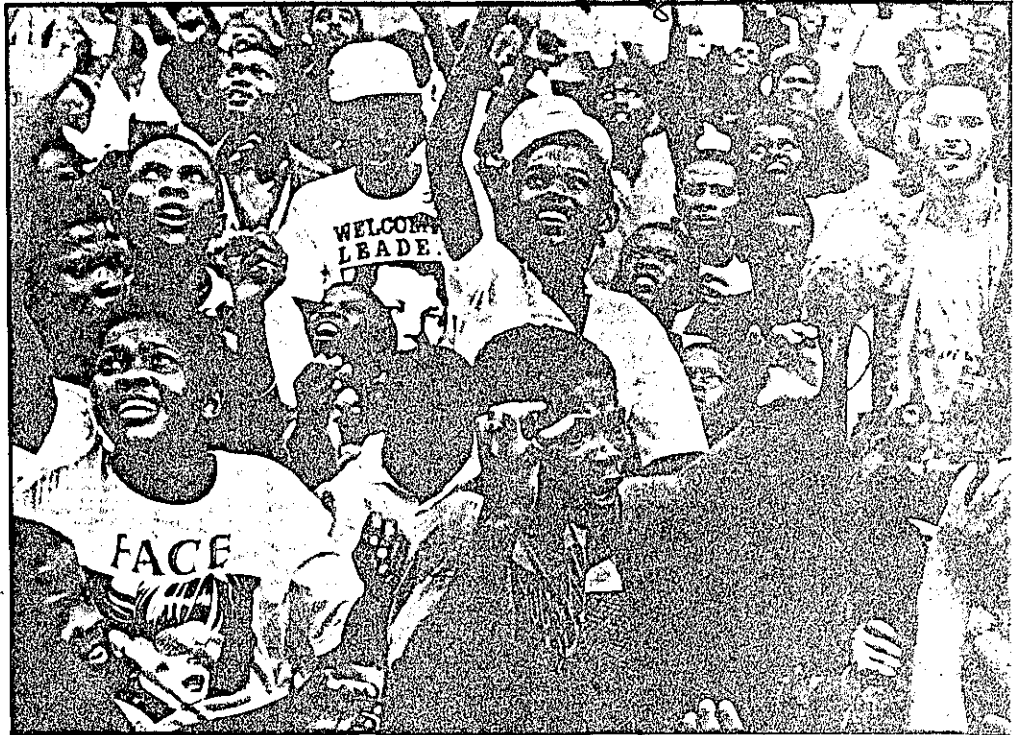
But he insisted that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remains an obstacle to the suspension of the ANC's commitment to an armed struggle.

He said: "There are various questions of this nature which still have to be addressed to create this climate conducive to negotiations."

However, he said it was unlikely that the ANC would agree to a staged release of political prisoners. "We don't see what the problem is with releasing all political prisoners now. If there is indeed movement towards a negotiated settlement, why don't we move as quickly as we can?"

"It really ought to be that everyone comes out as quickly as possible."

Mr Mbeki said that ANC exiles were unlikely to return to South Africa with the release of political prisoners, but would probably wait for 'the cessation of hostilities' and the use of force by both sides.



Picture: LEON MULLER, the Argus

CELEBRATION: People dance at a spontaneous "victory" celebration in Khayelitsha at the weekend after President FW de Klerk announcement in Parliament on Friday that Nelson Mandela was to be released soon and the ANC had been unbanned.

Exiles challenged to return

The Argus Foreign Service in The Hague

SOUTH Africa's Ambassador to The Hague, Mr Albert Nothnagel, has challenged the ANC to return to South Africa and continue talks there.

Speaking to the ANC's London representative, Mr Aziz Pahad, on Nederland 3's Late News programme, he said: "If you are really genuine in what you say, there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time still remain in London... let the people of Africa come back to South Africa, and let us decide what the future should be."

Referring to the ANC's reservations about President De Klerk's speech, Mr Nothnagel added: "I think with all these preconditions really you personally this evening, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr De Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table."

Mr Pahad responded: "We have preconditions, Mr Nothnagel, let me make clear to you that we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London, or other corners of the world... we have already said our organisation is based inside South Africa, our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our or-

ganisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is in the process of discussion and we will work that out in a quiet, systematic way.

"Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation."

Mr Nothnagel: "Aren't you staying in London, aren't you staying overseas, to continue boycott actions against South Africa? Are you going on with

these actions, and if so for what reason?"

Mr Pahad: "The suffering in our country has been caused by apartheid - that even Mr De Klerk has accepted... those of us who will be asked to go back to the country by our movement will go back. Those of us who are asked to remain outside to still mobilise international opinion will do so. We are saying that you cannot remove the pressure of the South African Government until you have got to the stage where the move to a non-racial democracy is irreversible... pressure is to be maintained, not as a punishment, but in order that we all move together to bring about a real, genuine solution to our problems."

PAC calls for 'intensification of struggle'

Argus Africa News Service

THE Pan Africanist Congress chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, has called for the intensification of the struggle against the South African government.

In a statement issued in his behalf in the Tanzanian capital, Dar Es Salaam, Mr Mlambo said the South African government was "now employing new tactics to perpetuate apartheid colonialism."

In his speech to parliament Mr De Klerk had not addressed "the five political pillars of apartheid", he said.

In Lusaka the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) has welcomed President De Klerk's announcement of the unbanning of political parties in South Africa.

The SADCC said the nine member countries agreed in total to the principle of negotiation and dialogue as a

practical essence in resolving the political impasse in South Africa.

But, it said, "until the South African government takes appropriate measures toward dismantling apartheid it is necessary for the international community to at least maintain in place measures taken against apartheid."

New deal is 'serious offer' — FW

HE had made the right decisions in his Parliamentary speech on Friday and he was serious in his offer of "a new deal" to the peoples of South Africa, President de Klerk, said in a television interview on Sunday night.

Mr De Klerk said: "I am thankful for the wide coverage. People should realise that we are serious to make a new deal."

"I expected this reaction, but the crux of the matter is that the decisions were taken in the interest of the country. With regard to the restriction of still some certain organisations, violence will be checked on and not allowed in this country."

"But what went through my mind were the weighty matters and the certainty of having to end violence and get this country to bloom again."

"We should give new thoughts to a new approach and accept the risk. To be in a cul de sac will mean our end. In our country there is no situation without risk, and if we do not take the risk it could develop in an 80-year-long war which could slowly destroy us."

He said the government would maintain strict law and order. What had happened was purely "a shift in emphasis".

Two parallel things were happening: the continuation of orderly government and the process of creating a climate in which all could participate in peaceful negotiation.

Asked whether South Africa was not going the same way Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) went, he said one should look back in history.

"Many mistakes were made there. We should not repeat these, because too long a time was taken for a decision."

"Existing rights in South Africa can be settled in a just manner. But if we drag our heels we will run into a situation in which everything will die."

On the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC, Mr De Klerk said these organisations could no longer hide and claim they were being ostracised. Dramatic events had happened in Europe, and in Mozambique the stance had changed dramatically.

Asked what he saw as the new future for South Africa, the State President said he had trust in the future.

"One big fact crystallises: there is a big reservoir of good hope — especially from the youth of this country — in the future. I am sure it will go well in the future." — Sapa.



Emergency blocks release — tense Winnie

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By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter
NELSON Mandela would never accept being freed into a state of emergency, a tense and depressed Mrs Winnie Mandela said after visiting her husband.

At an impromptu Press conference outside Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday she said there were still obstacles to his release.

The state of emergency was a non-negotiable demand. It was "out of the question" that Mr Mandela would accept freedom under emergency rule, she said.

His release did not depend on him.

"The onus is on Mr De Klerk. We are back to where we have to put pressure on the government."

Mr Mandela was preparing a statement in response to President De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, as announced when he opened parliament on Friday, she said.

"STILL A PRISONER"

However, she did not know when it would be made public because "he is still a prisoner".

Yesterday's visit was supposed to have been a "short family visit".

However, Mrs Mandela, who looked tense when she arrived in Cape Town, spent more than five hours at the prison where Mr Mandela lives in a warder's home.

● Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu said from Sweden today that he would telephone Mr Mandela on his return tomorrow.

"I'll find out if I should report back on my overseas trip to him."

He said the return of exiles was a "complicated" matter which had to be worked out thoroughly.

He would have no message for Mr De Klerk. "It's all in the ANC statement released at the weekend."

Steps fall short, says ANC in Stockholm

(11A)
South
5/2 - 14/2/90

From MADIE GRAY

STOCKHOLM. — Cautious approval was the response of the ANC leadership in Stockholm to President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the movement.

There was a clear recognition that he had gone further than any of his predecessors, but also criticism that he had not gone far enough.

"De Klerk's statement is a posi-

tive step in the right direction," said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo in an exclusive interview with SOUTH.

"But if we look at De Klerk's statement as a measure for the creation of a climate for negotiation, then it has fallen short.

"The state of emergency is in place. The army is still in the townships and detention without trial is maintained even if the time is shortened.

"It is not clear whether the people accused and convicted under the Internal Security Act will be released

"Their (the government's) concept of terrorism corresponds to our definition of freedom fighting. If they follow this line of reasoning then the bulk of our political prisoners will remain in prison.

"This would mean that they have not moved very far on an impor-

tant point for the creation of a climate for negotiation."

Led by Walter Sisulu, six former long-term prisoners arrived in Sweden the day before to visit ANC president Oliver Tambo.

The delegation includes former Rivonia trialists Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mhlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Govan Mbeki.

Speaking at a press conference on Friday, Sisulu said legalisation

would give the ANC "greater scope to go into the country and talk about the future to both black and white".

"The ANC will do all in its power to prevent and reduce violence between all our people," he said.

Albertina Sisulu said she hoped the suspension of executions and release of children from detention would not be temporary but "a stop for all time".

Back to ^(11A) the 60s ^{South} says BCM ^{5/24-14/2/90.}

THE exiled Pan African Congress (PAC) has called on State President FW de Klerk to scrap all oppressive laws.

A PAC spokesperson said Friday's announcements were significant only so far as they would make it easier for the organisation to mobilise and organise people.

The spokesperson made no reference to how the announcements would effect the organisation's position on negotiations.

The PAC has said it will only negotiate once the South African government has been militarily defeated and has accused the ANC of selling out to Pretoria by its readiness to talk.

However, there have been verbal hints that the organisation may soften its stance to avoid being sidelined.

Meanwhile, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has dismissed Friday's announcements as "insufficient".

Criminals

The BCMA said that the announcements merely returned the country to the pre-sixties situation.

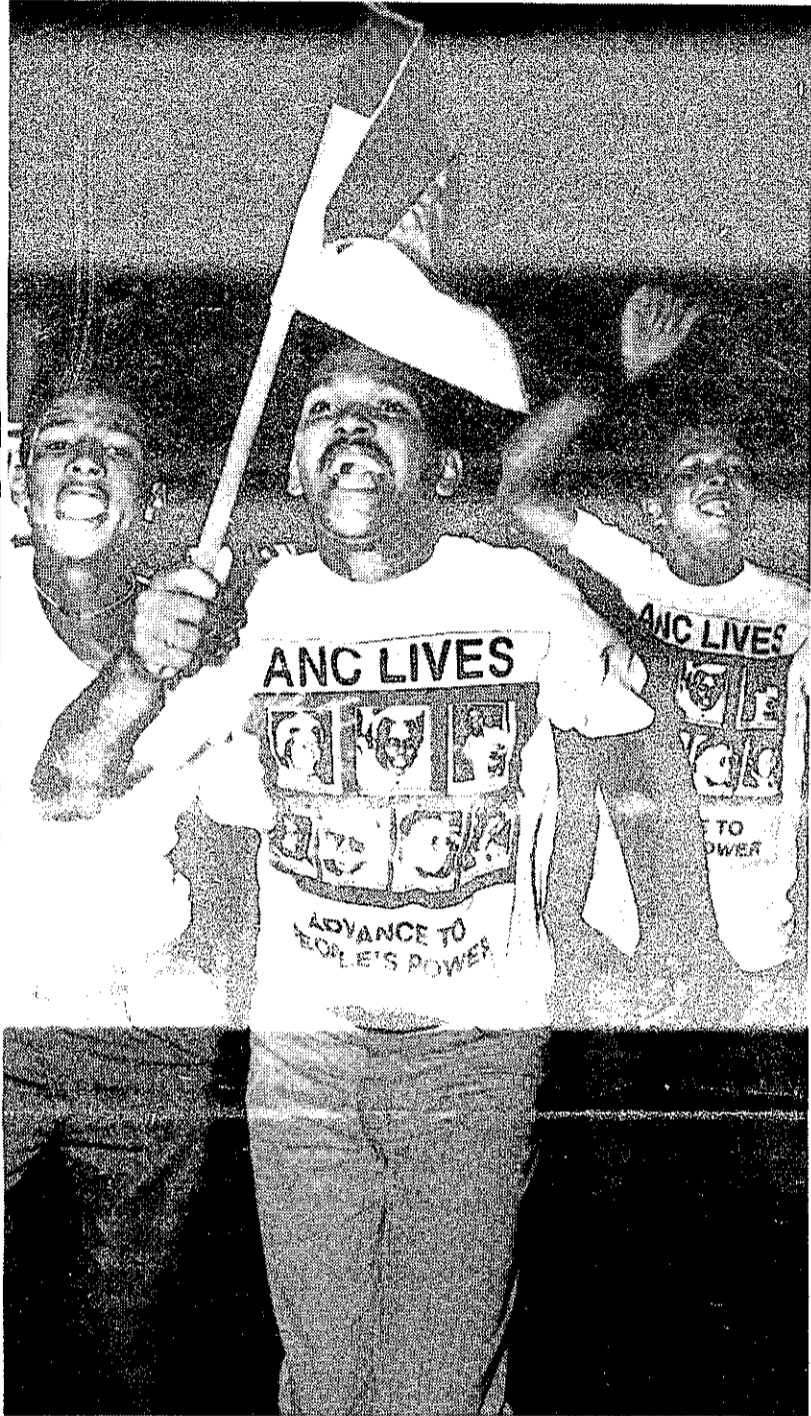
The BCMA said De Klerk's announcements fell short even of that because political prisoners and "other combatants of the liberation movement" were still regarded as criminals.

The BCMA cautioned against complacency and warned that the announcements had the potential to make "our dispossession and impoverishment permanent".

The BCMA position was endorsed at a meeting of the now unbanned Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in Pietersburg on Saturday, where it was resolved that all efforts of the oppressed should continue.

Azapo said the struggle was not for talks but for the creation of a socialist economic system after the return of the land to its original owners.

Ecstasy and agony!



ECSTASY: Mitchells Plain students celebrate the news of Mandela's release



AGONY: A UDF marshall appeals to people to stop throwing bottles at police, standing over the body of a victim of Sunday's chaos in the centre of Cape Town

IT was a day the world had long been waiting for. The release of Nelson Mandela. And nowhere was the fervour greater than in Cape Town, where 100 000 people swelled the city's Grand Parade on Sunday January 11 to hear Mandela speak. But the excitement also drew troublemakers who resorted to looting and bottle-throwing as the long, hot afternoon wore on — without Mandela. By the time the ANC leader finally appeared on the balcony of the City Hall, it was dusk — and much of the day's magic had been trampled underfoot. What began as a day of celebration ended in tragedy with the death of a youngster. SOUTH photographer YUNUS MOHAMED captures the drama:



COLLEAGUES: Suspended rebel policemen Lieutenant Gregory Rockman negotiates with police in Cape Town on Sunday



WELCOME: No doubt about his message



PRIME PARKING: These two men got themselves a spot above the rest to catch a glimpse of Mandela

121

15 Day 5/2/90

11A

Now for the views of others

MANDY JEAN WOODS

SOUTH Africans may, for the first time in many years, hear how ANC leader Oliver Tambo views political developments in SA and what former newspaper editor Donald Woods thinks of changes that have taken place since he fled the country.

This follows President F W de Klerk's announcement on Friday that, with immediate effect, restrictions on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the SA Communist Party (SACP), are lifted.

More than 150 names have been removed from the Internal Security Act Consolidated List — including almost the whole of the ANC's national executive.

In addition, the publications of the ANC (Sechaba) and the SACP (Umsebenzi) can now be read and distributed in SA.

More than 300 people convicted under Section 16 of the Internal Security Act still cannot be quoted.

However, some of these names will be removed from the list following De Klerk's announcement that certain political prisoners who have no convictions relating to crimes involving violence will be freed.

Restrictions on 374 released detainees will also be lifted.

The names of those affected are expected to be released sometime this week.

ANC trial: ^{CAF} ^{Tom K} Charges to ^{5/2/90} be dropped?

By **RONNIE MORRIS**
Supreme Court Reporter

THE terrorism trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and 13 others resumes in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today amid mounting speculation that charges against some of the accused may be dropped following President F W de Klerk's watershed speech.

In announcing the unbanning of the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the Pan African Congress and other restricted organisations, Mr De Klerk said people jailed merely for their membership of banned organisations would be released.

However, prisoners who had been sentenced for other offences — such as murder, terrorism or arson — were not affected, he said.

Legal observers yesterday said it was unclear whether charges would now be dropped against some of the accused in the Yengeni trial.

Since the trial started last March, a wealth of evidence has been led, many witnesses have been called and five of the accused have been released on bail of R3 000 each.

No evidence has been led against two accused, Ms Zurayah Abass and Ms Colleen Lombard, who according to the indictment were couriers for the ANC, arranged accommodation for ANC members and tried to recruit coloured women into the ANC.

Little evidence has been led against Ms Gertrude Fester, alleged to have acted as a courier and arranged accommodation for ANC cadres.

Mr Alpheus Ndude is alleged to have recruited ANC members, done surveillance work and helped people leave South Africa for military training.

Mr Chris Giffard is indicted for allegedly receiving training in underground political work which would enable him to further the aims and objectives of the ANC, for receiving communications training and for being a member of a propaganda unit.

The remaining accused are charged with either handling or storing weapons, or with involvement in acts of violence.

Mr Hendrik Klem SC, leader of the state team, said decisions would be taken after he had seen and studied a government proclamation.

The attorney-general, Mr Niel Rossouw, said his office was conducting an "intensive study" into trials such as that of Mr Yengeni and others.

The state had already withdrawn charges against Mr Johnny Issel, due to appear in Parow Regional Court on February 12 on a charge of furthering the aims of the ANC, Mr Rossouw said.

Mr Essa Moosa, whose firm represents some of the Yengeni accused, said answers were needed to questions such as how actions by members of the unbanned Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, would be affected.

Technically the entire leadership of the ANC could be charged with high treason unless matters were clarified, Mr Moosa said.

Nationalisation remains ANC 'commitment'

STOCKHOLM. — The ANC remains committed to nationalisation, but an ANC government in South Africa would seek negotiation with big business, its secretary-general said.

"The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get the resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes," Mr Alfred Nzo said.

"We have stated in public documents we are for a mixed economy," said Mr Nzo, who has joined veteran ANC leaders in Sweden for a reunion and informal talks following South Africa's removal of a ban on the movement last Friday.

"There is the question of nationalisation that people are so worried about. A democratic government still needs to have resources to deal with problems in the interests of the people," he said.

Mr Nzo was asked what role could be played by South African business leaders such as Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation.

"When the time comes, people say we are going to be reckless, you know, nationalise everything," Mr Nzo said.

'Seeking resources'

"We will still be seeking resources but you cannot get them from nationalising the poor shop on the street corner."

Mr Nzo confirmed that an ANC government would negotiate with big business over its economic plans, but said a democratic government could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources.

"If Mr Gavin Relly owns an establishment that controls the economy of the country and he owns it alone and it exists only to feed Mr Gavin Relly, you cannot as a democratic government satisfy the conditions of the people," he said.

Last month ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said in a statement from prison that nationalisation of South Africa's mines, banks and monopoly industries was ANC policy, and any modification of this view was inconceivable.

South African businessmen expressed disappointment at Mr Mandela's statement, which was issued to disprove a report from a black entrepreneur who said the ANC leader now favoured free enterprise. — Sapa-Reuter



By GUY BERGER

LONDON. — In her home here, Sonia Bunting's grandchildren talk about Michael Jackson, but her thoughts are about far-away Cape Town.

She and her husband Brian, both members of the SA Communist Party (SACP), left the city "on July 11, 1963" to go into exile in Britain, she told SOUTH.

"We travelled by boat and arrived in London on the day of the Rivonia arrests. Comrades came to welcome us, but it was most traumatic when we heard the news."

Although the liberation movement had been under severe pressure, most structures had been "top notch" when the Buntings left Cape Town.

Sonia Bunting traces the problems to the start of detention without trial — "which opened the door to torture and information extracted under duress".

Untenable

She and her family left due to the difficulties of being banned. "I was under 24-hour house arrest, and Brian was under 12-hour — on the assumption that he was the breadwinner."

"But he was banned from working on Spark (formerly the Guardian), and could not find a job elsewhere," she said.

The situation was untenable and comrades agreed the Buntings should go.

Once in Britain, the couple threw themselves into activity. "We never integrated into Britain, never felt part of the British community, be-

cause our lives and work have been South Africa," said Bunting.

Other exiles helped them "with accommodation, schools, settling down — so difficult when you come to a strange country".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement had been launched in 1959 as a "Boycott Committee", and the couple have helped build the powerful solidarity movement over the years.

Sonia Bunting also spent her first five exiled years working as an organiser for the "World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners" — set up at the time of the Rivonia trial.

"I told the sponsors that I was a named communist, and I think they may have wanted someone different to do the job. But they couldn't find anyone else prepared to work for a few pounds a week, so they took me on."

It was clearly a difficult job emotionally — Bunting had to deal with trials of people she knew well from the distance of Britain.

"I was so struck by the courage of the Rivonia people who said they would not appeal even if they were sentenced to death. It was the biggest relief in my life when they were

sentenced to life," she recalled.

In 1968, Sonia Bunting went to work fulltime for the SACP's Inkululeko publications — and has been there ever since.

She recounts with pride the production of classics like "Fifty Fighting Years" by Michael Harmel, "Moses Kotane — South African Revolutionary" by Brian Bunting, "South African Communists Speak" (a collection of historical Party documents), "Philosophy and Class Struggle" by Dialego, and Joe Slovo's "South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution".

Inkululeko also distributed African Communist, which moved its publication to London in 1963 when editor Michael Harmel was exiled there.

In 1972, Bunting's husband Brian, who had worked as a journalist for the Soviet news agency Tass until then, became editor of the journal.

Circulation, which was 3 000 copies in 1968, is now 18 000.

Sonia Bunting was reluctant to prejudice how the SACP would act inside South Africa in the new conditions, but she spoke about the ways it had organised in different historical periods.

Longing for home

She joined in 1942, when the party, then called the CPSA, was still legal and fighting to boost the war effort against Hitler.

"There was tremendous sympathy from the Soviet Union because the Soviets were bearing the brunt of the war against Facism.

"We used to sell the Guardian and hold public meetings all over to strengthen the war effort," she said.

At the time the party had structures in the mines, factories and residential areas. "People could apply for membership, and would then have to abide by party rules and policy, attend a regular weekly meeting and pay their monthly subscriptions."

The CPSA dissolved itself before its banning in 1950, but was reconstituted underground as the SACP in 1953.

"The fifties were when we helped to build the Congress movement and to organise the Congress of the People. And there were the actions like campaigns against bantu education and the Sophiatown removals."

Party units were much smaller — just four or five people in Bunting's group — for security reasons.

Unlike the Congress movement at

the time, and even some SACP groups in the Transvaal, Bunting's Cape Town group was non-racial.

SACP work then, she said, was still relatively easy. Police were inexperienced and without powers to detain and torture. But with the repression of the 1960s, the party's structures had to become tighter and more secure.

"So up until now, people have mainly been approached to join the party, although some had made applications" said Bunting.

The calibre of people recruited has had to be high — concentrating on "those that are the hardest working, the most reliable, with a high degree of moral behaviour".

Members were expected to carry out SACP policies and attend study classes to become familiar with the works of Marx and Lenin.

Confident

"When a decision is taken, it must be carried out by party members, even by those who disagree — although the emphasis on democratic centralism must always be on democratic decision making," she said.

In relation to recent events in Eastern Europe, Bunting observed that "when we came into exile, we were confident that the number of socialist countries would grow.

"The extent of the problems now evident there has dismayed us, but we are still confident that socialism is the only solution to the world's problems."

Sonia Bunting stressed excitedly that her family was looking forward to the day when "we can return and take part in the struggle at home again".

At the same time, she noted, "when we go back won't be a personal decision".

"This is not the end of the struggle, but the beginning of the end," she said.

Hani on MK's future

On the unbanning of the ANC:

"I think the unbanning of the ANC will cause more troubles for De Klerk.

He will have unleashed an avalanche in the sense that the ANC will have at its disposal most of its experienced leaders at a number of levels — national and regional.

"And the regime can't just unban the ANC and mark time and think this is the end of it. It will be expected to do something more.

"The unbanning of the ANC does not bring about a democratic South Africa. The regime will have to sit down and give consideration to MK, which is the military wing of the ANC.

"So, I am sure the ANC won't call off the armed struggle because it has been unbanned. MK is not merely there because the ANC is a banned organisation. It is an answer to the violence of the regime.

"The regime will still have to answer a state of armed conflict between itself and the ANC. And that state of conflict won't disappear because the ANC is legalised.

"Do you think overnight the regime will stop beating up workers, shooting workers, dispersing demonstrations?"

On future strategic and tactical options:

"We say nothing should be relaxed

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff CHRIS HANI, recently spoke to JENNY CARGILL on negotiations, the armed struggle and the possible unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC).

At the time, the ANC was still banned and he could not be quoted in the South African press.

until there is a democratic transformation in South Africa. You can't stop halfway.

"In fact this is the time for more serious sacrifices. And I believe seriously that we as the ANC should continue all forms of struggle, even when we are unbanned.

"We must be firm in principle and flexible in tactics.

"For instance, one would say — although there is no position on this — why should we attack a man like (General Bantu) Holomisa of the Transkei, when he is actually articulating good positions?

"Is there need to conduct military operations in the Transkei? We have to ask ourselves that sort of question.

"Where there is a growing sympathy from the black police, we would



Chris Hani

need to consider if it is correct to continue harassing black police.

"Our leadership might say if the ANC is unbanned, look you guys in the army, let us wait for De Klerk for a month or two and see what the next step is.

"I am not saying they will do that. But let's remember that MK remains under the political leadership of the ANC."

On negotiations:

"I think it is realistic for the ANC to prepare for negotiations, given the international climate.

"The people must know that negotiations are an arena of struggle. They must know that negotiations are not going to be possible offers

from the ruling class. The National Party can't preside over serious changes in the country. Certainly, it can't preside over democratic changes because the National Party is responding to pressures of the struggle.

"People need to realise that the struggle should force the ruling class to accept that it is futile to continue suppression, and that if they don't agree to negotiate, there is the inevitability of collapse.

"Rational and sensible people don't want everything to end up in collapse.

"I think the moment the regime accepts the package of preconditions (to create a climate for negotiations) it is going to be important for the regime to meet the ANC.

"We demand the whole package (of preconditions before talks begin) because the regime will have to demonstrate a lot of goodwill. We don't want the enemy to choose within that package issues it prefers.

"In the event of negotiations, our biggest drawback is going to be the unity of the oppressed and the unity of all those people who are opposed to racism, including progressive whites.

In other words, we feel that in this period we are creating and building a new South Africa.

On the return of exiles:

"The leadership will decide how to send its cadres back in an organised

and systematic manner so that when those cadres go back, they are already deployed and have tasks from our movement.

"We are not returning as refugees.

"We are not going to enter into arrangements with De Klerk on how we go back."

On the role of the armed struggle and its difficulties:

"The armed struggle has made significant contributions to the present political chemistry in our country. Our armed struggle has been a great mobiliser and inspirer of the youth. It has given pride to the oppressed.

"Thousands of young people were influenced by the example of defiance, and the readiness to pay the supreme sacrifice.

"If the armed struggle was ineffective, South Africa would not have militarised itself in the way it has done.

"Now there is a feeling that the level of MK capacity is going down because it has risen to expectations. People forget that MK has achieved against a background of considerable difficulties, enjoying, in fact, no rear base one can speak of.

"And MK has been affected by developments in Southern Africa, the negotiations leading to the independence of Namibia, the abandonment of camps in Angola and the need to establish camps elsewhere.

"But despite all that, we are an army which has had a steady growth."

'Business as usual' for Sechaba editor

South 5/2 - 14/2/90

11A

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — It is business as usual for ANC National Executive Committee member Dr Francis Meli who is going ahead with his long-standing plans to move to ANC headquarters in Lusaka after 13 years working in London as editor of the movement's journal Sechaba.

"I am fully at the disposal of the ANC. The NEC will decide who goes home first and who goes second, and I am answerable to the discipline of the ANC," he told SOUTH.

Francis Meli left South Africa in June 1963. He fled across the border to Botswana (then Bechuanaland). It was in Francistown, en route to Dar es Salaam, that he heard of the Rivonia arrests.

He still remembers hearing Walter Sisulu's last Radio Freedom broadcast in South African a few days earlier.

The ANC sent him to the German Democratic Republic to study. Ten years later, armed with a doctorate in history, he returned to southern Africa, but instead of pursuing the quiet life of an academic he joined the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He says: "MK is not just an organisation for the uneducated. It is not just interested in shooting. In its ranks are intellectuals, literary people, poets."

Impatient

He was reluctant to give details of life in the camps.

"Just because we have been unbanned doesn't mean we must now get undressed," he said.

Meli was in Angola at the time of the Soweto uprising.

"We received those young people. They wanted guns to go back and shoot the Boers. We told them they still had to learn about the Freedom Charter, the history of the ANC and Sactu, the union movement. At first they were angry and impatient, then they came to agree."

"It is not so much the gun, but the person behind the gun that MK and the ANC emphasises."

How did he move from being an armed guerilla in MK camps in Angola to being a writer and author of a recent ANC history "The Land belongs to US"?

"Writing has always been an interest of mine, even in the camps. We had little time and very few books, but we made do with what we had."

When he inherited the editorship of Sechaba in 1977, the publication was in some flux. And the later emergence of Cosatu and the UDF raised questions about trade union struggle and unity between worker and community organisations. Sechaba shifted its focus in response.

"The situation changed Sechaba. That and the changing social components of the ANC. Now there was a large group of young people who were wanting answers to questions."

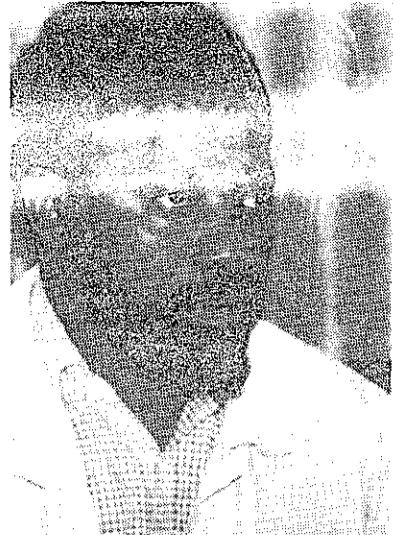
Logistics

Meli sees more changes ahead for Sechaba. He spoke of the possibility of the publication, for the 22 years of its existence, covertly distributed through underground networks, being produced and published inside South Africa — "but there are the questions of logistics to do with training, distribution, production."

Moreover, it is likely to play a crucial role in the years ahead as a forum to debate the development of the ANC as an above-ground organisation.

"We have to look at questions of broadening unity. Our focus will perhaps be less on the international community, and more on the readers at home."

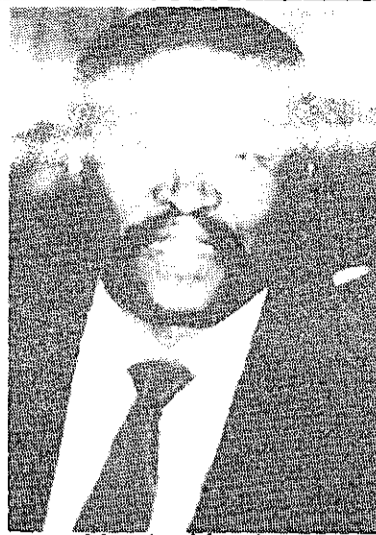
Sechaba, which has served to disseminate the position of the ANC to an international readership, could increasingly address itself to South Africa's miners, labourers, and ordinary working people in the trade unions and MDM organisations, Meli said.



Cyril Ramaphosa



Trevor Manuel



Murphy Morobe



Albertina Sisulu, UDF president



Terror Lekota

The new generation

By SHANNON SHERRY
AFTER 30 years underground, the African National Congress will return to South Africa with a vastly different profile to the organisation banned in 1960.

The giving up of caretaker roles filled by internal leaders, the host of "young lions" who have emerged in the leadership, the probable return of these and old guard exiles to the country and the recent release of the Rivonia trialists are all factors

which indicate a major restructuring process in the upper echelons of the ANC.

And then there remains Nelson Mandela, undoubtedly a key component in any equation involving the ANC.

The old guard, including Mandela, external leader Oliver Tambo, both 72, Walter Sisulu, 78, Govan Mbeki, 79, and Raymond Mhlaba, 70, must know that their ages will simply not allow for political activity over many more years.

While all reports say Mandela is fit, details of Tambo's health following an illness last year are a secret.

Widely-tipped to succeed him is Alfred Nzo who, at 65, has been the ANC secretary-general since 1969 and was the brain behind the Alexandra bus boycott of the 1950s.

With Nzo, two others, Thomas Nkobi, 68, and Dan Tloome, age unknown, are said to be the mainstay of the ANC's organisation.

Internal leaders like Oscar Mpetsha and Harry Gwala, who helped keep the movement going through the years when the majority of leaders were either in prison or in exile, are now aged and in poor health.

Of the "young lions" the most important seem to be Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani, inter-

national department head Thabo Mbeki, (both 47), and information and publicity director Pallo Jordan.

Hani and Mbeki, friends since their school days, were greatly influenced in their youth by Govan Mbeki, Thabo's father.

Hani holds a degree in English and Latin and enjoys reading English literature and Greek mythology while Mbeki has a master's degree in Economics from the University of Sussex.

Jordan has impressed most South Africans who have met the ANC in recent times.

Another important figure among the new generation of ANC leaders is Steve Tshwete, whose post as the link with internal political organisations might now become redundant.

Church leaders like Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with the power of their churches behind them and support from the international community, were able to challenge the might of the state with relative impunity during the latter period of ANC exile.

But, willingly or unwillingly, they seem already to have been superseded by the released Rivonia trialists who have picked up the reins of the liberatory movement with a minimum of fuss.

And over the past decade or so, struggles on the labour front and the ANC-UDF axis' strategy of fighting on issues have spawned a large crop of internal leaders.

The UDF claim that for each leader banned or detained a new one would take his/her place seems to have been more than just an empty boast.

Among the leaders to emerge internally were Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Popo Molefe, Murphy Morobe, Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mafumadi, Jay Naidoo and Trevor Manuel.

Lekota, the national publicity secretary of the UDF, has played a prominent role in various UDF campaigns.

Along with the national general secretary of the UDF, Molefe, and 20 others he was accused of high treason and appeared in the Delmas trial.

Molefe was detained in the 1976 uprising and held for seven months. A former member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), he joined the charterist movement in 1981.

Morobe spent three years on Robben Island and after his release in May 1982 he became active in the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and worked as an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu).

He became acting publicity secretary in 1985 after Lekota's arrest.

Cosatu

Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, played a key role in the formation of Cosatu. Mafumadi was elected general secretary of Gawu in 1982 and

assistant general secretary of Cosatu in 1985.

Naidoo, 35, is general secretary of Cosatu which claims a membership of more than 500 000.

Manuel is secretary of the Cape UDF and a member of the UDF national executive.

A "new generation" leadership is also visible especially in the ranks of organisations such as the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Its president, Peter Mokaba, presently being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, is playing an increasingly national role in Congress politics.

Women are also assuming more prominent positions in the ANC. Among them are Barbara Masekela (culture), Lindi Mabuza, Ruth Mabatho, Gertrude Shope (women's section) and Albertina Sisulu.

With the unbanning of the ANC it is expected that these and other leaders will play increasingly prominent roles.

South 512-14490

SONAT

(SOCIETY OF NATAL TEACHERS)

salutes the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP in South Africa.

Welcome home comrades

(Submitted by Sonat, PO Box 239, Durban, 4000)



Alfred Nzo



Thabo Mbeki

ANC's vision of new SA

THE unbanning of the ANC is a challenge to mass organisations to begin serious strategising to build an overt power-base inside the country for the eventual dawn of a majority government.

The new political scenario calls for a serious look at a non-racial constitution which is not devised by a constitutional committee of the white parliament but to which all South Africans may contribute.

The ANC — unlike the De Klerk government — has a definite vision for a new South Africa and a new constitution.

It shared its vision in its constitutional guidelines, published last year. At the time, the ANC said this was not a proposed new constitution — that would have to be drawn up in consultation with all the people of South Africa.

What does the ANC envisage as guidelines for a new constitution?

• The State:

Most South Africans will for the first time know what it means to live in a democratic country.

People will, however, not be allowed to practice apartheid — but that can hardly be seen as an infringement of a universally-recognised human right.

Sovereignty will be in the hands of all South Africans, and carried out by a central government.



Government strategist Gerrit Viljoen

The courts, police and army will exist, not as at present to prop up a racist clique, but to represent everybody.

• Franchise:

There will be universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote, and anyone will be able to stand for parliament.

• National identity:

The state will promote the growth of a single national identity. However, cultural and language differences will be recognised.

• Bill of Rights:

A new constitution will include a bill of rights based on the Freedom Charter. The bill of rights will guarantee

fundamental human rights for all — irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

• Economy:

The new government will ensure that the whole economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.

The economy will be neither so-

cialist nor capitalist, but mixed.

The private sector will be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

Property for personal use and consumption will be protected by the constitution.

• Land:

The state will devise and implement a land-reform programme to abolish all racial restrictions on who owns or uses the land; and to take affirmative action for the victims of forced removals during the apartheid era.

• Workers:

The constitution will include a charter protecting trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining.

• Women:

Women will have equal rights in all spheres of life, and sexual discrimination and inequality will be eliminated.

• The family:

The family, parenthood and children's rights will be protected.

Under an ANC government, migrant workers will be able to have their families live with them, and 14-year-old children will no longer be held in jail — as has happened during the state of emergency.

• International:

The ANC's guideline is for South Africa to be a non-aligned state — not taking orders from Moscow ... but also not from Washington!

De Klerk 'didn't go far enough'

WHILE the ANC has welcomed its unbanning, it has stated President FW de Klerk did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the



President FW de Klerk



Kobie Coetsee

Harare Document

The Harare Document was drawn up after consultation with groups such as the UDF, the trade unions and the churches. The ANC was involved in the discussion. In the end a document was produced which was placed before, and passed by, the ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on August 21, 1989.

The main feature of the declaration revolved around the question of negotiations. It says the government should create a climate for negotiations by, "at the very least";

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally (De Klerk has promised to do this);

- Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons. (There are conflicting reports, some saying the Internal Security Act consolidated list has been scrapped, others that the names of some ANC members have not been removed from the list);

- Removing all troops from the township. (De Klerk did not mention this in his speech last Friday);

- Ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity. (This basic condition has also not been fulfilled).

- Ceasing all political trials and political executions. (This point is also not clarified through De Klerk's statement).

De Klerk in his speech to open parliament made much play of the fact that through his concessions, the armed struggle was no longer justified.

The Harare Declaration, however, states that only *after* these conditions to create a climate for conditions are met, discussions should take place between the ANC and Pretoria to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.



WESTERN PROVINCE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

South
5/2-14/2/90

The Western Province Council of Churches welcomes the unbanning and unrestricting of the organisations of the people.

It represents a triumph for peoples power and brings closer the day when truth and justice will prevail in this part of God's creation.

Let us continue to stand for the truth.



adaptation, endurance



KLIPTOWN 1955: The adoption of the Freedom Charter



UMKHONTO: Members of the ANC's armed wing undergoing training

FROM PAGE 14

in the 1980s.

The other major developments within ANC politics in the fifties were, firstly, the move towards a "broad front" alliance, especially in the Congress Alliance; and, secondly, that its programmes and campaigns included explicitly working-class demands, particularly after the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The ANC's new role as the political vanguard of mass struggles, and its alliances with other groupings, created tensions within the movement — and in 1958 an Africanist section within the ANC (opposed to the Freedom Charter's non-racialism and hostile to white socialists in the Congress of Democrats) broke away, and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959.

There were other tensions, too, in the campaigns of the 1950s: between leaders and rank-and-file; between urban and rural struggles; and between relatively organised and relatively spontaneous forms of struggle.

Speaking years later of ANC links with women's protests in Natal, the late Moses Mabhida commented that "perhaps the leadership of the ANC did not understand very well the problems of the people", and regretted that "we did not realise the extent of the organisation of the people which was at the time very high".

None of these difficulties should surprise one. The Congress Alliance entered new territory in the fifties; and to find its way it had to learn from its mistakes.

In March 1960, the PAC anti-pass campaign triggered off the police shooting at Sharpeville and Langa. Verwoerd's government took fright, declared a state of emergency, detained 2 000 activists and banned both the PAC and the ANC.

The ANC now made another

transition. After decades of legality, after the extra-parliamentary mass protests of the fifties, the leadership decided to continue the struggle in the only way open to them: as an illegal, underground organisation.

Twenty-one months after it had been banned, in December 1961, the ANC announced the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its policy of armed struggle.

The form of struggle adopted was a sabotage campaign against government installations. Operation Mayibuye, a plan for stepping up armed struggle in the form of guerilla war, was being debated by the underground leadership when the security forces swooped on their Rivonia hide-out in July 1963.

With the life sentences of the Rivonia trialists — and equally important, with the imprisonment of more than 2 000 lower level leaders and activists between 1963 and 1965 — the internal ANC organisation had effectively been smashed by the mid-1960s.

The ANC, however, had already taken steps to set up an External Mission. Oliver Tambo had actually left the country before Sharpeville and, after Rivonia, the exiled leadership took over responsibility for military decisions and political leadership.

The first years of functioning in exile were difficult. Much time and energy went into diplomatic and international activities; the guerilla incursions in Zimbabwe in 1967/8 were unsuccessful; and at the Morogoro consultative conference in 1969 there were criticisms from rank-and-file members of certain leadership procedures and decisions.

But Morogoro re-affirmed the ANC's commitment to armed struggle alongside other forms of struggle and emphasised the need to rebuild ANC structures inside South Africa.

During the early seventies, there was increasing evidence that this was being undertaken. Above all, the ANC in exile did establish itself internationally, did win important material and moral support, and did take seriously the difficulties of operating away from the centre of events.

By the winter of 1976, the Vorster regime was in a severe crisis. The economy was in a mess, with high inflation, low growth and mass unemployment. The balance of power in the region had altered dramatically with the victories by Frelimo and the MPLA and with the disastrous SADF invasion of Angola.

And resistance inside the country had again taken on a mass character — at first with a wave of strikes, and then in June 1976 with the beginning of a sustained youth uprising.

During the uprising hundreds died and thousands were jailed; and thou-

sands of radicalised young men and women went into exile. Many of them gravitated directly to the ANC; and the movement received an infusion of membership and militancy.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the ANC resumed its military activities with a series of armed propaganda strikes against security and economic installations.

And during the great rolling tide of popular resistance between 1984 and 1986, one of the most obvious developments was a massive increase

of open support for the ANC.

ANC flags, songs and slogans were raised at mass rallies and funerals. The ideals of the Freedom Charter were widely discussed and adopted. Opinion polls and surveys confirmed the obvious: that the ANC had become the movement enjoying the widest support in South Africa.

This did not go unnoticed within the ruling bloc. Anglo's Gavin Reilly led a delegation of South Africa's most powerful capitalists to meet the ANC in mid-1985; this and other

similar visits greatly enhanced the movement's international prestige.

Towards the end of last year the alignment of internal resistance along a broadly pro-ANC position intensified. The defiance campaign re-established mass protests; the released Rivonia leaders were welcomed on a tidal wave of black, green and gold.

The history of the ANC stretches over three quarters of a century and is part of the broader history of our society.



WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
WESKUS RAAD VAN KERKE

IQUMRU LEENKONZO ZONXWEME LENTSHONA

South 5121-141490

We welcome the step in the direction of the restoration of fundamental human rights. The release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, other political prisoners and the scrapping of apartheid will enhance this first step.

We commit ourselves to work with renewed determination towards the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a democratic future.

In moments like these, we think of our Comrades who sacrificed their lives in the quest for justice for all.



PEACE PRIZE WINNER:
The late ANC president
Chief Albert Luthuli



Nats' most hated enemy



JB Marks



Ray Alexander



Moses Kotane



Yusuf Dadoo

FROM PAGE 18

Of course, the path of ANC-Communist Party relations from 1928 was not always smooth. During the 1930s, a conservative ANC leadership ousted Gumede, and refused to have any relations with the communists.

At the same time, the party was gripped by a wave of ultra-leftism inspired by Stalin. Many of its leading members were purged, and the ANC was dismissed as a "petty bourgeois" movement.

Both the ANC and the Party suffered during this period, and the struggle reached a low ebb.

It was the emergence of a new generation of African communists which turned things around. Moses Kotane, JB Marks and Edwin Mofutsanyana all moved through the ranks of the ANC and trade union movement.

Underground

Their experiences of struggle on the ground were enhanced by a year's political training at the Lenin School in Moscow. They returned to South Africa determined to eradicate the pie-in-the-sky ultra-leftism that had enthralled the leadership.

Communists, said Kotane, should start with the realities of South Africa and build a mass national liberation and trade union movements. They could not afford to be imprisoned by abstract slogans.

Party cadres went to work in the ANC, patiently building up branches and strengthening its base. They stressed absolute respect for the democratic processes of the national movement, insisting that communists should not act as a caucus or faction.

Thus it was that the likes of Kotane, Marks and Mofutsanyana all came to play leading roles in Congress.

The African working class was still the Party's priority, however — strengthening its ability to play a leading role in the national liberation struggle and to march forward to socialism, demanded the building of a strong trade union movement.

During the 1940s, thousands of workers streamed into the industrial centres to provide the muscle for South Africa's great industrial boom, in exchange for miserable wages and working conditions. The communists went out to organise them into unions — the weapons with which they could fight for a better life.

In 1943, the fledgling unions which the communists had played a leading part in building united into the Committee of Non-European Trade Unions, the forerunner of Sactu and later Cosatu.

Two of today's Cosatu affiliates — Fawu and Sarhwi — date back to unions started by communists during the late 1930s.

But the biggest impact was made among the mineworkers, the most brutalised section of South Africa's urban workforce. The African Mineworkers Union, chaired by JB. Marks, led 100 000 workers out on strike in 1946, marking the greatest

strike in South Africa's history.

The strike was bloodily suppressed, and the Communist Party leadership was charged with sedition for their role in supporting the workers.

Although the organisations still had differences over various issues, the ANC recognised the work done by the communists among African workers, and began to cooperate closely in campaigns over pass laws and housing, and for democratic rights.

The ANC Youth League, whose leading members included Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo, were initially hostile to the involvement of communists in Congress. They regarded communism as a "foreign ideology", and tried to expel the communists.

The ANC had always been a broad movement, accommodating a range of different ideologies, however, and the Youth Leaguers were unsuccessful. The communists had proved themselves to be loyal, disciplined and very effective members of the ANC.

Looking back on this period, Nelson Mandela said in 1964 that "it would take a brash young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that communists are our enemies".

Indeed, in the cauldron of intensifying struggle during the late 1940s, the Youth Leaguers and communists found themselves converging on the need for the ANC to adopt a militant programme of action.

In its "swart gevaar" election campaign of 1948, the Nationalist Party promised to do two things — put "blacks in their place" with apartheid, and outlaw the Communist Party.

The years in which the ANC and Party consolidated their alliance were also therefore the twilight years of the communists' legality. In 1950,

the Suppression of Communism Act banned the Party.

The ANC responded by calling a general strike. Communists continued to play a major role in trade unions and ANC structures during the mass struggles of the 1950s.

In the Defiance Campaign, schools and bus boycotts, Congress of the People campaign and stayaways, individual communists such as Kotane, Dan Tloome, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Mabhida, Ruth First, Ray Alexander and many others played a leading role.

The communists relaunched themselves in the underground in 1953. Its members all worked either in the trade union or liberation movement, but they also continued to meet as communists to discuss the issues of the day.

In 1959 they launched their underground journal, the African Communist, which has appeared regularly to this day.

Clandestine

In 1962, the Party adopted its programme, the Road to South African Freedom, which described the conditions under which South African capitalism existed as "colonialism of a special type".

It argued that while socialism remained the objective of South Africa's working class, the immediate struggle was for national liberation and democratic rights.

That struggle should draw in all patriotic elements, the SACP argued. It recognised the leadership of the ANC in the national liberation struggle, and affirmed its alliance with the movement.

When the ANC was banned, the underground experience of the communists was invaluable in helping the movement survive. Together the



SACP general secretary Joe Slovo

ANC and SACP took the decision to set up Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961.

In the decades which followed, communists played a leading role in building the ANC underground and its military wing. The Party also claims that its members have played an important role in building up the trade union movement and the MDM.

They emphasise, however, that their cadres have absolute respect for the democratic processes of these organisations. The Party insists that whatever leadership roles and influence their members achieve in these organisations is based not on intrigue, but on the basis of their hard work, discipline and loyalty.

The SACP is a vanguard party — its membership is not open to anyone. The Party is assumed to recruit from among the most disciplined and dedicated cadres of the ANC and the trade union movement.

Its membership is secret — only chairperson Dan Tloome, secretary general Joe Slovo and a handful of other veterans such as Ray Alexander and Brian Bunting publicly acknowledge their membership of the Party.

Media speculation has it that several members of the ANC's National Executive Committee are also members of the Party. The ANC has not confirmed or denied this — its stock response has been that it does not ask its cadres whether they are Party members.

The SACP has not yet given any indication of how its restored legality will change its hitherto-enforced clandestine operation.

The 1985/6 national uprising brought the Party back into the limelight, as hundreds of thousands of youth and worker militants proclaimed their allegiance to the organisation.

At its 1989 secret congress, the Party claimed that its membership had almost doubled since 1984. It gave its racial composition as 70 percent African, 16 percent white, 10 percent Indian and four percent coloured.

The Congress adopted a new programme — The Path to Power. It reaffirmed the view that the road to socialism in South Africa ran through a broad-based national liberation struggle.

The SACP's agenda was not to transform the ANC into a socialist movement. In the medium term it favours a mixed economy, and in-

sists that a multi-party democracy is inherent to its view of both national liberation and socialism.

At the same time, the Party believes that the achievements of national liberation will be best defended and extended through an advance to socialism.

It aims to organise workers — as the largest and most powerful section of the black population — to play a leading role in the national liberation struggle, and to lead the post-apartheid state in a socialist direction.

The present turmoil in the socialist world has led to a profound self-examination and criticism throughout the international communist movement. SACP secretary Joe Slovo recently released a paper entitled, Has Socialism Failed?

It provides a scathing critique of the legacy of Stalinism, and its distortions of socialism. While re-affirming the communist view of the moral superiority of socialism over capitalism, it calls for wide-ranging debate over the building of a new social system.

Slovo slams the yawning gap which developed between socialism and democracy, and insists that if it is not democratic, then socialism has no future or moral validity.

Seizure

The SACP believes that the urgent problems of the majority of South Africans — poverty, hunger, unemployment and homelessness — cannot be overcome in a capitalist framework. The way forward, Slovo argues, is through democratic socialism.

While the SACP is committed to the seizure of power through insurrection by the ANC, it is open to a negotiated settlement which creates genuine democratic conditions for the struggle to continue.

It insists, however, that the perspective of the liberation forces should remain building their mass strength to maintain the pressure on De Klerk. It warns of great danger in the temptation to relax the struggle in anticipation of a negotiated settlement.

The Nationalist government always insisted on the ANC breaking its alliance with the Party as a precondition to its unbanning.

The fact that Pretoria not only dropped this precondition, but unbanned the Party itself, is an indication of the SACP's significance in the present South African drama.

South 5/2 - 14/190 (1/1)

In 1952 the ANC declared its firm belief in ...'The Freedom of the African People and the restitution of Democracy, Liberty and Harmony in South Africa'

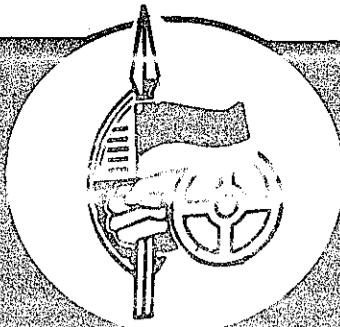
In 1990 this is still the cardinal challenge for our country.

The CTPA believes that the unbanning of the ANC is a major step towards the final attainment of these noble ideals for all South Africans.



Issued by: The Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA)

UNBANNING SPECIAL



ABC of the ANC

No 'emergency' freedom for Mandela - Page 3
 Mandela's behind-the-scenes role - Page 7
 A longing for South Africa - Page 8
 The ANC's new generation - Page 10
 MK chief speaks out - Page 11
 ANC's history of endurance - Page 14 & 15
 Afrikaners at crossroads - Page 21
 Nats most hated enemy - Page 19

CELEBRATIONS

11A
 South
 5/2-14/2/90

By CHIARA CARTER and REHANA ROSSOUW
HOOTING cars, spontaneous toyi-toying and impassioned freedom songs left no doubt about people's response to the news that the ANC had been unbanned.

The celebrations at home and abroad continued throughout the weekend.

In Cape Town, stunned disbelief was followed by scenes of wild jubilation.

At first the thousands of MDM supporters who had gathered on the Grand Parade were quiet when Sayco general secretary Rapu Molakane announced the news of the unbanning from a makeshift platform.

Only later did the news sink in and people give vent to their joy.

Groups of euphoric ANC support-

ers shouted ANC slogans as they toyi-toyi'd through the streets

Police stood by impassively while comrades danced around them, shouting "ANC! ANC!"

One group marched from the city centre to the township of Guguletu, where about 5 000 people danced through the streets.

Everywhere people produced flags and T-shirts in black, green and gold.

Late on Friday night, a 1 000-strong victory convoy wended its way, hooters blaring, from Mitchells Plain to Athlone and then on to the city and the affluent white suburb of Sea Point.

Earlier on Friday, about 10 000 people took part in a march to the Houses of Parliament from Greenmarket Square.

Leading the march was Mrs Winnie Mandela, who linked arms with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UDF

president Archie Gumede and other top-ranking UDF and Cosatu leaders.

When the protesters reached parliament, UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, speaking through a loudhailer, said the people demanded that parliament disband.

A youth climbed the statue of Jan Smuts outside Government Avenue and brandished a toy AK47 while others wrapped the ANC flag around the statue.

FAROUK CHOTHIA reports that in Durban scores of people gathered at the Eucumenical Centre to see De Klerk "cross the Rubicon".

When news of the unbannings was broadcast, people burst into toyi-toyi, punched their fists in the air and embraced each other with joy.

"This is for real. This is the burial of the tricameral system. Now I want to see an ANC government," said a jubilant Cyril Quali, 36, of Pieter-

maritzburg.

PETER AUF DER HEYDE reports that in the Eastern Cape residents took to the streets to celebrate the news.

A car flying the ANC flag drove through the townships and city in Port Elizabeth, telling people about the unbanning.

While some whites swore at the car as it drove through the main street in the townships, most residents gave the power salute and an impromptu victory march grew to several thousand strong.

Among the delegation that led the march were Eastern Cape UDF regional president Egar Ngoyi and vice-president Henry Fazzie.

Residents lined the streets and cheered the marchers who were turned back from the PE/Uitenhage road.

On Saturday, the celebrations continued in Cape Town. Convoys of cars snaked through townships in the

Cape Flats. A new target of the euphoric crowd was police stations, where toyi-toying youth waved ANC flags in the faces of impassive policemen.

A group of about 200 toyi-toying youths who left Khayelitsha early on Saturday morning, were still on the streets 12 hours later, moving on foot to Langa.

At Bridgetown police station, the crowd scattered when police made threatening moves, but soon moved back to sing freedom songs again.

Cars flaunted ANC flags from aerials and white paint dabbed on others spread ANC slogans.

An ANC picnic at Sandvlei rounded off the weekend celebrations in Cape Town.

In Grahamstown, celebrations lasted the whole weekend and groups of people stood on street corners discussing the news.

Celebrations also took place in Mdantsane in the Ciskei, although white East London was subdued.

MONO BADELA reports that in Johannesburg about 20 000 people packed the Alexandra Stadium on Saturday afternoon for a rally which organisers claim was the biggest in the township since 1986.

The podium was festooned with the colours of the ANC, the Alexandra Civic Association, Cosatu and the SACP.

Champagne

Later, a crowd which swelled to about 50 000 marched five kilometres to the council chamber and the local police station.

A huge roar was heard as Mrs Winnie Mandela arrived in a white, German car.

Mandela, was dressed in the ANC colours, was mobbed by the crowd before entering the council chambers where she urged the mayor to become "one of the people" and join the struggle.

Later the marchers presented a petition to the station commander.

In London, a lunchtime demonstration outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square turned into a giant celebration.

Champagne was uncorked and about 400 people — largely South African exiles — waved banners and chanted "Viva ANC".

The suited figure of MP and veteran Anti-Apartheid Movement chairperson, Bob Hughes, and portly Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, tried out a toyi toyi.

Speaker after speaker demanded that pressure be stepped up on Pretoria.

"It is vital that we maintain and intensify international pressure until apartheid is destroyed," the AAM said.

Although the mood was cautious, the spirit was exuberant.

Exiled ANC member Essop Pahad said: "I am more positive than ever that the walls of apartheid will come crumbling down like those of Berlin."



Jubilant youths march through Cape Town's city centre after the news of the ANC unbanning

Tragedy mars 'victory' celebrations

By LECHESA TSENOLI

A CELEBRATORY toyi-toyi by Lamontville youth following the announcement of the unbanning of the ANC ended in tragedy when a 14-year-old boy was shot dead by police.

Bafo Malinga — a pupil who could not find a place in a local high school this year because of overcrowding — was among a group of about 50 youths who were waving ANC flags and chanting slogans on their way to a meeting.

As the group passed the police station a policeman opened fire, critically injuring Malinga who fell to the ground about 10 metres from the police station.

Malinga was taken by ambulance to the King Edward Hospital where he died just over an hour later.

His brother, Jabavu Malinga, said the family was considering legal action.

"I am very unhappy about what happened. Why did they have to shoot an unarmed child?" Malinga

said. The police unrest report confirmed that a youth was "wounded" in the township when a police vehicle was fired on.

A man was shot dead and a youth injured when they were attacked by a group at Imbali near Pietermaritzburg, the police public relations department said in its daily unrest report on Saturday.

According to the report, "a group of blacks, waving ANC flags, threw stones and fired at a police

base at Lamontville near Durban at 8.35pm on Saturday.

"In the incident a vehicle returning to the base was shot at. While removing the vehicle to safety the driver was fired at by four blacks

The driver returned the fire, wounding a youth. Two others were arrested in the incident.

"The group were displaying ANC flags and shouted that the SAP should withdraw from the townships as the ANC was in charge of Lamontville," the report said.

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'Wonderful' response to unbanning of ANC, SACP

THE singing, the dancing and the waving of hundreds of tiny black, green and gold flags in the Cape Town city centre on Friday aptly summed up how the majority of people felt about the unbanning of the ANC.

"Wonderful!" said Cape Technikon student Antoinette Pedro. "It's about time the government unbanned the ANC. But on the other hand, I don't think De Klerk has gone far enough. More changes are needed."

She added: "It's significant that we, the young generation, are creating a non-racial South Africa of tomorrow."

Mrs Patricia Sixishe, of Tarkastad, said she was happy about the unbanning of the ANC because the organisation was fighting for everyone. "Now for a new South Africa," she added.

A woman who refused to give her name said: "I'm not interested in talking about the ANC."

Mitchell's Plain pensioner Carl Ebrahim said: "I can't read and I don't know anything about FW de Klerk and the ANC."

Window-dressing

Mr A Khan of Hanover Park was not impressed by De Klerk's announcement: "The unbanning of the ANC means nothing — it's just window-dressing," he said. "Violence will continue until repressive laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Labour Relations Act are repealed."

"The unbanning of the ANC is good for money," said a newspaper vendor in Adderly Street. "I've never seen so many smiling faces in Cape Town".

Said a flower seller: "I don't know anything about the ANC. I don't read about politics in the newspapers"

National serviceman Mr NR Swart of Bothasig felt that the unbanning of the South African Communist Party was a "bad move".

"It will open the doors to



Mrs Patricia Sixishe:
Now for a new South Africa



Mr NR Swart:
A bad move



Mr A Khan:
Just window-dressing



Antoinette Pedro:
About time government
unbanned ANC

Soviet socialism and all kinds of terrorism," he said. But he added: "I don't mind the unbanning of the ANC, because all it wants is for Mandela to be released."

Mr R Aickman of Sea

Point said the unbanning was a step in the right direction. "The government must now stop talking and start implementing all its manifestos."

Nora Tshuka, a teacher

from Strandfontein, said: "I'm pleased about the unbanning. It gives us a hope for a brighter tomorrow. We are eagerly waiting for our brothers and sisters in exile to come back home".

ANC JOY

South 5/2 - 14/2/90

Now the hard work begins

A SOBER assessment of FW de Klerk's announcements in Parliament last Friday is necessary now that the dust has settled.

Friend and foe must concede that De Klerk's measures, including the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and several subsidiary organisations, are a shift away from the fixed National Party position since 1948.

The suspension of the death penalty has been widely welcomed.

Journalists countrywide are relieved that there's at least one less landmine in the minefield of legislation that proscribed their work.

De Klerk's measures, however, are most notable for what they fail to address. No mention is made of scrapping fundamental laws underpinning apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. The state's battery of repressive laws such as the Internal Security Act and Public Safety Act are still intact.

Foolhardy

They fall far short of the vision of a future South Africa outlined by the ANC in its Freedom Charter and constitutional guidelines, the OAU's declaration (fast becoming an internationally accepted document) and the resolutions adopted recently at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

De Klerk's measures must be interpreted as merely strategic and not a principled advance to real democracy in South Africa.

They are designed to soften or reverse the country's diplomatic, economic, cultural (and sports) isolation and based on the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority's march to freedom.

Under these conditions, it will be foolhardy to "relax the noose around apartheid's neck", as Tanzania's foreign minister Benjamin Mkapa puts it.

Anti-apartheid forces, however, are now compelled to respond to De Klerk's measures. They need to seize the initiative in a way that mobilises people around the material conditions in our besieged communities.

Support for the ANC should not be assumed. Now is the time for activists to shed the rhetoric and go to the people.

We need to catch up on a 30-year backlog!

— The Editor



FREEDOM RIDE: ANC supporters take to the streets to express their joy at the movement's unbanning after 30 years

PIC: ADIL BRADLOW

ABC of the ANC
No 'emergency' freedom for Mandela - Page 3
Mandela's behind-the-scenes role - Page 7
A longing for South Africa - Page 8
The ABC of the ANC - Page 9
The ANC's new generation - Page 10
MK chief speaks out - Page 11
ANC's history of endurance - Page 14 & 15
Afrikaners at crossroads - Page 21
Nats most hated enemy - Page 19
Dancing in the streets - Page 24

South 5/2 - 14/2/90 • 327

WELCOME BACK COMRADES

Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo, Pallo Jordan, Steve Tshwete, Mac Maharaj, Harold Wolpe, Andrew Masondo, Essop Pahad, Aziz Pahad, John Nkadimeng, Penuel Maduna, Stanley Mabizela and all other South African exiles everywhere.

Your comrades in South Africa are waiting to welcome you back with open arms, so that we are reunited in struggle on our native soil in Africa.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Issued by Union of Teachers Association of South Africa



(11A)

South 5/2 - 14/2/90



By CHIARA CARTER

NELSON MANDELA was a "brilliant strategist" who won over the government to his way of thinking instead of the government getting him to follow its ideas, according to a source close to him.

Mandela has also played a crucial role in preventing government attempts to split the ANC.

The source said that, during more than three years of talks with government officials, Mandela held firm to the principle that the ANC could not renounce the armed struggle and enter negotiations unless its preconditions were met.

He was also adamant that he was accountable to the ANC.

The source said Mandela convinced the government that its hopes of creating an internal wing of the ANC and marginalising the movement outside the country, its armed wing and the South African Communist Party, were "pipedreams".

The talks began around the conditions of political prisoners.

Desperation

Mandela had long been the spokesperson for prisoners on Robben Island where he was acknowledged as the leader of the ANC supporters. As early as the 1960s, Mandela had negotiated with the authorities over the harsh conditions under which the prisoners were held.

Gradually, Mandela's talks with officials began to embrace broader issues and the subject of discussion was how to resolve the conflict tearing South Africa apart.

The government had turned to Mandela out of desperation.

Rising international pressures, an economic crisis with a dearth of foreign investors, the lack of credibility of homeland rulers and growing pressures from the mass-based organisations which repression had failed to destroy, forced the government to talk to South Africa's most

How Mandela 'won over the government'

famous political prisoner.

As the talks developed, violence became a central issue.

According to the source, the government team realised Mandela was very serious about the question.

"Mandela is the kind of man who would explore all peaceful means to resolve conflict. He is committed to peace," the source said.

Nevertheless, as early as 1985, Mandela made it clear he was not prepared to renounce the armed struggle; the government could not expect to hold talks with the ANC unless it met the movement's preconditions for negotiations.

The source said the government's strategy was designed to win Mandela over to the position of rejecting the armed struggle.

Rightly or wrongly, history had designated Mandela as part of the "moderate nationalist" grouping within the ANC and the state sought to exploit the "divisions between nationalist and communist".

The government hoped Mandela would agree the ANC should sever its ties with the SACP. It saw Mandela as "reasonable" and hoped he would compromise and abandon majority rule for a "lesser form of pow-



CENTRE-STAGE: Nelson Mandela with his co-accused at the end of the historic treason trial in 1961

er-sharing" in a system of groups, cutting off the ANC outside the country and marginalising the SACP.

The meeting between the then President PW Botha and Mandela in

May last year ended in an impasse.

When President FW de Klerk met Mandela at Tuynhuys last December, the government was still no closer to getting Mandela to agree

to this plan.

In a paper entitled, "A Document to create a Climate for Understanding", given to the government before Mandela met with De Klerk, Mandela said the conflict in South Africa would never be settled unless the government and the ANC reached agreement.

Mandela told the government they could not avoid talking to extra-parliamentary groupings inside the country and the ANC.

He said he agreed with the ANC that the onus was on the government to create a proper climate for negotiations by meeting the movement's preconditions.

These included the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of organisations, the return of the exiles, the scrapping of apartheid legislation, the release of political prisoners and a halt to all political trials and executions.

Brilliant

"When the full truth about these talks are known, people will realise what a brilliant strategist Mandela is," the source said.

"Instead of Mandela being won over to the government's plan, the opposite has occurred. Mandela has forced the state to take the first steps towards creating a climate for negotiations by insisting that the state recognise the Lusaka leadership, the communist alliance with the ANC and the principle of majority rule."

Mandela has said the ANC should decide what role he should play after he is released from prison.

He has met a wide range of MDM leaders in recent months and has indicated his willingness to act as a "facilitator". Mandela made it clear to the government that his talks with them were not the beginning of negotiations.

He also said he was always under the discipline of the ANC.

SPONTANEOUS demonstrations erupted throughout the country at the weekend celebrating President F W de Klerk's announcement that he would lift a 30-year ban on the ANC and set Mr Nelson Mandela free.

The sense of euphoria, which gripped Cape Town after Mr De Klerk's watershed speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday, led to mass marches in the townships.

The Roman Catholic Church in Khayelitsha held a service on Saturday attended by about 600 jubilant ANC supporters while an estimated 2 000 people toyi-toyed, chanted and danced in the street outside.

The group later marched to Site C — the shack area — long regarded as a conservative stronghold. Police were nowhere to be seen and no violence was reported.

In Bonteheuwel, often officially described as "an ANC nest", a huge SA Communist Party banner was hung outside the civic centre.

Yesterday afternoon jubilant ANC supporters held a picnic at Sandvlei where people were encouraged to bring their own food and unwind in the more relaxed atmosphere.

⊗ In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, a peaceful demonstration by more than 50 000 people turned into a full-blown ANC celebration as the huge throng toyi-toyed along the way to present a petition at the local town council offices.

It was the largest-ever demonstra-

Songs, dances, marches as SA rejoices

*Cape Town 5/2/10
(11/1) 20*

tion in the township.

⊗ In Port Elizabeth about 50 000 high-spirited people took to the streets of the townships in a carnival mood.

Soon after the announcement, the usual atmosphere in the townships changed dramatically to one of jubilation, with some young people driving around in vehicles, waving ANC and SACP flags, chanting slogans and singing freedom songs.

In the evening, a huge procession of people singing, chanting and waving ANC and SACP flags snaked through the townships.

They were met by enthusiastic crowds lining the streets.

Known PAC supporters celebrated quietly at home.

There were no policemen in the streets.

⊗ There was also dancing in the streets of Graaff-Reinet and Cradock, but in Grahamstown and the Border areas, celebrations were low-key.

⊗ Duncan Village outside East London was awash with black, green and gold at the weekend as jubilant residents celebrated the announcement.

⊗ In Laudium near Pretoria, about 150 members of the Transvaal Indian Congress as well as the Laudium Youth Congress demonstrated in favour of the lifting of the ban on the ANC and 33 other organisations.

⊗ About 40 000 people staged a peaceful protest in Atteridgeville township yesterday to present a petition detailing local grievances to the town council. — Own Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa

11A

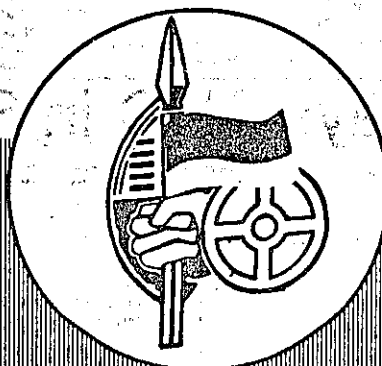


The ANC SPEAKS

The ANC remains committed to doing everything in its power to end the apartheid system as quickly as possible and by all means possible, including negotiations.

The situation also calls for the greatest unity of all forces within our country that are committed to the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We therefore call on all our people to work for this unity with even greater vigour.



ANC LIVES

ANC LEADS

CAFT Times 5/2/90 (119) ~~119~~

ANC welcomes govt's 'positive steps'

Mr Pahad: Clearly I think the ANC and many other organisations in the country are satisfied that at last the government has taken steps to try to find political solutions in our country. Some of the measures that have been announced are very welcome because they show the understanding that apartheid cannot continue and we must find a political solution. In that sense, we welcome aspects of it, but of course we are concerned that some other aspects are being maintained — the state of emergency hasn't been totally lifted, not all political prisoners are going to be released, the Internal Security Act is still on the agenda. We hope that that would help create the climate, we hope that the regime will go further and begin to deal with those very laws that we think have been preventing the move forwards.

Announcer: Mr ambassador, why didn't the South African government meet all of the demands of the ANC once the ANC had been recognized?

Mr Nothnagel: Well, I think in essence the government has met the most important demands and in fact Mr De Klerk has stated it very categorically that it is up to the ANC now to say that they would like to see peace in South Africa. The negotiation room is open, they are most welcome to come and they can also speak on the measures that are still on the statute books. I don't think that's an obstacle. It certainly cannot be an obstacle. I just get the impression that Mr Pahad and some members in the ANC are still trying to run away from South Africa, at this point in time I think they should come back right now.

Announcer: Are you running away from South Africa, Mr Pahad?

Mr Pahad: I want to make clear that the ANC's whole history has been a history of trying to find political solutions to our problems. We are saying that we have welcomed the move towards certain changes. We are saying that this is a step in the right direction and we must all now, black, white, ANC, the regime, and other forces in the country, continue the processes and get the situation where we end

The following debate took place on Dutch TV on Saturday between ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pahad and South Africa's ambassador to The Hague, Mr Albert Nothnagel

apartheid and work towards creating a real non-racial democratic South Africa. I don't think we're running away from anything. I think we are saying that as a positive step has been taken, it's a half measure, why stop at the half measure, we can now go ahead and find a real solution so the future generations can live in peace and prosperity.

Announcer: Mr ambassador?

Mr Nothnagel: It's not a half measure, it's a full measure. You can come back to South Africa tomorrow. The ANC can sit at the negotiation table with Mr De Klerk tomorrow. I think the problem is that many members in the ANC are at this point in time still only interested in seizing power. The ANC must realise that they are just a political organisation, they don't represent 24 million blacks, there are many other leaders, so why don't they come back and speak at the negotiation table about the future of South Africa?

Mr Pahad: Let me explain to the ambassador that the ANC was banned in 1960. The ANC since then has made constant efforts in order to find solutions to the political problems in our country. It is the policies of respective Nationalist governments that have placed the country in the crisis we find ourselves in. There has been untold bad suffering, not only in South Africa but in the region. We are committed to finding a solution, we have never said that we are sole representatives of our people but I think that the ambassador must admit and today's announcement reflects that the ANC is central to the solution of the problem.

The ANC has been committed in finding unity with all these forces but they are genuinely interested in finding a new South Africa. So we are not saying that we are the only organi-

sation, we have never denied that other organisations have a role to play.

It is for the first time that the Nationalist government has now accepted that the oppressed people have got a say in the future of their destiny and they are not represented by those that the regime has imposed upon them as the representatives, but the people have chosen their own representatives. The ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, the Church structure, even some of the creations of the government, like the bantustans, are becoming part of the broad front to bring about a real change in our country. We are willing to accept any real movement.

Announcer: Mr Pahad seems to be quite optimistic, Mr ambassador.

Mr Nothnagel: Well, if you are really genuine in what you say there is no way that the ANC can at this point in time, still remain in London. In fact, your name says: African National Congress. Not British National Congress, not European National Congress — African National Congress. Let the people of Africa come back to South Africa and let us decide what the future should be. I think with all these pre-conditions you, in a certain way, are running away from what Mr De Klerk has created as the finest opportunity in the history of South Africa to get its people together at the table.

Mr Pahad: We have pre-conditions, Mr Nothnagel. Let me make clear to you that we had to leave the country of our birth not because we like London, or other corners of the world.

Mr Nothnagel: Are you going back there?

Mr Pahad: We were banned, we were forced out, we were prosecuted and we persisted in our correct policy of never arguing and fighting

against a particular group, we are opposed to apartheid and will continue.

Announcer: Yes, but Mr Pahad, the ambassador is asking you whether you are going to move your organisation from London to Cape Town or Pretoria.

Mr Pahad: Yes, we have said already our organisation is based inside the country, our leaders who have recently been released are inside the country, our organisation's structures are inside the country. The orderly return of the rest of our organisation is a process of discussion and we will work out in a systematic way how the rest of our organisation joins our organisations already inside the country. Mr Mandela is not an individual, he is an outstanding leader of our movement, but he is inside the country. Mr Sisulu and the others are inside the country. We have got thousands of supporters inside the country. So we are not just an exiled organisation.

Mr Nothnagel: Aren't you staying in London, aren't you staying overseas, to still continue boycott actions against SA, at this point in time, to the very detriment of ordinary human beings? Are you going on with these boycott actions and if you do, for what reason?

Mr Pahad: The suffering in our country has been caused by apartheid, that even Mr F W de Klerk has accepted that apartheid is a system that has to go. So apartheid has been the cause of our suffering. Those of us who will be asked to go back into the country by our movement, will go back. Those of us who are asked to remain outside in order to still mobilise international opinion to maintain pressure until apartheid is eradicated, will do so. We are saying that you cannot remove the pressure on the South African government until we get to a stage where the move to a non-racial democracy is irreversible. I mean, in a sense Mr Nothnagel, you cannot immediately expect that the international community must now say that things have changed to the full, and therefore pressure must be lifted. Pressure is to be maintained not as a punishment, but in order so that we all move together to bring about a genuine solution to our problems.

Sisulu borings

Responsese to Fw

Cap 7/175
5/2/90

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QUOTE

"YOU could almost say that for practical purposes he (Mandela) has been set free. He must just reside (in prison) a little longer."

VETERAN ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu flies to Cape Town from London tonight to deliver a clear response from the ANC executive to President F W de Klerk's initiative on constitutional negotiations.

And in an interview yesterday, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerit Viljoen, said the government would like to meet the ANC "as soon as possible".
In further developments:

● President De Klerk assured the country that the government would not allow the negotiation process to be undermined by violence — and that any changes in the direction of a new constitutional dispensation would be put to the vote first.

● The Conservative Party — whose MPs were horrified by the "revolutionary" changes announced by Mr De Klerk — said it was planning a series of extra-parliamentary protest actions, including marches and rallies.
● Mrs Winnie Mandela said after visiting her husband at Victor Verster Prison that it was "out of the question" that the ANC leader would want

to be released under a state of emergency.

In Stockholm senior ANC officials yesterday admitted that President De Klerk had put the ball firmly in the court of the ANC's decision-making executive working committee, which has been locked in a marathon emergency session since Friday night.

The working committee, being chaired by ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo at his clinic, met knowing that they must now respond positively without delay to what is seen around the world as a tactical success for Mr De Klerk.
ANC officials admitted privately

that they were stunned by the extent and boldness of President De Klerk's changes, particularly their upbanning at this stage.

"We did not expect a completely new ball game so suddenly," a spokesman said.

During a break in the marathon talks, ANC foreign secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki said he realised the transition from an "apartheid South Africa" to a "non-apartheid South Africa" might take time and that a transitional government might be necessary.

"The road towards a political settlement is open... and that is the road the ANC will take," Mr Mbeki told

London Weekend Television's "Eye-witness" programme.

But his father and veteran ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, 79, struck a note of caution, saying that "if it seems this announcement is a change of heart, we must not believe it."

Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, added that "it is going to take a long time to evaluate what De Klerk has offered".

It also emerged yesterday that the ANC executive and Mr Tambo are clearly angry that their most senior internal leaders were out of the country in Sweden when President De Klerk delivered his speech.
A spokesman said they were confident that Mr Sisulu would have an "emphatic response for the people" when he boarded an aircraft for Cape Town tonight.

They have almost certainly been forced to shelve a prepared headline statement rejecting talks-about-talks and they are expected to maintain that Mr De Klerk's changes are still far short of creating the correct "political atmosphere" for negotiation.

Snubbed

The ANC executive is outraged that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was reported in London yesterday to be preparing unilaterally to end all British trade and financial sanctions on South Africa.

They confirmed that as a result of Mrs Thatcher's unilateral decision last Friday to restore Britain's cultural, artistic, educational and scientific contact with South Africa, they had snubbed invitations to meet British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd in London today.

In Cape Town last night Dr Viljoen told Anthony Johnson that a date for a meeting between the government and

to come out.
When asked before her departure from DF Malan Air-

of people he regarded as political prisoners he wanted freed before leaving prison

Government day declined the new turn i

From page 1

C. P. L. T. 114
Sisulu *5/2/90*

the formerly banned organisation would depend on the ANC, which now had to sort out its response to the government's latest initiative.

The ANC's initial reaction to the steps announced by Mr De Klerk contained "a certain amount of ambivalence, which is to be expected".

The government was awaiting the ANC's authoritative response once it had had time to study properly the package announced on Friday, which had brought "a complete change in atmosphere".

Dr Viljoen said it would be "puny" to check measures announced by Mr De Klerk against a shopping list drawn up beforehand.

The government had taken a number of steps to help pave the way for talks and it was now up to other parties to do the same.

On the ANC insistence that all trials it regarded as political should be stopped, he said the organisation should negotiate with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the issue. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

From page 1

De Klerk *5/2/90*

He said there was no risk-free solution to South Africa's problems. However, there were fewer risks entailed in searching for justice than falling into a trench that would involve an 80-year war.

During the lengthy interview, Mr De Klerk also took great pains to try to allay white fears and misgivings about the steps he announced to Parliament on Friday.

He said the fact that the government was committed to maintaining law and order and fighting violence and anarchy had perhaps been under-emphasised in the publicity following the speech.

While acknowledging that "renewal brings insecurity", the government remained strongly committed to maintaining proper order during the negotiation process.

In addition, any proposed changes that emerged from negotiations would be put to (white) voters before being implemented.

Mr De Klerk said his government's decision to unban the ANC was so that the organisation could no longer use the excuse that it could not be heard in South Africa. The reason the ANC had used to justify violence had been removed.

The government was not afraid to trade standpoints with the ANC.

The ball was now in the ANC's court. If the ANC went ahead and pleaded for sanctions and planned violence then the organisation would have lost moral ground and international support.

Mr De Klerk said he was confident about the country's future because there was "a good broad reservoir of goodwill among all people in South Africa".

200 die in Beirut as Christians war

BEIRUT. — The thunder of exploding shells and rockets yesterday drowned out the sound of church bells tolling for nearly 200 people killed so far in Beirut's Christian war.

For 70 minutes shells, rockets and mortar bombs crashed into the city's battered streets at a rate of one a second as General Michel Aoun's 15 000...

CAPE TOWN 5/2/90

'Obstacles' block Mandela release

11A

PROSPECTS for Mr Nelson Mandela's early release faded yesterday after his wife Winnie visited him and said he would refuse to accept freedom under the three-year-old state of emergency.

Speaking after her first visit to Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl since President F W de Klerk promised on Friday that he would soon release the internationally famous prisoner, Mrs Mandela said there were still "certain obstacles" in the way of his release.

Mr Mandela would issue a statement on the matter soon. She said her husband seemed to be "very optimistic" about the sweeping reforms announced by Mr De Klerk on Friday.

As she emerged from the prison after the visit she was swamped by a large contingent of local and international media — including about ten foreign TV crews — who had waited almost five hours in the sweltering Paarl sun for her to come out.

When asked before her departure from D F Malan Air-

Winnie and MDM clash

LONDON. — Intense infighting is going on between Mrs Winnie Mandela and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) for control of Mr Nelson Mandela and his story, worth many millions of rands, when he finally walks free.

Official arrangements for Mr Mandela's release are being handled by the MDM's specially appointed National Reception Committee which has rented offices in central Johannesburg for the use of the veteran ANC leader and the staff who will help him.

But the Weekly Mail, a newspaper with good sources inside

the ANC and MDM, reported that a mysterious French businessman, Dr Alain Guenon, is involved with separate arrangements on behalf of Mrs Mandela to handle her husband's release.

Mr Guenon, a former professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, who hunts with South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and was a close friend of the assassinated Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski, was approached by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to assist with the "rival" Mandela reception arrangements. — Daily Telegraph

port about a possible date for Mr Mandela's release, she said "Mr De Klerk is the man who could answer that".

"It is out of the question that he will be released under the state of emergency," she said.

A family source said Mr Mandela had drawn up a list of people he regarded as political prisoners he wanted freed before leaving prison

himself. "He wants a firm commitment to the release of all political prisoners including people convicted of terrorism, sabotage and treason, which are offences De Klerk excluded in his amnesty," the source said.

Government sources yesterday declined to comment on the new turn in arrangements

for Mr Mandela's release, referring queries to Mr De Klerk, whose office declined to take questions.

Government sources have disclosed that Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen met Mr Mandela and discussed Mr De Klerk's speech with him in advance of its delivery.

Education Minister Mr Stofel van der Merwe said after that meeting that "you could almost say that for practical purposes he (Mandela) has been set free. He must just reside (in prison) a little longer".

● In a biography by his friend sociologist Mrs Fatima Meer, published in Britain this week, Mr Mandela was quoted as saying that he had come close to breaking point during his 27 years in various prisons.

"The worst part of imprisonment is being locked up by yourself," he said in the authorised biography "Higher than Hope".

"You come face to face with time and there is nothing more terrifying than to be alone with sheer time." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

11A

Mandela tells of depressions in jail

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela's authorised biography "Higher than Hope" is to be published here on Wednesday.

The London Sunday Times has published an exclusive extract from the book, written by Fatima Meer, professor of sociology at Natal University and a close friend of his before and through the years of his imprisonment.

In the book, Mr Mandela, whose imminent release after 27 years in jail was announced on Friday by President F W de Klerk, tells of the harshness and deep loneliness of life behind bars in South Africa, most of it on Robben Island.

It discloses that he suffered deep depressions and often came close to breaking point, frequently wondering whether his sacrifices for black nationalism were worthwhile and what his life would have been like had he not become involved in politics.

Mr Mandela describes how he would wake up in "cold sweats" worrying about his family and tells of his enduring hope that one day he would be free to help build a new nation.

"The worse part of imprisonment is being locked up by yourself," he says. "You come face-to-face with time and there is nothing more terrifying than to be alone with sheer time.

"Then the ghosts come crowding in. They can be very sinister, very mischievous, raising a thousand doubts in your mind about the people outside, their loyalty." — Sapa, Sapa-Reuter

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More reports — Pages 6 & 7

Frail Tambo still has major role

Call Times 5/2/90

From IAN HOBBS *11A*

LONDON. — Mr Oliver Tambo, the frail but sharp-eyed old man who looms even larger than Mr Nelson Mandela over the momentous events in South Africa, allowed himself a celebratory mineral water in his clinic in sub-arctic Sweden on Saturday.

In three decades of grinding stress he, more than anyone, has held the warring factions of the ANC together.

Mr Tambo, the background power generator who took over the ANC presidency from Mr Albert Luthuli, and who has always been senior in the hierarchy to Mr Mandela, has always played a quiet role and skilfully manipulated the greater public charisma of his imprisoned friend.

It is a role Mr Tambo will continue to play as Mr Mandela prepares to walk free and take his direct part in precipitous events.

Mr Tambo, who has been meeting old friends like Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki for the first time in 30 years, is said to show no resentment whatever that he barely features in the jubilant headlines celebrating South Africa's emergence from the laager of of white supremacy.

Yet the 72-year-old leader, a gentle-mannered academic, poet and devout Christian, stands foursquare today with President Frederik de Klerk as the main architects of peace and hope for South Africa's future.

Mr Tambo is the mastermind of the ANC's Harare Declaration of 1989, the ANC standpoint and keystone for constitutional negotiation.

Call Times 5/2/90



Aziz Pahad

'Legal' delegates from SA to ANC conference?

London-based ANC National Executive member Aziz Pahad raised this possibility, and also discussed what the ANC should do now that it has been legalised to organise inside South Africa for the future in an interview with SOUTH:

By GUY BERGER
LONDON.- It is possible that delegates from legal ANC structures within South Africa will, for the first time in 30 years, attend the ANC's national conference later this year.

This was said by London-based ANC National Executive member Aziz Pahad in an interview with SOUTH yesterday.

It was too early to say how the ANC would organise legal structures inside South Africa, Pahad said, but it was clear the legalisation of the ANC required the organisation to take mass political struggles to a higher level.

"We must strengthen organisations, mobilise sectors that have still not been drawn into action, unite the unions, keep anti-conscription going, and act on the disaffection within the police," he said.

"The whole question of political power must be put on the agenda,

and the demand raised for a constituent assembly - as agreed in the Harare Declaration."

Pahad said that the positions on the Harare and UN General Assembly Declarations needed to be fought for. "We must guard against those forces that want to impose a solution from outside this framework."

As part of the priority of raising political consciousness, there was new urgency in developing People's Education, along with building parent-teacher-student unity.

Pahad urged that while there was a need to be vigilant about vigilantes, "who have been up to now a paramilitary arm of the state", the campaigns needed to be rooted in every area.

"We must immediately step up work to end the reign of terror of the warlords in Natal, creating a climate of peace there and exposing the forces opposed to fundamental changes.

"We believe that if the masses of oppressed people could freely chose, they would rally to the

banner of the ANC and the MDM." Pahad noted with enthusiasm that "the ANC has been unbanned at a healthy time".

According to Pahad, "political consciousness among the people is greater than ever before, and there is a vibrant trade union movement with the highest-calibre leadership.

"The UDF, despite the attacks on it, is also on the march - again with tried and tested leadership," he said.

Working with such forces, the ANC believed that an effective, united front could be built to continue the offensive for a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Pahad spoke with a conviction that promised to disappoint those who had hoped that the unbanning of the ANC would create division in the legal democratic movement.

"The ANC will rise to the challenge and use the new space to unite our people across the spectrum," said Pahad.

The exact relationship between the different forces would have to be worked out in consultation, he

said - "with the objective being how to strengthen the overall offensive to bring about the quickest possible end to apartheid".

The NEC member expressed confidence that hostile hopes that the ANC would lose its reputation and become "de-mythologised" were flawed.

He added: "The ANC is not separate from the people, nor above them. It is with them, and gives leadership through its contact with them. That is our strength.

"The ANC has survived 30 years of illegality and exile because we believe that the masses make history," he said. "Without this perspective, we would have become a paper organisation."

Pahad showed himself to be keen to use the unbanning to reverse the "demonised" picture of the ANC that Pretoria has given whites over the years.

"While not acting at the expense of mobilising the oppressed, we must seek more ways to win whites towards the ANC and towards the realisation that only

genuine non-racial democracy will produce peace," he said.

However, the ANC official clearly despaired of ever winning over British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

He had angry words for her government's suggestion that sanctions and other pressures could now be lifted.

"It is precisely Thatcher's and Reagan's 'carrots' which have given sustenance to the regime and delayed these changes - causing greater loss of life and destruction in the region.

"And yet it is clear to everyone that it was internal and external struggles, including sanctions, which pushed the Boers out of the laager.

"All pressures must be put on Pretoria's traditional allies to see that they don't use the unbanning as an excuse to revive contacts with racist South Africa," he said.

The ANC official strongly rejected media suggestions that the ball was now in the ANC court, and that the movement needed to make parallel concessions

PAC, ANC split widens

HARARE. — The split between rival South African black nationalist movements in exile appears to be widening as they prepare to respond to President F W de Klerk's call to join him at the negotiating table.

On Friday PAC information director Mr Walter Toboti, speaking from Dar es Salaam, called the ANC "traitors".

"Some leaders of the ANC are tired of the armed struggle. They have become traitors selling out on the revolution," he accused.

The PAC says it will negotiate only once the South African

government has been militarily defeated — a position likely to leave it on the sidelines if talks start with the ANC and other more moderate groups.

There have been some verbal hints that the PAC may soften its response to the fast-moving situation inside South Africa, but no firm sign of a new policy.

The ANC view is that the PAC is too insignificant inside the country to be taken seriously.

"How do you unite with people who are struggling on radios and newspapers in foreign capitals and yet command no forces on the ground?" Mr Joe Modise, the ANC's

military commander, said in a recent interview.

Now both are legal, the real strength of the rival movements is likely to be tested in public by their ability to mobilise mass support in South Africa.

The latest round of invective between the ANC and PAC was sparked by an attack on the PAC last month by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He told a university audience in Dar es Salaam that the PAC was "a diversion from the main course of the struggle".

● Any talks between the South African government and black or-

ganisations should be processed and monitored solely by the Organisation of African Unity, PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng said on Friday.

"Negotiations must be under the auspices of a trusted body. We trust only the OAU and not the super-powers. We are in Africa and this is an African affair."

Mr Mothopeng added that if negotiations to solve the conflict in SA were to take place they should be held outside the country. Such a move would guarantee security for opponents of the government.

● Mr De Klerk's announcements on Friday merely restore the posi-

tion of the oppressed to that which prevailed before the bannings in 1960, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) said from Harare.

The organisation said Mr De Klerk's announcements fell short of even that position because political prisoners and other "combatants of the liberation movement" are still regarded as criminals.

The BCMA cautioned black people against complacency and said developments around Friday's historic announcements had the potential of "making our dispossession and impoverishment permanent". — Sapa-Reuter

Cayco to link up with ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Cape Youth Congress announced at the weekend that it would affiliate itself to the ANC Youth League. It is believed to be the first organisation to affiliate itself to one of the previously banned movements.

Intensive debates have begun in most anti-apartheid, or pro-liberation, organisations about affiliating themselves to the recently unbanned organisations of the ANC, SACP and PAC.

ANC military campaign to go on

LUSAKA. — The ANC will not halt its military campaign and yesterday ruled out an early return of its headquarters from exile in Zambia, despite the unbanning of the organisation by President F W de Klerk on Friday.

ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan told reporters here: "We have always said that the notion of unilaterally abandoning armed struggle is out of the question. Any cessation of hostilities will have to be negotiated and will arise out of a mutually binding ceasefire."

Mr Jordan, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, said a decision on returning to South Africa

Exiles to face prosecution?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Exiled members of banned organisations will have to consider for themselves whether they had been involved in activities which would make them liable for prosecution should they return home, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

He would not comment on possible prosecution against prominent individuals, including ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, whom Constitutional

Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen has been reported as saying was welcome to return to South Africa.

General Van der Merwe said all that had changed was that activities related purely to the banned status of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations were no longer considered criminal.

"From a police point of view, people against whom we can bring cases of terrorism, subversion and sabotage will — unless amnesty is granted — still face prosecution," he said.

would be made "in the not-too-distant future".

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said a decision on whether to move would be delayed till

full negotiations on the political future of South Africa were being held with Pretoria.

Negotiations could not take place till the lifting

of the three-year state of emergency and the expected release of Mr Nelson Mandela this month, he said. "We have not yet entered the

phase of negotiations. This is a method of pushing."

However, observers are sceptical whether the ANC can any longer put pressure on Mr De Klerk with the threat of guerilla action. Last

Mr De Klerk did not refer in his amnesty to exiled ANC militants, many of whom would probably face terrorism charges in the Republic.

At present there are between 1 000 and 4 000 ANC members based at the administrative quarters here. There are also up to 12 000 guerillas of the Umkhonto wing based in Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia. — Sapa-Reuter, Daily Telegraph

Workers' champion, but

By TONY KARON
TEN years before it banned the African National Congress, the government banned the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).
The Communist Party had been South Africa's first ever non-racial organisation. Its

commitment to majority rule and a socialist future made it the Nationalist Party's most hated enemy.
On February 2, FW de Klerk unbanned the SACP, together with its ally, the ANC.
Like the ANC, however, the SACP had long been unbanned in the streets. Its red banners marched proudly alongside the ANC flag at

the head of street demonstrations, and its literature circulated widely, particularly in the trade union movement.
SACP messages of support at Cosatu congresses are greeted with more enthusiasm than any other, and the union federation's secretary general Jay Naidoo even sent a message of support to the party's recent seventh underground congress.
"We salute the outstanding contribution the Party has made to both

working class theory and the actual task of building and consolidating working class organisation," said Naidoo.
The Communist Party has always based itself among South Africa's workers, and its perspective has been shaped by their interests.
The Party's starting point is that capitalism oppresses and exploits workers. It believes that only socialism can guarantee the democratic and social rights of working people.

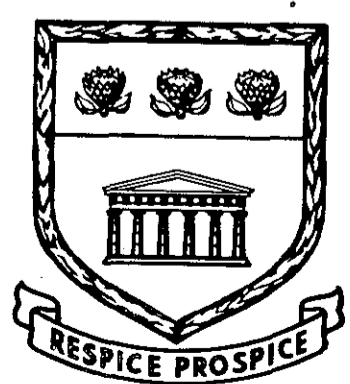
The SACP is the oldest communist party in Africa. It was formed in 1921, and affiliated to the Communist International.
The Party was formed by white workers and intellectuals, and that remained its constituency in its early years. These white workers had brought ideas of trade unionism and socialism with them from Europe, and set out to fight for a socialist future.

The University of the Western Cape welcomes the unbanning of the people's organisations and salutes the victory of the people in securing that unbanning.

We remember all political prisoners, in particular our students and alumni. We salute their heroic contributions and welcome back those that are now to be released.

We celebrate the recognition of the legitimacy of the people's organisations. We remember the courage and heroism of our compatriots who for so long had to labour underground without the protection of the law. And we look forward particularly to welcoming home our exiled compatriots.

Together with all peace-loving South Africans we welcome the approach of an era when we can start to resolve through genuine negotiations the obstacles to the founding of a just and democratic South Africa.



UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

They believed that socialism recognised no colour, and that black and white workers shared a common struggle against the bosses.

When white mineworkers went on strike in 1922 calling for "a white South Africa", the Party supported the challenge to management but insisted that white workers could not win without the support of black workers.

Reactionary

Party members such as Jimmy la Guma and John Gomas played an important role in building up the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. Their expulsion by a reactionary leadership marked the beginning of the ICU's collapse.

Although it promoted a non-racial ideology, the Party initially believed that white workers would play the leading role in the struggle for socialism in South Africa.

By the late 1920s, however, this perspective had shifted. Contrary to the myth that the Communist Party was a "white party", the majority of its membership was African from 1927 onwards.

In 1928, the Party recognised the national liberation struggle as its primary emphasis for the first time.

While it was committed to socialism, it proclaimed the struggle for a "Black Republic" (majority rule) as the immediate objective in South Africa.

Abandoned

The white workers in which the Party had initially had so much faith had abandoned their struggle in favour of class collaboration with management under the racist umbrella of "job reservation". On the other hand, African workers were growing in numbers and strength.

The Communist Party's primary emphasis became organising black workers into trade unions. And it recognised the national liberation movement - the ANC - as the major force in the struggle for a "black republic".

At the same time, ANC president Josias Gumede visited the Soviet Union and was highly impressed by the social equality and non-racialism he found.

"The only friends of the oppressed people are the communists," he told the movement on his return. "Division among our ranks is helping to maintain the present despairing conditions."

Thus the origins of today's ANC-SACP alliance.

11A
South 5/2 - 14/2/90

Response to FW being thrashed out

ANC's 'soft-liners' may prevail in end

By Ken Vernon, The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The national executive meeting of the African National Congress, at which a response to the De Klerk reform initiative is being formulated, goes into its second day today after working long into the night yesterday.

Leaders of the ANC remain tight-lipped about the discussions going on behind closed doors, but there are indications that announcements of major importance will be made at the end of the meeting.

It is not yet known when the discussions will end, but it is believed they will last until at least Friday morning.

The ANC leaders are also not indicating when, or if, released leader Mr Nelson Mandela will visit the city.

They have admitted that they

are in touch by phone with Mr Mandela and other internal leaders who are making "important contributions".

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

In an interview, the leader of the SA Communist Party and ANC national executive committee member Mr Joe Slovo adopted a hard-line "no concessions" stance, but there are indications that the "negotiationist" faction has prevailed, and that some concessions designed to keep the climate of reconciliation alive are likely.

Confusion

Yesterday, in an interview with The Star's Africa News Service, Mr Slovo gave his personal unequivocal "no".

Adopting a hard-line stance

on the question of any concessions by the ANC, he said that the preconditions for creating a climate for negotiations had been set out in the Harare Declaration last year, and were "minimum requirements and not negotiable".

He listed confusion over the question of whether all exiles were free to return to South Africa and the continued detention of some ANC members as some of the reasons that the climate was unsatisfactory.

While admitting that President de Klerk had taken "bold and courageous" steps, and that he was "in a dilemma" because of this, he said he saw no reason for the ANC to compromise.

"I don't want to detract from President de Klerk's courage and fresh thinking, it would be ungenerous to do so, but the Harare Declaration was approved by the whole world at the UN and the OAU, so there is unlikely to be any further response from us."

Asked if it was not in the interests of the ANC to compromise on the Harare Declaration in order to ensure that President de Klerk's initiative did not fail, he replied that the ANC could not allow its strategies to be dictated by the limitations of Mr de Klerk's constituency.

Mr Slovo also ruled out any formal ceasefire or temporary lifting of the "armed struggle", while admitting that "things have been very quiet in that area for some time".

He denied however that there was any de facto cessation of hostilities "by either design or agreement".

Big debate: Now for a long slog

Sowetan
5/2/90



PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's historic speech on Friday caught almost everybody, even the South African liberation movements, by surprise.

At the end of the speech, they were hurrying back to their drawing boards: the ANC leadership had a strategy meeting in Stockholm at the weekend and the PAC president announced in Johannesburg that he would be calling a consultative conference of his organisation.

The immediate effect of the speech is that it paves the way for talks to start as organisations and individuals can now freely participate in the political debate in this country.

The South African Communist Party has officially been silent since 1950, one of the first victims of the National Party's 1948 victory.

The Suppression of Communism Act was used not only to silence the Communist Party, but also to gag individuals, some ironically anti-communist.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were outlawed on April 8, 1960 during the PAC's anti-pass campaign that led to the Sharpeville massacre when the police killed 67 people and injured 186.

Black Consciousness organisations like the Black People's Convention, which arose to fill the gap left by the banning of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, were themselves banned on October 19, 1977.

Since 1977 political organisations have mushroomed, but they have all been standard-bearers for the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and, more recently, the Pan Africanist Congress.

The publications of the banned organisations, which have been reaching readers in this country via the underground, will now be dug out and read openly.

Thousands have been charged and convicted of being members

FOCUS

By JOE THLOLOE,
Deputy Editor of
the Sowetan

of banned organisations, of furthering their aims and objects or of being in possession of their publications. All those still serving their sentences for any of these are to be released immediately.

The debate over South Africa's future has now started in earnest.

The African National Congress and its allies had some inkling that De Klerk was going to make concessions, but it now appears they were not expecting them so soon and so suddenly.

In a document circulated in the middle of last year the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF said: "There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987."

But after De Klerk's speech there was mixed reaction from the ANC. The initial statement welcomed the speech, but a later one from Lusaka said the organisation would not stop its military campaign.

The statement from the chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, from its headquarters in Tanzania congratulated the "Azanian masses" for having forced De Klerk to unban the organisation, but also called for an intensification of the struggle.

De Klerk has undoubtedly taken the initiative and the liberation movements will be running to catch up with him.

He has opened the possibility of negotiations on a democratic South Africa even when he has not completely outgrown National Party separatist ideology.

In his speech he continued to refer to *national entities*, and *national groups*: "The Government is requesting the Law Commission to undertake a further task and report on it. This task is directed at the balanced protection in a future constitution of the human rights of all our citizens, as well as the collective units, associations, minorities and nations. This investigation will also serve the purpose of supporting negotiations towards a new constitution."

The new element was his committing himself to a democratic South Africa: "The agenda is open and the overall aim to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

"Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion; a sound economy based on proven economic principles and private enterprise; dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all."

There is still a long way to go: Who gets to the negotiating table and how do they get there? What is the role of the National Party government in this process? What

is the role of the homeland governments and the Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei? What happens in the case of a stalemate in the negotiations?

The Government has already suggested an election to choose representatives of the indigenous Africans, the assumption being that the tricameral Parliament already represents whites, Indians and coloureds.

This is going to be rejected by the liberation movements who will demand an open election to a constituent assembly, as in Namibia.

There is going to be heated debate on how the wealth of the country, which has been concentrated in white hands, is going to be spread evenly.

De Klerk has already spelled out that he sees the free enterprise system as the route, while the majority in the liberation movements believe some form of socialism is necessary to achieve that spread.

There will be conflict over the protection of minority rights, with the liberation movements seeing this as an extension of white privilege.

A lot of work lies ahead. De Klerk merely cleared the decks for that work to start.

The suspension of the death penalty, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the relaxation of the State of Emergency and the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act were very welcome cherries on the cake of open debate.

* See tomorrow's *Sowetan* for the start of our series on the organisations that have just been unbanned: what do they stand for?

Garankuwa residents to march

GARANKUWA residents will march to the local commissioner's offices on Wednesday (11A) (12A)

This was decided at a meeting attended by about 2500 people at the weekend. Soweto 3/2/90

The meeting at the Garankuwa community hall on Saturday was organised by the Azanian Peoples Organisation, African National Congress, Mass Democratic Movement, Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Speakers praised the organisations involved in setting up the meeting for coming together for the first time in their political history.

Exiles waiting to come home

By MICHAEL STENT
of The Independent

IF the prospect of Mr Nelson Mandela's release infuriates white Right-wingers the return home, without the threat of prosecution, of tens of thousands of exiles drives them apoplectic.

For most of the men and women who have spent years in the camps of Africa and cities of Europe have dedicated their lives to the violent overthrow of apartheid.

It was not because it was too late to re-type his speech to the opening of Parliament that President F W de Klerk failed to mention the issue. The Government chose a low-key briefing of South African political correspondents earlier on Friday to state its position: that only people who were known to have undertaken violent crimes would be charged if they returned to South Africa.

The numbers of refugees have always been difficult to determine. But figures from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress indicate that there are up to 50 000 refugees. Most are in Tanzania where the ANC has camps housing between 10 000 and



HUGH MASEKELA

20 000 and the PAC 2 500.

The UNHCR cares for about 10 000 in Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia host about 12 000, and there are those uncounted thousands in Europe. Another 55 000 whites, principally graduates, have probably left South Africa in the past 15 years, with opposition to military service figuring among their reasons for emigrating.

The exiles are familiar demons in white politics. Most are black, many are communists. They embody both the swart and rooi gevaars, the black and red perils beloved by National Party politicians for decades.

De Klerk's announcement that "political prisoners" but not "terrorists" would be released - the same distinction which would app-

ly to exiles - breaks with the traditional government assertion that there are no political prisoners in South Africa. The only acknowledged exception was Mr Robert Sobukwe who was detained on Robben Island after completing his prison sentence. It is a distinction which neither the Right nor the ANC and PAC is prepared to make.

Prosecution

All agree that membership of the recently banned organisations does indeed entail active support for a policy of armed opposition to apartheid. But while the Right fiercely disputes the wisdom of extending the invitation to exiles to return, the ANC and PAC question the prudence of accepting it.

A member of the ANC's national executive committee, Mr Pallo Jor-



MIRRIAM MAKEBA

dan, said in Lusaka at the weekend that the organisation would not shift its headquarters to South Africa, nor abandon its military campaign. Another NEC member, Mr Aziz Pahad, said in London at the weekend that the ANC would need to work out how the return would be organised. ANC members were theoretically also part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the organisation, and the definition of who could return without fear of prosecution would need to be clarified.

De Klerk had made a qualitative leap but had to go further, Pahad said. One issue which had to be resolved was that of the death squads, reports of whose activities emerged recently but against whom the Government has been slow to act.

Mr Ngila Muendane, the PAC's acting chief spokesman in Western Europe, said there would be no security for returning exiles. "The organisations are unbanned but they have not repealed the laws under which they were banned in the first place. They may decide to lock you up at any time." He played down the threat

of a white backlash against De Klerk. "They're not organised enough. 'Liberal' elements in the army and police will back De Klerk and the Right-wing parties are divided. There might be a few desperate people who will shoot."

Caution

The white opponents of conscription are a different case, their constituency more diffuse, less committed. The activists too, though, are uncertain whether they would be liable to prosecution if they returned to South Africa. Mr Matthew Temple, the administrator of the Committee on South African War Resistance, said that despite remissions on sentences announced last week, two men were in prison for refusing to serve in the army and another seven were facing trial. "We still demand the release of imprisoned war resisters, a moratorium on trials and amnesty for exiled war resisters," he said. While Mr Charles Bester and Mr David Bruce remained in jail and the trials continued, "we must assume the status quo remains for war resisters".

ANC militants and officials in Lusaka responded at the weekend with a mixture of buoyancy and caution to De Klerk's speech. "I am going home next week," joked Mr Steve Tshwete, another member of the NEC.

"Naturally, this is a step forward. It is welcome news. I am looking forward to going home," said Mr Vusi Mabuse (28) a militant journalist with the ANC's Lusaka-based Radio Freedom station.

"But not at any cost," he added.

Expert on ANC loses an enemy

ALAN FINE

MAJ-GEN Herman Stadler, a veteran of more than 100 political trials, is at a bit of a loose end. His function as an ANC expert witness appeared to become largely, and instantly, redundant last Friday as President F W de Klerk completed his speech. *B/Dan 5/2/90*

Stadler said yesterday he had been scheduled to give evidence today at the Pretoria Magistrates Court where eight are accused of terrorism.

"I don't know what will happen now, we will have to see," he said.

He felt no particular emotion as, legally speaking, the ANC was no longer the enemy he had spent his life fighting against.

"The function of a policeman is to do the job of the day," Stadler said.

Language 'an issue' in new SA

DANIEL FELDMAN

THE ANC had identified language as one of the issues in a post-apartheid SA, University of Washington Prof Carol Eastman told an international conference on sociolinguistics in Johannesburg on Friday.

Titled "Planning for the Future: Language in South Africa", the conference was the highlight of a four-day symposium on Sociolinguistics in Africa, sponsored by the Wits Linguistics Department and the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa.

Eastman proposed that since "English appears to have become the language with the most status and prestige in SA, I echo the plea of K B Hartshorne for the state to give urgent and immediate attention to an English-medium education system for all children".

She said in a future SA there could be a policy in which everyone would be educated to be literate and learned in English while being encouraged to maintain their home language.

The symposium focused on the fact that in a complex, multilingual country such as SA, sociolinguistics would play a critical role in planning for the future.

A media release recalled the "ostensible cause of the 1976 Soweto riots was a language issue" and noted that attitudes towards language should be accommodated in development and planning models.

Several speakers concentrated on how a post-apartheid government could promote national unity without suppressing individual and group identities.

In contrast to Eastman's views, Neville Alexander of the National Language Project suggested all languages should be encouraged, promoted, and allowed to flourish.

University of Cape Town's Douglas Young noted a Human Sciences Research Council survey of 1 200 blacks which found that 64% favored English as the medium of instruction, opposed to 24% that favoured the current existing policy, 18% who wanted their mother tongue taught, and only 6% who wanted Afrikaans.

Wits Linguistics Prof Robert Herbert, the main organiser of the conference, said he was satisfied with the results.

11A
BID 5-12-90

De Klerk 'captured the highground'

B/Dam 5/2/90

MATTHEW CURTIN

GOVERNMENT had captured the political highground with Friday's announcements by President F W De Klerk, RAU political scientist Professor Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

"The politics of the next few months will be of one-upmanship as each side vies for the initiative."

Geldenhuys said De Klerk had taken people by surprise, and his speech had been a tactical coup.

The ANC would now be under pressure.

Geldenhuys singled out the damage De Klerk had done to the ANC's longtime favoured international status, with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular conferring a new respectability on Pretoria with her invitation to De Klerk to meet her.

The ANC would have to make the transition from a liberation movement to a political party.

"During negotiations, it may well be that the ANC and SACP go

to the table as entirely separate organisations."

There would be parallels with Namibia in that the negotiation process would be a tortuous one, and likely to be conducted behind closed doors.

Unbanning

Director of the SA Institute of International Affairs Professor John Barratt said: "The door is now open. The ANC still have to step through as a united front."

Barratt said it was not often that expectations were exceeded but F W de Klerk had done a "masterly job".

The speech had been solid throughout, and wide ranging, with the highlight being the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC.

"It is an altogether different

ballgame now. Even if the ball is not entirely out of F W de Klerk's court, given Nelson Mandela's continued imprisonment and the specific conditions mentioned in the speech, the government has reached a point of no return which is both frightening and exciting."

Barratt said the next move would have to come from the ANC.

Anyone who thought a divided ANC leadership was a good sign was misguided. Unless there was unity in the leadership there would be trouble for SA.

Barratt returned recently from a trip to Eastern Europe. He said there was little doubt the SA developments would be well received there.

He felt the demise of communist regimes in Eastern Europe had finally put paid to "the myth of the total onslaught" confronting SA. But Moscow would continue to support the ANC, he said.

Natal leaders seeks asylum in Transkei

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), Chief Mhlabunzima Mapumulo of Kwa-Mapumulo near Maritzburg, has sought political asylum in Transkei.

Chief Mapumulo, who arrived in Umtata on Saturday morning, told reporters at K D Matanzima Airport that he decided to flee after his house was burned down on Thursday night. He blamed Inkatha and special constables for the incident.

He said there had been a dispute between him and another chief over a certain piece of land which Chief Mapumulo claimed belonged to his area. Since the dispute became an issue he had lived under constant harassment.

"After I identified some of the people behind the campaign I filed an urgent Supreme Court interdict asking the court to restrain these people from harassing me and my family," Chief Mapumulo said.

He said the application is due to be heard at 2.30pm on Friday in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg.

Chief Mapumulo is expected to meet the authorities today.

Exiles hesitant to return

11A

South 5/21 - 14/2/90

EXILES have begun to examine more closely the implications of the government's dramatic announcement which has paved the way for their return home.

The immediate reaction of many to the limited offer by State President FW de Klerk was one of relief, but now doubts have crept in which threaten to delay their return.

In Stockholm, Walter Sisulu called on De Klerk to clarify the position of ANC activists wanted in South Africa on terrorism charges, before the ANC could decide to return home from Lusaka.

"It is our desire that our people in exile go home. We have to find out whether the people in exile will be given that chance," he said.

Among the obstacles in the way of the return of the exiles is the question of who can return home without fear of prosecution.

The government's position is that only people who are known to have committed violent crimes will be charged if they return to South Africa.

ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said the ANC needed to work out how the return would be organised.

"ANC members are theoretically also part of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the definition of who can return without the fear of prosecution will need to be clarified," Pahad said.

"One issue which has to be resolved is that of the death squads against whom the government has been slow to act."

Ngila Muendane, the PAC's acting chief spokesperson, said there would be no security for returning exiles.

"The organisations are unbanned but they have not repealed the laws under which they were banned in the first place," Muendane said.

"They may decide to lock you up at any time."

Tom Sebina, spokesperson for the ANC, said people in exile would not return immediately as there were still several technicalities to be clarified.

The fate of opponents of conscription is not clear. They are uncertain whether they will be liable to prosecution if they return to South Africa.

Matthew Temple, the administrator of the Committee on South Africa War Resisters, said that despite remissions on sentences announced last week, two men were still in prison for refusing to serve in the army and another seven were facing trial.

"We still demand the release of imprisoned war resisters, a moratorium on trials and amnesty for exiled war resisters," Temple said.

"While Charles Bester and David Bruce remain in jail and trials continue, we must assume the status quo remains for war resisters."

In Namibia, president-elect Sam Nujoma, who himself was exiled from his homeland for decades, called on the government to clarify its position on exiles.

"We fail to understand who will and will not be prosecuted if they return home," Nujoma said.

"As far as we are concerned, political exiles should be accepted back without any conditions. It happened in Zimbabwe and recently in Namibia," he added.

They have not published these names.

There are no exact figures on the number of South African refugees and exiles.

The United Nation's High Commissioner for Refugees, the ANC and the PAC estimate that there are up to 50 000 refugees. Most of these are in Tanzania where the ANC has camps housing between 10 000 and 20 000 and the PAC 2 500.

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

ANC trial expert now at loose end

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Major-General Herman Stadler, a veteran of more than 100 political trials, is at a bit of a loose end — his function as an ANC expert witness appeared to become largely redundant as President De Klerk completed his speech on Friday.

General Stadler, a senior security policeman before being transferred last year to the position of SAP PR chief, said yesterday that he had been scheduled to give evidence today at Pretoria Magistrate's Court, where Mr Veli Mazibuko and seven others are accused of terrorism.

"I don't know what will happen now — we will have to see," he said.

He said he was also scheduled to give evidence soon at a Black Consciousness Movement trial in Klerksdorp.

Ten years ago he attained the status of an expert witness and for many years gave evidence at almost every ANC trial. He estimates he has done so in about 100 trials now.

He said he felt no particular emotion at this new development in which, legally speaking, the ANC was no longer the enemy he had spent much of his life fighting against.

"The function of a policeman is to do the job of the day," General Stadler said.



Regulars at a Soweto tavern drink to a freer society . . . Mr Jackie Mokone (left), Mr Zack Manentje, Mr Dan Mavuya and taverner Ms Irene Mothei. © Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Taverners toast F.W.'s historic act

By PATRICK BULGER

Soweto doctor Dan Mavuya raised his glass to celebrate President F.W. de Klerk's historic unbanning of opposition groups and declared: "It has taken a whole generation for the Government to understand what Nelson Mandela is saying."

For Dr Mavuya and a handful of professional colleagues, this was no ordinary Friday evening in a Soweto tavern.

While thousands of youths danced in the streets in townships across the Reef, older, more sophisticated people at Ms Irene Mothei's tavern reacted with a mixture of joy and amazement as the implications of freeing the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party hit home.

Years in the political wilderness had clearly done nothing to dampen the enthusi-

asm with which these people regard their movements.

At the same time, however, the daunting task of reconciliation lies ahead.

"What a waste. Apartheid has been a human tragedy on the scale of German nazism," said a professional man enjoying his Friday night beer.

A new era

But here was clearly a sense that South Africa is entering a new era — that the days of pass raids and second class citizenship are finally on the way out.

Still, there was the reminiscing about the "bad old days" when blacks applying for reference books were told what names they would use by aggressive officials who could not be bothered to spell out "complicated" African names.

Like the man who told the official his

name — only to be told: "From now on you are Sylvester".

Clearly, however, the mere abolition of racist laws may not go far enough in restoring the human dignity successive Nationalist governments have usurped.

Said Dr Mavuya: "It is not enough to remove racist laws — we've got to criminalise racism. It is not enough to say there is no more Group Areas Act. You must make a law to make it illegal".

President De Klerk's announcement continued to evoke low whistles of amazement throughout the evening.

"He's taken four months to undo 40 years of misrule," one man commented.

"Now whites must get used to the idea of having blacks in Parliament."

Another expressed a note of caution, saying the announcement would have to be studied more carefully.

Disbanding of groups expected

STAE 5/2/90 ()
Several organisations are expected to disappear following the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP, reports SEFAKO NYAKA. 11A

The "struggle" was not about the unbanning of organisations but about political power, Release Mandela Committee publicity secretary Mr Dali Mpofu said at the weekend.

The concessions were not a result of Mr de Klerk's goodwill but the result of pressure by internal and external organisations, he added.

Mr Mpofu conceded that Mr de Klerk's announcements, especially the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, had caught the Mass Democratic Movement off guard.

The unbanning of the ANC and SACP would certainly result in a drastic realignment of forces in extra-parliamentary politics.

The United Democratic Front was likely to cease to exist and its members would probably operate under the banner of the ANC, while the SA Youth Congress would probably be absorbed by the ANC Youth League, Mr Mpofu said.

A number of UDF affiliates — especially civic, sports, cultural and women's organisations — were expected to operate formally as extensions of the ANC once consultations had been made.

But one contentious issue might be the status of Cosatu and its relationship with the self-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Mpofu said.

Sactu had a historic link and longstanding alliance with the ANC, and although it was not officially banned, it went into exile when the ANC was outlawed in the 1960s because most of its office-bearers had been SACP or ANC members.

Some elements in Cosatu, especially those who propounded the idea of a workers' party, would most likely resist efforts to make Cosatu a labour wing of the ANC.

Several single-issue organisations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, would fold when their demands had been met.

Mr Mpofu said Mr de Klerk's speech would pose a major headache to homeland leaders. His announcement that the issue of the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa was open for negotiation would meet with some resistance from people long regarded as puppets of the Government.

The suspension of the death penalty, although welcomed, was bound to pose problems, especially regarding crimes committed by right-wing elements.

The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would certainly be opposed by the CP, he said.

The Argus

MIGHTY GUILTY IN RIVONIA TRIAL

THE RIVONIA TRIAL... life or death?

CRIMINAL

Mandela 'ready to leave jail now'

114
MK645 6/2/90

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WHAT do you really know about Nelson Mandela?

Today, especially in South Africa, he is more myth and mystery, than man. After spending more than a quarter of a century in jail the government says it is about ready to release him.

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The Argus brings you **Mandela: The Road to Freedom**, a special eight-page tabloid which tells you about the life, style and struggles of the world's most famous prisoner.

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Mr Alfred Nzo



Mr Joe Slovo



Mr Hennis Kriel

From **KARL MAIER** of The Independent

STOCKHOLM. — Nelson Mandela is ready to leave prison immediately and has not made the lifting of the state of emergency a condition of his release, says a senior official of the African National Congress.

"As far as he (Mr Mandela) is concerned, he should have come out long ago," said Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's international affairs department, in an interview here.

Mr Mbeki was responding to a question about press reports yesterday quoting Mrs Winnie Mandela, after her five-hour meeting with her husband on Sunday at Victor Verster prison.

She said that Mr Mandela had insisted that his release was dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency.

"I am sure that Winnie misunderstood him," said Mr Mbeki.

Mr Mandela has demanded that the government should end the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, including those convicted of violent crimes, to create a climate favourable to negotiations on ending white minority rule.

"He is saying that, to begin the process of negotiations, this climate must be created," Mr Mbeki said. "He has not made the demand that he will only come out once these conditions are met."

Mr Mbeki, considered by many to be heir apparent to the ANC's presidency, was speaking at the end of two days of talks here with senior anti-apartheid leaders.

Mr Mbeki and other senior opposition figures, such as Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, described the reforms as positive but insufficient to entice exiled leaders to return home to begin negotiations.

The ANC's 34-member national executive committee will meet next week at its headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mbeki said.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the ANC has begun the task of restructuring itself to deal with the unfolding political situation, says its general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo.

In a statement after the meeting in Stockholm, Mr Nzo said that final decisions on issues discussed would be made at the Lusaka meeting after further consultations with "leaders at home".

"Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions."

"Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain vigilance. We also call upon the Mass Democratic Movement to remain intact and to continue to mobilise their respective constituencies," said Mr Nzo.

● From Washington The Argus Foreign Service reports that Mr Slovo said that President De Klerk would have to normalise political life before political opponents could return from exile.

Interviewed by the New York Times in Stockholm, Mr Slovo said he and other exiles would not be able to return until Mr De Klerk, among other things, lifted the state of emergency and released all political prisoners.

Mr Slovo said it would have been "utter suicide" for Mr De Klerk to have done nothing. But if he did not go further, he would be in a worse situation than he was before last week's announcements.

Asked to describe the political situation, Mr Slovo said: "In a word, volatile, from every side."

Mr Slovo said Mr De Klerk's announcements had left many ambiguities and an uncertain situation.

"We have been engaged in a political struggle in which armed activity played a role. We can't look at our membership and leadership as consisting of two segments, those who committed political offences and those who committed so-called terrorist offences."

"If De Klerk is serious about preparing the ground for dialogue, he must address this question," Mr Slovo said.

● Debate on FW's speech, page 4.

'Apartheid court' ignored

SAF 612190
A Soweto man was convicted yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court of being a member of the ANC and of possession of weaponry, including a Makarov pistol, hand grenades and ammunition.

Simon Modise (25), who was a "commander" of the ANC, refused to take part in the trial, saying that as a black man he did not believe he would be given a fair trial in an "apartheid court".

Defence counsel, Ms Caroline Nichols, said she hoped the sentence would reflect the current political developments. — Sapa.

Charges are withdrawn (11A)

CAPE TOWN — Cape Town community leader Mr Johnny Issel had charges relating to furthering the aims of the ANC withdrawn against him yesterday, following President de Klerk's announcements.

Mr Issel (40) said yesterday that the Attorney General's office had telephoned his lawyers with the news. He did not understand why the charges had been withdrawn and yet other people facing similar charges were still appearing in court. "There's some confusion in the relevant Government department."

He added that Mr de Klerk had been very vague in defining where the ANC, and particularly its military wing, started and ended.

A United Democratic Front member, Mr Issel first appeared in court on March 16 last year, after being in hiding for nearly three years, to face charges of furthering the aims of a banned organisation. — Sapa.

Sisulu has replied to LP invite

11/11 Political Staff

MR Walter Sisulu has replied to an invitation from the Labour Party to address its conference.

In a letter to LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse last month, Mr Sisulu said "we live in times when the unity of the oppressed people is of utmost importance".

"The fact that you invited me to address your conference ... is a step in the right direction of a broad front against apartheid."

Reacting to Mr Sisulu's letter, Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party "had always maintained that there were a number of strategies to oppose apartheid and that they should complement one another".

"The Labour Party remains committed along with Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, the ANC and others both inside and outside Parliament, to the total eradication of apartheid," he said.

Ball is in ANC's court

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government was yesterday waiting to hear the ANC's official response to President De Klerk's initiatives on Friday. *Sowetan 6/2/90*

The response will determine whether the Government and ANC begin their first official contact to begin talks about setting up negotiations.

Government sources were unable to confirm today whether veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu - due to have flown into the country last night - would see De Klerk to deliver the organisation's response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Sisulu would see Mr Mandela and communicate the response to him.

Political problems

They said they believed that the "talks about talks" would begin with Mandela once he was freed.

However it appears that the talks about talks could be delayed by political problems - and not only administrative ones - which still appear to be holding up Mandela's release.

His wife Winnie saw him at the weekend and said it was out of the question that the ANC leader would want to be released under a state of emergency.

It seems that the Government is prepared to discuss these problems but may regard them as subjects for the agenda of pre-negotiations.

Six arrested after Jouberton attack

SIX white men were arrested and are to be charged with murder, attempted murder and assault after an attack on blacks in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, on Saturday, police said yesterday.

On Saturday morning six men entered Jouberton in four cars and a bakkie, according to police. They allegedly picked up a number of blacks saying they had work for them cleaning the streets in Klerksdorp.

Sowetan 6/2/90 Kicked to death

The men then took the people to the police station and wanted to have them charged with minor crimes. Police said the whites had to make statements but were not prepared to do so and undertook to return the blacks to Jouberton.

They were dropped off on the Ysterstryd road, near Jouberton, and allegedly attacked with fists, feet and sjamboks.

One was allegedly kicked to death.

Six men, aged between 20 and 30, were arrested and are due to appear in court soon.

Police said there seemed to be no political motives for the attack. - Sapa.

Hospital workers back

STRIKING workers at the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria are all back at their posts and the situation has been "normalised".

Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) spokesman Jan van Wyk said yesterday all the 700 workers who went on strike last week had returned.

Sowetan 6/2/90 Protest

The workers - mainly kitchen, administration and cleaning staff - downed tools last week to protest against their low wages.

Van Wyk said the strikers had also demanded im-

De Klerk is trying to disarm us - Molala

Sowetan 6/2/90

11A

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

STATE President FW de Klerk is telling black people to disarm themselves and talk to him while he himself is armed to the teeth.

That is why, says Azanian Peoples Organisation's president Mr Nkosi Molala, black people should "sit back and reflect" on the concessions announced by De Klerk in Parliament last week.

Addressing a memorial service in Lenasia at the weekend on the first anniversary of the death of the "people's doctor", Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, Molala warned: "There are moments when it is very easy for the struggle to be derailed.

"It is very easy for the forces of opportunism to divert our people," he said to applause from the audience of about 600 people.

Referring to the unbanning of popular organisations, he said:



NKOSI MOLALA

"The causes that led to the existence of these organisations have not been addressed, so there is no reason for merry-making and jubilation.

The causes of war remain with the oppressed.

"The most important thing to consider is that De Klerk has his SADF SAP, his jails... in the end he still has the keys to open the jails," he said.

He said the BCM had not rejected negotiations, but the timing was crucial. The time was not right, he said, adding: "Negotiations should take place at a time when contending forces are of equal strength."

Charges withdrawn

By LEN MASEKO

THE former mayor of Diepmeadow, Mr Johannes Mathala (59), yesterday had charges of theft and fraud involving R25 000 withdrawn in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Mathala of 3913 Zone 3, Diepkloof, was arrested during a special Diepmeadow Town Council meeting on September 25 last year. He



MATHALA

was released on R2 000 bail.

A lawyer representing the former mayor said no charges were put to him. He appeared before Mr JF Coetzer.

Time now for serious talking

11A

Viljoen urges ANC to take one small step

B/Dwy 6/2/90

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday challenged the ANC to match the large number of steps government had taken with one small gesture to get negotiations going.

Addressing Parliament, Viljoen said government had taken a great risk in unbanning the ANC and other organisations. President FW de Klerk had announced these steps on the basis of the ANC's stated preference for negotiations, despite contradictory statements about violence that were even now forthcoming.

For the ANC to respond to government's initiative with an all-or-nothing approach would be cowardly and carping, Viljoen said, and would demonstrate it was not serious about negotiations.



● VILJOEN

The ANC, he said, should relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain. When even the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been unbanned, the need for this kind of organisation should be reassessed. The belief that armed struggle was necessary to dismantle apartheid had been overtaken by events, he said.

Government had committed itself to removing the last vestiges of apartheid. Its challenge to the ANC was for the organisation to join it at the negotiating table.

Viljoen said the new SA De Klerk was

MIKE ROBERTSON

creating would ensure its citizens full and equal franchise in an undivided, multi-party democratic state. It would guarantee its inhabitants equal treatment through constitutional protection of human rights and minority rights.

Viljoen said one of the most important shifts in NP thinking had been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided SA.

Earlier, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, asked what conditions government was placing on the return of exiles, said that those directly involved in committing crimes would still be held liable for them. People indirectly involved in crimes that might have taken place would not be liable.

Van der Merwe said those exiles in doubt about what would happen on their return, should contact either SA embassies abroad or government for clarification.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that the ANC has summoned a plenary meeting of its full leadership in Lusaka next week to respond to De Klerk's invitation to enter negotiations without delay.

The Lusaka plenary was announced yesterday as a marathon four-day summit of the national executive committee in Stockholm, chaired by president Oliver Tambo, ended with no response to De Klerk, and amid rumours of dissent.

According to diplomatic sources in Stockholm, the meeting was split on the issue of the return to SA of senior exiles. But secretary-general Alfred Nzo scoffed at speculation, saying that after waiting 30 years to be unbanned, the ANC would not

□ To Page 2

Viljoen

B/Dwy 6/2/90

11A □ From Page 1

be rushed by anyone.

Before he left Stockholm for Lusaka, Nzo said De Klerk's offer for exiles to return was a farce and like a "Damocles sword" hanging over former guerrilla fighters and dissidents. Both he and Thabo Mbeki indicated that without absolute guarantees no ANC "soldier" would face criminal charges, this would remain a critical obstacle to negotiations.

In an apparent response to being caught wrong-footed by De Klerk's unbanning of the organisation, Nzo said: "Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions. Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigi-

lance. We also call upon all sectors of the mass democratic movement to remain intact as before and together to continue to mobilise their respective constituencies."

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, long-time host to the ANC, said: "It is up to the ANC to decide whether they want to go back home. But the priority is now to bring all liberation movements to the negotiating table."

Walter Sisulu, leader of the seven-man internal leadership delegation, was flying to Johannesburg via Frankfurt last night and will report today to the "ANC constituency" in SA. He is also certain to be allowed to report directly to Nelson Mandela, especially on the issue of the security surrounding his release from prison.

SADF to return to Mpum
In Thokoza on the East

Sisulu has replied to LP invite

CAS 714 P. 6/2/80

11A Political Staff

MR Walter Sisulu has replied to an invitation from the Labour Party to address its conference.

In a letter to LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse last month, Mr Sisulu said "we live in times when the unity of the oppressed people is of utmost importance".

"The fact that you invited me to address your conference ... is a step in the right direction of a broad front against apartheid."

Reacting to Mr Sisulu's letter, Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party "had always maintained that there were a number of strategies to oppose apartheid and that they should complement one another".

"The Labour Party remains committed along with Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, the ANC and others both inside and outside Parliament, to the total eradication of apartheid," he said.

Abus 6/2/70

Sisulu hints at ANC 'coalition' with Labour

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IN what could turn out to be a political bombshell, ANC leader Walter Sisulu has reached out to the Labour Party, expressing hopes that both organisations will work together in a broad front against apartheid.

Mr Sisulu says he "dares to hope" that such a "coalition" will come about.

The controversial sentiments, which would seem to bridge a chasm of enmity that has existed between the extra-parliamentary ANC and the parliamentary Labour Party — are expressed in a letter to none other than Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

For years sharp and apparently irreconcilable ideological

differences, specifically over participation in the tricameral parliament, have bedevilled relations between the organisations, even though Labour has always advocated unbanning the ANC and releasing its jailed leaders.

Mr Sisulu's January 12 letter to the party chief followed an invitation from Mr Hendrickse to the former political prisoner to address Labour's year-end conference.

He says in the letter that pressure of events prevented him from responding sooner.

He was unable to attend the conference, but expressed gratitude for having been invited to do so.

The existence of the letter emerged during debate yesterday on the President's opening speech.

INSIDE: Weather 2. Final

Preamble

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure for all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

and therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white, together, equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The people shall govern

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all the bodies which make laws.

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insult to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own national language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly in-

The Freedom Charter

*Spoke
6/2/90*

THE African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions convened the Congress of the People at Klipfontown on June 26 1955, where the Freedom Charter was adopted.

This document, which has been freely available in the country even when the ANC was banned, is the guiding document of the Congress Alliance and explains what the ANC stands for.

dustry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal right to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The land shall be shared among those who work it

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-devided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate

their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-eight hour working week, a national minimum wage, pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened by all means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult literacy shall be ended by a mass education plan;

Teachers shall have the rights of all other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security and comfort

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventative health care system shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There shall be peace and friendship

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation, not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all people to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty"

* Tomorrow: The Manifesto of the Pan Africanist Congress.

STAC 6/2/90
(11A)

ANC's external wing may fight on

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party could lead to a situation similar to that in which the exiled external wing of Swapo fought in the field while its internal wing operated quite legally inside Namibia. **CRAIG KOTZE** reports.

When the dust settles on State President F W de Klerk's historic and generally applauded announcement in Parliament last week, little of practical significance in the war between the security forces and their former enemies may have changed.

The PAC and the ANC have, at least for the time being, pledged to continue their "armed struggle", while the South African security forces have said they will still combat terrorism and maintain the law as its stands.

In practical terms, this means that any hand grenade attack, AK-47 rifle volley or limpet mine and bomb explosion still fall outside the law and will be countered. Police may still, in terms of the law, take preventive action to stop the commission of what is still seen as a crime — still making armed members of the PAC or ANC "legitimate targets".

Police have already indicated that the problem of maintaining law and order in this regard will be covered by the Terrorism Act, Explosives Act and the Firearms Act. An appeal has been made to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, to hand over their arms and explosives.

Treason

Significantly, acts of treason — which had led to the banning of the ANC in the first place — will also still be illegal and will directly affect the approach towards the "armed struggle".

Although security sources say the unbanning of the PAC and ANC will affect their approach towards the organisations, they still perceive a threat from them.

"Our emphasis will shift from the political side to Umkhonto we Sizwe. We will now have to be even more alert to prevent its members from entering the country under the auspices of legitimate political activity," said one source.

According to University of Pretoria strategist Professor Mike Hough, the issue will present an important policy challenge to the organisation — the choice between continuing international goodwill and moral authority and the risk of

alienating thousands of ANC members and fighters who still believe in the violent overthrow of the South African Government.

Confronted with these choices, the situation could well develop into the ANC maintaining its internal underground network and continuing its attacks while it mobilises openly and legally.

"The unbanning will not be sufficient for the ANC to suspend its armed struggle or to cease it. Much depends on whether they decide to implement the Harare Declaration option. In any case, it will be important to them to maintain the armed wing. Should there be a negotiating deadlock, they will still have it available as an option.

Pressures

"A precedent already exists in the form of what happened in Namibia for them to be legal inside the country and still fight from the outside. Much will depend on the Frontline states," Professor Hough said.

The ANC would find itself being pulled apart by opposite pressures in deciding on the issue — that from its own members and that from the international community.

"They will try to avoid a repetition of all the attacks on soft targets in recent years — certainly the United States will take a dim view of this. The latest attacks have not enjoyed much publicity anyway.

"But the ANC cannot afford to cease the armed struggle — that could precipitate friction which is already said to exist within the organisation.

"The ideal situation for them would be one in which the armed struggle continued, they operated legally within South Africa and sanctions were still in place. That way they would have the best of both worlds," said Professor Hough.

Merger likely between Sactu and Cosatu

By Drew Forrest

STAA 8/2/90 (11A)

The ANC's trade union wing, the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), is likely to merge with Cosatu, Sactu president Mr Stephen Dlamini said yesterday in Lusaka.

Although never banned, Sactu was driven into exile in the 1960s during a Government crackdown on its leaders. The unbanning of the ANC clears the way for it to re-establish itself in South Africa.

Mr Dlamini, formerly imprisoned on Robben Island, said there would have to be talks between Sactu and Cosatu on the possibility of a merger.

As Sactu was the longest-serving federation, it was the "kingpin" and any amalgamation of the two bodies should bear its name, he said.

A union spokesman said the future of Sactu had been under debate in the Mass Democratic Movement for more than a year.

MAJORITY VIEW

Although Cosatu has no official stance, the majority view is that Sactu has no further role and should disband, with members being absorbed into the local union movement.

"Defenders said Sactu could be useful on the international front. But many of its government contacts in Eastern Europe have been discredited," the spokesman said.

Wits University sociologist Professor Duncan Innes said a merger was likely to be one of the first issues addressed by the ANC in re-establishing a legal presence in South Africa.

Cosatu and Sactu policies were substantially the same, notably on political unionism and non-racialism, he added.

Challenge

NA
~~SECRET~~

to the ANC

CAN 7/4/75
6/2/70

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday challenged the ANC to meet the government's initiative with one small gesture to get negotiations going.

Addressing Parliament, Dr Viljoen said the government had taken a large risk in unbanning the ANC and other organisations.

The steps announced by President F W de Klerk had been risked on the basis of the ANC's stated preference for negotiations despite contradictory statements about violence which were still forthcoming.

For the ANC to respond to the government's initiative with an all-or-nothing approach would be "cowardly and carping", Dr Viljoen said.

His call came amid rumours of a foment in

ANC ranks on how to respond to Mr De Klerk's offer of negotiations.

Yesterday the organisation announced a plenary meeting of its full leadership in Lusaka next week.

The announcement came after a marathon four-day summit of the national executive committee in Stockholm, chaired by the ailing president Mr Oliver Tambo, ended without an answer to the De Klerk offer.

Diplomatic sources in Stockholm said the meeting was split between moderates and militants on the key issues of whether exiles should return to South Africa and whether the armed struggle should continue.

A statement emphasising that the movement retained its "armed struggle" was greeted by international newsmen as unnecessary strategic rhetoric at this crucial stage in SA's history.

Yesterday the moderate ANC secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, scoffed at speculation of a growing split in the movement.

He said that after waiting 30 years to be

unbanned they would not be rushed by anyone, least of all Pretoria.

In an apparent response to the now clear evidence that Mr De Klerk's decision to unban them caught the ANC leadership off guard, Mr Nzo added: "Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions."

"Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigilance."

A reconciliatory Mr Walter Sisulu told a United States television audience last night that the ANC had moved to prevent a "disruptive element" in the townships from jeopardising progress toward negotiation with the government.

Appearing from Stockholm on the NBC "Today" show, Mr Sisulu was asked whether black South Africans "have a stake in ensuring" that President De Klerk "stays in power".

He replied: "We have taken steps that should be appreciated by the regime in SA ... we pitched that there should be order, precisely because we knew that there will be elements whose aim is to disrupt and therefore use that as an excuse for not doing anything or for resisting the process."

Dr Viljoen called on the ANC to relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain.

When even the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been unbanned, the need for this kind of organisation should be reassessed.

Dr Viljoen said the new South Africa Mr De Klerk was creating would ensure its citizens full and equal franchise within an undivided, multi-party democratic state.

He said one of the most important shifts in NP thinking had been the acceptance of the concept of one nation in an undivided South Africa.

125
Not affiliated yet

6/2/90 CHARLENE SMITH 118

THE Cape Youth Congress has not yet taken a decision to affiliate to the ANC's Youth League, its president Neville Naidoo said yesterday. He said the organisation was to meet this week to discuss whether or not it should be disbanded and affiliate to the ANC Youth League. However, although active discussion was taking place, no decision would be adopted until this week's meeting. Business Day was told by an SA Youth Congress activist at the weekend that the CYC had affiliated to the ANC.

Charges are withdrawn (11A)
SATE 6/21/90

CAPE TOWN — Cape Town community leader Mr Johnny Issel had charges relating to furthering the aims of the ANC withdrawn against him yesterday, following President de Klerk's announcements.

Mr Issel (40) said yesterday that the Attorney-General's office had telephoned his lawyers with the news. He did not understand why the charges had been withdrawn and yet other people facing similar charges were still appearing in court. "There's some confusion in the relevant Government department."

He added that Mr de Klerk had been very vague in defining where the ANC, and particularly its military wing, started and ended.

A United Democratic Front member, Mr Issel first appeared in court on March 16 last year, after being in hiding for nearly three years, to face charges of furthering the aims of a banned organisation. — Sapa.

'Apartheid court' ignored (11A) SATE 6/21/90

A Soweto man was convicted yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court of being a member of the ANC and of possession of weaponry, including a Makarov pistol, hand grenades and ammunition.

Simon Modise (25), who was a "commander" of the ANC, refused to take part in the trial, saying that as a black man he did not believe he would be given a fair trial in an "apartheid court".

Defence counsel, Ms Caroline Nichols, said she hoped the sentence would reflect the current political developments. — Sapa.

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SAC 6/2/90 (11A)

Delegates to see Buthelezi

The senior ANC delegation which has been visiting Stockholm for talks with external leaders of the organisation was due at Jan Smuts Airport today.

Sources in the Swedish capital said the delegation intended to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a matter of urgency. Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC foreign affairs secretary, said although the ANC leaders believed Chief Buthelezi was "in the same trenches as the Government, we have not washed our hands of him".

He said Mr Nelson Mandela was ready to leave prison immediately and had not made the lifting of South Africa's state of emergency a condition of his release.

Mr Mbeki was responding to a question about press reports quoting Mrs Winnie Mandela as saying that Mr Mandela had insisted his release was dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency.

Mr Mandela, like the rest of the ANC

leadership, has demanded that the Government should end the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, including those convicted of violent crimes.

"He is saying that, to begin the process of negotiations, this climate must be created," Mr Mbeki said. "He has not made the demand that he will only come out once these conditions are met."

The ANC's 34-member National Executive Committee would meet in the next week at the movement's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, Mr Mbeki said, to discuss reorganising the ANC structures in the light of the ANC being legal again.

The ANC would neither declare a unilateral ceasefire nor dismantle its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, until there was agreement on bringing about majority rule, he said. — *Owing Correspondent and Independent News Service.*

ANC has taken steps to keep order — Sisulu

SAC 6/2/90 The Star Bureau (11A)

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress had taken steps to maintain order which ought to be appreciated by the South African Government, Mr Walter Sisulu has said on US television.

Speaking from Stockholm in an interview yesterday, Mr Sisulu was responding to a question as to whether blacks had a stake in making sure Mr de Klerk survived in power (in the face of opposition from the white right).

Mr Sisulu said: "Right from the beginning when we were released, we pitched that there should be order, precisely because we knew that there will be an element whose aim is to disrupt."

Mr Sisulu said several issues remained unresolved: It was not clear when the exiled leaders could return home, the state of emergency could have been lifted in its entirety and it should have been easy to withdraw the army from the townships, yet this was not done.

Until these conditions were met, he said he did not see any hope for negotiations with the Government.

AAM against Maggie visit

SAC 6/2/90 The Star Bureau

LONDON — A campaign to prevent Mrs Margaret Thatcher visiting South Africa or lifting any more sanctions has been launched by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the ANC.

Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the AAM, said here yesterday that if Mrs Thatcher visited South Africa her reception would be even more hostile than the one given to cricket captain Mike Gatting.

"By visiting South Africa Mrs Thatcher would ensure a final and complete rupture between Britain and a post-apartheid South Africa," Mr Terry said.

"Businessmen in the City must be asking why Mrs Thatcher did not simply welcome President F W de Klerk's speech as a step in the right direction and then continue to apply pressure for further change."

REJECTED CALL

Both AAM and ANC spokesmen accused Mrs Thatcher of trying to drive a wedge between ANC "moderates" and "militants".

Mrs Thatcher rejected a call by US civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson yesterday to maintain economic sanctions on South Africa until apartheid was dismantled.

Mr Jackson told reporters after a 90-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher that last Friday's decision by President de Klerk to unban the ANC and free its leader Nelson Mandela soon had encouraged hopes of an end to apartheid.

Mr Jackson, who arrives in South Africa tomorrow and hopes to meet Mr Mandela, said he would pass on a message of support from Mrs Thatcher to the jailed leader.

He said he hoped to advise Mrs Thatcher and President Bush on Mr Mandela's thoughts on sanctions.

See Page 3.



Mandela series starts today

Nelson Mandela could be released any day now.

President de Klerk has told Parliament and the nation that "the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally" and that it will decide soon on the date.

TODAY, in a special eight-page tabloid inserted in Tonight!, The Star starts an exclusive four-part series, "Mandela ... The Road to Freedom".

Months were spent researching and preparing this story on the dramatic events surrounding Mr Mandela, the world's most famous prisoner.

Drawn from interviews with those close to him, and from other sources, the series sets out to reconstruct an overview of 25 years and more of political and personal drama, passion and poignancy.

TOMORROW the dramatic six-month Rivonia Trial is recalled, ending in Mr Mandela's statement from the dock and the judgment which sent him and his co-accused to Robben Island.

Restrictions

The daily reminder to readers about censorship restrictions will no longer appear. The Star is returning to its former editorial policy. For details see Page

15.

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The ANC would neither declare a unilateral ceasefire nor dismantle its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, until there was agreement on bringing about majority rule, he said. — Own Correspondent and Independent News Service.

'Public safety' key to Mandela release

Star 7/2/9

(11A)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

Government concern about the public safety impact of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela seems to be the major snag still delaying his release.

Additionally, sources indicated that the Government was still trying to secure some assurance from Mr Mandela about the role he would play once released.

Cabinet sources have confirmed that some — unspecified — political problem is still causing a delay.

They said, however, they expected the problem would be cleared away soon, leading to Mr Mandela's release.

It has now emerged that Mr Mandela is no longer placing any conditions on his release — despite a report to the contrary from his wife Winnie.

UDF leader Dr Allan Boesak said this yesterday after visiting Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison.

He said Mr Mandela still believed the Government should lift the whole state of emergency and release all political prisoners.

But if he were released before these conditions were met "he would not hold on to chairs and tables kicking, but he would then have to state that his release was under circumstances that he himself would not have wished".

Returning exiles

It seems the Government is unlikely to budge from its stand on the return of political exiles before talks with the ANC begin.

The Government's insistence that amnesty will not be granted to militants guilty of ordinary crimes such as murder and sabotage — even if politically motivated — seems still to be a major sticking point obstructing ANC entry into discussions.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu returned to South Africa yesterday from the Stockholm ANC summit to say that the ANC would seek clarification from President de Klerk on the return of exiles before deciding whether to enter negotiation talks.

Government sources have indicated that although they are prepared to discuss the position of exiles they cannot afford to budge now from their position. It is likely that the Government's attitude is that ANC leaders will not be prevented from returning whatever their role in the planning of the armed struggle.

However those responsible for the actual perpetration of a crime will not be granted amnesty.

The sources said they believe they have Western support for their stand.

The ANC on the other hand believes that crimes committed by their guerillas are acts of war which should be condoned.

But while the South African Government seems to be digging in its heels on the exile issue as a precondition for negotiations, some sources concede that eventually amnesty will have to be granted to all ANC operatives.

This was the case with all the returning Swapo fighters under the UN-supervised Namibian peace settlement.

● See Pages 5, 10 and 11.



The new boys . . . South African cricket's newest Springboks were officially capped at a function in Sandton yesterday. Kepler Wessels (front), Richard Snell and Dave Rundle will be in the Bok side that takes on the rebel English cricket side in the first test starting tomorrow at the Wanderers. ● See Page 3, Page 6 and Back Page. ● Picture by John Hogg.

Fewer cars are stolen but insurance premiums rise

By Craig Kotze

Vehicle insurance premiums are to rise again soon, despite a significant drop in car thefts, the chairman of the South African Insurance Association (SAIA), Mr Ron Carter, said today.

The reasons were that replacement costs of vehicles and of repairs had shot up.

Premiums, Mr Carter said, were due to go up anyway because they had not kept pace with inflation.

BURDEN

"Car theft has been reduced nation- part of the

way below rates in Britain and America," Mr Carter said.

SAIA has in the past said rising car theft — which reached the proportions of a national crisis in the mid-80s — was one of the reasons for steep rises in premiums.

Police confirmed yesterday that there had been a drop in car theft, although statistics were not available.

One source said car theft in Johannesburg had dropped from up to 60 cars a day to an average of about 30 or 40.

But police also conceded that the emphasis had changed in obtaining and hijack-

Speech heralds the start of even greater challenge

AFTER many years of observing laws that restricted what could or could not be printed, it is going to be difficult to remember what it was like to write under relatively normal conditions.

One even wonders to what extent we will be able to take advantage of the concessions made by De Klerk last week. His speech came as a big shock - a relieving shock, though. Some people were so excited about news of the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and I heard others at the weekend saying "Viva Comrade De Klerk".

Admittedly, I was at first somewhat excited. The speech had exceeded my expectations and I believe many people's too. I found it remarkable that the man even scrapped the regulations in terms of which 33 organisations which included Azapo, Cosatu and the UDF were restricted.

Looking at the nature of our society, I thought it took a lot of courage for the man to say what he said and for that, he must be commended.

Arms

But as a victim of apartheid, one cannot help being cynical about some aspects of the speech. I am not scoffing at it. But I feel a lot of care has to be exercised in responding to what FW has said.

He said there was no longer any justification for the armed struggle to continue. I thought it nonsensical for anybody to think that on the basis of a speech alone, cadres of the Umkhonto we Sizwe Army could suddenly lay down their arms and pretend the situation had gone back to normal.

The reason why we resorted to violence was because our humble pleas to be treated as human beings provoked violent reaction from the authorities. To this day, that has not stopped.

What De Klerk was saying basically is that we no longer have to defend ourselves against apartheid and the machinery used to implement it. We have for many years been in a state of civil war in this country.

It took the form of what some people called unrest, with, in some instances, guerilla attacks and pre-emptive attacks into neighbouring states.

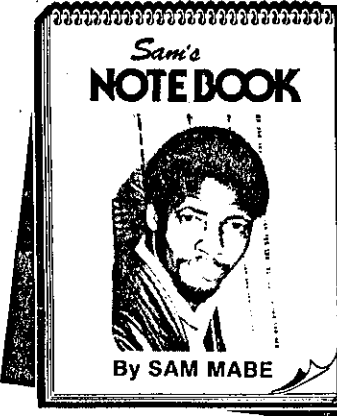
But we have always been on the defensive. We only attacked in retaliation.

FW has not scrapped the state of emergency in its entirety. He used the Natal violence as an excuse. I thought that was a very flimsy excuse. One commentator said the violence in Natal was not caused by the absence of the state of emergency.

And that is true. The police have not been particularly impressive in their handling of the Natal violence. When there were demonstrations against the rebel cricket team, the police opened a hotline through which they could be contacted any time in the event of trouble.

But the Natal violence had been going on for years and this newspaper has repeatedly challenged the authorities to address the problem. People in that area were complaining about the indifference of the police to the killings that were going on everyday.

It was only a few weeks ago when Law and Order Minister



Adriaan Vlok took a team of senior police officers to Natal and when he returned, he was pointing fingers at the UDF and the ANC.

De Klerk still feels he needs to use violence in dealing with his opponents. He has retained detention without trial, saying the maximum period of detention will be six months. The period of detention is not the issue. Even if it were to be six hours only, it would still be immoral.

Dying

One cannot understand how on earth we can be expected to lay down arms when our people are still dying under mysterious circumstances in police custody.

Just the day before yesterday, peaceful demonstrators in Tembisa were shot at by the police. How serious was the crime of participating in a so-called illegal march to have warranted the use of guns by the police?

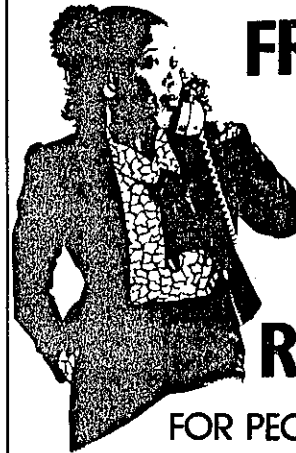
Also, in unbanning the ANC and PAC, De Klerk did not scrap the law in terms of which

the two organisations were banned. This means that at any stage should the Government deem it necessary to ban them or other organisations, they will do so.

What some of us have not forgotten is that during the violence sparked off at the start of the anti-pass campaign of 1960, the Government declared the state of emergency. When it was lifted, most of its provisions were converted into law.

So what De Klerk did last Friday was to revert back to the pre-1960 situation, which was not a rosy one as it caused the uprisings that led to the banning of the ANC and PAC.

I would like to see us viewing De Klerk's speech as marking the beginning of an even greater challenge facing the liberation movements and all of us in this country. We should consolidate our programmes, open more debates, adopt a solution-oriented approach, refrain from pointing fingers and gear ourselves for the type of future we must determine.



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Fight goes on - Sisulu

11A

Sowetan
7/2/90

11A

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE African National Congress would remain as it was before its unbanning and the "armed struggle" would continue, Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

The former ANC general-secretary was addressing journalists on his return from Sweden, the last leg of a three-week mission to Zambia, Tanzania and Europe.

He ruled out any plans to negotiate with the Government following State President FW de Klerk's historic

speech last Friday.

Sisulu also dismissed claims that he would be giving De Klerk a secret document from the ANC hierarchy.

He said: "Nothing has changed fundamentally but we welcome the unbanning of the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party and other organisations.

"With regard to the ANC, things will be left as they are until a statement is issued by the national executive committee, hopefully in the next two weeks."

The ANC leadership holds a plenary meeting in

● To page 2

P.T.O.

Mandela to see Sisulu, UDF - P5



Mr Walter Sisulu addresses the Press at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Sisulu is flanked by his wife, Albertina, and United Democratic Front executive member Mr Murphy Morobe.

Struggle goes on - Sisulu

11A

● From page 1
Lusaka on Monday.
Sisulu said that although the ANC regarded De Klerk's measures as significant it considered the steps he took as half-measures.

"One fails to understand why an easy thing like removing troops from the townships was not done.

"While De Klerk's was a step in the right direction, we find shortcomings.

Sisulu said De Klerk had not come out clearly on the return of exiles.

Responding to a question, he said legislation would have to be changed to guarantee the safe passage of exiles.

On the question of Mr Nelson Mandela's release, Sisulu said the jailed ANC leader would issue a statement about that and he (Sisulu) would find out what his plans were.

Sisulu said the ANC/SACP alliance would continue.

Asked whether the ANC would open offices in the country he said:

"When the time comes we will operate openly."

He said ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo was recuperating well in Sweden after becoming sick last year.

Tambo was bright and confident and took part in the ANC's full executive meeting called soon after De Klerk's speech.

A *Sowetan* Correspondent reports that the ANC's chief spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, said from Lusaka yesterday that that movement rejected any prisoner swap with the Government in the case of ANC members found guilty of crimes such as murder.

He denied the ANC had talked to the Government about such a swap.

Sebina also ruled out any early return of ANC exiles to South Africa, saying it was too early to even think of such action.

"There have been hostilities going on for many years and no one will take the risk of packing up and landing at Jan Smuts without being certain what will happen to him."

Witch hunt 113



Mzwakhe Mbuli of the Mass Democratic Movement's Cultural Desk.

International boycotts to go on - MDM

Sowetan 2/2/90

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

11A

WHILE apartheid legislation is still enshrined in statute books, academic, sports and cultural boycotts must be maintained as an integral part of sanctions.

This was said by the Mass Democratic Movement's Cultural Desk at a Press conference yesterday. "On February 2 FW De Klerk announced a number of changes in Government policy which purported to have created a climate conducive to negotiations," said Mzwakhe Mbuli of the cultural desk. - "The impression was created that these changes now herald the dawn of a new democratic and non-racial South Africa.

"But", said Mbuli, "the liberation movements and the Mass Democratic Movement have emphatically stated that many requirements are still to be met towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations."

Asked to elaborate on the 'many requirements' Junaid Ahmed, national co-ordinator of the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw), said these included the "unconditional release of all political detainees, granting of absolution to exiles and the lifting of the state of emergency".

Asked about the possible return home of stars like Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, Mbuli, said: "The time has not yet come to return home.

The struggle is not over yet. People (exiles) should listen to their organisations abroad and not to De Klerk. But it would be a delight to see them back home to celebrate freedom with all of us."

The Cultural Desk said that the Press conference and its statements were endorsed by Cosatu, Cosaw, Soweto Cultural Forum, South African Musicians Alliance (Sama), Photo Workshop, Film and Allied Workers Organisations, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, National Sports Congress, Theatre Alliance, Pretoria Cultural Forum, Nusas, Grahamstown National Congress, African National Congress, Inyaba (Port Elizabeth), Bloemfontein Arts Project, Galeshewe Cultural Group (Kimberley), Western Cape Cultural Workers Congress and Soweto Students Congress.

7/2/90

Visit to Mandela (119) 'a great experience'

By DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporter

ALTHOUGH Mr Nelson Mandela wanted the state of emergency lifted, "he will not hang on to the chairs and tables and kick" to stay in jail, said the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, Dr Allan Boesak.

He was speaking after spending more than three hours with Mr Mandela at Victor Verster prison near Paarl yesterday.

Although the ANC leader was not in a position to refuse release, he still wanted the government to fulfil two conditions, the release of all political prisoners and lifting the state of emergency, said Dr Boesak.

Mr Mandela's release was not in his own hands but was

the responsibility of the South African government.

If he were released without the conditions having been fulfilled, he would make a clear statement on the matter.

Mr Mandela had referred to Mr De Klerk's speech as bold and courageous and had said that it would be a pity if the political mood of his address were not maintained.

Dr Boesak said that the visit had been a memorable experience for him.

"I have just had one of the great experiences of my life — to meet Mr Mandela.

"He is a man of extreme intelligence, a great strategist and a man who has not given up on any of his principles."

He had shown many times that his place was not in prison but where he could use his qualities as a statesman.

mance. Best on looks.



LP accepts invitation by Sisulu

LONDON. — Mr Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party has accepted an invitation from ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu to join a broad anti-apartheid coalition front, according to a report in the London Guardian.

Mr Sisulu's offer reportedly came in a letter to Mr Hendrickse on January 12, in reply to an invitation to him from the LP to address a party conference.

Mr Sisulu said the invitation was "a step in the direction of a broad front against apartheid".

"One dares to nurture a hope that an anti-apartheid coalition that will chart the shortest course to liberation will begin to emerge.

"It is my sincere hope that the Labour Party will be part of this historical occurrence." — Sapa

Labour silent on ANC 'coalition'

By MICHAEL MORRIS *AKG*
Political Correspondent *7/2/70*

The Labour Party is adopting a wait-and-see attitude over ANC veteran Mr Walter Sisulu's expressed desire to see both organisations working together in a broad anti-apartheid "coalition".

Mr Sisulu's raised the issue in a letter to Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse last month. He was writing to thank the LP for inviting him to address its year-end confer-

ence, an invitation he was unable to accept.

However, he went on to express the controversial view that both organisations could and should work together "in a broad front against apartheid".

Officially, the Labour Party has declined to comment further.

The party has had behind-the-scenes contacts in the past with extra-parliamentary organisations, including the ANC, and the chance now to be

drawn into a new political alignment at a time when it is clear the tricameral system's days are numbered, must be compelling.

The party will be closely watching reaction to Mr Sisulu's idea.

UDF 20 to visit Nelson Mandela

screen
212190
TWENTY senior mem-
bers of the United Demo-
cratic Front are to be the
largest group yet to visit
soon-to-be-released ANC
leader Nelson Mandela at
his home in the grounds
of Paarl's Victor Verster
prison on Friday.

Announcing the visit,
UDF general-secretary
Popo Molefe said discus-
sion with Mandela would
centre around State Presi-
dent FW de Klerk's
speech to Parliament last
Friday.

The UDF delegation
would ask Mandela about
recent talks he had held
with Government offi-
cials. - Sapal

Get rid of all discrimination, urges Labour

As long as the National Party clung to the group concept, suspicion about the sincerity of the National Party would remain, Mr Luwellyn Landers (Labour Party, Durban Suburbs) said yesterday.

"We must rid ourselves of discrimination rules," said Mr Landers. He was speaking during a debate on the State President's opening address in Parliament on Friday.

DEATH PENALTY

The LP welcomed the announcements about the death penalty as an option of sentence in extreme cases, the automatic right to appeal and the cessation of executions until Parliament has taken a final decision.

The party also welcomed the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Landers said South Africa had nothing to fear from the unbanning of the SA Communist Party because all races would now be able to judge for themselves what the SACP's ideology was about. — Sapa.

11A



7/2/90

STAR

FW had no mandate to

unban ANC, says prof

Star 7/2/90

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U1A

President de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC and scrap apartheid laws, a political scientist has claimed in Pretoria.

Retired political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said this week that he disagreed with Mr de Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said Mr de Klerk, in a television interview, had tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming that voters in last

year's general election had voted for negotiation.

Voters' endorsement of negotiations could not be interpreted as a mandate to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Professor Kleynhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelt out your intentions specifically," he said.

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give

The Government should have consulted the white electorate before announcing Friday's sweeping changes, says a political scientist. White voters had given a mandate for the Separate Amenities Act and for the banning of the ANC, but not their reversal, says the expert.

the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC."

Professor Kleynhans stressed he was not commenting on the merits of the Government's decisions, but on Mr de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.

"President de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate is wrong and he cannot claim that a mandate to negotiate includes the things he did on Friday." — Own Correspondent.

TIC won't merge yet

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) would not disband or merge with the ANC at this stage, said TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee yesterday.

"The TIC has decided that it would have to consult with its community before any decisions are taken."

The ANC had called on organisations to remain intact and to continue to organise and mobilise until such time as the ANC clearly spelled out how it would set up structures in the country, Mr Saloojee added.

STAR
4/2/90
(11A)



'Words put into Nelson's mouth'

PIK BOTHA

THE public should not put too much trust in people who visited the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and put words in his mouth, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

He briefed the local and international press on issues affecting his portfolio and said it was important to understand that the decision to release Mr Mandela did not rest with the Government alone.

Questioned about further conditions attached to Mr Mandela's release Mr Botha said: "President De Klerk has said the release is unconditional and I appeal to you to accept that."

Important parts of the state of emergency had been withdrawn and it was the Government's urgent wish to withdraw the rest as soon as possible.

"We wish the ANC will help us now because what is left of it is not aimed at any particular party."

Mr Walter Sisulu's statement, if it was accurately, was helpful in this regard. "It means they are prepared to apply discipline."

"If we withdraw all the regulations and we are suddenly faced with an upheaval and disorder and have to reintroduce the state of emergency, the perception will be that things have got out of hand in South Africa."

"Then we will pay a far heavier price than testing the water step by step as we are doing," he said.

- Sapa

06/12/76
Soweto



Jesse Jackson ^{Capt} here 'to unite ^{Trimp} all SA blacks' ^{8/2/90}

JOHANNESBURG. — US civil-rights campaigner and one-time presidential hopeful the Rev Jesse Jackson arrived here yesterday.

He was met by an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and walked straight into a brief meeting with ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina, Dr Allan Boesak and SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

Tight security, provided by police with dogs, was evident at the airport following threats by the extreme right to "take action" during Mr Jackson's one-week South African visit.

Addressing a media briefing, Mr Jackson said he had come "to get a first-hand view of South Africa on the ground".

He said his duty during the tour would be to unite blacks of all political persuasions, while at the same time addressing the "unfounded fears" of the white community.

He also said he hoped he would see a freed Mr Nelson Mandela "walk down the streets of Johannesburg while I am still here".

● Mr Jackson is to be the guest speaker on Monday at a breakfast meeting arranged by the Cape Town Press Club. — Sapa

WELCOME . . . Mr Jackson at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday with (from left) Mr Sisulu, Dr Boesak and Mr Chikane.

Picture: REUTERS

Three dead in shack ^{Arms} attack, say ^{8/2/90} Crossroads residents ^{11A}

By EDWARD MOLONIYANE
Staff Reporter

THREE people died when four men shot at a shack before setting it alight in a new outburst of violence in the troubled township of Crossroads, according to residents.

Residents claimed the shooting was connected to the continuing power struggle between followers of the controversial mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and his opponents.

The dead were two women and a man, according to residents, who could not identify the victims. They are believed to have been visitors.

Police said a man and a youth died in the incident and a second youth was shot dead in another part of the township.

HEARD GUNFIRE

The attack took place about 3am yesterday at the Boys' Town home of Mr William Sityodana, one of 14 headmen who broke away from Mr Ngxobongwana.

Mr Kedamile Manisi, a neighbour whose shack was partly burnt, said he and Mr Sityodana were at another headman's house about 500 metres away when they heard gunfire from the direction of their homes.

They had just returned from "patrolling" about 2.30am, he said.

"The shooting went on for about 10 minutes."

He said a man told them that the isibonda's (headman's) home was on fire and they investigated.

"When we arrived a woman lay at the door outside and a number of neighbours were battling fruitlessly to put out the fire." The shack was razed.

Mr Manisi said that when firefighters arrived an hour later "a man and another person" were found.

They were "burned beyond recognition but still alive" and were taken to hospital "with slim chances of survival".

Another neighbour, Mrs Lucy Mtsweni, whose shack had two pellet holes, said she and her family were awakened by gunfire.

"When I peeped through the window there were huge flames outside and I could not see which shack was burning. The shooting continued. A red station wagon stood down the street. I saw about four men with long guns running towards it and they drove down the street," she said.

She said she joined other neighbours in attempts to put out the fire but their efforts were fruitless.

MURDER PROBES

A police spokesman, Captain Attie Laubscher said a youth and a young man had been burnt to death in the incident. They were Mr Tiekie Jordana, 24, and Michael Jordana, 15.

A youth, Zolisa Mgutyana, 16, was shot dead in another part of the township, he said.

Police were investigating two cases of murder and two of arson. No arrests have been made.

Coetsee defends Mandela ^{11A}

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee leapt to the defence of ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday, saying that when the history of the present period was written it would be shown Mandela had made a significant and positive contribution to the development of a new SA.

Coetsee was responding to CP spokesmen who described Mandela as a "communist" during the debate on President F W de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament.

He said Mandela was not a communist and had broken up Communist Party meetings in his youth. *10am 8/2/90*

The unbanning of the ANC and other organisations had been made possible by a change in their attitude towards a negotiated settlement.

While the ANC was still issuing a variety of statements it was clear there was a preference for political solutions.

MIKE ROBERTSON

But this had not yet been made clear enough and he looked forward to the organisation clearly committing itself to a peaceful resolution of SA's problems.

Coetsee said while in the past the ANC and other organisations had called for the scrapping of all apartheid laws before negotiations could take place, it had recently revised its position.

Responding to calls for the scrapping of security laws, Coetsee said they were necessary in a period of transition. But this could be discussed at the negotiating table.

Government held that only exiles who had not committed offences would not be liable for prosecution in SA. But the freeing of political prisoners could be further investigated and become the subject of negotiations.



Jesse Jackson, left, arriving at a media conference yesterday with Walter Sisulu, centre, and Allan Boesak. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Jackson arrives in SA for widespread talks

B1D4 8/2/90

THE Rev Jesse Jackson, US presidential hopeful and civil rights campaigner, said on his arrival in SA yesterday he had no plans to see Nelson Mandela in prison, but "I hope to see him walking down the streets of Johannesburg".

He planned to meet people from the widest spectrum of SA society including leaders of the NGK, the Pan Africanist Movement, Azapo, the UDF and business leaders.

Massive security ringed Jan Smuts Airport for his arrival, and all cars were searched.

Members of the AWB were prevented from displaying rolled up swastika-style flags by a strong police presence and regular airport announcements saying "banners and posters may not be unfurled in the airport according to government regulations".

Jackson neither confirmed nor denied he had supported an end to sanctions in conversations with the SA government, but said he did not want to conduct dialogue with government through the news media.

"Apartheid is racial sanctions. For those who cannot vote it is political sanctions. The Group Areas Act is land sanctions.

"End apartheid and sanctions will leave with them. Sanctions are a non-violent stimulus to negotiations and a

CHARLENE SMITH

viaible alternative to bloodshed."

Jackson said President FW de Klerk's speech to Parliament had given hope, but there was also caution because the structure of apartheid remained in place and Nelson Mandela remained in jail.

"Apartheid must be dismantled. It must take place in the context of sharing power and no bloodshed. There is no security in a future with apartheid. We must encourage the president of this country to seize the moment and rise above uncertainty in the name of history."

Embassy

Jackson is here at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches, ANC and UDF leaders Walter and Albertina Sisulu, SACC secretary general the Rev Frank Chikane and World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak.

He consulted US embassy officials yesterday afternoon before dining with the Sisulus. Tomorrow morning he will meet church leaders in Johannesburg. He is expected to travel to Cape Town at the weekend to meet anti-apartheid leaders.

people are being slaughtered on the streets of Johannesburg," he said, referring to five ANC supporters killed by police in clashes on Friday and Saturday.

event for human rights." Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who is a devout Christian, said: "The first thing I did was to say 'thank God. He is great!'"

said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle. "The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against

ernment reaffirms the certainty of man's victory everywhere in his just battle against the forces of evil, terrorism and apartheid," said King Hussein. — Sapa-Reuters.

10 000. Reports came in of church bells in many towns also ringing out at 1pm. Organisers said the demonstration also was aimed at re-

en up and the *Free Mandela* record, banned in South Africa, was played over a public address system and amplified by thousands of voices joining in. — Sapa.

African politics." The Sunday Correspondent's Shaun Johnson echoed the view of most newspapers that Mr Mandela would carry the hope of South Africa with him.

by police of five demonstrators on Saturday. All of Britain's serious newspapers carried the first picture of the ANC leader on their front pages.

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LONDON — In a move which could help defuse the bloody feud between Inkatha and the UDF in Natal, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has expressed the need for a broad anti-apartheid coalition with the ANC.

In an interview with the Guardian newspaper yesterday, Inkatha leader Buthelezi said no approach had yet been made by leaders of the recently unbanned ANC for such a coalition.

However, he said, relations between himself and ANC leader Nelson Mandela remained warm.

While there had been no meeting with Mandela, he said Mandela had indicated he hoped such a meeting could take place once the exiled ANC leadership was allowed to return home and Mandela was out of jail.

Buthelezi noted that an invitation to Walter Sisulu, another senior ANC leader, still stood. He added he was himself a member of the ANC while at university and formed Inkatha in the late 1970s with the encouragement of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

No approach had yet been made to

KIN BENTLEY

him since the seven ANC leaders were released from life imprisonment last year, or since the ANC was unbanned last week.

But he told the Guardian: "We are always prepared to join hands with other anti-apartheid forces."

However, Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo stressed that "if there is to be any coalition, the ANC must not dominate. There must be collective leadership, equal responsibility and autonomy of the groups in a coalition." (11A) (11A)

The UDF, which is closely linked to the ANC, has been locked in a struggle with Inkatha members for the past three years, during which more than 2 500 people have died.

The ANC has recently shown an increasing readiness to form alliances with organisations opposed to apartheid but which work within the "system", among them Transkei military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa and, recently, the Labour Party.

8/2/90
R/DW

French cheers for (11A) Nelson.

Sowetan Reporter

Sowetan 8/2/90

THE President of the Republic of France, Mr Francois Mitterrand, has sent a message to Nelson Mandela congratulating him on his imminent and unconditional release.

The message, which was delivered to Mandela read: "At the time when after so many years your impending liberation without condition has been announced, I want to tell you how overjoyed I am at this news and also to express to you my admiration for the courage and the dignity you displayed in the fulfilment of your ideals.

"France, whose commitment for the defence of human rights is known to you, is standing by your side in your struggle for the abolition of apartheid and the installation of a just and democratic system.

"Please accept my congratulations and my heartiest wishes."

The note was signed by President Mitterrand.

The charterist leadership, true to type, is doing the oppressor's dirty job, namely, seeing to it that the African is deprived for all time of his inherent right to control his country effectively; of seeing to it that whatever new social order is established in this country, the essentials of white domination are retained, even though its frills and trappings may be ripped off. This attitude has been labelled 'multi-racialism' by their white masters. They have even boldly suggested that being a multi-racialist is a virtue!

One race: The human race

The African people are very proud of their race - the human race. They recognise no inescapable fundamental differences among members of even the three main branches of that race: the Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Afrinoids.

They do not subscribe to the theory that there are inherent mental, emotional and psychological differences among the members of the different branches of the human species. They hold the granting of "rights" on the basis of ethnological origin to be the entrenching of racial arrogance and the continued maintenance of contempt for human worth and a disregard for human dignity.

They regard the differences that exist among various groups or subgroups of man to be mainly acquired in and through the individual. The African people recognise the influence of common environmental factors in the acquisition of group characters. They do not, and will not, tolerate any division of their country for purposes that are calculated to foster racial arrogance, the continued contempt for the worth of the human personality and the disregard for human dignity.

The African people are fully aware that suggestions of apartheid, whether total or partial, of segregation social or political, of Christian trusteeship, white leadership with justice, of partnership etc., are all intended merely as a cloak for their continued oppression, exploitation and degradation.

They deny the foreigners any right to balkanise or pakistanise their country. To any such schemes, programmes or policies, the African people cannot be a party. The African people are neither racists nor racialists, and they unreservedly condemn all forms of racialism, including multi-racialism. They do not nurse any grudge hatred for the European peoples but they do cherish a

Africanist Movement Manifesto

11A
Soweto
8/2/90

deep-seated detestation for the Herrenvolk system.

Monolithic giant - Union of African States

The African people of South Africa recognise themselves as part of one African nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Madagascar to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organisational expression for this nation in a merger of free independent African states; a United States of Africa, which will serve as an effective bulwark against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, herrenvolkism and tribalism, and as a sure and lasting foundation for an Africanistic socialist democracy.

shall have vanished and only the unifying factors which betray no instability shall remain. Africanism is a social force that upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual. In this way Africanism is the only logical and practical solution for the social question in Africa.

The basic question confronting the African people is identical with that which has faced mankind from the beginning of time itself: the problem of man's relation to his fellow man. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellow man in fellowship; in harmony and in peace.

Man moves and has his being in a social environment. In the ab-

In this, the third part of the series on what the exiled movements stand for, we publish the second part of the Pan Africanist Manifesto.

The African people regard the development of such a nation as essential for the preservation of their sovereignty, of their vital material and spiritual interests and for the creation of conditions under which they will be enabled to make their lasting contribution to human advancement in a free Africa.

The African people will not tolerate the existence of the other national groups within the confines of one nation. For the healthy growth and development of the African nation it is imperative that all individuals who identify themselves materially, intellectually and spiritually with the African nation.

In South Africa the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressed peoples is African nationalism, and the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressor is Herrenvolkism.

These antithetical forces shall find their final reconciliation only in the synthesis of Africanism, in which the contradictory aspects

sense of social life the social question would fall away. Man's relation to his fellow man is determined by his primary needs. The social question, whose structural foundations are to be found in economic determinism, arises within the framework of social relations.

Man is, therefore, a social being and not an economic animal. To live in harmony with his fellow man, man must recognise the primacy of the material and spiritual interest of his fellow man, and must eliminate the tendency on his part to uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellow men. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be developed and that respect for it can be developed.

Our historic tasks

The historic tasks of the African liberation movement are clearly the product of Africa's history, of the forces and factors which have made it what it is. To attain complete freedom in Africa, the historic tasks of the movement are:

* To forge, foster and consolidate the bonds of African nationhood on a Pan-African basis.

* To implement effectively the fundamental principle that the dominion or sovereignty over and the dominion or ownership in the whole territory of the continent vest exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous peoples.

* To create and maintain a United States of Africa that will serve and provide a concrete institutional form for the African nation.

* To establish an Africanistic socialist democratic social order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.

A liberation movement must find concrete expression in organisational form and substance in order that it may achieve its historic tasks. The highest organisational form and structure in which the African liberation movement has found concrete expression in South Africa is the National Africanist Congress (NAC) and the various facets of its historic role are:

* To create an organisational machinery for the galvanising of the oppressed, exploited and degraded African masses into an irresistible social force bent upon the destruction of all factors and forces that have reduced the stature of man and retarded his growth; and also bent upon the creation of conditions favourable for the restoration of man's worth and dignity and for the development of the African personality.

* To establish for the liberation movement a training ground for the production of a determined, dedicated and disciplined collective leadership that will serve, not only as the symbol of national unity on a Pan-African basis, but also as the repository, guardian and custodian of the ideas, principles and methods of the movement, as well as of the policies and programmes of the organisation.

* To provide an administrative machinery for the direction, guidance and control of the national liberation movement in its grand march towards the inevitable goal of complete freedom.

Africanism is Pan-Africanistic in scope, purpose and direction

It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa, and does not in any way

* Continued on next page

The significant portion of our social milieu begins with the expansion of the markets founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century.

Succeeding years witnessed the "discovery" of new lands by the Europeans, the Papal award of the whole of Africa to the Portuguese, increased European slave raids on Africa that denuded Africa of Africans and led to the establishment in the Americas of the greatest mass chattel slavery that the world had ever known.

Africa had been successfully robbed of Africans. It was this chattel slavery that contributed substantially to the initiation of the European industrial revolution which in turn resulted in the unleashing of the forces of reaction which culminated in the rape of Africa at the close of the last century.

Land robbery and political subjugation

Early European settlement of Africa, especially of its southern tip, was a direct result of the rise of European commercial capital. Wave upon wave of European settlers came to Africa and their penetration of the interior involved the loss of sovereignty by the indigenous peoples and the alienation of more and more portions of their land.

With the rise of industrial capital in Europe and its increased search for raw materials and more markets, the partition of Africa went apace and the doctrine of "effective occupation" was enunciated, a theory calculated to "sugar coat" the bitter pills of land robbery and political subjugation.

More and more settlers came into the country until today there are 50 0000 Europeans who up to the dawn of African liberation had constituted themselves a ruling class over the 25 000 000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

Established by the sword

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of white domination, whether visible or invisible, which is characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of the indigenous African masses.

Throughout this historical epoch, the age of white domination, whenever the spokesman or representatives of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to the

Africanist Movement Manifesto

11A

Sowetan 7/2/90

Yesterday we gave the position of the Congress Alliance as it is contained in the Freedom Charter. In this second part of the series on what the exiled movements stand for, we publish the Pan Africanist Manifesto, but because of its length we have split it in two, the first part appearing today.

phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilisation" or "the extension of Christian trusteeship".

The undisguised truth is that White domination has grounded down the status of man and stunted the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in human history. White domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword.

Expulsion of imperialist exploiters

Significant events of the 20th century especially of the latter part of it, have constituted a massive challenge to Herrenvolkism, a particular manifestation of imperialism and colonialism. Already European exploiters and oppressors have been dramatically expelled from such countries as Indonesia, India, China, Burma, Malaya, Vietnam, etc. These are today being systematically routed and forcibly caused to retreat in confusion.

The post-war world has witnessed the expulsion of the European imperialist exploiters and oppressors from large tracts of Africa and the emergence of no less than nine sovereign and independent African states. We are indeed witnessing a *gotterdamung* - a twilight of the gods, the twin gods of white domination.

Decolonisation and independence

Elsewhere in Africa the progressive forces of African nationalism continue to be locked in mortal combat with the reactionary forces of Herrenvolkism. By the end of next year the peoples of Togoland, Somaliland, the Cameroons and Nigeria will have

achieved freedom. The French policy of 'association' is also being rejected in favour of decolonisation and independence.

The liquidation of the forces of oppression

To the chagrin of the imperialists the government of free Algeria is a reality. Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda are on the verge of obtaining their freedom from British imperialism. Contrary to their traditional policy the Belgian imperialists have been forced to accede, at least in principle, to the African people's demand for the recognition of their independence in the Congo.

The policy of partnership pursued in the Central African Federation has been exposed for what it is: the greatest political fraud of our times. Even in those massive concentration camps, Angola and Mozambique, the African people have begun to reject the status quo in favour of their own freedom. The liquidation of the forces of oppression is a process that not even nuclear power can halt.

Right to shape own destiny

The days of European domination of Africa are numbered. Even in South Africa the writing is glaringly on the wall for those of our European rulers who can see and decipher it. For exactly 307 years today, the African people have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded.

They have in the past, as they do now, declared themselves for freedom. They reject white domination in any shape or form. They are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of their country

determined to exercise the most fundamental of human rights, the inalienable right of indigenous people to determine and shape their own destiny. To the African people there can be no room in any way or in any part of Africa for any non-indigenous peoples who deny to the indigenous populations their fundamental right to control their own material and spiritual interests effectively.

South Africa, which is an integral part of the continent, is the inalienable heritage of the African people and its effective control is their undoubted and unquestionable birthright.

No longer with the ranks of the liberation movement

Following the "capture" of a portion of the black leadership of South Africa by a section of the leadership of the white ruling class, the masses of our people are in extreme danger of being deceived into losing sight of the objectives of our struggle.

This captured black leadership claims to be fighting for freedom when in truth it is fighting to perpetuate the tutelage of the African people. It is tooth and nail against the Africans gaining the effective control of their own country. It is fighting for the maintenance of the status quo. It is fighting for "constitutional guarantees" or "national rights" for our alien nationals.

It has completely abandoned the objective of freedom. It has joined the ranks of the reactionary forces. It is no longer within the ranks of the liberation movement.

White domination without frills and trappings

These "leaders" consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims. They regard as equals the foreign master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited, the foreign oppressor and the indigenous oppressed. They regard as brothers the subject Africans and their Europe overlords.

They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject peoples who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class. Citizen Toussaint once remarked that: "Whenever anybody, be he white or mulatto, wants a dirty job done, he always get the Negro to do it."

● Part 2 tomorrow.

Justice minister praises Mandela

Att. Timp 8/2/90

Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday said that when the history of the present period was written it would be shown that Mr Nelson Mandela had made a significant and positive contribution to the development of a new South Africa.

Mr Coetsee was responding to Conservative Party spokesmen who in the debate on the State President's speech attacked the ANC leader as a communist.

He said Mr Mandela had never been a communist and that in his youth the ANC leader had broken up Communist Party meetings.

Mr Coetsee is the second cabinet minister to praise Mr Mandela. Earlier this week, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, said Mr Mandela was a man of stature who would make a great contribution towards negotiating a new constitution.

Mr Coetsee said the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations had been made possible by a change in their attitude towards a negotiated settlement.

While the ANC was still issuing a variety of statements, it was clear at the end of the day that there was a preference for political solutions. However, this had not yet been made clear enough.

Responding to calls for the scrapping of security laws, Mr Coetsee said these were necessary in a period of transition.

However, the government did not adopt an immovable stand on the retention of the laws and their continued existence could be negotiated.

Explaining the government's position on the return of exiles, Mr Coetsee said only those who had not committed offences would not be liable for prosecution on their return.

However, this, and the freeing of so-called political prisoners, was one matter that could be further investigated and be the subject of negotiations.

Att. Timp 8/2/90 117

'Use force if needed in SA'

TAMPA, Florida. — The United States should use military force if necessary to help end apartheid in South Africa, Ms Maki Mandela, daughter of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, told a crowd of more than 1 000 in a 45-minute speech at the University of South Florida on Tuesday night.

Black South Africans had been kept in servitude for more than two generations, she said.

"According to the South African regime, we are savages, animals who don't know any decent standard of living," she said.

Ms Mandela, 35, said conditions were so morally bankrupt in South Africa that the US should consider military force, just as it did in Vietnam and Nicaragua.

"Why stop using that same foreign policy in South Africa?" she said. "That's what I'm asking." — UPI

ANC-Inkatha move mooted

LONDON. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has held out the possibility of joining the ANC in a broad coalition against apartheid, the London Guardian newspaper reported yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was reported as saying no approach had been made by leaders of the recently unbanned ANC for any coalition, but that relations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela were warm.

The imprisoned leader had said he hoped meetings would begin to take place when the exiled leadership of the ANC was allowed to return to South Africa and he was out of jail.

The chief's effective second-in-command, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said the ANC should not dominate if there was to be any coalition.

"There must be collective leadership, equal responsibility and autonomy of the groups in a coalition." — Sapa

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Natal violence could get worse — Buthelezi

11/12
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The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi has told The Times that he fears the violence in Natal, which has cost 3 000 lives could get worse.

He denied all responsibility for the violence, claiming that much of it was committed by criminal elements beyond the control of either Inkatha or the UDF, and added: "I pray only for the violence to stop."

He told the newspaper's correspondent in Natal that Inkatha had opened fresh peace talks with the UDF, "but I fear the violence is only going to get worse now that young ANC insurgents will be dribbling back from exile, bringing their AK-47s with them".

"They'll try to do what Swapo did last year and send their fighters streaming back, gun in hand. It's essential for everyone that this is not allowed to happen."

While repeating his assertion that he was ready for immediate talks with the ANC, Chief Buthelezi also accused it of manipulating international opinion and getting "the foreign Press to swallow their version of events".

Chief Buthelezi heaped fulsome praise on President De Klerk, claiming (with a laugh) that the president might even poll more African votes than he himself.

"At any rate, he's fulfilled all my conditions for negotiation and so I'm ready to negotiate now.

"If the ANC aren't ready that's their problem. They chose the armed-struggle path and criticised people like me who stayed inside the country and organised.

"Well, now we've got our organisation and I don't see why we should sit around waiting for them to get their act together."

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Manifesto

Soweto
2/2/90

From page 6

11A

serve the interests of either the Eastern or the Western powers. It is continental in scope, covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Madagascar to Morocco.

It is a social force functioning through the media of African social conditions, and operating to liberate Africa and to create a social order original in conception, Africanistic in orientation, socialistic in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose.

Pan-Africanism became a concrete reality when African nationalists from all over the continent met at Accra. The All-Africa Peoples' Conference, held in Accra in December 1958, laid a promising organisational foundation for African nationalism on a Pan-African basis.

Final triumph

In its dialectical march towards the final synthesis of Africanism, African nationalism is destined to create the conditions favourable for the development of the African personality.

The final triumph of the liberation movement under the direction of the NAC is assured. The movement must triumph because in their march to freedom the African people have history on their side. The militant progressive forces of African nationalism are bound to crush the reactionary forces of white domination.

The movement must triumph because the NAC alone has a message for the oppressed, that their salvation lies in manifest determination to unite as a nation and to struggle for the noble ends of freedom and self-determination.

The movement must triumph because, having been purified in the crucible of oppression, the African people can demonstrate to the world genuine democracy in action, a democracy founded upon the ruins of the material and spiritual conflicts and contradictions of the existing social order, a democracy in which man shall at long last find his true self, and a democracy in which the human personality shall blossom to the full.

Labour Party 8/20/90 calls for single Parliament

CAPE TOWN — The tricameral structure should be replaced by a single Parliament before negotiations on a new constitution for SA began, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said yesterday. (118)

At a Press conference, he said own affairs departments, such as the separate education departments, should be done away with immediately and replaced by one administration.

Hendrickse also said the LP and movements such as the ANC had "common objectives in the struggle of liberation", and that the LP's constituency should be taken into the "joint front as an investment for the future".

"Our future must lie in togetherness. Though we have had differences in strategy there is a rethink on the idea of keeping us to one side."

If the time came for the LP to disband, the party would welcome that, but it had to be in a situation where people had freedom of choice and were free to make their views heard, not only in favour of the ANC. — Sapa.

Our Political Staff reports that the LP has bluntly rejected an offer of the chairmanship of one standing committee made by Leader of the House of Assembly Dawie de Villiers.

But the Party has decided to end its boycott of the standing committees, Hendrickse said yesterday.

UDF, Mandela to discuss response to speech

A 20-MAN UDF delegation meets Nelson Mandela tomorrow for key discussions to develop a formal response to President F W de Klerk's speech to Parliament, and to discuss Mandela's expected release sometime this fortnight.

High on the agenda will be an ANC call for Mandela to travel to Lusaka for consultations immediately he is released. Mandela and the UDF will also discuss their anticipated next step, namely a cessation of hostilities — a preliminary step towards a ceasefire.

However UDF deputy publicity secretary Murphy Morobe yesterday made it clear government would first have to fulfil the remaining terms of the Harare Declaration.

"One cannot unban organisations but retain the laws that banned them. What would the position of ANC and SACP leaders be if they came back?"

"Now that the dust of euphoria has settled, there are a number of disturbing elements about De Klerk's speech. At best one could say his pronounce-

CHARLENE SMITH

ments were very ambiguous."

Based on their past history, it was a "little difficult" to trust government, he said.

He believed Mandela would not immediately fly to Lusaka, as there was an overwhelming demand for him to be seen "by the people", but it was important for him to go there as soon as possible to share his experiences and obtain clear directives.

The results of the UDF discussions with Mandela will be conveyed to the ANC before its National Executive Committee holds an urgent plenary meeting in Lusaka on Tuesday.

Morobe said the UDF would also begin preliminary discussions about its status, but made it clear a final decision would only be made at its national congress in April. He said the UDF had never been an ANC front and he personally believed it would be better for the UDF to continue its existence.

11A
He also said the UDF and leaders of key organisations such as Cosatu would participate in any negotiations with government together with the ANC.

MATTHEW CURTIN reports that the SA Law Society said yesterday there were no obstacles in the way of Mandela and Oliver Tambo returning to legal practice in SA.

Society administration director Thinus Grobler said both Mandela and Tambo were on the attorneys' roll as non-practising members. They would only have to submit a Fidelity Fund certificate before resuming their legal professions.

The two men have always remained on the attorneys' roll, although Transvaal Law Society president Ed Letty yesterday recalled two unsuccessful attempts by society members in the 1960s and 1970s to have Mandela taken off.

He and Grobler confirmed there were no such obstacles today.

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3 killed in Crossroads

Staff Reporter

A WOMAN and a 15-year-old boy were burnt to death and a 60-year-old man was shot in the back and killed in Old Crossroads yesterday, police said.

Captain Attie Laubscher said that in the early hours of the morning a shack in Section 4 was set alight by an "unknown group".

Michael Jodana, 15, and an unidentified woman were burnt to death.

Mr Tiekie Jodana, 24, and a person identified as T Jodana, 16, were badly burned.

Mr Zolisa Mgutyana, 60, of 1104 Old Crossroads, was apparently shot in the back after he heard a noise outside at 2.45am and went to investigate.

CABOT TRUNKS 8/2/90 (11A)

NIC free to consult with ANC

Political Staff

THE future of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was now open to debate and discussion with the African National Congress (ANC) and the community, said the organisation.

In a statement yesterday, they said: "The unbanning of the ANC and South African Communist Party has opened up a new set of conditions for us. We have now embarked on a process of consultations.

"We will be guided by the

views of the community and the ANC with whom we have had a tried and trusted historical relationship.

"We record that we fully identify with the official responses of the ANC and SACP to the De Klerk proposals."

President F W de Klerk had to go a long way before meeting the demands of the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement as reflected in the Harare Declaration.

However, he had gone further than any of his predecessors

towards creating the climate necessary for negotiations.

This, though, was because of "heroic and valiant struggles of the masses" and the need to appease the international community that had a vested interest in the country's profits.

The NIC was cautiously optimistic of President De Klerk's announcement because the pillars of apartheid still remained intact.

The statement said it was hard to imagine the return of exiles while the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Land Act, the state of emergency and security laws were still on the statute book.

The NIC said that while thousands of people were homeless, five million were unemployed, there was rampant poverty and grossly unequal education facilities, the struggle would continue.

1971-11-13 8/7/90
116 1000

Transkei frees six prisoners

UMTATA. — Six political prisoners in Transkei jails were released yesterday.

Those released are: Teko Mokhou, Tandisile Jada, Mcebisi Derrick Waqu, Sindiso Sigcu, Ndibulele Ndzamele Mayapi and Pumzile Mayapi.

Both Ndzamele Mayapi and Pumzile Mayapi recently had their double death sentences set aside by the appellate division.

They were convicted following the death of two people at the Mzamba Wild Coast hotel as a result of a limpet mine blast in a toilet.

— Sapa



American civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson holds a baby during his tour to Soweto yesterday. A large crowd followed him throughout the day.

SA's brightest days are here - Jesse

By Kaizer Nyatumba
The Rev Jesse Jackson yesterday called on black political organisations to "find each other" and work towards making unity a political reality.

Addressing a joint press conference after a meeting with the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in Johannesburg, Mr Jackson said it was very important that black political organisations, whose common goal was to see apartheid eradicated, had to work towards some form of "operational unity".

The unbanning by President F W de Klerk of political organisations last week had been a significant step in the right direction, but these organisations must now agree to disagree and have a common commitment to end violence

and to choose negotiations over confrontation.

"I am constantly amazed at the sense of optimism and hope, and the lack of bitterness among black people in the country. It is now the responsibility of the Government to relieve the whites of their unfounded fears.

"South Africa's brightest days are here. Once apartheid has been dismantled, South Africa will proudly take its place in the world community," Mr Jackson said.

Speaking at the same press conference, PAM general secretary Mr Benny Alexander praised Mr Jackson's "incisive knowledge of the situation" in this country, which they found impressive.

"Mr Jackson advised us very strongly to work for unity among

the oppressed. We explained our position to Mr Jackson, but we found him much more informed than we had thought," said Mr Alexander.

He further told the media that PAM had thanked Mr Jackson for his role in the sanctions campaign and asked him to "push for more sanctions" back in the US.

Speaking to the press after this meeting, Mr Jackson said President de Klerk's major announcement last Friday had made it even more necessary for black unity to be attained.

Mr Jackson leaves for Cape Town this afternoon where he hopes to meet President de Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, other Cabinet Ministers and Mr Mandela.

State 9/2/90

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laager".

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Appeal for a clear policy on prisoners

State 9/24/70 (8)

The Government had to state a clear policy regarding all political prisoners, Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives Mr Abe Williams said yesterday.

Speaking during the joint debate on the State President's opening address, he said the danger existed that if only the leaders were released, they could be seen as sellouts.

He raised laughter when he said that if white South Africa did not want the State President, Mr de Klerk would feel very much at home in the LP. — Sapa.

11A

Parties may have to dissolve LP

Existing political parties may have to pay the price of disappearance as an investment in the future of South Africa and all its people, the chairman of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday. *State 9/24/70*

Speaking during the debate on the State President's opening speech, he also called for the three Houses of Parliament to be scrapped as separate entities.

"Let us in future meet as one House."

He asked how a new South Africa could be born if the old one did not die.

He said the National Party might have to dissolve to form something new. — Sapa.

DE per...

...about the safe return of exiles'

'We'd be walking into a trap'

11A  W/Mant 9/12-15/2/90

THE exiled poet who wrote that "Wailings fill the chambers of my heart/and my head/behind my quiet eyes/I hear the cries and sirens" is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still wails, he still hears the cries and sirens, for "apartheid still exists, (State President FW) de Klerk certainly hasn't satisfied the Harare Declaration's preconditions for negotiation, and I don't even know if my exit permit's been revoked".

Like Brutus, dozens of exiled South African artists in North America are playing with the possibility of returning to the place of their creative inspiration. Unlike Brutus, however, most state quite bluntly that they will not go back as a result of De Klerk's speech last week.

"Has anything changed?" Peter Abrahams asks combatively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandfa-

Exiled artists in the US were toyi-toying between the skyscrapers last Friday, but most are biding their time before deciding whether to come home, reports **MARK GEVISSER** in New York

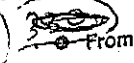
ther of black South African letters (he wrote *Mine Boy* in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Lindiwe Mabuzza, a published poet who is also the ANC's chief representative in the United States, asks: "What guarantee do we have that we will not be put right into jail upon arrival? If we all flocked into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap."

And so while some exiles were toyi-toying between Manhattan's skyscrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their

●To PAGE 22

Artist fear a trap if they come back

11A  From PAGE 21 9/12-15/2/90

way towards Botswana and Zimbabwe, most are biding their time. "My first allegiance," says poet and critic Cosmo Pieterse, "is to the movement. If the movement tells me I'm needed back home, I'll pack up my bags and leave tomorrow, even though I've been here for 30 years. There's not a day that I don't think of South Africa, so of course I'm prepared."

Others admit that with American families and friends, and the necessity to forge a new life forced upon them many years ago, going back would be painful. "We'll be returning to places we no longer know," explains poet and 30-year exile Mazisi Kunene. "Our homes might be in ruins and many friends killed. The process of going home involves moving through tragic histories, deaths and losses."

And, adds poet Daniel Kunene, "The work here is far from done. Now that De Klerk's promising change, the pressure might let up. So we're needed here more than ever, to remind the international community how much further the government has to go." If and when they do go home, Kunene insists, "it will be based on our own assessments. I don't want to legitimise De Klerk as someone who can tell me whether or not I can return."

Duma Ndlovu, the poet and playwright re-

sponsible for bringing much of South Africa's township theatre to New York, agrees with the principle: "I've been planning to go home for a while now, but if I do, it will be regardless of De Klerk's announcement."

Ndlovu feels the need to go back and work within the Black Consciousness Movement. Brutus and Pieterse feel they can serve as educators.

And actor Zakes Mokae says "Yes, I've got a date with the kids in Soweto." Fugard's first collaborator and the recent star of *A Dry White Season*, Mokae has always dreamt of starting a drama school in Soweto. While he echoes the ambivalence of all the exiles, he allows himself to revel in the possibility of a heroic homecoming: "I'll be one of those going home on a plane very soon. My suitcases are packed, I'm just waiting for the word."

Four exiles, all members of Experimental Workshop '71, have just opened an Off-Broadway revival of the play that made them famous. "We left South Africa with *Survival* in '77," says Selaelo Maredi. "Maybe we'll go back with *Survival* in 1990." He and comrade Seth Sibanda laugh, a sound bubbling with the possibility of life and art in a democratic, non-racial South Africa, but tinged, too, with the knowledge that it's not about to happen. Not just yet.

AP Times 9/2/70
11A

'I'm ready to negotiate now' says Chief Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wants to start negotiations with the government immediately — and says that if the ANC are not ready, it's "their problem".

Chief Buthelezi has come increasingly under the spotlight in the British press as the prospect of negotiations looms closer.

In a lengthy interview with the Times, published yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said President F W de Klerk had "fulfilled all my conditions for negotiation and so I'm ready to negotiate now".

"If the ANC aren't ready, that's their problem. They chose the armed struggle path and criticised people like me who stayed inside the country and organised.

"Well, now we've got our organisation and I don't see why we should sit around waiting for them to get their act together."

Elsewhere in the interview, Chief Buthelezi told the Times that resolution of the bloody feud in Natal was fundamental to negotiations.

He said neither Inkatha nor the ANC would be keen to sit down with the other while the violence continued. Peace was also essential for proper elections.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed the ANC had departed from its historic tradition while in exile, becoming out of touch with its grassroots. He said Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to have a house built in his native Transkei was a clear sign he hoped to consolidate his support there, thereby becoming the only ANC leader with both a large rural and urban following.

On the possibility that the ANC would demand the fusion of his organisation with it, he said this was unacceptable.

He added that it would be folly to disregard the fact that he, as a member of the Zulu royal family, represented something real.

BCMA programme

source
9/2/90 * From Page 8 (11B)

progressive countries, organisations and international agencies to advance the cause of freedom and independence for all the oppressed of the world.

(d) Strive for the unity and advancement of the African people throughout the continent.

(e) Co-operate with all countries and organisations fighting against racism, Zionism, colonialism, imperialism, super-power domination and interference.

We shall ceaselessly and resolutely struggle by all means necessary for the attainment of the objectives contained in this programme.

CLAD

COULD A FREE MANDELA END NATAL'S VIOLENCE?

By THANDEKA GOUBULE

FREEDOM for Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC could provide the key to ending Natal's civil war, say researchers who have monitored the three-year conflict.

University of Natal political scientists Mike Morris and Doug Hindson believe peace talks presided over by Mandela are likely to succeed because both sides claim to owe at least some respect to the ANC leader. *WMA 9/2 - 15/2/90*

Hindson says Inkatha has tried to make a distinction between Mandela and the ANC and that both the UDF and Inkatha have quoted Mandela in justifying their cause. He added that neither side would want to fall foul of Mandela's counsel.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would also acquire the advantage of enhancing his own stature by entering

into a peace drive with Mandela, Hindson and Morris believe.

Buthelezi wants a prominent place in any framework for negotiations, a place that would assure him sufficient influence over his adversaries. His inability to achieve this has been a factor leading to the failure of previous peace initiatives, they believe.

Buthelezi has also indicated that he is willing to serve under Mandela in a national government and has taken exception to what he sees as attempts by the UDF and Cosatu to oust him from the anti-apartheid fold.

Buthelezi is said to want some recognition from the anti-apartheid movement and is irritated by claims that he is an extension of the apartheid system.

Morris said Inkatha's role in the Natal conflict had been "very problematic" but

that there were "deep structural causes to the war that need to be addressed".

In his watershed speech last week President F W De Klerk cited the Natal conflict as one of the reasons why the State of Emergency could not be withdrawn fully.

But Hindson believes that the emergency regulations will not solve the Natal conflict, which instead requires a coherent development strategy as well as a political accord between the two sides.

Walter Sisulu and other ANC members have also said that the Emergency is delaying Mandela's release, a further factor delaying the search for peace in Natal.

Morris says that even if the political parties reach a peace settlement, "structural problems" in the region will still generate violent conflict.

©To PAGE

Only Mandela can end the Natal violence

WMA 9/2 - 15/2/90

● From previous page

These structural problems are caused by "the collapse of apartheid planning" and inability to deal with the rapid urbanisation in Natal, particularly around Durban.

University of Natal labour researcher Ari Sitas said a pattern in the conflict had been noted in which newly established squatter communities fought more permanent township settlements for access to water and other civil amenities.

Sitas said this gave rise to the phenomenon "warlordism" where residents were forced to pay protection money and homage to local gang leaders. These "warlords" tended to join Inkatha for protection from arrest by the KwaZulu or South African Police, he said.

Hindson said a peace settlement that was not accompanied by a coherent development plan was bound to fail. Unemployment, cited by many academics as a leading cause of the conflict, would have to be countered by stimulating Durban's economy.

He said the possibility of achieving such a long-term plan would be considerably improved if the two sides could reach a political settlement.

Chances of such an agreement being reached were more likely with the help of an unbanned ANC, which would be able to organise local branches to tackle the problems of squatters, housing, civil amenities and even such issues as the jurisdiction and boundaries of Natal's urban areas.

Hindson also pointed out that organisations operating without government restrictions would also be able to exert more effective control over those elements within their own ranks who wanted to act against a peace accord.

But, according to Morris, whether peace will come to Natal depends on how Buthelezi sees his options in the search for a negotiated settlement for all South Africa.

Morris believes the Inkatha leader has three options: he can seek an accommodation with the ANC, he can seek recognition for being the primary political force in Natal or he may seek a DTA-type option by aligning himself with the middle ground — the coloured Labour Party and the array of Indian parliamentary forces.

The latter option depends on how these groupings see their own options, the second would most likely isolate him in a minor regional role, leaving the first as the most attractive.

However, Morris says, Buthelezi has set his sights too high if he hopes to have equal status with the ANC, and would be better off seeking recognition as a constituent in the forces for national change.



Reaction to
the De Klerk
speech ...

TAKE THE GAP, ANC

W/Mail 9/21 - 15/2/90

117 338

**The only
way to call
FW's bluff
is to come
home and
grab the
initiative**

THE African National Congress has been slow in responding to the challenge thrown out by State President FW de Klerk.

ANC leader Walter Sisulu was expected to return home this week with a full response from the organisation. He came back empty-handed.

Instead, Secretary-General Alfred Nzo issued a statement telling people not to do anything rash until his executive had decided how to proceed.

The ANC and its allies inside the country have been caught off-guard.

They spent months trying to set the agenda for settlement with the Harare Declaration. They skilfully lobbied for its acceptance by the Organisation of African Unity,

● Continued overleaf

P.T.O

11A

DE KLERK 'SERVES ONLY THE OPPRESSOR', SAYS PAC

As the PAC sees it, the new news is just the same old news

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) has never considered itself a banned organisation because it does not recognise the South African government. Therefore, as far as its membership is concerned, State President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the liberation movement "has not brought anything new".

PAC President, Zeph Mothopeng, was commenting on De Klerk's speech delivered to Parliament last Friday.

"As far as we are concerned we do not recognise this government and therefore do not recognise the banning of the PAC. It is meaningless.

"There might be activities which can be undertaken overtly now, but effectively the unbanning will make little difference to our programme."

The PAC's position was supported by the Pan Africanist Movement (Pam), the recently formed umbrella body of local organisations with Africanist leanings.

Pam general secretary, Benny Alexander, said they have never recognised the government's right to ban

organisations.

The PAC and Pam said De Klerk's speech failed to address the fundamental issues facing the oppressed.

"De Klerk's speech is not intended for the oppressed, it is aimed at the interests of the oppressor," said Mothopeng

He said he believed De Klerk had made the speech to ward off sanctions because "their economic position is in bad shape.

"If he wants to bring real freedom, De Klerk has to return the land to its rightful owners, the indigenous African people and I do not think he is in a position to do that."

Alexander added: "De Klerk has tempered the degrees of repression, but he has not touched on the most important aspect which is the infra-

The PAC never considered itself banned — so its unbanning this week 'made no difference'. PHIL MOLEFE reports

and super-structure of the oppressor's social order.

"He did not mention the word 'apartheid' once in his entire speech and basically he has not done anything about it."

Mothopeng said now that the PAC had been unbanned the organisation will set up offices in many centres inside the country.

He also suggested that the "most desirable" thing now would be for Pam to join the PAC.

Despite their statements this week, Pam has nevertheless convened a special congress in Bloemfontein on March 10 to discuss "consequences of the government's tactics", including the unbanning of the PAC.

Meanwhile, on the question of returning exiles, Mothopeng said it was up to individuals to decide whether they wished to return or not.

Asked whether the time and conditions were suitable for exiles to return he said: "Yes, under certain conditions they can come home. There are some people who are now stranded, old or sick and nothing should stop them if they want to come."

Mothopeng said the PAC will, like the African National Congress, also continue with the armed struggle.

"The armed struggle will continue

until we have reached a position where the enemy will be talking, not because he is offering terms, but because he can no longer help it or get concessions."

He said the signals would be clear once that point had been reached.

These "signals" would be: "When we have defeated the South African army; when we have destroyed the economy ... and the people will be in a position to take over."

He said the PAC had only one condition for negotiation.

"We are prepared to negotiate the delivery and the return of our land and the establishment of a government based on one person one vote, which does not recognise minority rights but the rights of an individual in a society."

He said the relationship between the PAC and the ANC, which was also unbanned last week, is that of parties competing for membership in the same community.

"The ANC is a political organisation and we are a political organisation competing for the same constituency.

"I do not know whether we are fighting for the same goal — as I have said the objectives are different."

However, Mothopeng said such differences did not rule out the possibility or usefulness of tackling certain issues together.

He totally ruled out the possibility of the PAC uniting with the ANC.

Society for the Abolition

ALL AFTERNOON AND INTO THE NIGHT, CAPE TOWN WAS IN CELEBRATION ...

For a few blissful hours, euphoria on the streets

By SHAUN JOHNSON, Cape Town

THE Mercedes, moving down the cobbled side streets of Greenmarket Square, found its path suddenly blocked by several hundred ululating youths. They were leaping into the air, waving imaginary sticks, and pressing forward in a solid phalanx. The young white driver braked sharply, nose to nose with the crowd, and for an instant the menacing scene was frozen in the bright morning sunlight.

Then, smiling, a youth broke ranks and removed the black, green and gold bandana from around his forehead. He tied it carefully to the car's radio aerial. The Mercedes' four occupants began to laugh, and a young woman in the back seat lifted her hands through the sunroof, brandishing a copy of the just-published *Argus*, whose banner headline read, simply: "ANC UNBANNED".

The crowd surged around her good-humouredly, shaking hands and singing. Bemused policemen looked on as the car drove off with the African National Congress colours fluttering gaily above its bonnet.

Cape Town on Friday, February 2 1990, was an extraordinary place to be. By just before midday much of the citizenry seemed to have heard that State President FW de Klerk had taken a step no one thought he was capable of.

The demonstrators at Greenmarket Square were just one of many groups which had hived off from a protest meeting on the Grand Parade: they weren't heading anywhere in particular, they were giving vent to their delight at the legalisation of their liberation movement after three decades.



After the news broke of the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations, Cape Town streets were filled with celebrating crowds

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

Their chance encounter with the wealthy young whites was among numberless vignettes symbolising the impulsive, unconditional goodwill of the day.

Throughout the afternoon and into the night celebrations erupted in the townships and in the city. With only the most minor of exceptions police held back, and those white bystanders who were not swept up in the mood kept their feelings about this oddly benign revolutionary activity to themselves.

At St George's Cathedral, Archbishop Desmond Tutu giggled with wild optimism. "Just wait till De Klerk sits down with Tambo," he bubbled. "They will be surprised to find how South African they both are. It's going to be nice!"

So enthusiastic were the participants in one chaotic cavalcade which snaked out of the city that when they reached Guguletu — several miles distant — they turned around and did the whole thing again. On the return journey they simply flagged down

and piled into any vehicles which happened to be driving along the Klipfontein Road.

By Sunday, unsurprisingly, the euphoria was losing its edge as the implications of what had not changed in South Africa began to dawn. The city reverted to its familiar summertime torpor.

It was beginning to be realised that the week's historic events constituted the introduction, not the conclusion, to the slow saga of "negotiating a political settlement". De Klerk had

changed irrevocably the country's political culture, activists conceded, but the system remained intact.

A United Democratic Front official laughed when I suggested that the piles of unused placards on the Grand Parade, each bearing the legend "Unban the ANC", could now safely be thrown away.

"But we'll still be needing these," she said, handing me a pocket-sized pamphlet entitled *Guidelines for demonstrators*. "There's a long way to go yet."



The National Reception Committee, formed to provide an official 'welcome' for Nelson Mandela, is chaired by union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (centre) and draws in UDF, church and union leaders from around the country

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

"ARE you ready? Mandela is coming," reads the sign in the office of Murphy Morobe, United Democratic Front assistant publicity secretary.

The answer is not given — but it is clear talking to UDF leaders that they are not ready, and are still recovering from last week's surprise announcements by State President FW de Klerk.

They have dubbed him "a broeder with perfect timing". They have welcomed his speech, but are still reeling from it.

"We were, despite all the warnings and the build-up, caught with our pants down," said one UDF leader.

So if resistance leaders have appeared to be uncertain and slow in giving any concrete responses to De Klerk, it is because they have no clear idea yet of how they will deal with the many complex issues that arise from the unbanning of the African National Congress and its alliance partner, the SA Communist Party.

Walter Sisulu was expected to return this week from a three-week tour of Africa and Europe with the ANC's response. He came back empty handed.

Are you ready? Well, the UDF isn't ... yet

W. Mail 9/12 - 15/2/90

The UDF and the ANC had anticipated an unbanning, but had not expected it so soon. The matter had been discussed at the recent meeting in Lusaka of UDF and ANC leaders, but no preparations had been made.

Now the UDF faces some of the most difficult decisions of its six-year life, including the validity of its own existence. The balance of opinion in UDF circles is that there will be no point to the organisation existing alongside an ANC that has returned home and is operating legally. It would be a confusing duplication.

On the other hand, there are many UDF affiliates — such as civics and trade unions — whose day-to-day work will not be affected by the unbannings. They will simply have to work out how they relate to the ANC. They are likely to allow their members to hold joint membership of

After decades of bad news in government speeches, the UDF is still reeling from the surprise of unprecedented good news.

**ANTON HARBER and
THANDEKA QGUBULE report**

their organisation and the ANC.

The organisations most affected will be those such as the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress, the predominantly-white Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the Federation of Transvaal Women; all will probably have little reason to exist as bodies separate from the ANC.

This scenario leaves out the ANC and SACP's underground and military structures. It is likely they will be left in place for the time being.

However, there are a number of

Build-up to major national conference

THE UDF's national executive met in Cape Town yesterday and goes to Victor Verster Prison today to see Nelson Mandela. This will be followed by a meeting with the ANC national executive committee next week.

These meetings are a build-up to major national consultations. The ANC is due to hold a consultative conference in June. The UDF is planning regional meetings as a prelude to a national conference on April 6/7.

For example, on Saturday the UDF's Southern Transvaal region will be holding a general council meeting, the first since the declaration of the national State of Emergency, at which it will discuss the unbannings and "the role of the UDF in the light of the unbanning of these organisations".

The likely result of all of this is an incremental approach — some exiles may return, other will remain in Zambia; some UDF structures will fold, others will continue their work; there will be a gradual merger of structures, rather than any dramatic changes.

are obvious difficulties with this." "There are logistical problems," said a Cape Town UDF leader. "The armed struggle will not be stopped, so there will be no easy merger of ANC and UDF structures."

The fundamental problem is how to regain the initiative from De Klerk. "We have been talking about how to focus attention again on the real issue: the question of political power. We must emphasise that we might be free to operate, but apartheid still exists. We can toyi-toyi and wave flags in the streets, but we still go to segregated schools and hospitals," one UDF leader said.

The announcement came at a difficult time for both the UDF and the ANC. The UDF is still trying to recover from almost four years of the State of Emergency, which left it with very uneven organisation. The ANC is without its most trusted and respected leader, Oliver Tambo, and it is still recovering from having to shift its military camps out of Angola. It also has to deal with many cadres that are not yet convinced the ANC should pursue the negotiations path.

The ANC has responded cautiously to the invitation for it, or at least parts of it, to return home. After one or two organisations, such as the South African Youth Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, announced immediately that they would disband in favour of the ANC, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo issued a call to them to make no changes until its executive committee had made a formal announcement.

"You can't have a situation where any individual or group can declare itself a branch of the ANC. It has to happen in an orderly fashion," one internal leader said.

But the ANC can't wait too long. Inside the country, in Lusaka and in London, the announcement has generated excitement. In order to avoid disappointment, the ANC is under pressure to respond quickly.

problems the UDF and the ANC have to sort out long before they reach this stage. The main one is how to deal with the very partial amnesty De Klerk has offered exiles, apparently excluding all of those involved in the ANC military.

"De Klerk made a significant jump into the Rubicon," Morobe said this week. "But he's got himself caught midstream. All these gaps in his statement are beginning to show."

"There will have to be more clarity on this before the ANC comes home," one leader said. "I don't think these are insoluble problems, but we can't rush into this without getting more clarity."

Morobe points out that De Klerk has only met one of the pre-conditions set down for negotiations unequivocally. "Do we enter the next phase, even though not all the five pre-conditions have been met? There

B7D 9/2/90

Slovo: ANC will arrange security for its leader

IAN HOBBS (11A)

LONDON — The ANC would take charge of Nelson Mandela's security "whether the SA government likes it or not", former ANC military commander Joe Slovo said yesterday.

Slovo, secretary-general of the SACP and ANC national executive committee (NEC) member, said the ANC was "prepared to send forces into SA to defend Mandela".

Slovo was responding in a BBC interview to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's statement that the danger posed by right-wing extremists was a reason for Mandela being kept in custody.

Slovo said: "I am most exasperated by his statement. They have had years to think about the threat of right-wing violence. It is not something new."

During its NEC working committee meeting in Stockholm at the weekend, the ANC executive said it insisted on being involved in Mandela's security arrangements.

□ KIN BENTLEY reports that a leading British commentator on the publishing industry has said the world publication rights of Mandela's autobiography may earn him \$1m when he completes it. This figure excludes far larger earnings which could accrue from film and syndication rights.

□ Sapa-AP reports from High Point, North Carolina, that US talk show hostess Oprah Winfrey has arranged to fly Mandela family members to SA to witness his release. A High Point public relations firm, B & C Associates, will handle the flight arrangements.

Zenani Mandela, her husband Prince Thumbumuzi Dlamini of Swaziland and their three children will be escorted from Boston to Paarl next week by B & C executives.

□ MANDY JEAN WOODS reports the SABC is planning to screen last night's ABC Nightline programme — featuring a debate between Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosutho Buthelezi — in tonight's Network programme.



Police checking spectators' bags at the Wanderers yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Even out of jail Mandela will not be free Jackson

CHARLENE SMITH

EVEN if Nelson Mandela left jail he would not be free, the Rev Jesse Jackson said on a visit to Soweto yesterday, as he would not be able to live in the community of his choice, or vote, or send his grandchildren to any school he pleased. B12M 9/2/90

The US civil rights campaigner, who is expected to run for the US presidency in 1992, said: "Freedom and democracy are one set of rules which should apply equally to all human beings."

Jackson toyi-toyed with youths outside Walter Sisulu's Soweto house after a day of meetings with leaders of the UDF and Pan Africanist Movement.

He met church leaders early in the morning, then later in the afternoon met Soweto residents to discuss the rent boycott. He also visited two squatter areas in Soweto.

Jackson called on black pro-liberation groups to "agree on fundamentals even if they agree to disagree on strategy and timetable". He also said it was imperative the conflict in Natal be

ended. He called on President F W de Klerk to create a new and viable SA and to release key leaders in jail, including Mandela and Enoch Zulu of the PAC, to facilitate the organisation of political structures.

When he visited Dlamini squatter camp near Chiawelo in Soweto, Jackson said: "I have seen a shack, 2m x 2m, with five people living in it, one room for cooking, the bed and living quarters. In a new and free SA people will get paid for the work they do."

Jackson said there were more people and houses in Soweto since he visited 11 years ago, "but no one yet has the right to vote or to all resources".

Lydia Makhoale, 56, who lives in an army tent in Dlamini squatter camp, said: "Are they coming again to photograph us here? We have been photographed before and despite that we are still suffering."

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Learning to talk again — without whispering

W/M 1912-15/12/90

FOR the first time since 1950, South African communists at home can speak openly about their allegiances.

At least in the short term most South African Communist Party members will remain out of sight, but for a small group of Party veterans the lifting of their "isting" orders has provided the first opportunity to talk to the press since the fifties.

"I'm not used to the idea yet, but it's just great," said Esther Barsel, who joined the Party Youth League in the early 1940s. She has been jailed, banned and listed for 26 years.

"For me personally it means I can join political organisations again and can get a passport. It's going to be very exciting to see old friends like Joe Slovo and also Jean Middleton, who was tried with me."

Barsel was one of those who helped reform the old Communist Party of South Africa as the SACP in 1953. She served as a member of the Party's underground Johannesburg area committee before being detained on July 3 1964.

In April 1965 she was sentenced to three years imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act.

After her release in 1968 she was house-arrested for five years and then listed — until last Friday.

"I still support the party. That hasn't changed," she said yesterday.

In the early 1960s, most of the active SACP members were either jailed for long periods or went into exile.

Many of those who remained, and were listed, were older white members who had been active since the days when the Party was legal. Over the past few years, several have died.

Three years ago Barsel's husband, Hymie, a former leader of the Friends of the Soviet Union society and one of the accused in the 1956 treason trial, died at the age of 66.

Last year Willie Kalk, a member since the party's formation in 1921, and of the Socialist League before that, died aged 88.

And in the week of the SACP's unbanning Issy and Anne Heyman, both veterans of the 1930s and 1940s, died.

Issy Heyman, 79, died on Tuesday, four days after the party he served was legalised. He had been a listed person since 1952.

Four days earlier Anne Heyman, who joined the Party in the 1940s, died suddenly at the age of 66.

After Issy was released in 1970 he and Anne played a central role in keeping the communist community together. Every Old Year's night hundreds of old communists and supporters would converge on their house to see the new year in.

One of the friends mourning his death is John Matthews, 77, who first became active in the Party 50 years ago.

But he was detained on June 25 1964; he refused to give evidence against his comrades, and on December 17 that year was jailed for 15 years in the "mini-Rivonia" trial for his role in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Don't pack the suitcase yet, dear

4/Mar 912-1572/90

11A

FOUR hours after radio waves carried the good news from Cape Town to London, the African National Congress offices were not quite buzzing with excitement ... but smiles were broader, handshakes firmer and bear hugs more heartfelt.

"We shall only celebrate after Comrade Mandela is released," a spokesman, Essop Pahad, explained outside the South African Embassy where supporters had gathered; not to celebrate the unbannings but to demand his immediate release.

This caution — like a cat sniffing a gift of fish that doesn't smell quite right — was also evident in the first live television interviews given by other representatives: Pahad's brother, Aziz, on BBC News and the chief representative, Mendi Msimang, on Independent Television News. They refused to admit any euphoria on the first day of a new era in South African politics.

Hamilton Keke of the Pan Africanist Congress told me he was surprised by the blanket unbannings and anxious that "all exiles must return as soon as they can to share their experiences with the people during what'll be protracted negotiations". He added that: "We must suppress our differences. Zeph Mothopeng and Nelson Mandela must make common cause at the negotiating table."

Was he packing his bags for what was already being termed *The Return*? "I can't go home yet," said the young man who'd been PAC representative in Baghdad.

"I must finish my studies at Essex University so that when I do return I shall be able to offer more expertise to our country."

At the ANC offices another young man had told me, "Of course I'd like to fly home this evening. But we'll have to wait and see if they'll let us in just like that."

He is of the generation that disappeared across borders after the 1976 uprising who could, until F W de Klerk declares otherwise, face criminal prosecution if they did fly home immediately.

"There's a lot to be clarified before anybody can talk about packing their bags," Msimang told me in the terraced house that is now, more than ever, the alternative South Africa House to the white fortress overlooking Trafalgar Square.

He has not been home since 1960 — the year of Sharpeville and the ban — when he abandoned his position as an articulated clerk at the law offices of Mandela and Tambo in Johannesburg. His children were born in exile and one died a long way from home last November; another is studying in West Germany and three are in Lusaka. What he looks forward to most of all when he does return is a reunion with his family:

"Especially my brother Sebastian — to apologise," he smiled behind tinted spectacles. "You see he's been arrested a few times because the police thought he was me — we look alike a bit, I suppose."

The response of South African exiles in London seemed to be: air out the suitcases, but don't start packing yet

By former Drum writer **ARTHUR MAIMANE**, an exile in London for three decades

Wolfie Kodesh, a grizzled, 70-year-old veteran of the South African Communist Party who left on an exit permit in 1963, arrived with his face split by a wide grin: "I burst into tears when I heard."

"I've already talked to a freighter and all I have to do is give them three days' notice to ship my stuff back."

"The Wolfman", as Ahmed Kathrada called him in his letters from Robben Island and Pollsmoor, was nostalgic about his departure from Cape Town; he still remembers the name of the ship — *Die Transvaler* — that brought him into exile.

Dennis Goldberg is another exiled member of the SACP. He was sentenced to life with Nelson Mandela but released in 1985 when he renounced violence — "though I made it clear to them I still supported the armed struggle," he told me. He works for the ANC and also wants to return: "For all that sun and to have peaches bursting in my mouth again. But so far it's still only promises and words — with a commitment to group rights and a retention of the apartheid laws."



Dennis Goldberg

Suspicion and caution are commonplace. Paul Joseph of the Indian Congress "skipped the country" while he was banned and wonders what protection there would be "from being bumped off by the police — or by the AWB". This is a concern apparently shared by De Klerk, who wants to arrange security for Mandela before he can walk out of the prison warden's house in Paarl.

Actor and film director Lionel Ngakane left legally in 1950 to complete the film *Cry The Beloved Country*, but has for years been refused re-entry. He telephoned on what he called "a momentous day": saying, "I'm already in Jo'burg — took off as soon as I heard the good news," he laughed.

But another of those of us called legal exiles — because we took off from Jan Smuts Airport with passports in hand — warned there could be resentment when we land back there with our bags, perhaps from people who resent us for having "run away from the struggle to an easy life in the fleshpots of the outside world".

Some have experienced a hint of this "unwelcome" on brief trips home while others have been protected by their status as officially undesirable visitors.

They either misplaced Pretoria's trust and became political activists or, worse, married white or black spouses in the days when such liaisons were followed by a letter from the embassy warning the erring exile he was banned from ever going home for promoting miscegenation.

But the ANC's chief representative, Mendi Msimang, believes there will be tolerance for the "runaways", at least, from black people.

"They'll understand that you've all contributed in many and various quiet ways. We shall all of us return with valuable experiences from all over the world — after all, the ANC has more diplomatic missions around the world than the regime.

"But," he added, "we shall have to adjust to each other. There's bound to be some culture shock after all these years."

Like so many, Msimang has spent half his life in exile. Aziz Pahad, who skipped in 1964, insists: "There must be no distinctions about who can go back or not. It's not a privilege but a right for all of us. And we must go back as disciplined formations. We'll have to organise because it's going to be some time still before we get what we want — one man, one vote."

Essop Pahad was for some years the ANC representative in Czechoslovakia and has two children born in exile. He is one of those who contracted what an Act of Parliament termed "mixed marriages", and among the questions facing him as he contemplates "The Return" is whether mixed families (as defined by the Population Registration Act, which was not mentioned in De Klerk's speech) can risk a backlash from people likely to regard them as rubbing multi-coloured salt into a whites-only wound.

Only a fortnight ago one such home-grown couple was convicted under the Group Areas Act (which was also not mentioned in De Klerk's speech) for living in a "white" suburb.

The UN Commission for Refugees estimates that 50 000 South Africans have been forced out by apartheid into other African countries and unknown thousands live in Europe, America and Canada.

These people are now considering whether to take their countless thousands of children — a rainbow generation for a liberated republic — back to experience what will undoubtedly be a great culture shock. The shock will not only apply to children whose parents contravened the Mixed Marriages Act, but also to black children who do not speak the languages of a country called home, the nostalgic dream of their parents.

And some of this "pure" generation, like my daughter born in Ghana, have also married "outsiders" for whom apartheid is an ideological affront rather than a personal issue.

For the moment, the prevailing attitude of those homesick exiles who have a personal stake in the future of South Africa seems to be: air the suitcases, but don't start packing yet. There are too many questions still to be answered.

THE LONGEST-BANNED PARTY COMES OUT OF THE SHADOWS ...

SACP not yet ready to come up for air

By GAVIN EVANS

FORTY years after it was banned, the South African Communist Party is legal again — but for the time being most of its members will remain underground.

Leading SACP member Govan Mbeki said he expected the party to have a strong legal component, but that it would be necessary to maintain the underground arm, at least until negotiations were concluded.

"Although the government has been pressured to introduce the reforms of the past week, it is uncertain whether this process will continue to its ultimate conclusion.

"Given the current conditions, and while there continues to be such uncertainty, it will be necessary for the party to operate at two levels — both above and underground, but always under the same single discipline."

Mbeki, who returned from Lusaka on Tuesday, said he expected the SACP to continue to operate as a vanguard party, but with a far larger membership, particularly among workers.

"The SACP has never been a mass party and I'm sure it will still be selective in choosing members. But at the same time it's going to be less conservative in its recruitment than was the case when it was in conditions of illegality.



Out of mothballs, the communist flag flies again ... legally. Walter Sisulu, left and Govan Mbeki at a press conference this week
Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Atrapix

"I expect we are going to have a much larger party than ever before because it will be able to operate relatively openly and recruit membership on a more concerted basis."

The 79-year-old former African National Congress national chairman said the unbanning was "very, very good news" and he expected the SACP to have a "major impact on political thinking in South Africa."

He said the party would continue to have a strong focus on the working class.

"The SACP already has tremendous prestige among workers and the oppressed people generally, and I'm sure this will grow in the more favourable climate which now exists."

Over the past four years party banners and slogans have become commonplace at United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions events. Internally produced copies of the party's magazine *Umsenzeli* have been widely distributed.

This suggests the presence of an internal underground organisation and

a substantial support base.

But at the very time when the party's prestige at home is higher than ever before, socialism is facing its greatest crisis in over 70 years.

From Tiananmen Square to the Berlin Wall, from Bucharest to Azerbaijan, "existing socialism" has either had to initiate drastic renewal or has been thoroughly discredited.

Given the importance for the ANC of maintaining western support, this creates major difficulties for the party, and makes it unlikely that large numbers of SACP members will reveal themselves.

It is common cause that a significant proportion of ANC members are also active in the SACP. But the number of public faces do not go far beyond party chairman Dan Tloome, general secretary Joe Slovo and veterans like Ray Alexander.

Within the country the release of known members like Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Mokoaleli has eased this situation, but it is likely that some other ANC members will emerge.

New Era editor Tony Karon, who recently completed doctoral research on the party's role in the 1940s, said it was clear that the entire leadership was not going to reveal their colours.

"Even when they were legal in the 1940s some party members were deliberately concealed. This situation was varied according to the party's estimate of the danger they faced from the state at the time.

"Given the fact that the state and right wing today are likely to continue to regard the party as its key enemy, and that party members do not exactly go down well in much of the West, it would be unwise for too many members to be exposed too soon."

Karon said there had been a marked shift in the response of the government to the party.

"A year ago National Party representatives were insisting that a precondition for unbanning the ANC was that they sever all links with the party, yet on Friday the SACP itself was unbanned."

He said there were no easy parallels between the party's role in the 1940s and that expected in the 1990s.

"South Africa, the world and the party have changed enormously.

"In the first half of the 1940s they were organising for the war effort against Hitler, while in the latter half they were engaged in a largely defensive struggle against Nationalist rule.

"Today the party is having to deal with questions of political power with all the problems and prospects that presents, at a time when the Nats are making important concessions.

"They will be wanting to lead the workers in a period when the interests of the working class have to be

Learning to talk again without whispering

FOR the first time since 1950, South African communists at home can speak openly about their allegiances.

At least in the short term most South African Communist Party members will remain out of sight, but for a small group of Party veterans the lifting of their "listing" orders has provided the first opportunity to talk to the press since the fifties.

"I'm not used to the idea yet, but it's just great," said Esther Barsel, who joined the Party Youth League in the early 1940s. She has been jailed, banned and listed for 26 years.

"For me personally it means I can join political organisations again and can get a passport. It's going to be very exciting to see old friends like Joe Slovo and also Jean Middleton, who was tried with me."

Barsel was one of those who helped reform the old Communist Party of South Africa as the SACP in 1953. She served as a member of the Party's underground Johannesburg area committee before being detained on July 3 1964.

In April 1965 she was sentenced to three years imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act.

After her release in 1968 she was house-arrested for five years and then listed — until last Friday.

"I still support the party. That hasn't changed," she said yesterday.

In the early 1960s, most of the active SACP members were either jailed for long periods or went into exile.

Many of those who remained, and were listed, were older white members who had been active since the days when the Party was legal. Over the past few years, several have died.

Three years ago Barsel's husband, Hymle, a former leader of the Friends of the Soviet Union society and one of the accused in the 1956 treason trial, died at the age of 66.

Last year Willie Kalk, a member since the party's formation in 1921, and of the Socialist League before that, died aged 88.

And in the week of the SACP's unbanning Issy and Anne Heyman, both veterans of the 1930s and 1940s, died.

Issy Heyman, 79, died on Tuesday, four days after the party he served was legalised. He had been a listed person since 1952.

Four days earlier Anne Heyman, who joined the Party in the 1940s, died suddenly at the age of 66.

After Issy was released in 1970 he and Anne played a central role in keeping the communist community together. Every Old Year's night hundreds of old communists and supporters would converge on their house to see the new year in.

One of the friends mourning his death is John Matthews, 77, who first became active in the Party 50 years ago.

But he was detained on June 25 1964; he refused to give evidence against his comrades, and on December 17 that year was jailed for 15 years in the "mini-Rivonia" trial for his role in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

asserted, while at the same time socialists everywhere have had to learn hard lessons about themselves and the world."

Karon said that while the SACP would maintain its vanguard character, it was likely the party would go on a recruitment drive among workers, "but not necessarily everyone else within the broad ANC-MDM fold".

Meanwhile, the party has officially welcomed De Klerk's concessions, but warned the democratic movement to "remain vigilant and alert for provocations by those in our country, including in high places, who will stop at nothing to preserve minority racial privileges."

An official statement by the International Committee of the SACP Central Committee says the moves announced by De Klerk are "positive steps taken towards creating a climate for negotiations", and calls them "a great victory for the masses of our country".

NUMSA

members welcome the unbanning of the SACP, ANC, PAC and the lifting of restrictions from COSATU and other organisations.

This is a victory for the working class in particular, and all people of South Africa generally who have unceasingly fought for this day.

The unbanning of the SACP in particular, has great significance for the working class in South Africa, a victory towards the struggle for socialism in South Africa.

We welcome the lifting of the emergency restrictions but demand the complete scrapping of the regulations.

We are extremely dissatisfied that de Klerk fell short of releasing comrade Nelson Mandela, and we demand his immediate release! Long live socialism!

(Issued by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA)

W/Mail 9/2-15/2/190

THE LEFT FIM 912190

Struggle on (11A)

Will the United Democratic Front (UDF) disband and fall in with the ANC, now that it's legal? After all, the UDF has always proclaimed allegiance to the Freedom Charter and hailed Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as "our leaders." It has maintained the distinction between it and the previously banned organisation — mainly to evade prosecution.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia says: "The matter must obviously be discussed, but disbanding won't be automatic." There seems no reason for disbanding UDF affiliates such as civic organisations, housing action committees and so on. But the issues are somewhat different when it comes to the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and its Natal counterpart.

Cachalia argues that UDF activity, since its formation in 1983, "resulted in a quantitative and qualitative leap forward in the struggle which brought government closer to unbanning the ANC." The way in which the ANC, UDF and Cosatu operate at this stage, he added, is through "consultation on major issues ... When the ANC is back, debate will centre on what role the party will play." There is, however, "no question" of the UDF seeking a place for itself at the negotiating table, if and when it comes to that.

At an executive committee meeting on Monday night, the TIC resolved to continue until there was "clarity" on aspects of President De Klerk's dramatic announcements on February 2.

For example, says TIC president Cassim Saloojee, there's still the question of whether normal political functioning is possible while the emergency remains. This meant that the ANC was "quite rightly" being cautious about returning. According to Saloojee, one

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FIM 912190 (11A)

cannot ignore the fact that the emergency and the SA Defence Force are being used against current protests relating to the education crisis.

Clarity is also needed on the question of which exiles can return without the threat of prosecution. Therefore, says Saloojee, "there is no question, at this stage, of us disbanding, even though we are applying our minds to the matter." A meeting with the ANC is "due" at which the question will be discussed; it will also have to be subject to "deep discussion with the TIC's constituency."

While admitting the importance of the unbannings, Saloojee says there are still "serious misgivings about government's intentions." De Klerk has "restored the situation pre-1960, when the ANC and SA Communist Party operated legally; he has not taken us to the promised land."

For the moment, therefore, it seems the message from the ANC to internal organisations is: be cautious and carry on with your work.

Pitching new tents

Intense backroom discussions are going on among various MPs of the Democratic Party about its relationship with the ANC. A well-informed source tells the *FM* that some MPs have indicated they are seriously considering joining the unbanned organisation.

The strategic planning committee of the party has apparently met to discuss the issue of DP-ANC co-operation. A meeting of the committee (chaired by Robin Carlisle, MP for Wynberg) took place two weeks before President F W de Klerk's speech on Friday. Other MPs on the committee are Kobus Jordaan (Umhlanga), Tony Leon (Houghton) and Louis de Waal (North Rand).

A DP MP tells the *FM* the committee has been looking at the party's role. "De Klerk's announcement has strengthened our belief that a repositioning vis-à-vis the ANC is now imperative," he adds.

It seems a group of MPs, led by DP co-leader Wynand Malan, intends joining the ANC. Other names being mentioned — purely speculatively — by sources in the DP are Natal MPs Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje (both left the former PFP to join forces with Malan) and Jordaan, as well as De Waal and Jannie Momberg (Simon's Town). In discussions with various MPs this week it became clear that the list could be much longer. Decisions to join the ANC may be taken within a year or 18 months, according to one source.

MPs approached for comment say that policy gaps between the ANC and DP are not unbridgeable and consensus would be enhanced by the NP's reluctance to abandon entirely its race-based group concept. They also feel that the DP has already crossed the psychological barrier of negotiating with the ANC because of its encounters with the organisation when it was banned.

These MPs believe the economic differences between the free marketeers in the DP and the ANC's proponents of nationalisation could be resolved by co-operation in the pre-negotiation phase. "We would at least be in a

better position than the NP to exert any influence on the ANC," one believes.

On Tuesday, in his first speech in parliament in 10 years, Jordaan (a former Nat senator) briefly raised the issue. De Klerk, he said, had correctly indicated that an im-

portant change in emphasis, visible in statements and viewpoints by the ANC, had already taken place. "During our interaction with extraparliamentary organisations, we have experienced that, despite differences in strategies, we are sharing more and more the same principles (*beginselfstandpunte*)."

Jordaan spoke glowingly of his former political boss, Chris Heunis, whom he served when Heunis was minister of constitutional development.

From Jordaan's opening remarks in his speech it became clear that the meet-

ings with the ANC had the blessing of Heunis. Referring to the unbanning of the ANC, Jordaan said: "I am convinced that this was also a day of great joy to my ex-colleagues and minister at the Department of Constitutional Development. These are people with whom I share many ideals."

In his speech, Wynand Malan said that he had always, in private conversations and in public, tried to put pressure on the NP, and ANC to start the political process. "The next step now is the contact," he said. "I am an Afrikaner in the DP. I share my language and cultural interests with Afrikaners in the AWB, the CP, the NP and the ANC..."

The DP believes in free elections on one voter's roll, said Malan. "We also accept that the majority of representatives in parliament and in government will be black. We believe that we will be part of the parliament and do not believe we will not be part of the government."

It has been clear to political commentators that De Klerk's announcement, while lauded by the DP, has placed the left-of-centre party in a position where it will have to prove its relevance to the voters.

Parliamentary leader Zach de Beer in his

speech reacted with indignation to any suggestions that his party has become irrelevant. "When you have fought through the years for your values and policies, and others are converted (to those values), how on earth does that make you irrelevant?"

However, a formal link with the ANC, which has yet to reject violence completely, and is still intent on nationalising mines and banks, is clearly a risk to take for a new party which made electoral gains through compromise.

Many of its supporters may not like the new link.



Malan



De Waal



Momberg



Gastrow

Struggle on

Will the United Democratic Front (UDF) disband and fall in with the ANC, now that it's legal? After all, the UDF has always proclaimed allegiance to the Freedom Charter and hailed Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as "our leaders." It has maintained the distinction between it and the previously banned organisation — mainly to evade prosecution.

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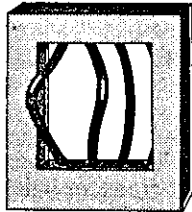
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Waiting for the response

■ The debate around nationalisation will be a key to the ANC's credibility



Only a few months ago, the extent of any reforms announced by a Nat State President would have been judged by the depth of chagrin on the Right. However, after President FW de Klerk's

profound and far-reaching statements on Friday, what Andries Treurnicht had to say in parliament this week appeared both predictable and irrelevant.

De Klerk has freed the National Party — if not the whole Afrikaner tribe — from the confines of its own ideology. He has not so much emancipated the unenfranchised blacks as prepared the way for his own people to use their considerable skills, talents and resources for the benefit of the whole region.

The response that matters, and is still substantially being awaited as the *FM* goes to press, is the considered view of the ANC and what it plans to do now. For it, too, if it chooses to be magnanimous, could by clever use of the greater freedoms now open to it lift the whole southern African region on to a plateau of peaceful prosperity which would have seemed an impossible dream only a short time ago.

Southern Africa has abundant natural resources, the exploitation of which requires technical skills and capital. SA has the industrial and financial infrastructure that could enhance this exploitation to the substantial benefit of people of all races and cultural backgrounds in the region.

There has been economic decay, partly as a result of Nat policies here and the collectivist ideals of the liberation governments to the north. But there has been nothing like the economic devastation that 70 years of communism has brought to Soviet Russia and, since World War 2, to eastern Europe. Simply put, a peaceful southern Africa — stripped of its political fantasies — could offer private foreign investors some opportunities far more lucrative and secure than much that might be found in eastern Europe.

Indeed, it might well be argued that while the ANC may be capable of disrupting and delaying this prosperity, it is unlikely to be able — even if it were so inclined — to thwart the process entirely.

For the ANC, slow and unimaginative as it has shown itself to be, is losing — and could lose faster — its credibility and support in the developed world. If it adheres to violence and scorns the opportunity to seek democratic justification openly and peacefully, it will nurture the seeds of its own destruction.

Its weapons supplies and tactical support systems are already in jeopardy as a result of the explosion of the Marxist myth of equality and plenitude through collectivism in eastern Europe and Russia. The Nordic countries, which have given support naively and unstintingly, have some economic problems of their own to face and have already shown some impatience at African political intransigence.

But the country with the wild cards could be the US, for it is capable of turning the threat of removing sanctions into a powerful inducement to the ANC and other black bodies to negotiate seriously with Pretoria.

Conversely, the developed world has little else with which to belabour SA, even if it wished to. The real sting to this economy



Greeting the news ... but the eastern models don't work

came from the 1985 capital freeze and subsequent disinvestment. That is not only incapable of repetition but the process is being reversed. Disinvestment is but a trickle and capital inflows, while still small, are gathering momentum.

Trade sanctions, as we have argued for some time, are no longer really an issue. They are unlikely to be tightened — especially after De Klerk's reforms — and the economy has shown itself to be remarkably resilient in finding new markets. Sanctions are an unnecessary impediment to growth but they are incapable of strangling it.

Nor are the developed countries, which control substantial aid flows, likely to be impressed by economic policies in Africa that have been shown to reduce self-sufficiency, encourage poverty and uphold dicta-

torships. They no longer regard the extent of their charity to the Third World as a measure of virtue. Those who have been instruments of their own impoverishment are not popular in the West.

The ANC has more than the eyes of anxious SA whites on its policy utterances. It has the developed world as well as the eastern European, whose own experience belies the economic sense of much of what the ANC has been saying about a post-apartheid society.

Take, for instance, what Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, has to say about nationalisation: "The nationalisation of key elements is necessary to get resources for the democratic government to carry out its programmes ... (It) could not allow its plans to be thwarted by lack of resources." The truth is that nationalisation deprives government of the resources it requires.

Nzo, who clearly has no grasp of elementary economics, has only to look at the shortages of food and other basic commodities and sad queues of disappointed customers in eastern Europe to see the manifest deprivation of nationalisation. As British Liberal Prime Minister W E Gladstone found by chance in the last century, rising government revenues come from lower taxes and excises that encourage private commercial and industrial endeavour.

Moreover, if the mines, banks and what the ANC calls monopoly industries here were nationalised, more than 60% of the companies quoted on the JSE would be owned by government, which would have to run them. If that were to happen, foreign investment capital and technical skills would simply not flow in our direction. The press would be effectively nationalised and the flow of commercial information frustrated and distorted.

Scarce economic resources would, in consequence, be wasted through misallocation by a pricing system that received the wrong signals. Price controls, hyperinflation and a concentration of wealth into fewer hands would be the inevitable outcome.

Economic history has shown repeatedly that a rising level of prosperity comes from governments that foster private initiative and aim for the fastest possible economic growth rate that is capable of being sustained. Those that sacrifice growth to income or asset distribution inevitably end up with a poorer populace, offering fewer jobs and declining real incomes.

No matter how sound these economic arguments, we suspect the ANC will require some form of heroic economic gesture from government and business before it leaves the negotiating table — regardless of what poli-

tical agreements may have been reached.

It is an unfortunate and hard fact of life — especially after the exclusion of blacks for so long from free enterprise here — that gestures such as these all have economic and social costs which could be quite severe in the short run. In the longer run they amount to very little for the recipients. Economically they do more harm than good.

For this reason the economic aspects of De Klerk's speech are of substantial importance and require rapid implementation. Deregulation must be continued at a cracking pace so that blacks are able swiftly to benefit from their own informal commercial activities. State corporations need to be privatised, not only to provide tax revenues and once-off sale profits to government, but to foster a share-owning democracy.

Deregulation of the financial system is as important as that of the commercial system. For, among other benefits, it will provide further conduits for black savings to be channelled into the financing of black housing.

The shortcomings of the education and health systems, which have been created partly by apartheid and partly by a past tendency towards collectivist solutions, need to be addressed urgently. It is not logical that white schools and hospitals should be under-used while the equivalent black institutions are overcrowded and inadequate. They require bold and creative solutions, not just

more money.

If De Klerk moves swiftly with reforms such as these, much of the economic sting will be drawn from the political and constitutional negotiations. For blacks will have a better perspective of the fruits and freedoms of free enterprise. The inevitable hollowness of the heroic redistribution of resources from whites to blacks will become more evident. The unrealistic economic expectations will be moderated.

What is becoming increasingly clear is that when negotiations over a new dispensation get under way, the ANC is going to have no monopoly on moral fervour and economic righteousness. It is going to have to negotiate from a standpoint weakened by the desire of both the West and Soviet Russia for a negotiated settlement; by harsh economic reality which it has been avoiding; and by increasing censure from abroad if violence and intimidation persist.

Moreover, the ANC will increasingly now come under the influence of a new and — for it — strange phenomenon: it will become the focus of newspaper analysis, comment and criticism. Nothing tests the devotion to democracy as much as that. It will give the West and the whites here something of the



De Klerk

flavour of the ANC's commitment to freedom of expression.

New-found freedoms, as well as the opportunity and rising unemployment that curbing inflation is going to make inevitable, will give the ANC substantial opportunities to exploit violent protest in front of seductive world television cameras. It should weigh very carefully the likely judgment of its benefactors if it gives way to this temptation.

The need for violent protest has been removed. There can be no justification now for the disruption of university gatherings because radical black students cannot express their views.

If the ANC allows this sort of thing to continue, it will progressively alienate its support.

Last Friday, De Klerk not only gave greater freedom to the expression of black aspirations, and restored to his own party and people the freedom to confront, persuade and understand the political motives of black fellow countrymen, he gave all community leaders the opportunity to seek responsible government and rising prosperity in a new and more equitable society.

It is not an inconsiderable challenge to which they must now respond. ■

having in orchestrating his release; it doesn't want to make the process more difficult than it is. But, as the *FM* went to press, there was a firm expectation among politicians and diplomats in Cape Town that Mandela would be freed within the next 10 days — just in time for the meeting of EEC foreign ministers on February 20.

Meanwhile, hundreds of foreign journalists, including teams from the big US TV networks, have invaded Cape Town. Some are camped outside Victor Verster prison near Paarl. February is TV ratings month in the US, so successful coverage of the event would be vital in setting advertising rates for the rest of the year.

One network is said to have budgeted the equivalent of R4m for SA coverage in the first quarter of this year. There is also a strong rumour that the ABC network is negotiating a US\$2.5m deal for Ted Koppel to get the first exclusive Mandela interview.

Some members of the SA government are unhappy with the media spectacle, even though foreign coverage over the past few days has been overwhelmingly positive.

The authorities may try to persuade Mandela to appear at a pre-release press conference for the SA media.

With the tempting power of foreign cheque books on the one hand, and the prospect of unprecedented positive coverage for President FW de Klerk's initiatives on the other, it seems Mandela will remain, for the time being, a valuable "export." ■

MANDELA FIM 912190

(11A)

Valuable export

What's holding up Nelson Mandela's release? Government insists the delay is due to "logistical and administrative requirements" and his "personal circumstances and safety."

Two senior Cabinet ministers, Gerrit Viljoen and Pik Botha, reiterated at separate briefings in Cape Town this week that no other obstacles or pre-conditions are being placed in the way of his release.

It seems that further delay is due to difficulties experienced by Mandela and the ANC in dealing with an extremely complex and sensitive issue.

Botha cautioned against accepting anything said by people visiting Mandela — an obvious reference to Winnie Mandela's statement that her husband was insisting on the total lifting of the State of Emergency before he would leave prison.

Some observers think Winnie has her own hardline political agenda, unsuited to the compromise that has been thrashed out between government, the ANC and Nelson concerning his release. It has been suggested that she wants to use Nelson's release as a lever for more concessions — but that this strategy is not supported by the ANC leadership.

The day after her statement, ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki said in Stockholm that she must have "misunderstood" her husband, because a total lifting of the emergency was not a condition of his release. Mandela is known to be in close contact with ANC leaders outside the country and Mbeki's comments are regarded as authoritative.

When will Mandela come out? Viljoen says it will "obviously take place very soon."

Government seems sensitive to the problems both Mandela and the ANC may be

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dilemma. Kriel and other senior Nats know that the Act will have to go — just as they knew some time ago that the ANC, the SACP and the PAC would have to be unconditionally unbanned to facilitate negotiation.

But it's politically unwise to say so. This would upset many white voters who are still trying to cope with the shocks of De Klerk's speech. Nat leaders also appear to believe that such a statement would pre-empt negotiations; it's another card to be played when the bargaining gets under way.

The NP still sees "group rights" as negotiating chips. They're not high cards, but the Nats seem determined to hang on to them for the time being. To his credit, perhaps, Walter Sisulu seems to be playing along. He has indicated that the Act can be a subject for negotiation and need not necessarily be scrapped before talks begin. He knows as well as the Nats that the Act won't last long when weighty constitutional matters are on the table.

GROUP RIGHTS FIM 9/2/90
~~11A~~ (11A)

Kriel in a pickle

Hernus Kriel, Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister, epitomised the National Party (NP)'s dilemma when he faced newsmen at a briefing in Cape Town this week.

Grilled about the Group Areas Act, Kriel became embroiled in a tortured defence of "group rights" and "own community life" that seemed somewhat out of kilter with President De Klerk's vision. Kriel conceded in the end that the Act "is on the table" for negotiation. He could have saved time by acknowledging that the widely despised law will almost certainly be dumped in the near future. It has no role in the "new SA" and the Nats know it.

Acknowledging as much in public is the

In the meantime, Kriel has to administer the Act, along with similar discriminatory measures. He insists that the Act is not being enforced as "rigidly" as in the past and that his officials are helping people affected by the law to find alternative accommodation.

But in the next breath he concedes that scrapping the law would probably *not* lead to a "mass movement" of people into different residential areas. Then why not scrap it and let the market decide who lives where?

Because it's a card to play at the right time. Kriel says "areas for minorities" may play a role in constitutional negotiations and scrapping the Act now will remove from the table the option to take action on the law at some later stage — though he adds that doing away with the Group Areas Act does not necessarily mean abandoning the concept of "group rights." ■

Give and take

Government's pre-negotiation process may be eased by the formation of a small, informal committee of influential leaders. They would be able to discuss issues and plan agendas for presentation in a broader forum.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen denied this week that there are already plans for a committee (comprising himself, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi). But he does not rule out the possibility of a "small group of influential leaders" performing ground-breaking tasks.

Viljoen is understandably vague about how he sees negotiation getting off the ground. But he says the process must be as comprehensive and inclusive as possible.

"We will take initiatives and will welcome initiatives from the other side. We are prepared to discuss any problems the ANC or other parties may have in order to find an acceptable interpretation of government's policy."

He says mutual trust and confidence are obviously keys to successful negotiations. While the ANC may be suspicious of government's intentions, government in turn has "considerable reservations" about the ANC's attitude towards violence.

Viljoen insists that the National Party will

FM 9/2/90 (11A) (12)

enter negotiations with an open agenda and no preconditions. Even though it feels strongly about particular issues, the party is prepared to "lay them on the table."

"We are convinced," he says, "that we will be able to take enough (in the negotiating process) to justify what we will have to give."

Viljoen concedes that re-orientating white South Africans to accept change is a "real problem," but believes that the "political risks" necessary to break out of the cycle of conflict and violence must be taken as soon as possible. ■

The melody's changed, but the exiles linger



Hugh Masekela ... 'We are not coming home yet'

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

SOUTH AFRICA'S most famous musicians, some in exile for more than 30 years, have greeted State President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.

"We are not coming home now," says singer Miriam Makeba, composer and trumpeter Hugh Masekela, and composer Caiphus Semenya. *W.M.A. 9/12-15/2/90*

In interviews with the *Weekly Mail* this week, the legendary three said the government still needed to do much before they could consider coming home.

The artists said that apartheid was still in place, the State of Emergency had not been lifted, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were still in jail and the question of the exiles' homecoming had not been properly addressed.

"How could you expect us to return home when De Klerk said nothing about the safe return of exiles. We might fall into a trap and get detained under the State of Emergency because they still have many laws in force," said Makeba.

She said there were still many obstacles that needed to be cleared by the government before they could start thinking of coming home.

"Our people at home and the liberation movement will tell us when things are ready and we will certainly come back then.

"Everybody wants to come — after all, it is our land. My umbilical cord is buried in that land."

Masekela said coming home at this stage was not attractive for him.

"In the first place I do not recognise the South African government because I did not put them there, and so permission to come home cannot come from them.

"The issue at this stage is the people and the announcement did not give the people anything. They cannot vote, there is still the State of Emergency and a lot of other things before we can talk about coming home.

Some of the country's most famous musicians, writers and artists have lived in exile for decades. Has the FW De Klerk speech of last week meant they'll be coming home? The answer is 'not yet', reports PHIL MOLEFE

"My coming home is not an issue; I am more concerned with the safety and welfare of our people. I am part of the 32 million disenfranchised people, so coming home is not important."

He said the safe return of exiles could not be guaranteed at this stage. "There is still that element of Afrikaners who are vitriolic, who cannot be trusted and De Klerk has no control over them."

He said the question of exiles was confusing, with the government saying ordinary exiles could come back, but not "terrorists".

"Who can come home and who should not?" he asked.

"That is the character of the Nationalist government. You do not know what is right and what is wrong. They wait for you to do it and then they tell you it is wrong.

"*Ek meen, ons is nie moegoes nie* (I mean, we are not fools)," he chuckled. "You come, you do not know the traps.

"Freedom of our people is what is needed most. My coming home is not important," he said. "What De Klerk offered is a bone without meat. However, as some people have said, it is a step in the right direction."

He said the developments in the country are like a song which goes through many stages.

"A song has an introduction, verse, bridge, chorus and if it is sweet enough you put a tag on to it. So far, in South Africa, we are at the beginning of a verse and we are very far from the bridge and the chorus. The tag, which makes a song sweet enough, is still a dream.

Miriam Makeba ... 'Nothing has been said about the safe return of exiles'

'We'd be walking into a trap'

THE exiled poet who wrote that "Wailings fill the chambers of my heart and my head behind my quiet eyes I hear the cries and sirens" is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still wails, he still hears the cries and sirens, for "apartheid still exists, (State President FW) de Klerk certainly hasn't satisfied the Harare Declaration's preconditions for negotiation, and I don't even know if my exit permit's been revoked".

Like Brutus, dozens of exiled South African artists in North America are playing with the possibility of returning to the place of their creative inspiration. Unlike Brutus, however, most state quite bluntly that they will not go back as a result of De Klerk's speech last week.

"Has anything changed?" Peter Abrahams asks combatively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandfa-

ther of black South African letters (he wrote *Mine Boy* in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Lindiwe Mabuza, a published poet who is also the ANC's chief representative in the United States, asks: "What guarantee do we have that we will not be put right into jail upon arrival? If we all flocked into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap."

And so while some exiles were toyl-toying between Manhattan's skyscrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their

whether to come home, reports MARK GEVISSER in New York

●To PAGE 22

●To PAGE 22

P.T.O.

Exiles wait for real change

(11A)

● From PAGE 21

Freedom is like music."

Composer Semanya, who wrote the music for *Roots*, said: "I won't go back until I know I can enter Soweto without seeing hundreds of soldiers and until I know that everyone can come with me."

"The announcement is one step in the right direction but I cannot say that means we should pack and go back home, because most fundamental issues have not been addressed."

He said these issues were the State of Emergency, the occupation of townships by the SA Defence Force and the release of all political prisoners, including those jailed for murder and arson.

"The government should stop saying some are criminals, murderers, terrorists and arsonists. What is a terrorist? We see them as revolutionaries, freedom fighters."

He said De Klerk should declare that all exiles could come home unconditionally.

"He must make a declaration and make it a law that is binding because Nationalists back down on what they say."

Makeba, Masekela and Semanya have become South Africa's most famous musicians since they left the country almost 30 years ago.

Makeba left in August 1959 to represent the film cast of *Come Back Africa* at an international film festival in Venice.

"The Queen of African Jazz" was lead vocalist for a number of bands in the country during the 1950s, including the Quebec Brothers and the Manhattans.

But it was teaming up with Nathan Mdllele and Sy Mogotsi of the Manhattan Brothers that made her famous.

"I owe my fame to the Manhattans," she said.

Makeba, who later settled in New York, has been in the forefront of the international campaign against apartheid.

"As early as 1963 I was singing songs like

Bahleli bonke Etilongweni (The leaders are languishing in jail). In the same year I spoke at the United Nations highlighting the suffering of our people under apartheid. No artists then sang about Mandela and Tata Sisuslu.

"In 1964 I pleaded for the release of women prisoners, O Mama-Ngoyi and Mama Sisulu.

"I left home physically but not spiritually."

The exodus of other artists followed in 1960 with Masekela leaving on May 25 1960, "exactly two months after Sharpeville".

"I received a scholarship from Father Trevor Huddleston, who was already banished from South Africa, and studied music in England at the Guildhall School of Music."

Masekela did not stay long in England and after three months he crossed to New York with the help of Makeba.

There he attended the Manhattan School of Music and came into contact with great jazz trumpeters like Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong and Miles Davis.

"I always wanted to go the United States because one would certainly meet people like Miles, Harry Belafonte and others."

While at the Manhattan school, where he graduated in music, he worked professionally as a musician and produced three albums by the time he completed his studies.

Semanya left the country in 1964 with the *Sponono* cast for performances in New York.

After the show flopped three months later he decided to stay in the United States.

He studied music privately because he could not be admitted to American universities.

"The schools here do not admit you if you cannot read or write music so I became the victim of the deprivation at home.

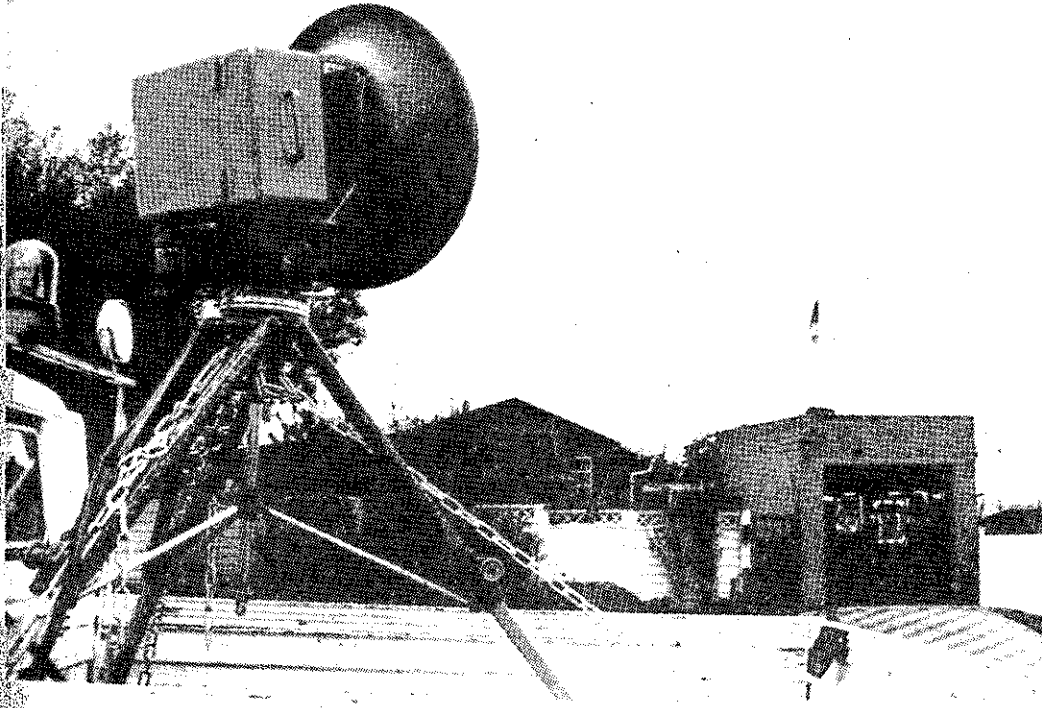
"I struggled on my own, sometimes getting assistance from Masekela, Makeba and Jonas Gwangwa until I made it."

Semanya is now based in Los Angeles and is married to South African music star Letta Mbuli.



World ready to beam in on Mandela's home

ARGUS
9/2/90
114



ON THE SPOT: A mobile satellite dish and studio have already been assembled outside Nelson Mandela's Ngakane Street home in Orlando West for on-the-spot TV broadcasts to the world when he is released.

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — American TV networks have been making detailed plans for covering the release of Nelson Mandela.

With events in South Africa again toward the top of the news every night, the networks are scrambling to line up their top men and commentators.

Last week NBC sent Gordon Manning, former vice-president for news, to South Africa to arrange an interview with Mr Mandela.

Gorbachev scoop

Manning was mainly responsible for NBC's scoop one-on-one interview with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, in 1987.

ABC has sent Ted Koppel, the respected host of *Nightline*, and there are reports that Koppel has already clinched the first US media interview with Mandela, though *Nightline* staff say they have no confirmation.

CBS is sending a news team from the show *48 Hours* and its star interviewer, Connie Chung, may try to secure an interview with Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Even out of jail Mandela will not be free Jackson

CHARLENE SMITH

EVEN if Nelson Mandela left jail he would not be free, the Rev Jesse Jackson said on a visit to Soweto yesterday, as he would not be able to live in the community of his choice, or vote, or send his grandchildren to any school he pleased. *B. Day 9/21/90*

The US civil rights campaigner, who is expected to run for the US presidency in 1992, said: "Freedom and democracy are one set of rules which should apply equally to all human beings."

Jackson toyi-toyed with youths outside Walter Sisulu's Soweto house after a day of meetings with leaders of the UDF and Pan Africanist Movement.

He met church leaders early in the morning, then later in the afternoon met Soweto residents to discuss the rent boycott. He also visited two squatter areas in Soweto.

Jackson called on black pro-liberation groups to "agree on fundamentals even if they agree to disagree on strategy and timetable". He also said it was imperative the conflict in Natal be

ended.

He called on President F W de Klerk to create a new and viable SA and to release key leaders in jail, including Mandela and Enoch Zulu of the PAC, to facilitate the organisation of political structures.

When he visited Dlamini squatter camp near Chiawelo in Soweto, Jackson said: "I have seen a shack, 2m x 2m, with five people living in it, one room for cooking, the bed and living quarters. In a new and free SA people will get paid for the work they do."

Jackson said there were more people and houses in Soweto since he visited 11 years ago, "but no one yet has the right to vote or to all resources".

Lydia Makhoale, 56, who lives in an army tent in Dlamini squatter camp, said: "Are they coming again to photograph us here? We have been photographed before and despite that we are still suffering."

Jackson addresses Soweto

11A
Sowetan
7/2/90

ALMOST 1 000 teachers and students heard the Reverend Jesse Jackson tell them not to talk down to their pupils as they could be teaching a future Cabinet member in a new South Africa.

"One of your pupils could be a potential Minister of Justice. You people are teaching the architects and builders of a new South Africa."

Jackson was speaking to a crowd assembled in the hall at the Funda Education Centre in Diepkloof, Soweto, where he, Mr Walter Sisulu and veteran anti-apartheid activist Dr Ellen Khuzwayo addressed the crowd as-

sembled there for his visit.

His entrance was met by tumultuous applause, whistling and ululation. There were shouts of "Viva Jesse Jackson", "ANC, ANC, ANC", and "Viva Mandela".

Following the visit to Funda, Jackson and a 150-strong media and police entourage went to visit squatters in Dlamini, Soweto.

Jackson visited some of the houses constructed of brick, corrugated iron and board.

The party also stopped to talk to the large crowd of squatters.

WE, the people of Azania, engaged in the struggle for the reconquest of our land, under the guidance and leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, basing ourselves on the spirit of "Towards A Free Azania - Projection: Future State" adopted at the 1975 Congress of the Black People's Convention at King Williams Town, hereby commit ourselves to:

Establish a democratic state in Azania

- (a) Destroy the racist settler-colonial state and build a democratic state where colour, race, religion, sex or tribe shall not be a point of reference.
- (b) Abolish the constitution of South Africa, the Bantustan system and all other racist institutions and draw a constitution according to universal adult suffrage to all Azanians in a unitary state.
- (c) Strive for the broadest unity of the Azanian people at all levels.
- (d) Guarantee freedom of association, movement and assembly and the concomitant right to free expression and to worship or not to, provided such right is not exercised to promote racism, fascism, sexism, tribalism, discrimination or any formation that is inimical to social justice, stability and progress of the Azanian people.

Introduce a just legal system

- (a) Guarantee equality before the law for all citizens regardless of colour, race, sex or social standing.
- (b) Ensure fair trial and access to legal defence for all citizens by setting up legal advice bureaux with qualified lawyers to interpret all legal matters to every citizen requesting it and if necessary, represent such citizen in legal proceedings.
- (c) Release all political prisoners and rehabilitate all criminals.
- (d) Repeal all discriminatory laws and dismiss all racist judges, magistrates and warders.

Build a strong, socialist, self-reliant economy

- (a) Let the ownership of the land, sea and air space be vested in the state.
- (b) Distribute the land to organised groups for farming, commercial, housing, sporting or any other purposes in accordance with a Central National Plan.
- (c) Strive for the introduction of co-operative farms on existing farmlands and assist these with farming equipment and methods.
- (d) Organise villages into co-operative farming units and provide these with modern farming methods, machinery, agricultural advisors, veterinary services,

- dams, fertilisers, seeds, marketing services, etc. for purposes of improving living standards in the countryside and bridging the gap between the urban and rural areas.
- (e) Establish agricultural produce factories in the farming areas.
- (f) Nationalise all heavy industry, major commercial undertakings, multinational monopolies and syndicates.
- (g) Expand heavy industry in order to benefit all other sectors of the economy and to combat industrial dependence.
- (h) Nationalise all banks and insurance companies in order to streamline and regulate economic activity, growth and development.
- (i) Assert complete state control of

In this, the third part of the series on what the exiled movements stand for, we publish the Political Programme of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

foreign trade, diversify the economy and strive for self-reliance in economic development programmes.

- (j) Improve land, sea and air communication throughout the country in order to advance the nation's trade.
- (k) Control the prices of all domestic products and limit the import of luxury goods.
- (l) Put under state control all mining and fishing industries.
- (m) Trade with all friendly countries irrespective of their political systems.
- (n) Put all energy-producing undertakings and related industries under the control of the state.

Ensure security and peace of the nation

- (a) Wage a war of national liberation against the settler-colonial regime and create conditions of peace and security.
- (b) Dismantle the racist and oppressive army and police forces and replace them with the politicised people's armed forces and police to protect the people's power, national independence and territorial integrity.
- (c) Remove all foreign bases and

The BCMA's Political Programme

installations on Azanian soil and abrogate all existing military treaties with foreign powers.

Safeguard social rights

- (a) Rigorously combat unemployment and uphold the right and duty of all citizens to work.
- (b) Institute a 40-hour working week and guarantee an uninterrupted rest period of at least 36 hours for every worker.
- (c) Establish a national minimum wage, establish machinery to monitor and ensure an equitable wage structure and guarantee equal pay for equal work irrespective of race or sex.
- (d) Guarantee paid annual leave, maternity leave and sick leave for all workers.

(e) Arrange suitable working hours for all working mothers with small children.

- (f) Establish a state-controlled insurance scheme to cater for the unemployed, workers who are sick, retired or injured at work.
- (g) Guarantee the right and encourage all workers to organise themselves into trade unions.
- (h) Ban child and migratory labour and ensure all workers the right to be decently housed with their families.
- (i) Guarantee the right of workers to participate in the management of enterprises.
- (j) Guarantee all workers, including civil servants, the right to participate in political activities.

Develop culture, education and technology

- (a) Abolish all institutions and practices which promote racist and settler-colonialist culture.
- (b) Open all educational, cultural or sporting institutions to all people irrespective of race.
- (c) Introduce free compulsory universal education for all children up to and including secondary school and build adequate schools throughout the country.

(d) Tailor educational curricula to serve the cultural, intellectual, social and industrial needs of the people.

(e) Lay special emphasis on vocational, technical, scientific and technological education.

(f) Implement scholarship and bursary schemes to assist students through colleges and university education.

(g) Build adult educational centres throughout the country and eliminate illiteracy.

(h) Build and expand creches and day-care centres throughout the country to alleviate the burden of working parents.

Adequately provide for the health and welfare of all

- (a) Put all hospitals, clinics, pharmaceutical enterprises and trade in drugs under state ownership.
- (b) Build health centres in all localities and improve health services, especially in the rural areas.
- (c) Put emphasis on preventive medicine and cultivation of healthy living habits.
- (d) Encourage research in traditional medicine and herbs and integrate these into the national health system.

(e) All medical and para-medical personnel shall be state servants.

(f) Provide all medical services free of charge.

(g) Implement a comprehensive social service scheme to adequately cater for the aged, disabled, sick and others requiring care.

(h) Let all employed people contribute to the national welfare scheme.

(i) Rehabilitate all drug addicts and alcoholics.

Provide adequate housing

(a) Open all residential areas to all without regard to race, language, colour or religion.

(b) Build decent and adequate family houses for all in both rural and urban areas.

(c) Charge reasonable rates and rents.

(d) Improve roads to cater for all residential areas and rehabilitate the environment.

Follow a foreign policy that respects national independence and international friendship

(a) Establish diplomatic relations with all friendly countries irrespective of their political systems on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

(b) Recognise the equality of all nations, big or small.

(c) Recognise the right of all nations to self-determination and in this respect, co-operate with all

In the shaking coach, the word is 'keep on fighting'

After the speech, **MZIMKULU MALUNGA** takes a train ride to Soweto

Wma/9/21 - 15/2/90

"TAMBO nthekele AK47 lenna ke thuse chaba sa heso (Tambo buy me an AK47 so that I can help our people)" chanted a tightly-packed coach load of workers on a train to Germiston this week.

Most were loudly expressing their scepticism about last Friday's declaration by State President FW de Klerk.

"We are not yet satisfied," commented Marks Makgalemele while his comrades shook the train with *toyitoyi* dancing and freedom songs.

He said that following De Klerk's pronouncements, the train committees (structures formed to organise workers on the trains) had held a meeting on Saturday. "We noted the developments, but decided that the struggle must continue until our leaders tell us that it is over."

The committees were originally launched by workers on strike to boost and maintain morale during the course of an industrial action and also to educate workers to get more involved in work and community issues.



Not yet satisfied ... Freedom songs on the Germiston train follow FW de Klerk's announcement

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

According to Makgalemele, "the people" themselves had effectively unbanned both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party last year, rendering the announcement meaningless in practical terms.

He said many people remained unconvinced that the "new-look" government was really pro-change.

"Only our leaders are going to tell us when the fighting is over, not De Klerk. We won't take instructions

from him," added Makgalemele with sweat streaming down his broad face.

By contrast, some workers, like Walter Ndlovu, were sceptical, but felt the state president should be given a chance.

"We must not rush him. However, he must not delay by thinking that we will let him move at his own pace.

"Ever since he took over, we have seen some positive movement. That qualifies him for 18 months, then af-

terwards we can assess whether he has moved far enough," said the man who believes that the day Nelson Mandela is released should be declared a paid public holiday.

"My brother, I am telling you that day, it is going to be a holiday. Who would come to work on such a day?"

Most workers who spoke to the *Weekly Mail* said they were not yet ready to comment, but said they would rather wait and see what would happen next.

All change as ANC enters labour arena

STAC 9/2/90
(11A)

President de Klerk's watershed February 2 announcement will lead to intensified political pressures on the black trade union movement and an ANC-Cosatu alliance is a distinct prospect, believes labour analyst and Wits University sociologist Professor Duncan Innes.

Unionists suspicious of the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) can be expected to seek independent political bases, perhaps through the creation of a Labour Party, he adds.

"Some say the unbanning of the ANC will enable Cosatu to redirect its attention to the shopfloor — I don't agree," said Professor Innes, editor of the *Innes Labour Brief*.

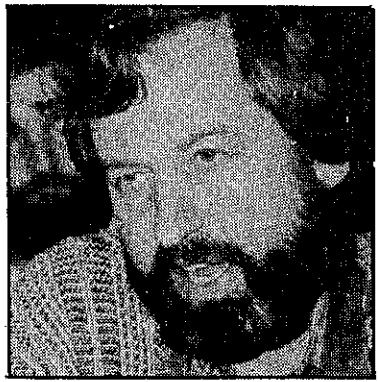
"Returning political organisations have no formal structures here. They know they have black union backing and will try to mobilise them to support their aims."

Labour sources say Government moves have thrust two issues to centre stage: the future of the ANC's labour wing, the 40-year-old SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), and the role of the SACP.

Although never banned, Sactu was forced into exile when its leaders, mostly ANC members, were

Major shifts and realignments can be expected in South Africa's labour movement following the lifting of bans on the ANC and SA Communist Party.
DREW FORREST reports.

An ANC-Cosatu alliance is on the cards as the labour movements realign under new political pressure, says labour analyst Professor Duncan Innes. Other unionists may look to forming a Labour Party.



jailed, banished or died in detention in the 1960s.

It is known to have told activists to organise workers into Cosatu, and now enjoys largely symbolic support, notably among Cosatu's "populists". With Cosatu it shares the principles of non-racialism, political unionism and shop-floor mobilisation.

Sactu president Mr Stephen Dlamini said in Lusaka this week he expected Sactu and Cosatu to merge, but clearly viewed his organisation as the senior partner. Any amalgamation would have to bear Sactu's name, he said.

Some local unionists fear a repeat

of recent developments in Namibia, where former exile Mr John ya Otto, installed as general secretary of the National Union of Namibian Workers at a controversial AGM last year, has enforced policy favouring Swapo over the labour movement.

Sactu's role has been intensely debated within the MDM, unionists say. One argument, that the movement could be useful on the international front, had been weakened by the discrediting of its Eastern European government contacts.

Within Cosatu, the majority view was that Sactu had no further role and should disband, with Sactu

members being absorbed into local unions, the sources said.

What of the SACP, unbanned after 40 years? "Many unionists who look to a socialist future see the need for a strong SACP to promote workers' interests," was one union man's comment.

"They see it being independent of, but not a counter to, the ANC; their alliance is pretty solid."

Professor Innes believes that despite the SACP's recent endorsement of democratic freedoms, including full trade union rights, elements within the union movement will remain hostile to it.

The party's critics include those fearful of inroads into union independence and ultra-leftists scornful of its apparent retreat from revolution.

These were likely to seek independent political homes, either by creating a Labour Party or through alliances further to the left, Professor Innes said.

"Some people would like to set up a 'workerist' party," he said. "At least two international revolutionary organisations are active in trying to take over the ground vacated by the SACP."

Vlok tells of threats to Mandela

CME 11/18 9/2/90

Emergency could end 'in weeks'

Political Staff

THREATS to Mr Nelson Mandela — and a strong indication that the state of emergency will be lifted within a matter of weeks — were revealed yesterday by two cabinet ministers.

And it now appears that the end of the English rebel cricket tour could be the signal for an end to the 3½-year emergency.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told a press briefing that there had been threats on Mr Mandela's life from radicals on both sides and there were real concerns about his safety.

And Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen confirmed in a TV interview with Ted Koppel on the American ABC Nightline programme that he expected the emergency to be lifted completely within weeks.

Mr Vlok said the threats to Mr Mandela came both from the right and from factions within his own organisation.

The government wanted Mr Mandela to be free and to be able

to live freely, he said.

In his Nightline interview, Dr Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator, said it was recognised that the state of emergency inhibited the normalisation of the political process.

He added that one of the government's problems in assessing the political situation was the degree of confusion among ANC leaders in different parts of the world and the inconsistencies in their views.

"I believe we should patiently await the considered reaction of the ANC national executive," he said.

There was no "informal agreement" with Mr Mandela on when the emergency would be ended, the minister stressed, adding: "I would say it is a question of weeks, a few weeks."

Asked for his assessment of Mr Mandela, he said: "He's certainly an impressive man."

It was untrue to say Mr Mandela and the government were negotiating the terms of his release. "What we've been doing is to react to his suggestion that he

is prepared to act as a mediator, as a facilitator, between the government and the ANC."

Asked for his vision of a new South Africa, Dr Viljoen said: "One of the main features would be that we would move away from an over-emphasis on differences... to a new emphasis on nation-building."

The National Party's days in power were numbered, and with them, Dr Viljoen appeared to hope, the era of racially-based political organisations.

He said: "Whether you call it a coalition, or an alliance or whatever, South Africans will have to work together politically in the future."

Mr Vlok said yesterday the imposition of the emergency was re-examined regularly — almost on a daily basis — and it would be looked at again seriously after Mr Mandela had been released.

Government thinking now seems to be that consideration will be given to lifting the emergency once he is released — and the English cricketers are safely home.

11A

HIGH POINT, North Carolina. — US talk show hostess Ms Oprah Winfrey has arranged to fly members of Mr Nelson Mandela's family to South Africa to witness his release from prison.

"This is history in the making," said Mr Armstrong Williams, a vice-president of public relations firm B and C Associates, who is to escort the Mandelas.

Mr Mandela's family is awaiting word from Mrs Winnie Mandela, who visits her husband in prison this weekend, on when he wants his children and grandchildren to arrive.

Mr Mandela wants to avoid "his children sitting around idle for three or four days while they wait for him to be released", Mr Williams said.

Ms Zenani Mandela, her husband Prince Thumbuzi Dlamini of Swaziland and their three children will be escorted to Paarl from their home in Boston early next week by Mr Williams and fellow B and C executive Mr Steadman Graham.

Mr Williams said Ms Winfrey was paying the Mandelas' airfares. The talk show host's foundation,

TV hostess sponsors Mandelas

Oprah Winfrey Charitable Giving, is represented by a B and C subsidiary founded by Mr Williams and Mr Graham, who is Ms Winfrey's boyfriend.

● Meanwhile in London, a leading commentator on the book industry has said that world publication rights of Mr Mandela's autobiography, when he completes it, could earn him \$1 million (about R2,5m).

This figure excludes far larger earnings which could accrue from film and syndication rights.

Mr Nick Clee, book news editor for the Bookseller — a newspaper for the publishing and book-selling trade — said yesterday he believed the reason the sale of a manuscript apparently smuggled off Robben Island in the 1970s was not finalised last year was that Mr Mandela wanted to complete it.

Mr Clee said that Hamish Hamilton, British pub-

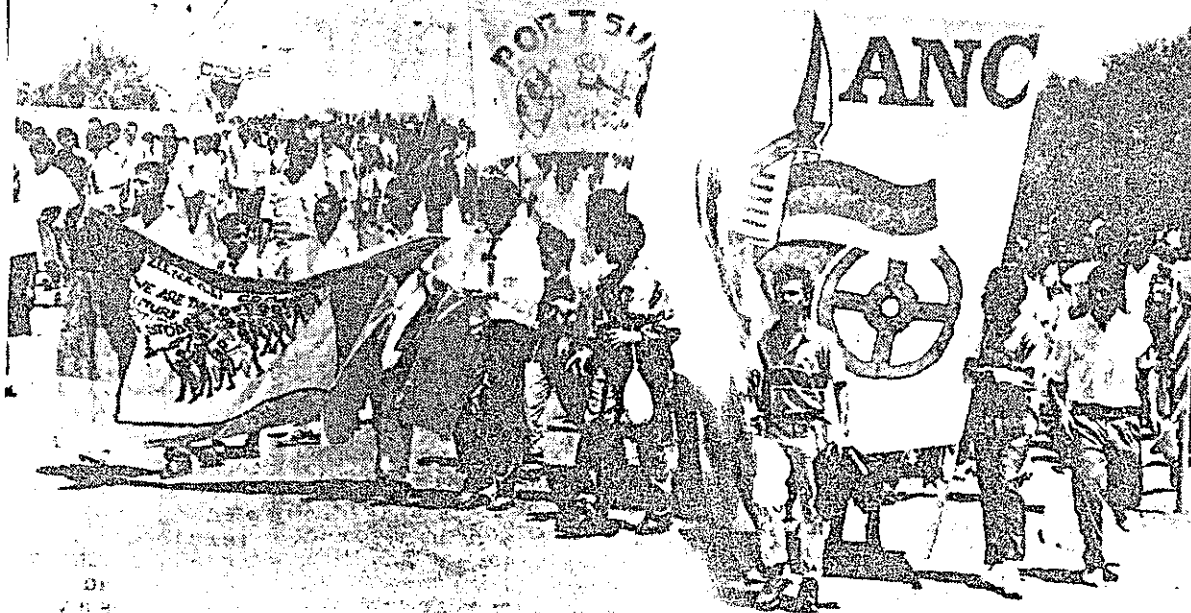
lishers of Professor Fatima Meer's biography of Mr Mandela called "Higher than Hope", rushed through publication of the book here in a couple of weeks — in anticipation of Mr Mandela's release — instead of the normal three to four months.

It was initially due out in June or July.

Review copies went out this week and Mr Dan van der Vat, writing in the Guardian, said Professor Meer "did not shrink from laying bare how Mandela betrayed and abandoned his first wife, Evelyn".

"It is no bad thing to be reminded that Mandela is neither god nor saint as the world awaits a miracle from his release."

He opined that pride was another of Mr Mandela's failings, but said he had turned it to good account. — Sapa-AP and Own Correspondent



VICTORY RALLY ... Pupils march from the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone yesterday after attending a rally organised by the Western Cape Students' Organisation.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

Scholars pledge support for ANC at 'victory rally'

THOUSANDS of Peninsula pupils sporting ANC colours yesterday attended a "victory rally" in Athlone's Vygieskraal Stadium to celebrate the unbanning of the ANC and pledge their support to the organisation.

The meeting, organised by the Western Cape Students' Congress (Wescoc), marked the fourth time in recent weeks that pupils have absented themselves from school to attend marches and demonstrations.

Executive member of the National Education Crisis Committee Mr Fred Barron told pupils that though President F W de Klerk was being referred to as a reformer, a democrat and even a comrade, it should be remembered that as Minister of National Education he was responsible for the implementation of many unjust education laws.

"Due to legislation brought out under him, the country is facing its most serious education crisis ever — tens of thousands of our people are illiterate, we've been exposed to fraudulent examinations, drunk teachers and the sexual harassment of pupils," he said.

"This situation has not emerged because our youth is evil — it can all be blamed on apartheid, the capitalist economy and repression."

After the rally, the pupils marched from the stadium down Klipfontein Road to Heideveld railway station and dispersed without incident.

Jackson ^{AKW/S} shows anger ^{9/2/70} at Botha's remarks ¹¹¹

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The Rev Jesse Jackson responded angrily in a New York newspaper today to statements made by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that he had no place in the government's affairs and should not attempt to claim any credit for the intended release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Botha said this week there was "nothing the Rev Jackson can do any more to make a contribution toward Mr Mandela's release. He can come and enjoy the aftermath, but certainly not claim any credit for having been a player on the field."

In his response, Mr Jackson said the South African government's "innospitability" came as no surprise. "These are the same people who think Nelson Mandela has no place," he said.

"They think 80 percent of the population has no place."

After a meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, while en route to South Africa, Mr Jackson said international sanctions should continue despite last week's proposals for political reform by President De Klerk, and "until apartheid is ended".

This drew a sharp rebuke from Mr Botha. He said: "It's a pity he made these remarks about sanctions, because he made exactly the opposite remarks to my ambassador in Washington."

But today Mr Jackson repeated that it was his view sanctions should not be lifted until apartheid was replaced with a non-racial democracy.

And in the New York Post report, Mr Jackson is quoted as insisting: "It is precisely because of sanctions that De Klerk is moving forward at all".

Grim prediction by Aids task group

B/Dam
19/2/90

TANIA LEVY

92

BETWEEN 50% and 70% of SA's black labour force will have died from Aids or be carriers of the HIV virus by 2000, says the Aids Economic Research Unit (Aeru), an independent task group.

Members include university professors and private economic and financial consultants.

Aeru spokesman Keith Edelston said that by 1995 paediatric Aids would halt SA's population growth.

Managers of labour intensive companies who counted on having a full labour complement by the end of 1996 were exposing their organisations to risk, Edelston said.

Edelston said in the best scenario at least 50% of blacks would be infected with Aids between 1996 and 2000. At worst 70% would have Aids by 2000.

Edelston said about 1% of SA blacks were already infected and would develop full-blown Aids within five to eight years. The number of people infected with the virus in SA would double every six to eight months.

While it was impossible to exactly predict the spread of Aids, there was no excuse for failing to address clearly identified trends, he said.

Aids will push the US economy into depression by the turn of the century, if not sooner, Edelston said.

In First World economies Aids will reduce demand for goods and services by increasing the dependency ratio.

The effects of Aids are slowed down in a Third World economy where large pools of unemployed can be brought in to replace workers lost to Aids, but eventually production ability is reduced as the population dies.

Aids typically affected the most reproductive and economically productive members of society, said Edelston.

Ironically there were economic opportunities for SA companies who planned for the possible Aids impact.

Edelston said local companies who become more capital intensive in the next eight years would be able to produce a greater percentage of the world's reduced demand for raw materials.

He said SA should step up import replacement and exports, particularly to the Far East, which would not be affected by Aids and would remain a growing economy.

Unbannings could cause shifts in the unions - Innes

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's watershed February 2 announcement will lead to intensified political pressures on the black trade union movement, believes labour analyst and Wits University sociologist Professor Duncan Innes.

Innes says an ANC-Cosatu alliance is a distinct prospect. But unionists suspicious of the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) can be expected to seek independent political bases, perhaps through the creation of a Labour Party, he adds.

"Some say the unbanning of the ANC will enable Cosatu to redirect its attention to the shop-floor - I don't agree," said Innes, editor of the *Innes Labour Brief*.

By DREW FORREST

"Returning political organisations have no formal structures here. They know they have black union backing and will try to mobilise them to support their aims."

Labour sources say Government moves have thrust two issues to centre stage: the future of the ANC's labour wing, the 40-year-old SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), and the role of the SACP.

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It is known to have told activists to organise workers into Cosatu, and now enjoys largely symbolic support - notably

among Cosatu's "populists". With Cosatu as the senior partner. Any amalgamation would have to bear Sactu's name, he said.

Some local unionists fear a repeat of recent developments in Namibia, where former exile John ya Otto, installed as general secretary of National

Union of Namibian Workers at a controversial AGM last year, has enforced policy favouring Swapo over the labour movement.

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ful on the international front, had been weakened by the discrediting of its Eastern European government contacts.

Within Cosatu, the majority view was that it had no further role and should disband, with Sactu members being absorbed into local unions,

the sources said.

What of the SACP, unbanned after 40 years? "Many unionists who look to a socialist future see the need for a strong SACP to promote workers' interests," was one union man's comment.

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ACGUS 9/2/90

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'Pressure on black unions'

Major shifts and realignments can be expected in South Africa's labour movement following the lifting of bans on the ANC and SA Communist Party.

The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg reports.

PRESIDENT De Klerk's watershed February 2 announcement will lead to intensified political pressures on the black trade union movement and an ANC-Cosatu alli-

TRADE

ance is a distinct prospect, believes labour analyst and Wits University sociologist Professor Duncan Innes.

Unionists suspicious of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) can be expected to seek independent political bases, perhaps through the creation of a Labour Party, he adds.

"Some say the unbanning of the ANC will enable Cosatu to redirect its attention to the shopfloor — I don't agree," said Professor Innes, editor of the Innes Labour Brief.

"Returning political organisations have no formal structures here. They know they have black union backing and will try to mobilise them to support their aims."

Centre stage

Labour sources say government moves have thrust two issues to centre stage: the future of the ANC's labour wing, the 40-year-old South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), and the role of the SACP.

Although never banned, Sactu was forced into exile when its leaders, mostly ANC

members, were jailed, banished or died in detention in the 1960s.

It is known to have told activists to organise workers into Cosatu, and now enjoys largely symbolic support — notably among Cosatu's "populists".

With Cosatu it shares the principles of non-racialism, political unionism and shop-floor mobilisation.

Sactu president Mr Stephen Dlamini said this week from Lusaka he expected Sactu and Cosatu to merge, but clearly viewed his organisation as the senior partner.

Any amalgamation would have to bear Sactu's name, he said.

Some local unionists fear a repeat of recent developments in Namibia, where former exile John ya Otto, installed as general secretary of the National Union of Namibian Workers at a controversial general meeting last year, has enforced policy favouring Swapo over the labour movement.

Weakened

Sactu's role has been intensely debated within the MDM, unionists say. One argument, that the movement could be useful on the international front, had been weakened by the discrediting of its Eastern European government contacts.

Within Cosatu, the majority view was that it had no fur-

ther role and should disband, with Sactu members being absorbed into local unions, the sources said.

What of the SACP, unbanned after 40 years?

"Many unionists who look to a socialist future see the need for a strong SACP to promote workers' interests" was one union man's comment.

"They see it being independent of, but not a counter to the ANC — their alliance is pretty solid."

Professor Innes believes that despite the SACP's recent endorsement of democratic freedoms, including full trade union rights, elements within the union movement will remain hostile to it.

The party's critics include those fearful of inroads into union independence and ultra-leftists scornful of its apparent retreat from revolution.

Alliances

These were likely to seek independent political homes, either by creating a Labour Party or through alliances further to the left, Professor Innes said.

"Some people would like to set up a 'workerist' party," he said.

"At least two international revolutionary organisations are active in trying to take over the ground vacated by the SACP."

Mandela's US family to be flown in for his release

ARGUS 9/2/90 MH

HIGH POINT (North Carolina). — American talk show hostess Oprah Winfrey has arranged to fly members of Mr Nelson Mandela's family to South Africa to witness his release from prison. "This is history in the making," said Mr Armstrong Williams, vice-president of a public relations firm, who is making his fourth trip to South Africa on business involving the Mandelas.

Mr Mandela's family is awaiting word from Mrs Winnie Mandela, who visits her husband this weekend, on when Mr Mandela wants his children and grandchildren to arrive.

Mr Mandela wants to avoid "his children sitting around idle for three or four days while they wait for him to be released," Mr Williams said.

Mrs Zenani Mandela, her husband, Prince Thumbumuzi Dlamini of Swaziland, and their three children will be escorted from Boston, where they live, to Paarl early next week by Mr Williams and Mr Steadman Graham, Ms Winfrey's boyfriend.

Mr Williams said Ms Winfrey's charitable foundation was paying the airfares.

UDF delegation

● An Argus Staff Reporter writes that Mr Mandela is to meet a delegation of 22 United Democratic Front members today.

The delegation includes Mr Archibald Gumede, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Amos Lengisi, Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Azar Cachalia, Mr Titus Mofolo, Mr Paul Mashatile, Mr Louis Mnguni, Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Gugile Nkwinti, Mr Mluleki George, Mr Jomo Khasu, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, Mr Billy Nair, Mr Ela Ramgobin, Mr Eric Molobi, Ms Erica Elk, Mr Rapu Malekane and Mr Dullah Omar.

The delegation will visit from 9am to 3pm.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that *Higher Than Hope*, Professor Fatima Meer's biography of Mr Mandela has been hailed by British critics as a timely, penetrating look at the world's most famous prisoner.

"This book is patchy, verbose, badly organised, but it may well change your view of South Africa," writes Prabhu Gupta in *The Times*.

The book is an international edition containing three chapters added to the version published in South Africa in 1988.

Soweto mayor welcomes FW's announcement

Soweto 9/2/90 (11A)

THE announcement by State President, Mr FW de Klerk, that ANC, PAC and other political organisations have been unbanned is a major step necessary for negotiations to discuss a new constitution for the country.

This was said by the mayor of Soweto Mr Sam Mkhwanazi yesterday in a statement to the press for the for the people of Soweto.

He was reacting to De Klerk address in Parliament last Friday.

He said: "Nations have suddenly recognised the need for positive change and meaningful international fellowship. It is the wish of the Soweto City Council to publicly declare our support for these recent developments, particularly the release of our political leaders from detention.

On behalf of the people of Soweto, I wish

to commend the State President and his Cabinet for his bold step forward. All that remains now is to speed up the process of the release of the remaining political prisoners, notably the release of Nelson Mandela and the return of political exiles to the country, so that the

long-awaited task of holding genuine negotiations may begin," he said.

Mkhwanazi said local authorities, although created by the Government, have a vital role to play in the short term, in the realisation of democracy in this country.

11A

Freed

● FROM PAGE 1

is a lot of people together at one time."

She said she got news of her impending release about three weeks ago, but the unbanning of the ANC overshadowed that.

"What we stood for is becoming a reality," she said. "The unbanning was a triumph for the movement and we both feel vindicated for our involvement."

"I am naturally very happy to be out, but my happiness is also tempered by a feeling of sadness, because there are people left inside who did the same thing."

Mr Adam said his sudden freedom had left him with a feeling of unreality.

"I had hopes for an early release, but I did not believe I fell into

the President's category of prisoners who would be let out."

Questioned about the response of former fellow prisoners when news of their release spread through prison, Ms Hogan and Mr Adam said: "Their mood is expectant and almost joyful and triumphant. Everyone is hopeful that times are changing."

Ms Hogan was welcomed home yesterday by her father Paul, stepmother Hester, sister Sally, brother-in-law Mr Jonathan Cook, and nephews Martin and Paul.

Close friends of the two released prisoners were also present at yesterday's celebrations.

Mr Adams's father, who lives in Cape Town, was not present — but he was told the news by his son, who phoned him shortly after being let out of prison.

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of faint-heartedness in gear

Taste of freedom sweet and bitter

DAWN BARKHUIZEN and SUE OLSWANG

THE FIRST woman convicted of treason in South Africa, Ms Barbara Ann Hogan, and fellow ANC member Mr Rob Adams were released from prison yesterday — two years before the end of their sentences.

They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other political organisations.

Both were jailed in 1982 on charges relating to activities in the ANC. They were serving 10 years' jail.

They faced the press a few hours after release, clearly overwhelmed by their sudden freedom and the mass of foreign and local media representatives who invaded the home of a friend in Bellevue, Johannesburg, for a hastily arranged conference.

Ms Hogan said: "After eight years in prison, this

● TO PAGE 2.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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Press aborted FW Mandela meeting?

THE scheduled meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela last Thursday was apparently aborted because journalists got wind of plans for the secret meeting.

The meeting was arranged to try to iron out problems about the ANC leader's release and discuss Mr De Klerk's opening-of-Parliament speech.

However, the meeting was apparently aborted when Mr Mandela and his party spotted

a large contingent of journalists staking out Tuynhuys early on Thursday morning.

Mr Mandela later met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at another venue.

The text of Mr De Klerk's speech was apparently fina-

lised after the meeting and senior cabinet ministers received the final draft only in the early hours of Friday morning.

The latest disclosures follow the visit by Mr Eddie Daniels, a friend of Mr Mandela, who visited the ANC leader for three hours at Victor Verster Prison earlier this week.

Mr Daniels told a Cape Town newspaper after the visit that Mr Mandela had confirmed that the meeting with Mr De Klerk was due to take place last Thursday.

He said Mr Mandela was fetched at Victor Verster at 4.30am, but that when the party reached Tuynhuys "they saw so many reporters waiting outside that the car drove off". A statement issued last Thursday by the State President's office did not confirm or deny that the Tuynhuys meeting had been planned, but said that it had not taken place.

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — It was imperative for the exiled leadership of the African National Congress to return home immediately to "fill the space" opened last week by President F W de Klerk and prepare for negotiations, exiled poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach said yesterday.

In an article published in the London Guardian newspaper, he said: "... I am concerned that we may miss the boat.

"We have at our fingertips the chance of an historical compromise."

He also called for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela. The ANC would then have to act as an ordinary political party and consolidate its position through "democratic alliances with other parties".

The shift announced by Mr De Klerk meant that the ANC could no longer rely on sanctions, said Mr Breytenbach.

The exiled poet, who spent seven years in prison

Breyten calls on ANC to return home

for "terrorism", effectively dismissed pure socialism as an option for South Africa.

Mr Breytenbach, who now lives in Paris, is particularly concerned about the inertia induced by living in exile. Speaking for himself, he said he was apprehensive of returning home because this would mean no more "aura of martyrdom", no more "easy sympathy and tolerance of incompetence" and no more "international handouts".

Mr Breytenbach said the "gap" announced last week was a result of the majority's campaigning. "But De Klerk is not on the run. It is a restricted and treacherous space, to be sure — it is now of no use to expect miracles or belatedly shift the goalposts — but it can only be enlarged by opposition and resistance parties."

He said that by "seizing the moment, grasping the

initiative ... we can get to the negotiations of putting together a constituent assembly that may lead to the coming to power of a democratically elected representative government. Only then can there be the freedom to start dismantling apartheid, the vicious feudal system of privilege and exploitation through racism."

However, such liberty, he said, was "not De Klerk's to give, but ours to take". "If we now dither and quibble because of irresoluteness and the complacency and moral corruptness of being the eternal victims, we shall find time seeping through our fingers. And we may run out of sanctuaries as well. "The world no longer owes us a living."

He added: "Indeed, as an African I am convinced that the world will forget us as soon as the dust settles over the last cameraman trampled underfoot

at Mandela's liberation.

"Africa, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, is a bottomless black hole. The continent is falling apart, and it knows that it needs a healthy South Africa if it is to survive, be that under De Klerk or Mandela. If we are not vigilant and agile, apartheid may yet save and justify itself through Africa."

Mr Breytenbach said it would be illogical to demand that President De Klerk "liquidate apartheid before we begin to take on the task of facing all the contradictions on the ground, and of explaining same to those who apparently think they can dance their way to liberation".

In an apparent questioning of the current sanctions clamour, he asked: "What if he (Mr De Klerk) does do it in such a way as to retain the essential

power?

"Global and mandatory sanctions are not going to bury apartheid. Not only will our incantatory wish for such policies further entrench inequality, but we shall soon need all the relief we can get if we want to start breaking apartheid down."

He said the fact had to be faced that "the ANC is now no longer a liberation movement. It will henceforth have the historical responsibility of entering upon democratic alliances with other parties".

Clearly influenced by recent events in Eastern Europe, he added: "There is now no way to the implementation of a socialist state — except over the debris of a ruined land perhaps — and yet there is going to be the need for an extent of socialist transformation of the economy, if only to redistribute resources."

President De Klerk, he said, needed Mr Mandela to "save his skin from the violent right — including significant sectors of his security forces — just as Mandela will tomorrow need the De Klerks of the day to stave off the Pol Pots ..."

Mandela asks release from Paarl

Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela wants to be released immediately and from Paarl, the ANC leader told a 22-member UDF National Executive Committee delegation who visited him at Victor Verster Prison yesterday.

Mr Mandela was reported to have said "how much he would like to come with us" when the delegation ended the marathon five-and-a-half-hour meeting singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The meeting with the world's most famous prisoner was convened to evaluate the announcements by President F W de Klerk in his recent address at the opening of Parliament.

On their return to Cape Town, one of the two buses escorting the delegation broke down and those stranded were transported the rest of the way by members of the press.

The delegation then held a press conference, attended by a large media corps, at Community House in Salt River, where UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe reported that Mr Mandela had brought the NEC up to date on his discussions with government officials.

Various delegates, in reply to questions, said Mr Mandela did not know when he would be released but "the

government's delay in this is totally unacceptable".

He had not set any pre-conditions for his release, for which adequate preparations were being made, but there was concern for his safety.

"There could be a threat on his life, especially from the right wing. From our side Comrade Mandela has nothing to fear, the people are waiting for him."

While it was the government's decision on where he would be released, "Mr Mandela wishes to be released in Paarl", the conference was told.

Mr Mandela's response to Mr De Klerk's speech would be released soon.

Mr Mandela would not be accepting security from the government — "he has made it clear that his security lies in the support of the people".

The role Mr Mandela would play after his release would be determined by the ANC, but had not been discussed at yesterday's meeting.

Sapa reports that in the statement Mr Morobe also insisted there was "no question of the UDF disbanding at this stage", and that the UDF needed to "challenge President De Klerk on where he stands on the question of group rights and full democracy for all South Africans".

He added that the UDF felt there was no "in-principle objection to talking to the government".

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Natal: Sisulu quiet on Buthelezi talks

Own Correspondent

Capl Times 10/2/80

DURBAN. — Internal leader of the ANC Mr Walter Sisulu would not be drawn yesterday on whether the leadership of the ANC in South Africa would be prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, to discuss the violence in Natal.

On Thursday Mr Sisulu said the ANC hierarchy was keen to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini. This followed the receipt of a letter from the Zulu king in November, inviting the ANC leaders for talks with himself and his uncle, Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Sisulu said ANC officials would be prepared to meet the king after they had consulted with their members in Natal.

He said the letter had been acknowledged, but a formal reply had not yet been sent since the matter was still under consideration.

Minister cleared of immoral deeds

CAPE TOWN 1972-190
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JOHANNESBURG. — The curator of a Methodist Church house in Soweto, the Rev Paul Verryn, who was accused by the notorious Mandela Football Club of immoral conduct involving youths at the centre, has been cleared of all allegations by two investigations.

Mr Verryn hit world headlines in 1988 soon after the Mandela Football Club — at the time Mrs Winnie Mandela's private praetorian guard — abducted and tortured several youths from the centre.

The mutilated body of 11-year-old Stompie Mokhosi, a youth activist from Parys in the Free State, was found several weeks later.

Accusations were that the youths were abducted to prevent Mr Verryn allegedly indecently assaulting the refugees, who had sought sanctuary at the centre.

In a statement yesterday, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said they had been informed by the attorney-general's office that police investigations had found no basis for prosecution.

"An internal church commission was also set up under a senior minister, the Rev Stanley Pitts, and he has reported that the commission's invitation to persons to bring evidence to support the allegations has met with no response," said the statement.

Mrs Mandela's image was severely tarnished as details emerged of the club's heavy-handed activities. — Sapa

w/ ARGUS 10/2/90

Goldstone told of

'Mrs Mandela's car used in grenade, AK-47 attack'

By KAREN STANDER
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Clayton Sithole, who died in police custody 10 days ago, allegedly told a police major that he and others had used Mrs Winnie Mandela's car in a hand-grenade and AK-47 attack on a policeman's house.

Major Paul Smuts was testifying yesterday before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Mr Sithole's death.

Mr Sithole, reportedly be the boyfriend of Miss Zindzi Mandela, the daughter of Mrs Mandela and Mr Nelson Mandela, was allegedly found hanging from a water pipe in a shower room in John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on October 30.

Major Smuts said he had been requested to accompany Mr Sithole on October 28 to point out various places.

Sofasonke

While pointing out these spots in Orlando West, Soweto, Mr Sithole also admitted involvement in an attack on a meeting of the Sofasonke Party and confessed to killing a Kenneth Dlamini, who had been a state witness, with an AK-47.

According to Major Smuts, Mr Sithole said in Zulu: "I am proud of what I did. If I get out I'll do the same again. The best thing is to hang me so that I can die. I am a soldier of the armed struggle."

This was translated by the interpreter with them.

Major Smuts said Mr Sithole took him to house 8253 in Or-



Miss Zindzi Mandela

lando West where he pointed out a spot he claimed he and three others — a Philemon, a Sipho and someone called "Stunky" — had parked Mrs Mandela's car, a navy blue Stanza. They walked to the policeman's house, number 7615.

Hand-grenades

Major Smuts told the inquiry: "He said: 'I threw a hand-grenade at this house. It exploded and we jumped over the fence. I and Sipho fired with our AK-47s at the house. Stunky had a .38 special and he also shot. I went around the back and fired shots into the

house through a window. I heard a voice screaming inside the house and I kept on firing shots through the window.'"

Major Smuts said Mr Sithole then took him to another house in Orlando West, number 7784B, where Mr Sithole said the attack on the Sofasonke Party meeting took place.

Mr Sithole told the policeman he had thrown two hand-grenades at a crowd gathered next to the road. One landed behind them and the other in the middle of the crowd. One Metsing participated in the attack, shooting at the crowd with an AK-47.

Major Smuts said that at the third place pointed out, Mr Sithole said he and one Mothile had spotted Kenneth Dlamini, a state witness "in Bissar's case" in which the accused was jailed for 12 years.

Mothile jumped Dlamini and they began fighting for control of Mothile's AK-47. Mr Sithole said he shot Dlamini with his AK-47 about 30 times, Major Smuts said.

Assaulted

Earlier, the commission heard that a youth arrested with Mr Sithole and who is still in detention, gave a statement to Mr Paul Fick, leading evidence for the commission, in which he alleged that he was assaulted by police.

In the statement, admitted into evidence as an exhibit, Philemon Menzima, 20, said a number of policemen slapped, hit and kicked him, and pulled an inner-tube over his face covering his mouth and nose so that he could not breathe.

A policeman told him that they were able to kill him without leaving any wounds, Mr Menzima said.

Winnie Link



Overcome fears, Jackson urges

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By MARIUS BOSCH

CHANTING crowds with ANC flags greeted the Reverend Jesse Jackson when he arrived at D F Malan Airport yesterday for a visit to Crossroads and Khayelitsha and meetings with community leaders.

At a press conference after his arrival, Mr Jackson urged blacks to help whites overcome their fears of a post-apartheid society.

"We must relieve the unfounded fears of whites. For so long whites have been told lies about blacks.

"Those lies have led to fear and then hatred, violence, conquest and then division," he said.

He hoped democracy would win over apartheid so South Africa could take its rightful place among nations.

He was introduced by UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak, who said he considered Mr Jackson to be a "brother comrade in the struggle".

About 150 people, many dressed in ANC colours and waving flags, gathered outside the VIP lounge to see Mr Jackson. About 40 police watched proceedings.

Mr Jackson said President F W de Klerk took a step towards a new South Africa, but added that "he must take further steps".

He will visit Crossroads and Khayelitsha today and will deliver a sermon in the Bellville South Ned Geref Mission church tomorrow.

JACKSON ARRIVAL . . . The Rev Jesse Jackson addresses about 150 supporters bearing ANC flags who welcomed him at D F Malan Airport yesterday.

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

First prisoners freed

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

TWO ANC members were released from prison yesterday following President FW de Klerk's announcement last week that certain categories of political prisoner would be freed.

The first white woman convicted of treason in South Africa, Ms Barbara Ann Hogan, 38, and fellow ANC member Mr Rob Adam, 34, were released two years before the end of their sentences.

They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other political organisations.

Both were jailed for 10 years in 1982. Ms Hogan was sentenced in September for high treason for carrying out the activities of the ANC in the labour field and for establishing a communications network with a secret code.

Mr Adam was sentenced for "conspiring with the ANC and with members of the ANC" to blow up the Brixton Tower in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, and destroy radio and television transmitters with limpet mines.



**Breyten calls on
ANC to return**

— PAGE 2

ANC and culture

What is the ANC's idea of South African culture and nationhood? Former Cape Town advocate **ALBIE SACHS**, a member of the legal and constitutional department of the ANC, offers some insights in a series of three extracts from an ANC paper "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom." The first extract will be published in the Cape Times on Monday.

Along with Mr Mandla Tembisa, who was sentenced to five years, he was also found to have endan-

gered "the maintenance of law and order in SA".

Both Ms Hogan, who had been held at Kroonstad Prison, and Mr Adam, held at Pretoria Central security prison, were "totally surprised" at their release and were with family and friends having a "wild celebration" last night.

Ms Hogan said she had been called to the office of the head of the prison yesterday and was told "you are going home".

"I was wonderfully happy, beyond belief," she said, adding that "feelings among political prisoners are very, very good".

She saw her release as an "absolute victory because I was sentenced for being an ANC member. I still remain a member".

Ms Hogan was busy on a B Comm, Economic Honours degree when she was released.

Mr Adam said last night that he had also been "suddenly" told of his release yesterday morning after jogging in the exercise yard.

He attained a first-class honours and master's degree in theoretical physics while in prison.

MANDATELITS

Government moves

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indicate he is coming out

Weekend Argus Political Staff

HIGH-LEVEL moves in government today indicated Mr Nelson Mandela is about to come out of Victor Verster Prison.

The moves included a Press conference which President F W de Klerk has called for later today.

It is not quite clear yet how he will be released. One well-placed source has said he would walk out of Victor Verster Prison tomorrow morning. From there he taken to Ysterplaat Airbase and flown to Johannesburg.

On the eve of today's events, Mr Mandela told a United Democratic Front delegation he wished to be released in Paarl. Members of the delegation, including Mr Murphy Morobe, said he would "not accede to attempts to move him elsewhere."

Previously President De Klerk said the case of Mr Mandela's release required particular circumspection. He indicated, however, that he would be

released with dignity, thereby further confirming the importance the government, too, is attaching to the role he will play in the unfolding new politics of South Africa.

When Mr Mandela walks out, it will end months of intense speculation amid calls from all over the world for his release. It will also lend a dramatic new dimension to the new South African situation brought about by President De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP and the release of political prisoners.

Excitement

Excitement has risen to fever pitch at the prospect of the aging ANC leader making his first public appearance 26 years in jail. But there are also big questions about the leadership role he will assume in the ANC.

KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service reports that the ANC appears to be in political disarray as it approaches its summit meeting scheduled for Lusaka next week to formulate its response to President De Klerk's initiatives.

Forced on the diplomatic defensive by the scope of the reforms, it must come up with matching concessions or risk losing the chance of regaining the initiative in the important pre-negotiation manoeuvring with the government.

It also runs the risk of being labelled incapable and obstructive by friends and enemies if it fails to meet the De Klerk challenge adequately.

The crucial meeting could not have been foisted on the ANC at a worse time.

Since President De Klerk's announcements, it has been trying to answer him with a multitude of differing voices, reflecting dissension over how to react to the initiative.

More importantly its external leadership structure is in disarray.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is incapacitated following his stroke last year and acting president Mr Alfred Nzo is under pressure from two differing factions over what course to take.

A pro-negotiation faction is led by foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, while another led by military strongman Mr Chris Hanu favours pursuing the military struggle.

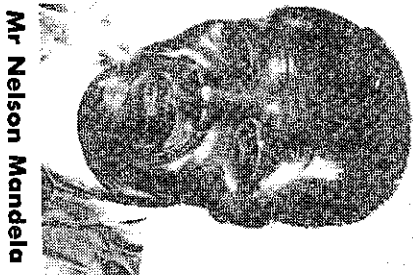
Real leader

The situation is further complicated by the role played by Mr Mandela who, amid the growing political excitement over his imminent release, has seemed more and more to be adopting the role of real leader, issuing statements and negotiating with the government.

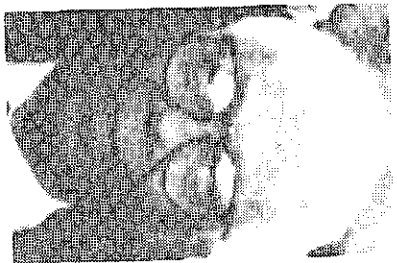
Meanwhile, in trying to thrash out a coherent response to the De Klerk reforms, the ANC also has to take into account the viewpoint of the leadership of the nebulous Mass Democratic Movement as well as the views of the released Rivonia trialists - primarily Mr Walter Sisulu.

Accommodating these diverse factions, views and personalities at the meeting will be difficult enough, but in addition, it is being held against a backdrop of the virtual emasculation of the organisation's military capacity.

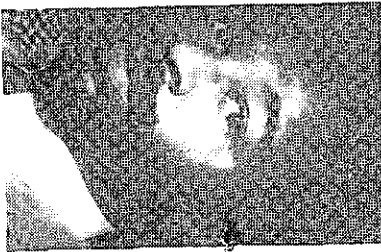
Members of the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were first expelled from Mozambique under



Mr Nelson Mandela



Mr Walter Sisulu



Mr Thabo Mbeki

...pursued the short term
 ...as far away as Tanzania, the
 ...armed struggle, has become almost impossible to
 ...ANC members.
 ...with the lawless-
 ...President
 ...from Zambia by
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...preparation of this popular technical 1988 strike, including
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 ...Society's autumn flower show will be
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 ...From Monday
 ...Mrs Manie Bruwer. From Monday
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 ...Mrs Ina Jacobs.
 ...92 1643. Mrs Ina Jacobs.
TOMORROW
 ...Penultimate WP Malibu surfing trial for a 16-man team to repre-

Superspy's olive branch to ANC

SAC 10/2/90

(SAC) (11A)

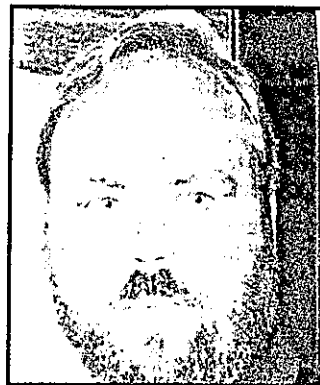
FORMER superspy Mr Craig Williamson has written an emotional letter appealing to the three ANC men he betrayed to bury the bitterness of the 30-year war and work towards peaceful solutions in this country.

In the controversial letter addressed to "Mac, Aziz and Ronnie" the ANC "comrades" he worked closely with during his three year infiltration of the movement, Mr Williamson said: "I wonder what on Earth our country is going to do with us, the hard men, the warriors?"

After working as a police agent within student politics under the code name Newman, Mr Williamson, was sent to Europe in 1977 to infiltrate the ANC from Geneva. Three years later he blew his cover and returned to South Africa as this country's best known "superspy".

Opposite end

Now in the National Party President's Council Mr Williamson is at the opposite end of the political spectrum to his former comrades, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Aziz Pahad, both executive members of the ANC based in London and Lusaka, and to Mr Ronnie Kasrils, now intelligence chief of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.



CRAIG WILLIAMSON: feels he could be ANC target.

But in his letter he tells the three: "We have all seen too much bloodshed and suffering ... people such as you and I need to reflect deeply about our political work and our war.

"There is no glamour or romance in a dirty war. We have buried too many of our friends for that."

He then goes on to add: "But we need to rise above the evil done by us all, on both sides in the name of our different definitions of freedom."

Asked this week about the letter, Mr Williamson said: "I wrote that letter prior to President de Klerk's speech because I knew that the prickly nettle of talking to the ANC was going to have to be grasped sometime this year so I began to prepare some contact.

"I sent the letter to 'Sechaba' the ANC's monthly journal be-

Williamson writes to the men he betrayed

PAT DEVEREAUX

cause I believe we are either going to stop fighting or end up in a Beirut-type situation. I believe if those who have been doing the fighting in this war can find each other then everybody else in this country can.

"The ANC must believe we are sincere and that the De Klerk speech was part of a deep political process ... A war isn't — that is why I left the frontlines. I decided the solution would be a political one.

"At present I'm deeply involved in the military and security studies being done by the President's Council.

War criminals

"It doesn't help to have Idasa talking to the ANC, we must have the NP talking to the ANC. If the ANC rejects the NP's initiatives and decides to have such a thing as the 'Bloemfontein trials' in which they try so called war criminals it will feed right-wing radicalism."

Asked whether he believed the ANC might retaliate against him for his part in betraying its cause he said: "Yes I believe I could be a target.

"I realised these ANC operatives will have to come back if this (peace) process is to succeed.

"I believe that the political solution will be similar to that of Zimbabwe. When the war ended there the security forces on both sides were merged together and had to end up working with each other after they had spent years and years trying to kill each other.

"But I don't see that there will be a Nuremberg trial situation for people like me. I believe that the ANC's reasonable attitude and remarkable lack of bitterness will surprise everyone and the future will come a lot quicker than we think.

"If I were the ANC I would naturally have started looking for the trick behind De Klerk's announcement.

"But what I was trying to put across in that letter to the ANC is that (it) must not underestimate the cathartic change in the NP's attitudes — this includes my own.

"Of course we in the NP recognise we have to go much further than we've gone but we also have a political constituency we have to keep with us other wise we could end up with a disaster on our hands.



Mr Gastrow

Call Times 10/26/70

Call for Mandela ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ in Natal ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ 'summit'

Political Staff

A SPECIAL "summit" between President F W de Klerk, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela should be held to solve the raging conflict in Natal which could delay reform, Mr Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party MP for Durban Central, said yesterday.

With feelings running high in the province yesterday, Mr Gastrow said the Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could not solve the problem on his own.

What was happening in Natal was not only politically inspired, it was also a battle for facilities and infrastructure.

"Mr De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela, when he is released, must put their heads together," said Mr Gastrow.

"We also need a military peace force to be available in townships which, in conjunction with community leaders, want it," said Mr Gastrow.

There was chaos and spiralling violence in which no reform programme was going to work.

ANC committed to help find peaceful answer to raging violence in Natal

C/P res 11/2/90

1119

By SANDILE MEMELA and
CONNIE MOLUSI

THE ANC has publicly committed itself to help find solutions to the raging violence that has claimed at least 2 500 lives in Natal over the past three years.

At the first rally to celebrate the unbanning of the organisation held at St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, this week, ANC stalwart Andrew Mlangeni delivered the keynote address and told the gathering his organisation was committed to addressing the violence between members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front as soon as possible.

"The violence cannot be allowed to continue as it is a blemish on our noble struggle and may prove to be a major stumbling block to future negotiations," said Mlangeni.

The rally was organised by the

Transvaal branch of the UDF and was a thanksgiving occasion for the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations in the country.

But pandemonium broke out when riot squad police confronted a crowd of more than 1 000 people who sang pro-ANC songs, toy-toyed and waved the black, green and gold flag at the end of the service at St Mary's Cathedral.

A scuffle broke out between the chanting youths and the SAP riot squad when the youths would not disperse at the end of the gathering.

The police also ordered journalists to leave the scene.

A visitor from Britain, John Whitehead, was left baffled as to what caused the scuffle between police and people from at the rally.

"I thought with the unbannings there would be nothing wrong with

people waving the ANC flag and singing freedom songs.

"I do not think there was anything illegal in what the people were doing," he said.

Police said the people involved failed to disperse when they were asked to do so, Sapa reports.

Witnesses said police then "waded into" the group and people fled in all directions.

People scrambled over steel road barriers and darted into nearby shops and across the concourse of the Johannesburg station with police hot on their heels.

Police said one officer was slightly injured and they had received no further reports of injuries.

In an attempt to defuse the situation Dean Godfrey Henwood and a colleague, intervened and appealed to protesters and police to cease the confrontation.

Barney Desai is first exile to come home

CP Press 11/2/90



PAC CENTRAL committee member Barney Desai, who has been in exile for 27 years, returned to South Africa with his son and daughter yesterday.

Desai, a former president of the Coloured People's Party and Cape

Town City Councillor for District Six, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport with his daughter Zivia and son Rehad and was met by a small PAC welcoming committee.

He is believed to be the first long-term exile to have returned to South

Africa.

Desai left South Africa in 1963 while on bail on a charge of attending an illegal gathering.

"I am very happy to be back home with my people," he said.

"I want to be with my people and am prepared to continue the struggle for the dignity of my people."

Desai, wearing a navy blue suit with a round Nehru collar, introduced his children - both born out of South Africa - saying they had come home with him to "take up their rightful place at home".

Desai was a member of the PAC's central committee based at the organisation's United Nations mission in New York.

He was the head of the South African Coloured People's Congress which was affiliated to the Congress of Democrats and the ANC, Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses. Following his restriction in the '60s he was forced to resign the presidency of the party.

Although elected a Cape Town councillor for District Six, he never took his seat in the council.

Desai was part of the congress which was responsible for the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

While in exile he remained in the ANC until 1969 but after the ANC's Morogoro consultative meeting he disbanded the coloured organisation attached to the organisation.

His group split from the ANC and his entire membership joined the PAC.

Desai's reason for the move was that only Africanism offered a home to people classified as coloured.

He has been a member of the PAC's central committee since 1972.

He said his return was a personal one and the PAC would make a decision on the return of exiles at a later stage. - Sapa.



A relaxed Nelson Mandela with a BBC-TV reporter on the Rand in 1961

S (Times) 11/21/90

Secret TV interview from 28 years ago

THE only formal TV interview Nelson Mandela ever gave was prophetic — and foreshadowed the ANC's underground battle with Dr Verwoerd's government in the Sixties.

A confident and good-looking 43, he was at the peak of his rising political career as Transvaal president of the ANC — declared a banned organisation soon after the Sharpeville shootings a year earlier.

The BBC sent its "Roving Report" team to interview him at a "secret hideout" somewhere on the Rand in 1961. At the time, he was wanted by the security police as the net closed on the underground ANC.

A state of emergency was in force, the Citizen Force had been called up and the ANC was organising mass stayaways by workers.

Clad in dungarees, feet up on a table in front of a fireplace, Mr Mandela spelt out his vision of the decade ahead to millions of overseas TV viewers (South Africa was not to get TV for another 15 years.)

This is the full text of the five-minute interview:

Q: What do the Africans really want?

A: The Africans require a franchise on the basis of one-man-one-vote and political independence.

Q: Do you see Africans being able to develop in this country without the European being pushed out?

A: We have made it very clear in our policy that South Africa is a country of many races. There is room for all the races in this country.

Q: Are there many educated Africans in South Africa?

A: Yes ... there are a large number of Africans who are educated and who are taking part in the political struggle. The question of education has nothing to do with the question of the vote. On numer-

ous occasions it has been proven in history that people can enjoy the vote even if they have no education. It will be a good thing.

You don't have to have education to know that you want certain fundamental rights ... you have got aspirations, you have claims ... It has nothing to do with education whatsoever.

Q: Are you planning any more campaigns of non-co-operation?

A: Yes ... the Pietermaritzburg resolution (taken at an All-African Peoples' conference in Maritzburg in March 1961) makes provision for a campaign of non-co-operation with the Government and we are starting plans to implement this aspect of the resolution.

Q: Now, if Dr Verwoerd's government doesn't give you the kind of concessions that you want sometime soon, is there any likelihood of violence?

Futile

A: There are many people who feel that the reaction of the Government to our stay-at-home ... ordering a general mobilisation, arming the white community, arresting thousands of Africans, the show of force throughout the country ... notwithstanding our clear declaration that this campaign is to be run on peaceful and non-violent lines, closes a chapter as far as our method of political struggle is concerned.

There are many people who feel it is useless and futile for us to continue talking peace and non-violence to a government whose reply is only savage attacks on unarmed and defenceless people. And I think the time has come for us to consider in the light of our experiences in this stay-away, whether the methods which we have applied so far are adequate.

Mandela rally today

SITues

11/2/90

11A

3:30

Huge

NELSON MANDELA will return to public life at a massive public rally on Cape Town's historic Grand Parade today.

Late last night the Mandela Reception Committee said it would start at 3pm — the time he is scheduled to be released from prison in Paarl.

The reception committee has organised a motorcade around Paarl, which will then head straight to the Parade.

There, Mr Mandela will address a crowd expected to run to many thousands.

After the rally he will conduct a Press conference.

The reception committee was last night furiously organising buses and trains to bring the anticipated crowds to the Parade, lying in the lee of Jan van Riebeeck's Castle.

At the rally the world will have its first sight of the 71-year-old ANC leader.

During 27 years in prison he has been elevated into a legend.

His release has aroused unprecedented international attention and, at home, it will cause widespread jubilation.

Yesterday the announcement of his release was applauded by world leaders and universally welcomed by all shades of South African opinion — except representatives of the extreme right.

President George Bush telephoned President F W de Klerk in Cape Town to congratulate him on his bold move and to invite him to visit Washington soon.

From today, together with President De Klerk, Mr Mandela will take his place at centre stage of South African politics.

The announcement of his release launches the second phase of Mr De Klerk's audacious campaign to totally restructure the political process.

Secret

Many black leaders have been astonished by the breakneck pace of his sweeping reforms.

The first step was taken 10 days ago when the State President announced the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the partial lifting of the state of emergency and the release of some political prisoners.

The two men met secretly on the eve of the announcement of Mr Mandela's release.

At a snap Press conference in Cape Town yesterday, Mr De Klerk told about 300 local and foreign newsmen that he believed Mr Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and a peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," he said.

Expressing his hope that the release would take place in a dignified manner, he

Thousands will be at gathering to welcome Mandela back to freedom



PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK . . . personally invited by President George Bush to visit the US soon

said details of the release — including the place where Mr Mandela will first meet his family, his political comrades and the world media — would be worked out between officials and representatives of the committee formed to arrange his reception.

Yesterday the Government took elaborate measures to ensure that world leaders were informed in good time about the decision to free the celebrated prisoner.

South African ambassadors conveyed the news to President George Bush of the United States, Mrs Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Mr Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

At the Press conference was the British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick.

A number of African leaders, including President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, were informed directly.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, telephoned President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who is said to have become highly emotional on receipt of the news.

At his Press conference yesterday, President De Klerk said that from the moment Mr Mandela stepped beyond the gates of the prison he would decide

on his own programme, make his own arrangements for his security and decide on the role he would play in making a reality of the negotiations Mr De Klerk has proposed.

First news that he was about to become a free man was conveyed to Mr Mandela at the meeting between the two men on Friday night.

When asked to say what Mr Mandela's reaction was upon hearing the news, President De Klerk smiled and said: "I don't think I would like to try to do that."

The President said he had not asked Mr Mandela to make a call for peace once he was released. However he seemed concerned to emphasise that Mr Mandela was "committed to a peaceful solution".

Mr Mandela offered, while in custody, to act as a "facilitator" between the ANC and the Government. Had President De Klerk discussed the continuance of this role?

No, said Mr De Klerk — but Mr Mandela was "welcome" to continue playing it.

The President said the Government was concerned about Mr Mandela's safety. The State's responsibility for his security extended only to the time he was in custody.

He appealed to the world to play "what supportive role it can" to help SA along its new path.

Dignified

President De Klerk said that while all preconditions for lifting international sanctions had been met in detail, the "most important" ones were now out of the way.

He said Mr Mandela had struck him as a "dignified, interesting and friendly man" — and he added: "I like to think that I am also a friendly man".

At the meeting (also attended by Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Justice Minister, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Development Minister) two issues had been discussed — the lifting of the state of emergency and the status of people convicted of "politically motivated crimes", including those who were at present outside the country.

Mr De Klerk said "further

discussions" would be held on the issue of prisoners and exiles found guilty of crimes, and he indicated that these discussions might be held over until formal negotiations got under way.

On the state of emergency, Mr De Klerk appealed to Mandela to help create a climate in which it could be lifted in its entirety.

"The eyes of the world are on all South Africans," he said.

"All of us now have the opportunity and the responsibility to prove we are capable of creating a new South Africa."

From today, observers at home and abroad will watch closely to see whether Mr Mandela can establish his paramouncy as leader of the ANC, a body that has hitherto preferred a cumbersome system of collective leadership.

His first challenge will be to unify disparate factions within the broad ANC alliance. Next, he must formulate a response to Mr De Klerk's invitation to leaders of all political stripes to begin negotiations.

Many expect Mr Mandela to travel overseas quite soon, with his first stop likely to be Lusaka, main base of the ANC's exiled leadership.

Thereafter he may travel more widely to meet reception committees in nearly every important country of the world.

Already the governments of the United States, Britain and West Germany have said both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would be invited on official visits.

The timing of Mr Mandela's release was one of the country's most tightly protected secrets.

Information even to Cabinet Ministers was treated on a strictly need-to-know basis, and only four advisers to Mr De Klerk were involved in the planning, according to Government sources.

They were Mr Coetsee, Dr Neil Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, General Johan van der Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, and Lt-Gen W H Willemse, the Commissioner of Prisons.

The world-wide acclaim that followed Mr De Klerk's speech on February 2 laid the foundation for an early release.

Impact

Reaction inside SA to the unbanning of the ANC also gave security forces an opportunity to assess the impact of Mr De Klerk's unprecedented moves.

Cabinet sources disclosed that a decision was made to keep some emergency powers as a safety measure until after Mr Mandela's release.

Earlier this week, Dr Viljoen gave a public commitment that the state of emergency would be lifted "within weeks" after Mr Mandela's release.

Inside the 'Temporary' Lusaka headquarters

S/Times 11/24/90 11/9

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN: Lusaka

NOTHING symbolises the temporary exiled nature of the ANC better than the state of its headquarters in Zambia.

Situated in a dingy back-alley in downtown Lusaka, it is not the sort of place where one would expect decades of resistance against successive South African Governments have been planned.

It is slightly bigger than an average house, supplemented by a few outbuildings which double as a conference facility or waiting rooms.

Inside it is sparse — almost spartan. Only the bare essentials of cables, chairs and bookcases are scattered across dimly lit rooms.

Posters of Fidel Castro share the walls with those of Nelson Mandela and the Freedom Charter — all badly in need of some fresh sticky-tape.

"We have always regarded our accommodation as temporary,"

says ANC spokesman Tom Sebina, who himself last saw the Johannesburg skyline 25 years ago.

The scene just off "cha-cha-cha road, near the five-star shop", to which Lusaka taxi drivers are directed, was one of normality this week. Normal? After the momentous events of the past few days? Almost too normal for an organisation which is seeing the outlines of the capital of the promised land after nearly 80 years in the political desert.

The most notable feature of the headquarters is the almost complete lack of security. It is surrounded by a four-metre high wall with pieces of broken glass embedded in the top to prevent intruders from scaling it.

But the heavy metal gate providing access to the premises stands open and unguarded most

of the time.

Visitors come and go as they please without being checked or searched for weapons — the only form of control being a book which must be signed.

Inside the compound where the row of recently acquired Toyotas and Renaults wait to transport senior members of the organisation, people come and go as they please.



"Visitors are always surprised by the sparseness of our surroundings," says Mr Sebina. "But they forget that this is only temporary accommodation. Our home is in South Africa and that's where we want to return to."

"Home" and "return" were the words most frequently used. President F W de Klerk's announcement that the ANC has been unbanned and that exiled members may return has caused a frenzy of excitement among the rank and file.

Take the case of "Richard", 34, who fled South Africa as a young Soweto student in the first weeks of the 1976 uprising. Thirteen years without a single contact with family or loved ones can be a very long time.

"The De Klerk speech was the best news we ever heard," he said this week. "The day after the news broke there were scores of people clamouring at the doors of the leadership asking, 'Where can we get tickets? When do the flights leave?'"

Richard joined the ANC in Swaziland in 1976. He received military training in the Soviet Union and eventually landed an administrative position at headquarters. "The mood of the ordinary

members is overwhelmingly in favour of 'turning,' he said.

"We kn* there are practical difficulties and it may take some time before it becomes a reality... but we cannot wait too long."

It is this mood which the executive of the ANC will have to take into account when it meets this week to discuss its response to the De Klerk initiative.

The secretary for information and research, Pello Jordan, concedes that the offer of amnesty has caused a great deal of excitement among the membership. "But it is not an easy matter that can be resolved within a few days," he says.

Apart from the political questions that must still be answered — who can return and who is still liable for arrest and prosecution — there are a number of nuts-and-bolts issues that have to be sorted out.

"Will they have permanent

places to stay? Are jobs available? Won't they be scattered all over the country, which may make it difficult for us to mobilise them politically?"

Conservative estimates are that there are between 15 000 and 20 000 ANC members in exile with about half of them members of the "army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The bulk of the members are in frontline states — Zambia, Angola and Tanzania but diplomatic personnel are as far away as the Soviet Union and Japan.

But the optimism that the South African diaspora may be nearing its end is growing.

"We have always held the view that we are only visitors in our host countries. We seldom built permanent structures or invested in property or buildings," says Sebina.

"When the go-ahead for our return comes, I will be ready within an hour."

HERE HE IS!

S/Times 11/2/90

Mandela after 27 years — the first picture 11A



THIS is the first picture of Nelson Mandela for 27 years. He is now a lean, trim and healthy 71.

Standing side by side with him is the man who yesterday announced his release from prison, President F W de Klerk.

The historic photograph was taken on Friday night at Tuynhuys in Cape Town when Mr De Klerk told the ANC leader that he would be freed today.

The picture was released by the President's office last night.

In their few brief meetings the two men — key figures in South Africa's future — seem to have struck a harmonious chord.

At his news conference yesterday, Mr De Klerk described Mr Mandela as a "friendly and dignified" man.

Rally

"But I'm also a friendly man," President De Klerk told more than 300 newsmen who were summoned to Cape Town's H F Verwoerd building for the dra-

matic announcement.

At 3pm this afternoon, Mr Mandela will shut the door of his prison bungalow for the last time, climb into a waiting car, and be driven to freedom in an ANC motor cavalcade.

Acclaim

He will be whisked to a welcoming rally on Cape Town's Grand Parade where he will speak in public for the first time since being jailed.

South Africans will join millions around the world in watching Mr Mandela's first public appearance — live on television.

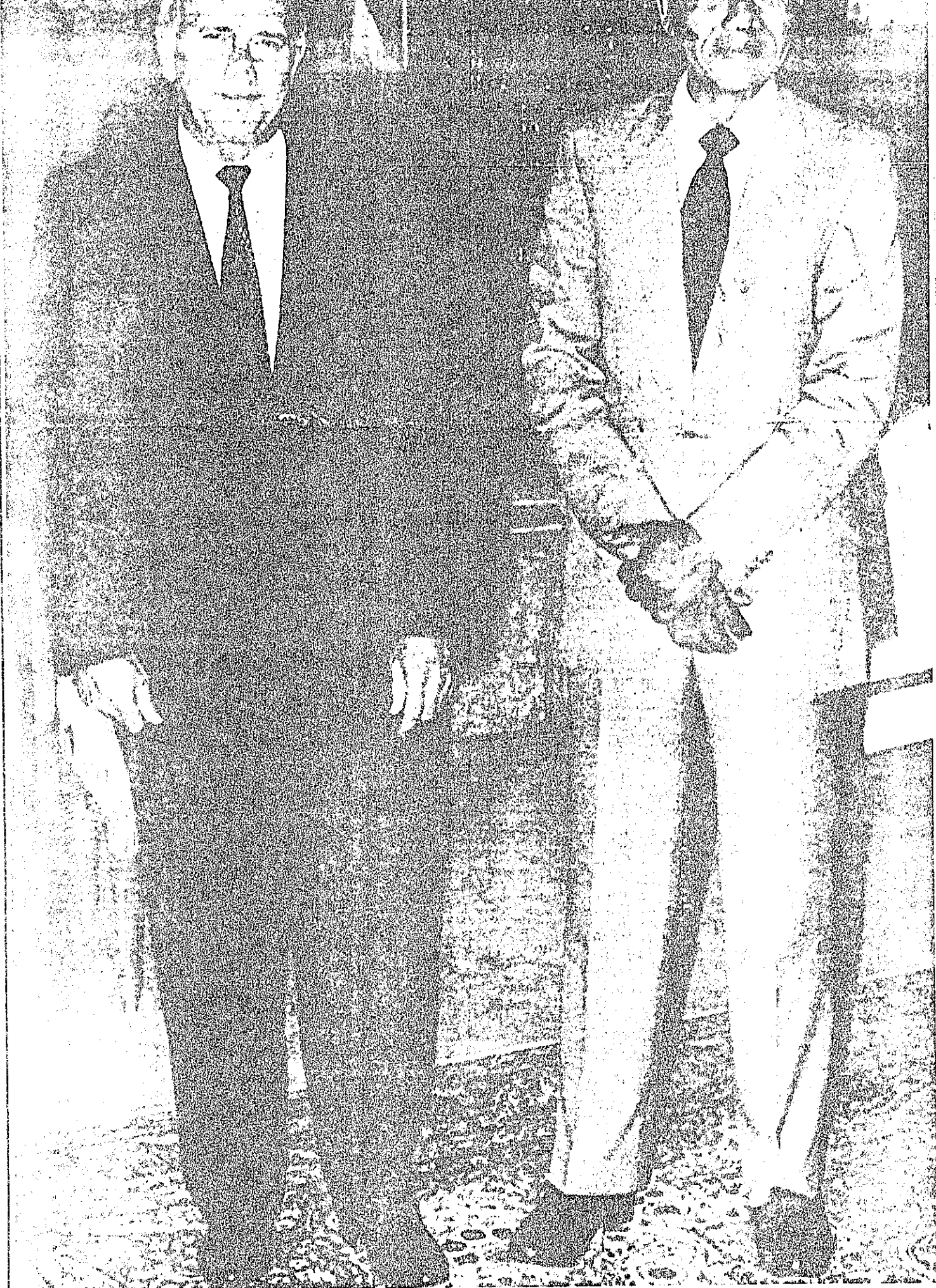
SATV announced yesterday that it was gearing up to provide live coverage of the rally.

As Mr Mandela packed his bags last night, President De Klerk basked in international acclaim.

President George Bush telephoned him to congratulate him on his bold move and to invite him to visit Washington soon. Mrs Margaret Thatcher was overjoyed.

FULL STORY See Page 2 and Page 4

England's



HISTORY IN THE MAKING . . . President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela pictured together. This afternoon at 3 o'clock Mr Mandela will walk free after 27 years behind bars

MANDELA'S LIFE, LOVE AND POLITICS: See Pages 16, 17

Query over Mandela Press coverage

11A
11/2/90
Press 11/2/90

By SANDILE MEMELA

No invitation by Winnie, says SA Youth Congress

THERE is still confusion about who is going to control the Press coverage of Nelson Mandela's release.

Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) sources have hinted that

journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu is likely to head the Press liaison office of the National Reception Com-

mittee (NRC). An office has been set up for Press liaison at the headquarters of the

National Union of Mineworkers in Johannesburg. South African Youth

Congress (Sayco) general secretary Rapu Molekane dismissed as "nonsense" reports that Winnie Mandela had asked Sayco to handle Press coverage of Mandela's release.

"It is utter nonsense that Sayco will handle Press coverage of Mandela," he said.

Molekane told City Press that various media people had been approached for the position.

"I am not aware if Sisulu has agreed to take up the position but his name was high in the list of nominees," he said.

■ Sources close to the UDF cultural desk have also leaked that there are frantic preparations for a huge rally to be held at the FNB Stadium to "welcome home" Mandela when he is released this week.

At the time of going to Press details of the rally were not available, but sources said it was likely to take place on Sunday February 18 from 10am.

■ In another development the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) will hold a report-back meeting at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre today from 10am. This follows consultations between Sayco and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela on January 16 and 17.

MANDIELA GOES FREE TODAY

11A

C/Pres 11/2/90.



State President FW de Klerk.

BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

NELSON Mandela, South Africa's world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President FW De Klerk announced yesterday.

A stunned South Africa heard De Klerk announce the release of the man who is often seen as the country's last hope on its road to democracy.

Joining South Africans when the news were broken yesterday were some of the world's biggest television and radio networks, who have been in the country since last week for "the story of the decade".

De Klerk's announcement was made at a snap Press conference called in the HF Verwoerd building next to Parliament.

De Klerk said he had discussions with Mandela on Friday night and as during discussions with him last year he had come to the conclusion that Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," De Klerk said.

He said Mandela's release was ensured when he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions. He expressed the wish that Mandela's release would take place in a dignified manner.

Facing a battery of reporters, photographers and TV cameras De Klerk started reading the announcement at 5:05 yesterday afternoon. Looking calm and relaxed, he said he would not be present for the release at Victor Verster Prison today.

Government officials were working out details of Mandela's release with interested parties at the time of the Press conference. One is Adv Dullah Omar, a close friend of Mandela and also his legal adviser.

Asked about Mandela's safety, De Klerk said that he would return to his own circle of friends and he was certain they would see to it, just as they had done in the case of Walter Sisulu.

He declined to comment on blacks being given the vote in a one-man one-vote political system. More details would be disclosed at Press conference to be held sometime next week.

National Reception Committee member Popo Molefe expressed his "absolute pleasure" at De Klerk's announcement.



New light on Stanza's mystery flight

By SOPHIE TEMA

INFORMATION in the hands of a firm of Johannesburg lawyers could solve the strange disappearance without trace of Johannes Maisha "Stanza" Bopape.

Black film actor Johannes "Dr Chaucer" Mampuru, 32, an awaiting-trial prisoner on fraud charges, this week provided lawyers with information that could solve the mystery.

Mampuru is being held at the Johannesburg Prison near Diepkloof.

In 1983 he played the lead role in the film series *Di-millione Tsa Kiriri* as the character Mafutha.

Mampuru claims to have been the last person to have seen and spoken to Stanza Bopape, in bush near the Botswana border.

The mysterious circumstances surrounding Bopape's disappearance cannot yet be explained as affidavits are still to be sworn in and signed.

Mampuru also claims to have information relating to two other detainees, George Modiba and one known only as Sithole, who he claims were held at John Vorster Square.

In a note written on a piece of toilet paper smuggled from the Sandton Police Station and handed to his attorney Godfrey Pitje, Mampuru begged: "Please save me. I need help. I'm in a very bad condition. Beaten by security police."

"Please help me. I live in danger. If I die you must know the following: security police killed me..."

Mampuru claims electric shock treatment was used to put pressure on him so he would agree to work for the police as a spy.

His claims are backed up by numerous sjambok welts on his back.

Pitje said Mampuru is now wearing glasses to assist his sight - which was also damaged in an assault and he cannot walk properly.

Mampuru was charged in the Randburg Magistrate's Court on Friday last week with defrauding the Sandton Sun Hotel.

Bopape, who was general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association and a member of the Community Resource and Information Centre (Cric), was de-

tained with a colleague on June 9, 1988.

Police alleged he escaped on June 12 - three days after his detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act - while being transported to Verseniging.

They claimed he escaped from the custody of three armed policemen while handcuffed and with his feet manacled.

A report said the three policemen who accompanied Stanza that night were changing a burst tyre on their vehicle when he found their keys, unlocked his shackles, got out of the police vehicle and escaped.

According to Bopape's lawyers, his family, friends and colleagues were never questioned and the lawyers were not informed of his escape until July 4, 1988.

Racing

Yesterday's payouts at Gosforth Park:
PICK SIX: R3 159.10
JACKPOT: R203.90
PA: R77.00

AWB on Pretoria rampage

By DES BLOW

MOVEMENT
WILL BE HERE

244

BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

NELSON Mandela, South Africa's world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President FW De Klerk announced yesterday.

A stunned South Africa heard De Klerk announce the release of the man who is often seen as the country's last hope on its road to democracy.

Joining South Africans when the news were broken yesterday were some of the world's biggest television and radio networks, who have been in the country since last week for "the story of the decade".

De Klerk's announcement was made at a snap Press conference called in the HF Verwoerd building next to Parliament.

De Klerk said he had discussions with Mandela on Friday night and as during discussions with him last year he had come to the conclusion that Mandela was committed to a peaceful future and peaceful process.

"Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter," De Klerk said.

He said Mandela's release was ensured when he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions. He expressed the wish that Mandela's release would take place in a dignified manner.

Facing a battery of reporters, photographers and TV cameras De Klerk started reading the announcement at 5.05 yesterday afternoon. Looking calm and relaxed, he said he would not be present for the release at Victor Verster Prison today.

Government officials were working out details of Mandela's release with interested parties at the time of the Press conference. One is Adv Dullah Omar, a close friend of Mandela and also his legal adviser.

Asked about Mandela's safety, De Klerk said that he would return to his own circle of friends and he was certain they would see to it, just as they had done in the case of Walter Sisulu.

He declined to comment on blacks being given the vote in a one-man one-vote political system. More details would be disclosed at Press conference to be held sometime next week.

National Reception Committee member Popo Molefe expressed his "absolute pleasure" at De Klerk's announcement.

Reports yesterday said Winnie Mandela, who had obviously heard the news, remained behind closed doors in her Orlando West home in Soweto where a massive media contingent had gathered outside in the street, including TV teams with their own satellite dishes for immediate transmission to the rest of the world.

Sources said Mandela's release had been timed to coincide with the European Economic Community meeting next week.

"What better way of influencing the meeting to lift economic sanctions than presenting a free Mandela? It almost worked with the Commonwealth Conference when Sisulu and others were released," said one.

Black activists have begun arrangements for a mass rally to be addressed by Mandela, who was jailed 27 years ago for plotting to topple white rule.

ANC flags have been hoisted on his Soweto home. "Welcome Home Our Leader Nelson Mandela" T-shirts and sweaters are already on sale in the townships.

Foreign television networks have organised contingency plans. One of the largest US networks has sent more than 130 staffers to South Africa.

Some networks have reserved chartered jets. Satellite dishes have been erected outside Mandela's Soweto home. One network has booked an entire Cape Town hotel for its production, technical and editorial staff.

Another, some reports say, approached the Mandela family, offering millions of dollars for sole rights to his story. The family rebuffed the approach and the National Reception Committee, formed to co-ordinate the affairs of released political prisoners, said it was opposed to money-making making money out of Mandela.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen said earlier in the week the government was worried about Mandela's safety from both the right wing as well as people from within his organisation who, he claims, may want to kill him.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told a Bureau for Information Press briefing this week the personal safety of Mandela was a serious consideration which had to be taken into account with his release.



The scene that could be re-enacted today when ANC leader Nelson Mandela is freed from prison after 30 years.



Stevie Wonder appears in court for a song.

Blind singer fights for hit-song rights

POP STAR Stevie Wonder, on trial for copyright infringement, said this week the idea for his Oscar-winning song *I Just Called To Say I Love You*, came as he was going home from a visit to his mother in Los Angeles in 1976.

Wonder, blind since birth, testified at the start of the Los Angeles copyright infringement trial stemming from a claim by songwriter Lloyd Chiate that he and a collaborator, Lee Garrett, wrote the song in September 1976.

Chiate has alleged that Wonder sold the song as his own for the 1984 film *The Woman in Red* for which it won a Hollywood Oscar for best original song.

Wonder, said he created enough of a working idea for a verse and a chorus to make a recording in 1976.

Wonder said various changes followed through the years. "I never felt it was complete until I recorded it in 1984," Wonder said.

Dodell said in his opening statement that Chiate and Garrett, a friend of Wonder since both were teenagers, wrote the song and that Garrett played it for Wonder in 1977. - Sapa

Alex councillors agree to resign

By MOKGADI PELA (~~SPG~~)

ALEXANDRA community councillors have aligned themselves with the community's call to resign from government institutions, a rally in the area was told yesterday. *Sareta 11/2/90 (11A)*

Addressing thousands of people at a commemorative service to mark the 1986 Alexandra shootings which left more than 30 people dead, Mr Moses Mayekiso of the Alexandra Civic Organisation, said that the councillors had also asked the community to pardon them.

"We have no direction, we have now seen the light and as your servants we will expect light from you," he said, quoting from a letter written by some of the councillors.



"Forward to a socialist South Africa" . . . SA Communist Party proposals could play an influential role in Cosatu's workers' charter campaign.

Protecting the workers: a new charter campaign

Through its "workers' charter" campaign, launched this week, Cosatu aims to keep workers' interests firmly on the national agenda. **DREW FORREST** reports.

In a South Africa suddenly pregnant with political possibilities, the labour movement is determined to keep worker claims to the forefront — and Cosatu's workers' charter campaign is part of this thrust.

In its Constitutional Guidelines, the ANC proposed the incorporation of a charter in the country's future constitution. Draft charters were issued last year by the SA Communist Party and Sactu, the ANC's labour arm, and will be used as chopping-blocks for debate within Cosatu.

Cosatu's launch of the campaign at a weekend central committee meeting attended by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is the climax to years of often acrimonious debate.

Initially the workers' charter demand was closely associated with independent socialists within Cosatu and was viewed with suspicion by "populists" as an attempt to supplant the Freedom Charter. In 1985, sections of the SACP attacked the charter proposal of Cosatu's metal union as "workerist".

There is now general consensus in the unions that workers' demands need to be articulated and codified in the transition to a new order.

At the same time, the Constitutional Guidelines, and the SACP and Sactu charters, have legitimised moves to expand and modify the Freedom Charter to suit modern conditions.

At Cosatu's national congress last year, an in-principle decision to launch a charter campaign was unanimously adopted.

Modelled on the process leading to the Congress of the People, at which the Freedom Charter was adopted, the campaign will collect workers' demands through questionnaires.

Awareness will be heightened in rallies, marches and demonstrations countrywide, and Cosatu hopes to involve other sections of the Mass Democratic Movement and the black union federation, Nactu.

Once demands have been codified, the plan is

to adopt a charter at a special congress late in the year.

Worker mobilisation is a key aim. Cosatu's education secretary, Mr Khetsi Lehoko, said the campaign aimed to boost unity among workers, black and white, and draw the unorganised into the unions.

But the charter itself could feed into negotiations on the future of South Africa — and the Sactu and particularly SACP documents give vital pointers as to what it will contain.

Arguing that wealth must be redistributed for the benefit of all, the SACP urges state control of the "commanding heights" of the economy and the participation of workers in planning and running businesses.

All enterprises, private and state-owned, will be "compelled to safeguard the interests of workers and the nation as a whole", it says, and steps will be taken to break "the white monopoly of ownership and managerial control".

However, it stresses that state control should not be exercised "in an over-centralised or commandist way".

On union rights, the SACP says the union movement should be free of state interference and have the right to strike.

Collective bargaining legislation, "including any limitations on the right to strike in exceptional cases", will require union consent and the unions will be consulted on other labour laws.

All adults will have a right to work, a national minimum wage will be enforced and the migrant labour system phased out, the SACP proposes.

Other proposals are:

- Company assistance in providing recreational, primary health and creche facilities.
- Positive steps to correct discrimination against women in the workplace.
- Moves to break the "existing media monopoly by big business and the state" and ensure worker access to the media.

CAT 717P 12/2/90 (11/1)

Winnie leads Sithole mourners

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, attended the funeral of Mr Clayton Sithole, 20, in Soweto on Saturday and played a leading role during the procession.

Mr Sithole died at John Vorster Square police station here on January 29. He was found hanged in the showers.

The crowd chanted and sang as they marched to the graveyard. As the procession approached the cemetery, Mrs Mandela walked in front of the coffin. She herself bore a part of the coffin as it neared the graveyard.

Mr Mandela's daughter Zinzi, who was reported to have been Mr Sithole's girlfriend, was also at the funeral, which was attended by about 800 people.

State President Mr F W De Klerk has appointed a one-man commission of inquiry, headed by Mr Justice Gladstone, into Mr Sithole's death. In post-mortem results presented to the commission, pathologists stated that no other injuries to the body other than those consistent with hanging had been detected, and there was no evidence of assault before his death.

Various activists described Mr Sithole as a former member of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. — Sapa

Jo'burg stands by to greet Mandela

STAT 12/24/90

(11A) (S)

Cape Town

Freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela makes a triumphal return to Johannesburg later today — after an absence of 27 years — following the tumultuous reception he was given at a massive rally in central Cape Town yesterday.

Before leaving for Johannesburg, he was addressing an international press conference in Cape Town — delayed from yesterday because of the late start and chaotic conditions at yesterday's rally.

Mr Mandela's arrival time in Johannesburg later today had not been disclosed this morning.

Civil rights lawyer and United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said that while flight arrangements for the Mandelas were still being made, he was "fairly certain" the ANC leader and his wife would arrive in Johannesburg early this afternoon.

The Government reacted tentatively today to Mr Nelson Mandela's first public speech, since his release from jail yesterday, in which he took a tough ANC line by calling for the armed struggle to continue.

'Positive aspects'

Senior Government sources said the speech was "largely predictable" and that Mr Mandela clearly needed to position himself within the ANC at this moment.

They found the speech positive in many respects, especially the reference to peace and the remarks about Mr de Klerk being a man of "integrity".

A spokesman for the State President said Mr de Klerk would probably react to Mr Mandela's speech at an international press conference some

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

time this week. No date for the conference has yet been set.

One National Party senior MP said it was very much an "election speech" to re-establish himself with his own people and consolidate his support in the ANC. The NP could not agree with Mr Mandela's insistence on universal suffrage on a common voters' roll, but this could be sorted out in negotiations.

MDM spokesman Mr Dullah Omar has conceded that the organisers' security arrangements were not satisfactory at yesterday's welcoming rally for Mr Mandela. He was not prepared to blame the police for their action in controlling looting and violence.

A National Party source, commenting on the violence, said that one could find similar, or worse at soccer matches.

"There is an inherent risk in bringing a large crowd together. One cannot escape that situation. There is always a danger of looting and disturbance so I do not attach too much importance to this."

Democratic Party veteran MP Mr Colin Eglin, who attended the rally, said the speech was tough and gave nothing away. But underlying, he saw a door to some kind of negotiation being left open for President de Klerk.

He said it was clear Mr Mandela felt he could not make any conciliatory moves until he had consulted the ANC leadership. Until then, he could not move from the ANC line.

"The last thing he could do was to give the impression that he as an individual had usurped the collective leadership of the ANC."

Making his first public address after 27 years in jail, Mr Mandela made it clear to a crowd estimated at more than 80 000 on the Grand Parade that the struggle against apartheid would still have to include the armed struggle and increased international pressure.

'No option'

"We have no option but to continue," he said to



The return of Mandela . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, salute the huge crowd waiting for him as he steps out of Paarl's Victor Verster prison yesterday.

STAT 12/24/90 (275)

One dead as violence mars welcome

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — One man died and more than 50 people were taken to various Peninsula hospitals when Mr Nelson Mandela's triumphant return to his people deteriorated into chaos in Cape Town's centre where about 80 000 people had gathered in a suburban ham

let Trouble flared at about 4 pm in Corporation Street when a window in Cape Union Mart was smashed. Police arrived with dogs and shotguns, and marshals battled to control a small group who taunted police.

Youths then smashed windows of a shop and the Asker (name obscured)

More bottles were thrown and police again opened fire.

Teargas was also fired. The situation was defused by Mr Mandela's arrival on the podium.

At the end of the momentous day helicopters throbbed in the night and soldiers armed with 14 rifles (name obscured)

TOP OF THE NEWS

Full Contents Page 2
 Business Summary Page 14
 Sport Summary Back Page
 Arts Summary Page 1, Tonight!

Disillusioned Wessels withdraws from Boks

Springbok top order batsman Kepler Wessels has quit the national side just days before the second test with Mike Gatting's English XI and has already returned home to Port Elizabeth.

National selection panel convener Peter van der Merwe says Wessels withdrew from the side because he was mentally drained and disillusioned after the "Clive Rice Affair" where his eligibility in the Bok side was severely questioned after he had played for the official and rebel Australian sides.

Schools to open?

White government schools may be opened to all following a projected policy review which would consider the attitude of parents.

See Page 2



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pressure.

'No option'

"We have no option but
to continue," he said to
loud cheers.

"But we express the
hope that a climate con-
ducive to a negotiated
settlement will be creat-
ed soon, so that there
may no longer be any
need for the armed strug-
gle to continue."

Mr Mandela added that
"to lift sanctions now
would be to run the risk
of aborting the process of
eradicating apartheid".

Mr Mandela made it
clear he was a "servant
of the ANC", but praised
President de Klerk as a
man of integrity who was
aware of the dangers of a
public figure not honour-
ing undertakings.

Mr de Klerk had gone
further than any other
National Party leader to
normalise the situation.

OF NEWS
.....Page 2
.....Page 14
.....Back Page
Page 1, Tonight!

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Soccer fans join ANC festivity in Maritzburg

STAC 12/2/90 (11A)
MARITZBURG L Everyday life came to a standstill in Edendale near Maritzburg yesterday as crowds took to the streets, singing, dancing and toyi-toying to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

A soccer match between top national soccer teams, Jomo Comos and AmaZulu, had to be abandoned 20 minutes before the end of play when thousands of chanting people with ANC flags invaded the pitch.

As the news spread that Mr Mandela was free, women ululated and people took to the streets on foot or piling into and on top of hooting cars and taxis.

Traffic was stopped in Edendale Road in front of the township's hospital as the crowds moved towards the Qokolo Soccer Stadium where the two teams were playing a friendly match.

Soon after the match was abandoned and the soccer spectators joined the celebration crowd of about 10 000, which then toyi-toyed up and down Edendale Road.

"Is he going to be on television", several members of the crowd asked journalists. They were overjoyed to hear that he had already been on television and one emotional man said: "South Africa is back now. The future is here."

Others in the crowd also said Mandela's release had given them hope the violence in Natal could end. — Sapa.

STATE
12/12/90 (11A)

Response to FW has ANC hopping

By KEN VERNON,
The Star's Africa
News Service

On the eve of one of the most crucial meetings in the history of the ANC, at which it must formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's reform initiative, the leadership appears to be in disarray.

The meeting is scheduled to be held in Zambia this week.

Forced on the diplomatic defensive by the scope of Mr de Klerk's reform programme announced two weeks ago, the ANC must come up with matching concessions, or risk losing any chance of regaining the initiative in the important pre-negotiation manoeuvring.

It also risks being labelled incapable and obstructive by friends and enemies if it fails to meet de Klerk's challenge adequately.

The crucial meeting could not come at a worse time.

Since Mr de Klerk's announcement, it has been trying to answer him with a multitude of differing voices, reflecting dissension on how to react.

More importantly, its external leadership structure is in some disarray.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is incapacitated since his stroke last year, and acting president Mr Alfred Nzo is under pressure from two differing factions over what course to take.

A pro-negotiation faction is led by foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, while a faction led by military strongman Mr Chris Hani favours pursuing the military struggle to victory.

The situation is further complicated by the role of Mr Nelson Mandela, who was freed yesterday.

He has more and more seemed to be adopting the role of real leader of the ANC, issuing statements and negotiating with the Government.

Military capacity

Internally, the view of the leadership of the nebulous Mass Democratic Movement has to be taken into consideration, in addition to those of the released Rivonia trialists — mainly Mr Walter Sisulu.

Accommodating these various factions, views and personalities at the meeting will be difficult enough,

but in addition, it is being hell against a backdrop of the virtual emasculation of the organisations military capacity.

Members of the armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were first expelled from Mozambique under the 1984 Nkomati Accord, and then from Angola under the Angolan-Cuban-South African tripartite agreement.

This was followed last year by their expulsion from Zambia by President Kaunda, who became exasperated with the lawlessness of armed ANC members.

Restricted to bases as far away as Tanzania, the "armed struggle" has become almost impossible to prosecute, at least in the short term.

Faced with these realities and pressures, it is certain that the first priority of this week's meeting will be to try to restore a semblance of a unified front towards the South African Government.

After that it might decide to announce a moratorium on an armed struggle, which it cannot pursue in any event.

In that case, not only could its immediate dilemma be resolved, but also possibly the future leadership of the organisation — in favour of the negotiation faction.

The question SA now asks

STATE
12/2/90

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — What political role will Mr Nelson Mandela play as a free man?

That must be the largest question in the minds of the country as Mr Mandela steps out of prison after 27 years.

His position looks fraught with uncertainty.

Much is expected of him from the white side. He has been built up as a moderate saviour who could in some way ameliorate the worst excesses of ANC policy.

Yet the mostly second-hand opinions that one has thus far been forced to rely upon to fathom his thinking have not made it absolutely clear where he stands, and it will take more than his remarks immediately after his release to get a full picture of his attitudes and approach.

He has not renounced the armed struggle, which he could almost certainly not afford to do if he wanted to retain his constituency.

Yet President F W de Klerk seems confident after two meetings that Mr Mandela is "committed to a peaceful solution".

No firm undertaking

At the same time it emerged from Mr de Klerk's press conference on Saturday that Mr Mandela has given no firm undertaking yet that he will play a role in negotiations.

The indications are, though, that he will be prepared to do so once his remaining conditions are met — the complete lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles.

He has been given part of the responsibility for meeting the first of these conditions.

If his release does not increase unrest, the emergency is likely to be lifted within weeks.

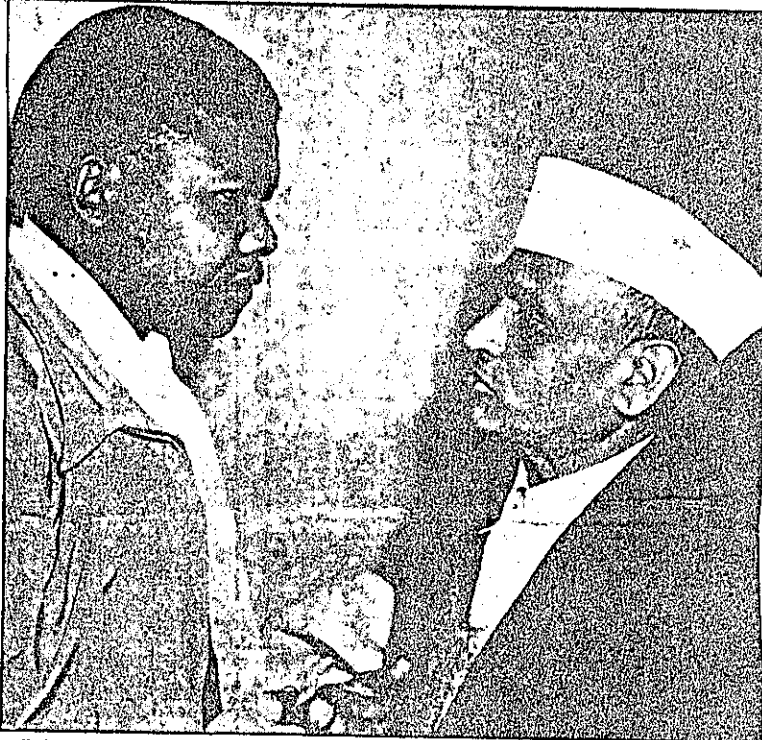
The question of the exiles and prisoners could be more difficult. Mr de Klerk said on Saturday this was negotiable, although Government sources have suggested the Government may yet make some unilateral concession.

Assuming that these obstacles are cleared away, the big question will be whether Mr Mandela is more prepared than his ANC comrades to compromise on their demands.

Referring to his recent statement of intent to nationalise the mines, those who know him say he could do nothing but stick to the party line while in prison and they believe he will be prepared to hudge at the negotiation table.

On the larger question of majority rule there is also uncertainty.

Unconfirmed reports have it that he presented a 10-point plan to Mr de Klerk at their December 1989 meeting, expressing his readiness to accept a transitional period of power-sharing with the National Party before full majority rule.



All those years ago ... Mr Nelson Mandela (left) and Mr Nana Sita of the Transvaal Indian Congress in the 1950s.

If this is so then the question must arise whether he can take his constituency with him.

It might be unrealistic to expect him to carry the ANC with him into any constitutional arrangement that is based on group representation.

ANC-watchers suggest this is as unrealistic as to expect Mr de Klerk to lead his National Party voters into black majority rule.

And they point out that both leaders have uncompromising extremists breathing down their necks to mop up any disaffected supporters.

Mr de Klerk's spectre is, of course, the Conservative Party. The ANC's is the PAC.

Yet it is clear that both leaders will have to make compromises. Mr de Klerk's Cabinet colleague Dr Gerrit Viljoen has already conceded

that the NP will not control the Government in 10 years' time. Is the ANC prepared to make a similar commitment and will Mr Mandela help them to do it?

Fellow Rivonia trialists caution that not too much should be expected of him. They point out that he was actually junior to Mr Walter Sisulu in the ANC hierarchy at the time of their arrest.

And it is clear Mr Sisulu and the others released last October have virtually been swallowed by the MDM.

Yet there is little doubt that Mr Mandela has grown larger than anyone else since then.

He also has by all accounts an independent streak which will not allow him easily to submit to the party line.

A greeting in the name of peace and a call for struggle to continue

CAPE TOWN — The majority of whites and blacks in SA realised that apartheid had no future, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a large crowd from the balcony of the Cape Town City Hall last night.

In his first public speech since being released, Mandela greeted the people of SA in the name of peace.

"I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all," were the opening words of his first public address for more than three decades. His appearance on the balcony was greeted by an enormous roar of "viva" from the crowd.

Only a normalised situation in SA, which allowed for free political activity, would allow leaders to consult with their people to obtain a mandate, Mandela said.

He said President F.W. de Klerk had gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation.

"However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration, before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin."

These were the immediate ending of the state of emergency, the freeing of all and

not only some political prisoners.

Mandela said he remained a loyal member of the ANC, subscribing fully to all its strategies and policies. This included the armed struggle.

Mandela said the ANC's resorting to the armed struggle with the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe in 1960 was a "purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid".

The ANC had no option but to continue the armed struggle as some of the factors for embarking upon it still existed.

"The factors which necessitated the

armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. (11A)

"We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon so that there will no longer be the need for an armed struggle."

The future of SA could only be settled by a democratically elected body.

"There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of

To Page 2

11A



MANDELA: Free at last



Nelson Mandela joins a triumphant crowd of supporters outside the courtroom where 91 ANC members and sympathisers accused of treason were acquitted at the end of March 1961.

Pic from: *A History of the African National Congress* by Heidi Holland.

UNSEEN and scarcely heard for more than a quarter of a century, Nelson Mandela still dominates the fight for black rights in South Africa as an enduring world-wide symbol of opposition to white minority rule.

Mandela was arrested in 1962 and his last public address was a speech from the dock almost two years later at his trial for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

Calling himself a nationalist, but not a communist, Mandela said his outlawed African National Congress (ANC) had no option but to fight the violence of apartheid with violence of its own.

"I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in

harmony and with equal opportunities," he told the court.

"It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

On Robben Island, in Cape Town's modern Pollsmoor Prison and later alone in a prison bungalow among the vineyards of Paarl, his influence remained undiminished through the imprisonment he called

"these long, lonely, wasted years".

Township revolutionaries and moderate black leaders invoked his name in heroic terms. Moderate whites saw him as the only one who could prevent bloody civil war.

Streets and squares were named for him around the world. Peace prizes and honorary degrees were awarded to him in the East and West. In 1984, a pop song entitled *Free Nelson*

Mandela became an international hit.

The campaign for his release rose from a murmur in the '60s to a clamour when he marked his 70th birthday on July 18 1988, a month before he was transferred to hospital with tuberculosis.

For 25 years he was allowed no more than two 40-minute visits a month from his family but in

An icon of liberty 25 years later

Paarl, where he told friends he was lonelier than ever in a former warder's house with a swimming pool, some restrictions were lifted.

"My task is a very limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table," Mandela wrote to ex-President PW Botha, adding that as a prisoner he could not himself negotiate.

Guerilla war

Mandela is credited with helping comrades to liberty through meetings

he insisted that the struggle must go on, but he distanced himself from his more hardline supporters.

"We go for hard targets only - military installations and the symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched," he said in early 1985.

Mandela resisted radical pressure from rival liberation movements, telling an American lawyer in January 1986: "Unlike white people anywhere else in Africa, whites in South Africa belong here. This is their home - we want them to live here and share power with us." - Sapa-Reuter.

Senator Man

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MANDELA: Free at last

Orlando West celebrations over Mandela's release

He will work for peace, says FW



STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela doubly convinced that he was committed to a peace for South Africa.

tions easily but very carefully after making his momentous 5pm announcement of the release awaited around the globe. Mandela's freedom after 28 years had become a certainty after his meeting last year with former President PW Botha who had started the process of his release.

chemistry in his own meetings with him. "Yes, the discussion really took place in a very civil atmosphere, and he is a friendly man. I like to think I also am a friendly man."

This was his impression of the world's most legendary prisoner after two meetings, the first in December and the second on Friday night in Cape Town.

There Mandela had committed himself to a peaceful solution for the country. Describing Mandela as "an elderly man, a dignified man, an interesting man", De Klerk said there had been a positive

"Yes, the discussions really took place in a good spirit," he said. De Klerk said his door was open to Mandela, and others, if the ANC leader wanted to involve himself in facilitating a climate for negotiation, or even talks about talks. Yesterday's release brought South Africa to the end of a long chapter,



he said: "I hope that now that this chapter has ended, the world and especially all in South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play whatever support role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion to the process that has already started."

ago, he believed the most important obstacles to negotiations had been addressed.

situation almost daily. But it was not an issue for negotiation. The government had imposed it because of the lack of stability. "It will be a Government decision to uplift it. And the test will be whether stability can be restored sufficiently," he added.

can exactly say what will happen tomorrow and the day after".

He called on Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contributions towards a positive climate.

On foreign demands for reform including those from the US, he noted that the Government was not working to a checklist. "We're doing what we sincerely think is in the best interests of South Africa."

Stability meant a condition where people could feel safe, go to work if they wanted, a normal life without threat or intimidation, free of arson, where political strife did not cost lives.

It was the Government's hope "that with these steps we have taken it will make a contribution and that it will bring us soon to the situation where it can be considered."

"The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans," De Klerk said.

Turning to the state of emergency, De Klerk said the final test of how the Government viewed it was the situation on the ground.

The Government went to great lengths to draw the distinction between plain crime and politically-related violence, he noted.

"We are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible," he said.

"All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa."

Everything will depend on the question of whether we get an increase in unrest or whether we get a decrease in unrest."

De Klerk was asked whether the end of the emergency would have to wait until violence stopped in Natal, and about the realism of Government estimates of the emergency lasting a few more weeks.

On Mandela's personal safety, De Klerk said there was cause for concern: there are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicalists from the right.

De Klerk said by this move and those 10 days

The State President said the Government was reviewing the emergency

until violence stopped in Natal, and about the realism of Government estimates of the emergency lasting a few more weeks.

"Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world almost in all countries."

He said there was obviously an element of uncertainty "none of us

"And with him having such a high public profile, I think yes, there is a risk. I think one should take every precaution that nothing happens to him."

"But when he leaves prison then he will be moving to his own circle of friends and will in all probability, as in the case of Mr Sisulu and the others who were released, there was no request to the State to give assistance with regard to their security."

When Mandela was released, he became a free man. "He doesn't owe it to me to inform me of his programme, and I didn't ask him about it either."

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Release is a double payout

THE release of Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President FW de Klerk for a double payout - giving voteless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority. (11A)

"If the ANC pulls back from negotiations now, it will damage the image of the anti-apartheid movement. The process must go forward," said Professor John Barrett, political scientist with the University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of International Affairs.

"The release of the ANC leader after 27 years behind bars ensures that, after only five months in office, De Klerk has done more to resolve the apartheid deadlock than predecessor PW Botha did in over a decade.

"This time, the Government sees itself as having crossed the Rubicon. But whether or not they have depends on the reaction of the forces on the other side - the anti-apartheid movement," said political analyst Mike Hough.

Sowetan 12/2/90
Reaction

Hough, of the University of Pretoria, said neither the Government nor anti-apartheid leaders were likely to halt the political momentum created by Mandela's free-

dom and the release without restrictions last October of seven of his comrades.

Barrett said a lot was riding on the reaction of the anti-apartheid movement to the long-awaited liberation of the world's most famous political prisoner. (Sapa)

"Much will depend on the part Mandela will play, how he will assert himself as a leader after having had the benefit of such a great symbolic role," he said.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has a fluid and often cumbersome leadership which has made it difficult for it to respond quickly to De

Klerk's rapid-fire reform programme.

If Mandela manages to crystallise an effective leadership, readily identified abroad, the anti-Pretoria forces may be better able to offer a cohesive reaction to De Klerk, analysts said.

Max Coleman, a veteran anti-apartheid campaigner who headed a group monitoring detentions without trial until it was banned by Pretoria, forecasts a huge outpouring of emotion that could become explosive.

"Pretoria's problem is to show that it is moving forward and at the same time maintain control," Coleman said. - Sapa-
 Reuter.

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Cape Times

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1990

Mandela is free

IT IS tragic that a combination of criminal thuggery, youthful hooliganism, frustrated high spirits and organisational breakdowns triggered a series of violent incidents yesterday which marred what was a proud and historic moment for South Africa.

Had those who organised the reception for Mr Nelson Mandela on his release from prison not proved in the past their ability to maintain discipline and order during mass events, one might have been tempted to conclude that freedom politics is terminally tainted with unruliness and bloodshed. Certainly there is no suggestion this time that the security forces were responsible for the chaos on the Parade.

Yet the ugliness of those events should not be allowed to overshadow the hugely positive significance of the day when Mr Mandela finally walked out of the prison gates and back into public life after 27 long years. Weighed against the electrifying climate of these historic times, what happened in Cape Town yesterday is a sad but far from fatal blot on the record.

There are hard lessons to be learnt from it, though. One of them has to be a realisation by the organisers of these occasions that they cannot always guarantee the good behaviour of their crowds, no matter how pure the intentions of the majority, and that there is thus a solid need for stern security precautions, which cannot be dismissed with political slogans.

At this stage nobody can forecast with any certainty precisely what effects Mr Mandela's release will have on our future. It is a time both of great promise and great danger, and the authorities have been wise to take steps which will allow them to counter potential outbreaks of lawlessness. One act of violence, one misdirected deed of political fanaticism, could spark a national disaster.

In the centre of all this stands Mr Mandela himself — as we have now seen him, a dignified, somewhat frail-looking though alert figure. On his shoulders lies an almost inhuman task. Most South Africans know little enough about him: that the long and hard years in jail failed to crush his spirit and convictions, that as a prisoner he was able to muster sufficient moral force and stature to make his jailers deal with him on equal terms, that from all accounts he has not been embittered by his experience and remains full of hope and dedication for the future. Those are impressive attributes.

Yet he steps into a society which, no matter how well briefed he may have been in his latter years in prison, will be strange and alien in many respects compared to the one he knew many years ago. How he will cope with the enormous expectations that await him, and whether he will be able to mesh the different demands and attitudes from a huge spectrum of followers to whom he has become a near-mythical figure, remains to be seen. The conflicts that were at times visible among personalities and groups in close touch with him while he was still in prison indicate that this may prove more difficult than appears on the surface. At the same time, if he is to fulfill his full potential as a leader, he will be forced to address the fears and anxieties of many white South Africans over issues such as the economy and political structure. That will not happen if there seems to be foot-dragging on the issue of negotiations.

Mr Mandela's first public address yesterday was dignified and impressive but not exceptional in content. Much will rest on what he says in the next few days and weeks. Freedom, justice, equality are ideas whose time has come in South Africa. Both Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk have staked claims as men of the moment with pivotal roles in bringing these ideas to fruition.

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MANDELA: Free at last

An exciting climax to the long wait

A week before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was announced, Sizakele Kooma spoke to his former neighbours. Excitedly they talked to her about their long wait.

WHILE the world waited for the Government to release the world's most famous prisoner, excitement was reaching fever pitch in Orlando West, where Mandela's neighbours regard him as their own.

They were shattered on February 2 when, glued to their TV sets as President F W de Klerk made his opening speech in Parliament, the magic words that would mean reunion with a neighbour they last saw more than 27 years ago were not uttered.

"Our spirits just sank when nothing was said of him coming back home," said Mrs Charlotte Ndlovu, his next-door



Charlotte Buthelezi dreams of the return.

neighbour.

"Life around here has never been normal since news of his possible release. When we see a crowd of people outside his house we rush out, thinking he could be back. I sometimes even dream that he is out already," she said.

Mrs Caroline Ntshupetseng, 84 years old and bedridden, said



Caroline Ntshupetseng ... Mandela would recognise her.

the people of Orlando West expected Mandela to come back to his house in the township when he is released.

"We want them to bring him back where they took him. He was arrested here, he should come back here. The day he comes back I will be out in the streets and not in this bed. I am sure the whole excitement will

heal me," Ntshupetseng said.

She feels certain that when Mandela comes back he will recognise her. She and Mandela, she said, moved into their houses - in the same street, on the same day - in September 1947.

"He was a very kind man. He used to come to my place quite often. We would talk just about any-



Gladys Masinga was his helper.

thing, over a cup of tea. When I ran short of something in the house he would always advance me a loan," she said.

His former maid, 80-year-old Mrs Gladys Masinga, said she did not mind where Mandela went on his release.

"I would be happy if he would just be released. He has been in jail far too long now," Masinga said.



Sophie Ngubani never got to meet him.

She said it felt like she had lost her own father when Mandela was imprisoned.

"He was a good-hearted person, a kind employer who never used to classify people. His arrest shattered us all and we are all anxiously waiting for his return. He left here a very young person; all that youth was wasted in prison," she said.

Mrs Sophie Ngubani, who lives opposite the Mandelas, was excited but pessimistic that the Government would fulfill its promise. She thought the postponements of the release date might end up with no release at all.

"I will not lose hope of him ever being released. I was seven years old when he was arrested and do not remember his face. I want to be the first one to meet him when he comes here so that I can see him properly," Ngubani said.

She, too, wants him to come back to Orlando West because he does not know anybody elsewhere.

The Buthelezis, who also stay across the road from the Orlando West home, never got to meet him. They moved into the township in 1967, four years after his arrest. They, too, are anxiously awaiting his return.

"All our neighbours speak of him as a very kind person. We would like to meet him. We are excited both for ourselves and for his family that he is eventually coming back home," Mrs Monica Buthelezi said.

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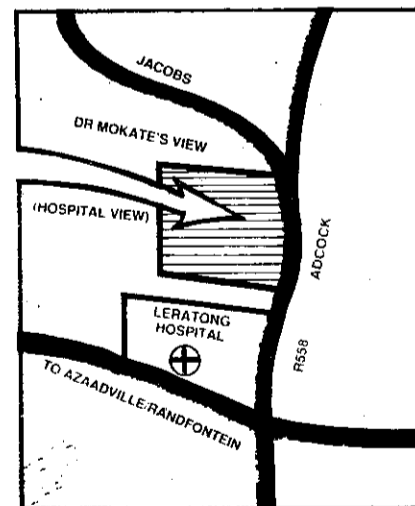
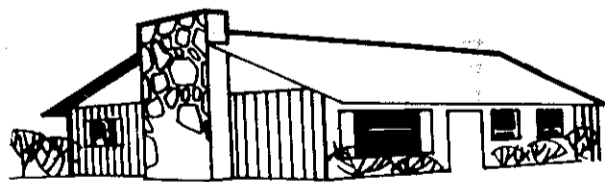
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BACK

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MANDELA



(11A)

MANDELA: Free at last



Above: Jabulani amphitheatre was packed to the brim by people from all walks of life who had come to have a glimpse of one of the world's most respected leaders.



Below: Police fire buckshot at youths at the Grand Parade in the Cape Town city centre minutes before Nelson Mandela spoke to the nation last night.



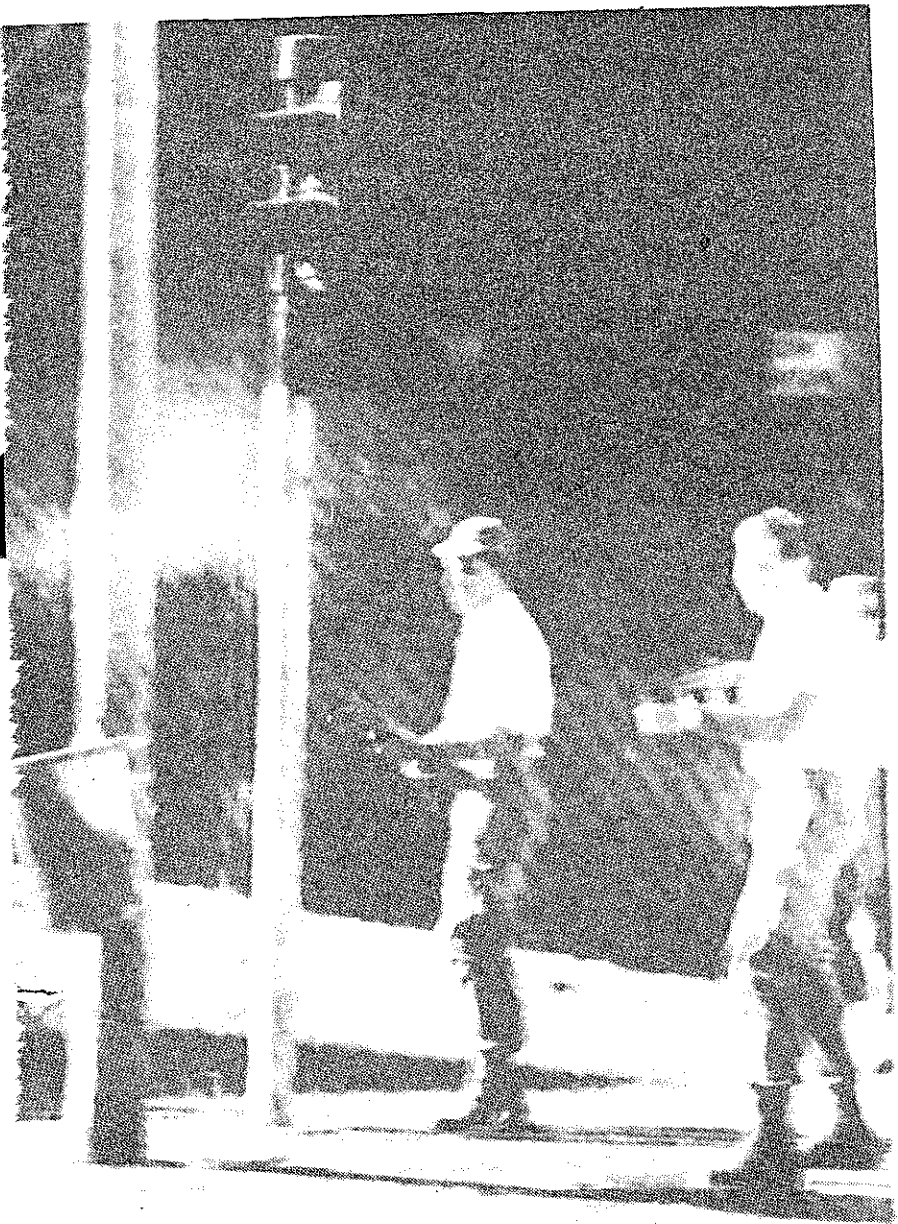
CRY FR punch

Shouts of "Amandla" vibrated throughout the Jabulani amphitheatre where thousands of people of all races waited for Mandela to arrive.

MANDELA: Free at last



LIBERATION: Freed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and wife Winnie cheer the air after his release from Victor Verster Prison after over 27 years in detention.



Mrs Winnie Mandela (right) comforts her daughter Zinzi at the funeral of former ANC member Mr Sizwe Clayton Sithole (20) who died at John Vorster Square Police Station, Johannesburg on January 29. Police said he was found hanged there. Sithole and Zinzi have a three-month-old son, Bambata. He was buried in Soweto on Saturday.

MANDELA: Free at last

The world rejoices

USA

WASHINGTON - President George Bush welcomed the announcement Saturday that black activist Nelson Mandela would be freed on Sunday, praising South African President FW de Klerk for "bold and imaginative leadership."

"I welcome this move and view it as another significant step on the road to the non-racial, democratic South Africa which we all desire," Bush said in a statement released from the presidential retreat in Maryland, where he was spending the weekend.

He made no mention of whether the release of Mandela after years as a political prisoner would cause the administration to push for easing of U.S. sanctions against Pretoria. - Sapa-AP.

CANADA

CANADIAN Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney said the announcement of Nelson Mandela's release was a time of tremendous joy for South Africa, Canada and the people of the world.

In a statement to Sapa issued by the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Mulroney said the world rejoiced in the knowledge that Mr Mandela would "at last be reunited with his family and with his people."

"We commend President FW de Klerk for making this possible."

"But the process of freeing Nelson Mandela from jail and freeing South Africa from apartheid cannot be separated," Mr Mulroney said. - Sapa.

ITALY

ROME - The release of Nelson Mandela would be a great boost to dialogue among all South Africans, Italy's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said at the weekend.

Welcoming the announcement that the black nationalist leader would be freed on Sunday after 27 years in prison, Andreotti said it was "a gesture which could give a fundamental push to dialogue between all South Africans, and which has as its aim the end of all racist discrimination".

A statement from Andreotti's office said South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha telephoned him on Saturday afternoon to give him the news. - Sapa-Reuter.

AUSSIE

CANBERRA - Prime Minister Bob Hawke yesterday praised the release of Nelson Mandela from imprisonment in South Africa.

He described Mandela's release as the most positive sign the world had seen that "the walls of the abhorrent apartheid system may soon be breached."

Hawke urged the South African Government to urgently build on the good will flowing from the release, with the goal of extending equal rights and democracy to the nation's black majority. - Sapa-AP.

TRANSKEI

IN HIS reaction, the chairman of the ruling Military Council in Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said his government and people welcomed the announcement of Mr Nelson Mandela's release. SABC radio news reports.

Speaking in Cape Town, Holomisa said, Transkei wanted to encourage the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, to forge ahead with reforms and deal with other critical matters. He said if Mr Mandela wanted to live in Transkei after his release he was welcome to do so. - Sapa.

AZAPO

NELSON Mandela would do the struggle for liberation a great service if he was to rise above the confines of his own organisation and preside over the greater cause - unity, the Azanian Peoples Organisations said in its reaction to his release.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza yesterday said that while his movement welcomed the release of Mandela, "the real struggle for liberation has only just begun".

The liberation struggle has had too many stops and starts, with too many false starts as a result of the incarceration of persons (like Mandela) who has been the most prominent.

Myeza said that there was no time now for back-patting as the multitude who hold Mandela as a symbol await his efforts.



Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, joins in merrymaking after hearing that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be freed from jail. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

THATCHER HOPEFUL

LONDON - British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has ruled out an immediate visit to South Africa following the release on Sunday of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, her last condition for such a trip.

Speaking to newsmen at the Young Conservatives conference in Torquay, she said a "huge task" preparing the way for negotiations now lay ahead in South Africa.

She is however expected to visit South Africa later this year, after President F W de Klerk has taken up her invitation to come to Britain during the next few months.

Mrs Thatcher's Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, speaking at a Press conference shortly before departing for Canada, said there was a "surge of hope" all over the world at Mandela's release.

The Labour Party has welcomed Mandela's release but emphasised it believes international pressure on a white government and apartheid must be maintained. - Sapa.

SHELL

SHELL South Africa said yesterday the release of Nelson Mandela and other veteran ANC leaders was symbolic of the new hope for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Welcoming the news of his release Mr John Kilroe, chief executive, said in a statement Mr Mandela had for years "stood as a powerful leader and symbol of the resistance of the people to the apartheid system."

"His (Mandela's) release, and the release of other political prisoners, is also symbolic. It is symbolic of the new hope being offered for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa."

BOTSWANA

Botswana President Quett Masire said he was "most heartened" at the news that Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC, would be released on Sunday, the Botswana Press Agency Bopa reports.

In a statement, Dr Masire noted that his happiness derived from the fact that this was "a development we have long called for and for many years waited for."

"I would indeed like to congratulate the South African State President, Mr (F W) de Klerk for making it happen. I am confident that Mr Mandela will play a positive role in the shaping of a non-racial South Africa."

"I now look forward to the remaining obstacles to genuine negotiations towards non-racial and democratic South Africa, being removed." - Sapa.

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A life in hiding

THE world's most famous prisoner, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, has lived a life not too many other people can claim to have experienced.

The leader of the ANC, and a folk-hero to his people, walked from Victor Verster Prison a free man yesterday ... released in a welter of publicity and following broad hints from many political quarters that his incarceration for crimes committed a generation ago was to come to an end.

The international clamour for his release increased in intensity after Christmas, with world leaders urging President FW de Klerk to take a quick decision as part of the reform process.

Even Mandela late last year appeared to predict his own release by asking a friend "to buy a raincoat" and then, days later, instructing his son, Makgatho, to make ar-

rangements for the building of a house in the Idutywa area of the Transkei.

The signs had been there for some time that the release was not merely a probability but rather a possibility. It was only a matter of when.

Accept

Calls for it had been made over the years, and none more stridently than by the Release Mandela Committee, which garnered support from many quarters.

But there were others who thought he would not accept freedom - such as his second wife, Winnie, who has been in the forefront of a group which believed Mandela would not accept it.

But Mrs Mandela recently spent four hours with him, discussing the issue, and said at the end of it that there were some complications which still had to be ironed out.

The urgent calls for his release have been linked

It is just over 27 years since Mr Nelson Mandela heard the clank of a prison door behind him ... NORMAN CHANDLER reports on the man's never-ending game of hide-and-seek.

in many cases with his age - as he grew older, he succumbed to illness and it is thought that this may have finally been a contributing factor to his decision to accept freedom.

The man who left his home at Victor Verster Prison yesterday has led a never-ending game of hide-and-seek - hiding from family and the police, seeking to beat the system - for almost all his life.

Tambo

Born 71 years ago (his date of birth is July 18 1918) near Idutywa in the spectacular and rolling green hills of the Transkei, he spent his childhood close to the Bashee River - one of the great riverine systems which dot the Wild Coast on the eastern seaboard.

Educated at a Methodist boarding school, Mandela went to Fort Hare University College (as it was then), where he first met Oliver Tambo, now the ANC's external president. The college is today the University of Fort Hare.

He grew up knowing that a marriage would be arranged for him, and that's when the hide-and-seek game first started - as a member of the Tembu royal tribe, it was

expected of him to marry someone chosen by the elders, but he wasn't too interested. It is not known what became of the girl he was to have married.

He fled to the Rand, becoming a mine policeman.

However, it wasn't long before Mandela was traced by his family and he again went into hiding.

It was during that period that he decided to become a lawyer.

But those early

"games" were nothing compared to what was in store as the years progressed.

He, Tambo (his partner in the first black legal practice in Johannesburg) and fellow-prisoner Walter Sisulu joined the fledgling ANC Youth League. Five years later - in 1949 - Mandela joined the National Executive of the ANC.

Coverage

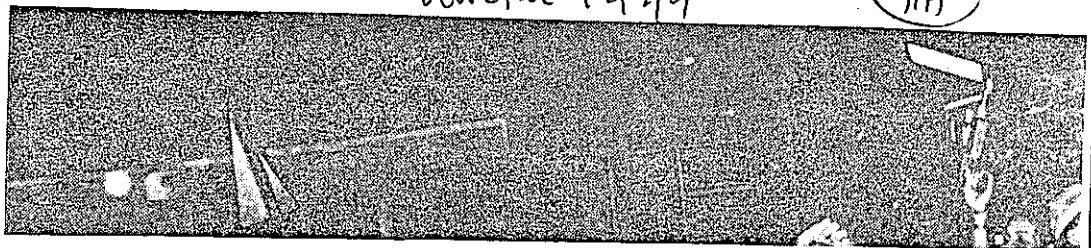
Sisulu, released by the South African Government last year along with six other members of the ANC and a member of

the Pan-Africanist Congress, has been able to meet up again with Tambo and has been to Lusaka to talk to President Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia, and ANC colleagues.

Huge international Press coverage focused on that meeting but for Nelson Mandela and the world media, his meeting with Tambo should be the highspot of black nationalism politics in South Africa.

It is said that while his release from prison will be a major media event, the meeting with Tambo in Lusaka will generate even greater coverage.

Jubilation in the streets



Sowetan 12/2/90

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MANDELA: Free at last

Happy homecoming!

IMPROMPTU celebrations broke out all over the country minutes after news of Nelson Mandela's release was announced. There were fireworks, the hooting of cars and ululations.

Thousands of people took to the streets while the now unbanned South

SOWETAN Reporters

African Communist Party and the African National Congress flags were hoisted by jubilant township residents who were toyi-toying in the streets and chanting free-

dom songs.

Interestingly, the majority of the celebrants were youths who were not even born when he and his fellow Rivonia trialists were sentenced to life imprisonment in Pretoria in 1964.

The celebrations in

Vosloorus were perhaps a microcosm of what happened in other parts of the country.

In Soweto, as news of Mandela's release spread, many residents flocked to the Mandela home in Orlando West. Throughout the night there was singing and dancing outside the house.

Many other people converged at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house in Diepkloof. The jubilation there was nowhere near the excitement in Orlando West.

In Vosloorus, youths carrying an ANC flag marched through the streets singing, chanting and stamping their feet in jubilation.

Youths from Katlehong and Tokoza townships moved from one township to another celebrating the news. They chanted: "Mandela is free and here comes our freedom".

A University of Fort Hare student who wished to remain anonymous said: "De Klerk is Southern Africa's Mikhail Gorbachev. The winds of change blowing in the Eastern Bloc, the Perestroika sweeping in that region, is being replayed in the sub-continent and will have a serious political impact in South Africa and abroad."

The celebrations in Vosloorus were perhaps a microcosm of what happened in other parts of the country.

In Hillbrow, some 1 500 people took to the streets celebrating the



The homecoming ... Residents of Orlando West, Soweto, take to the streets on Saturday nights after hearing of the release of Nelson Mandela.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

news of Mandela's release.

The toyi-toying and slogan-chanting crowds moved from Pretoria Street to Carlton Centre in the heart of Johannesburg under police surveillance.

*Many black businessmen interviewed by the Sowetan welcome Mandela's release and that this has created a climate for negotiations about the country's future.

PAC: Mandela not completely free

DAR ES SALAAM - Nelson Mandela is only relatively free and like the rest of the people of South Africa, he lives in the larger jail within the boundaries of the country, Mr Joe Mkwanaazi of the Pan Africanist Congress said here yesterday.

He added that Mandela returned to live in the ghettos of Soweto, Langa, Umlazi and elsewhere. Mandela has come back to the same environment governed by "the apartheid colonialism laws" and there was nothing new except there were more draconian laws than when he first went into prison. *Sowetan 12/2/90*

"The PAC hopes that Comrade Mandela will join the other dispossessed and oppressed African majority to continue with the struggle for the return of the usurped land and self-determination," Mkwanaazi said.

His movement also called for continued pressure from the international community.

"All the pillars of apartheid are in place and intact. The international community must continue to isolate the racist regime culturally, economically and otherwise till a non-racial democratic society is established on the basis of the universal principle on one-person-one-vote in a single chamber parliament," Mkwanaazi said.

*The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in a statement from Harare, Zimbabwe that it welcomes Mandela's release. It said: "He is one of the patriots who have made a contribution to the liberation struggle and suffered for it. We hope that with his release he will contribute to unify the people of Azania and their movements."

The BCMA hoped that this move would be shortly followed by the release of all other political detainees and prisoners regardless of the measures under which they were held.

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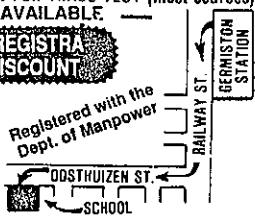
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ANC 'hit squad' conference is called off

HARARE — The ANC yesterday cancelled plans to present former members of an alleged SA hit squad to the international Press here after a humiliating rebuff from the Zimbabwean government.

ANC information and publicity secretary Pallo Jordan told a throng of journalists: "All we are saying is that it is not possible to hold the Press conference at this time in Zimbabwe."

An ANC statement appeared to confirm reports the men would be put before the Press in Lusaka shortly.

Jordan shrugged off suggestions the ANC had been influenced by President F W de Klerk's announcement on Wednesday

MICHAEL HARTNACK

that a judicial commission would investigate the activities of "hit squads" within SA or outside its borders.

Jordan denied the ANC had been subjected to pressure to cancel the Press conference, or that he had seen Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Nathan Shamuyarira earlier in the day. But Jordan and ANC chief representative in Harare, Max Mlongeni, reportedly had a meeting with Shamuyarira.

The Zimbabwean government did not comment on the cancellation of the Press conference. But sources here said Zim-

babwe had always been eager to deny Pretoria's troops any pretext for cross-border incursions and had never permitted the acknowledged presence of ANC cadres.

Diplomatic sources also said the Zimbabwean government was sensitive to repercussions of an ANC propaganda coup.

President Robert Mugabe is one of the mediators in the attempt to negotiate a peace settlement between the Maputo government and the Renamo rebels.

SA is felt to have a key role in any projected negotiations and allowing Harare to be used for the ANC Press confer-

□ To Page 2

not come to Bloemfontein people would See Back Page

Conference off From Page 1

ence could have upset delicate moves between the countries involved.

Sapa reports Coetzee said on Tuesday the SA government had backed the operations of the alleged hit squad which was now the subject of a judicial inquiry.

He claimed he had joined the ANC and would try to recruit more people, especially policemen, for the organisation.

Coetzee told Ziama the highest authority sanctioning the squad's operations was a former cabinet minister who allegedly au-

thorised the secret transportation of explosives in diplomatic baggage for the bombing of ANC offices in London.
The minister was "the highest authority who could only give such instructions like a ministerial clearance for the diplomatic baggage not to be searched and we always felt we were operating with the support of the highest authority."

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 10

13 Nov 2/24 90

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Mandela rally chaos

B/04/12/21/90

Business Day Reporters

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's triumphant exit from prison after 27 years turned sour yesterday as police and youths fought pitched battles on the Grand Parade here.

An organisational mix-up resulted in Mandela being unable to leave his car on arriving at the Parade where tens of thousands of people had gathered from early in the day.

By the time he started talking almost three hours later more than half the crowd had left.

Mandela was both defiant and conciliatory in his first public address since being jailed.

He said he was a loyal member of the ANC and agreed with all its policies, strategies and tactics, including the armed struggle.

However, Mandela expressed the wish that a climate for a negotiated settlement be created to make it possible for the ANC no longer to use violence.

He called President F W de Klerk a man of integrity who had gone further than any previous NP leader in taking steps to normalise the situation in SA.

But there were further steps, especially the lifting of the state of emergency and the freeing of all political prisoners, that needed to be taken before negotiations could begin.

Earlier, crowd violence and armed police reaction led to the death of at least one person and injuries to scores more.

Elements of the huge crowd waiting on the Parade for Mandela's address began smashing windows and looting shops, and police opened fire with rubber bullets and teargas at about 5.20pm.

The victim of the violence was a 15-year-old youth, allegedly shot dead by police in a shop he was looting.

The disorder, said by some witnesses to have been initiated by drunks, could not be contained despite the efforts of marshalls and senior mass democratic movement officials, including the Rev Allan Boesak and Murphy Morobe.

Some reports put the size of the crowd at at least 50 000, while other estimates were much higher.

Part of the problem appeared to be the delay in Mandela's arrival. Although he had been scheduled to leave Victor Verster Prison in Paarl at 3pm, his wife Winnie and members of the National Reception Com-

mittee arrived at the prison only at that time.

By 4.30, MDM and UDF marshalls were having difficulty controlling the crowds who were growing restless, climbing dangerous structures for a better view. Some people were injured after falling through the roof of a temporary wooden structure on the perimeter of the Parade.

Mandela left the prison at 4.15, which meant that the scheduled 4pm Press conference and 5pm rally had to be delayed.

Mandela's car, heading the cavalcade from Paarl, apparently took a wrong turning and there were anxious moments when it was trapped in the crush, where it stayed for 15 minutes as desperate marshalls urged people to move back.

It was apparently supposed to have arrived at the back of the city hall. The car was eventually freed, and sped off.

By the time Mandela began talking at 8pm, a doctor on the scene told Radio 702 News of an additional, unconfirmed death and at least 45 critical injuries, including back, chest and eye injuries.

A doctor at Woodstock Hospital told Business Day at 8pm that injured people were pouring in.

"There are so many ... I can't say for sure how many there are. There are not 100 yet," he said, adding the casualty ward was overflowing. He said the majority of injuries were superficial buckshot wounds.

At the same time a Grootte Schuur Hospital spokesman said 17 people had been admitted so far, 15 of them in a serious condition. Most of the injured had sustained birdshot wounds.

As the crowd awaited Mandela, Boesak appealed from the city hall steps for calm and said he guaranteed Mandela would address them.

However, other MDM leaders said the rally at the Parade had been cancelled and relocated to District Six.

Among the injured were a Sapa reporter and an Argus messenger.

Cape Town traffic officials were under "tremendous pressure" yesterday to contain traffic and the crowd that gathered at the Parade.

The city's traffic manager W Smit said 25 traffic officials had cordoned off two street blocks between the city hall and the Parade since early in the morning to accommodate the crowd, whose numbers

swelled shortly before Mandela's release.

"There was tremendous pressure. There were just too many people for the city to hold. But it was not only contained to Cape Town," Smit said.

He commended ANC and UDF marshalls who to a large extent controlled the crowd well at the Parade.

A spokesman for Cape Town's ambulance service said they had had to pick up scores of people.

"Virtually all the windows in that area of town were smashed in," he said.

SAP liaison officer Lt Denise Brandt said people had begun breaking shop windows and looting goods in Cape Town's city centre. She said the police had done their utmost, but had battled to control the situation.

The UDF deplored the eruption of violence. In a statement to Sapa, spokesman Azar Cachalia described the violence as being in stark contrast to the peaceful and dignified manner in which most people

around the country had greeted Mandela's release.

"In our meetings with Mandela prior to his release, he stressed his wish that he be released in a dignified way. We therefore appeal to our people throughout the country to restrain themselves and welcome our leader back in a dignified and disciplined way."

The UDF also appealed to the police to act in a responsible manner.

Soweto erupted in celebration yesterday night as hundreds of thousands of people throughout the sprawling township complex near Johannesburg took to the streets to celebrate the release.

They took to the streets minutes after Mandela was shown on television leaving prison in Paarl.

Just before then, the streets had been quiet as most residents watched the live television broadcast.

□ To Page 2

Rally chaos

From Page 1

"Then it was like an explosion. It was amazing... like a bombshell as people left their houses and started singing and dancing in the streets," Sapa correspondent Vusi Mango said.

An estimated 200 000 people in Kaithe-hong near Germiston stayed singing, dancing and chanting after Mandela was driven to freedom.

Almost everyone in Kaithehong, young and old alike, celebrated.

At Vosloorus near Boksburg, about 20 000 people took to the streets, waving ANC and SA Communist Party flags.

At Tokozia near Alberton, where five people died in unrest last week, a huge

celebration was under way with about 20 000 people thronging the streets.

Earlier yesterday, police sealed off the township and searched vehicles entering.

Tokozia residents sang and danced their way to nearby Kaithehong, joining the crowd there.

Shops in the three townships closed during the television broadcast. Most of the shop owners joined the crowds in the streets.

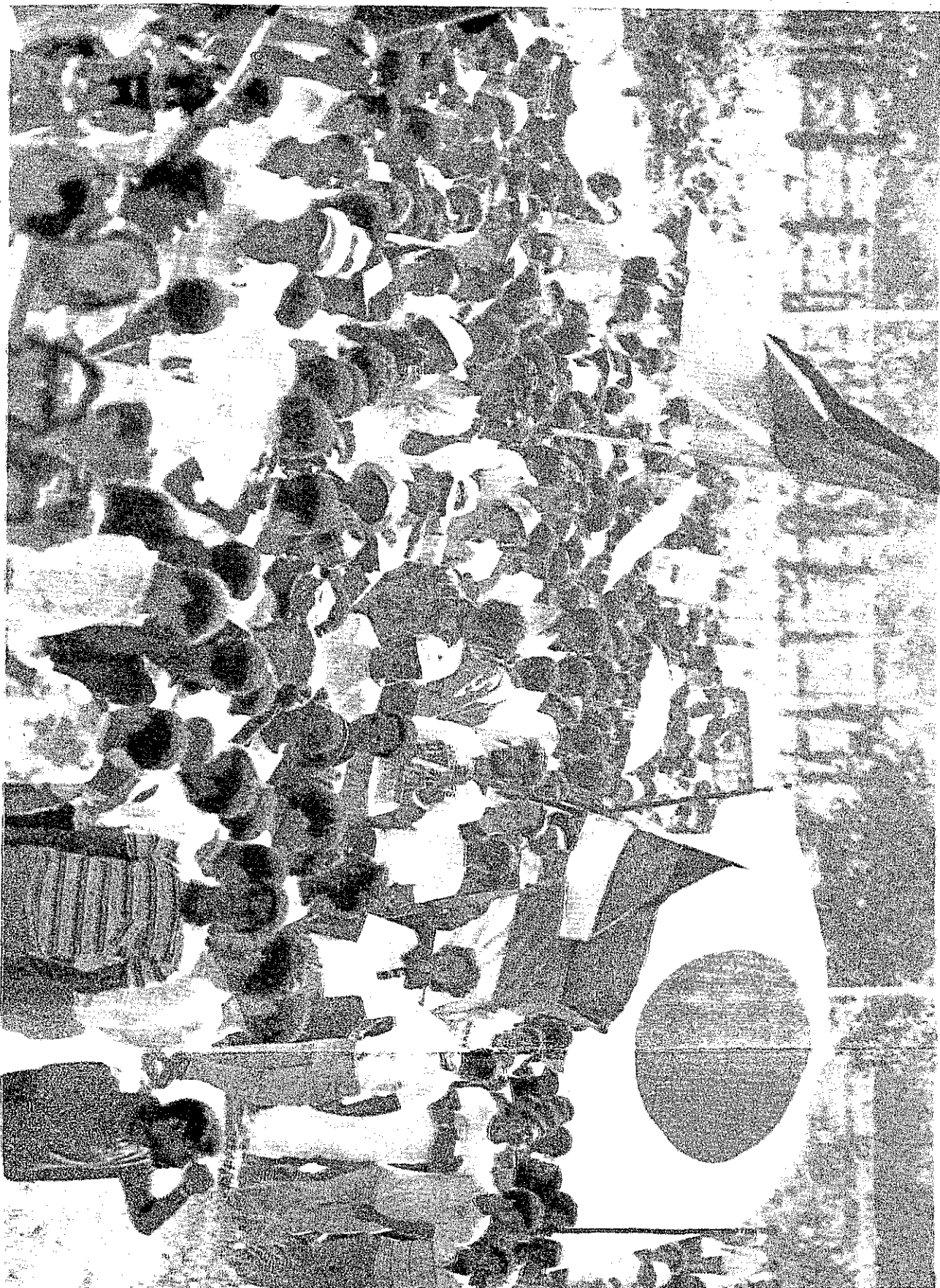
Police kept a very low profile.

Most of the cars in all the townships, trapped by the hordes of pedestrians, hooded and drivers made black power salutes from their windows.



Nelson and Winnie Mandela salute the crowd outside the prison. Picture: HEUTER

'A humble servant of you the people'



WAITING CROWDS: Crowds wait in excited anticipation outside Victor Verster prison yesterday to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela on his release

THE text of Mr Nelson Mandela's speech on the Grand Parade yesterday.

"Friends, Comrades and fellow South Africans. I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all. I stand here before you not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you, the people.

"Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

"On this day of my release I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release.

"I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

"I salute the African National Congress — it has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom.

"I salute our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances. I salute the rank and file members of the ANC. You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

"I salute combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel who have paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

"I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy. You have survived forty years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great communists like Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, Bram Fischer and Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come. I salute general secretary Joe Slovo — one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the party remains as strong as it always was.

"I salute the United Democratic Front, Cosatu, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the many other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement.

"On this occasion we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle. Without your support our struggle would not have reached this advanced stage. The sacrifices of the Frontline States will be remembered by South Africans forever.

"My salutations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength given to me during my long and lonely years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am convinced that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

"Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage.

"I will make a more public statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

"Today, the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. "The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organisation and people can only culminate with the establishment of democracy.

"The apartheid destruction on our sub-continent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of our people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed, our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife.

"Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid.

"The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

'Harsh reality'

"I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

"The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to

demand of our people can be begin.

"I reiterate our call for, intelligence, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners.

"Only such a normalised situation, which allows for free political activity, can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

"The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiation. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people.

"It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

"There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic system to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised.

"It must be added that Mr De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the danger of a public figure not honouring his undertakings.

"But as an organisation we base our policy and strategies on the harsh reality we are faced with and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policy of the Nationalist government. Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

"We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our effort now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

"The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

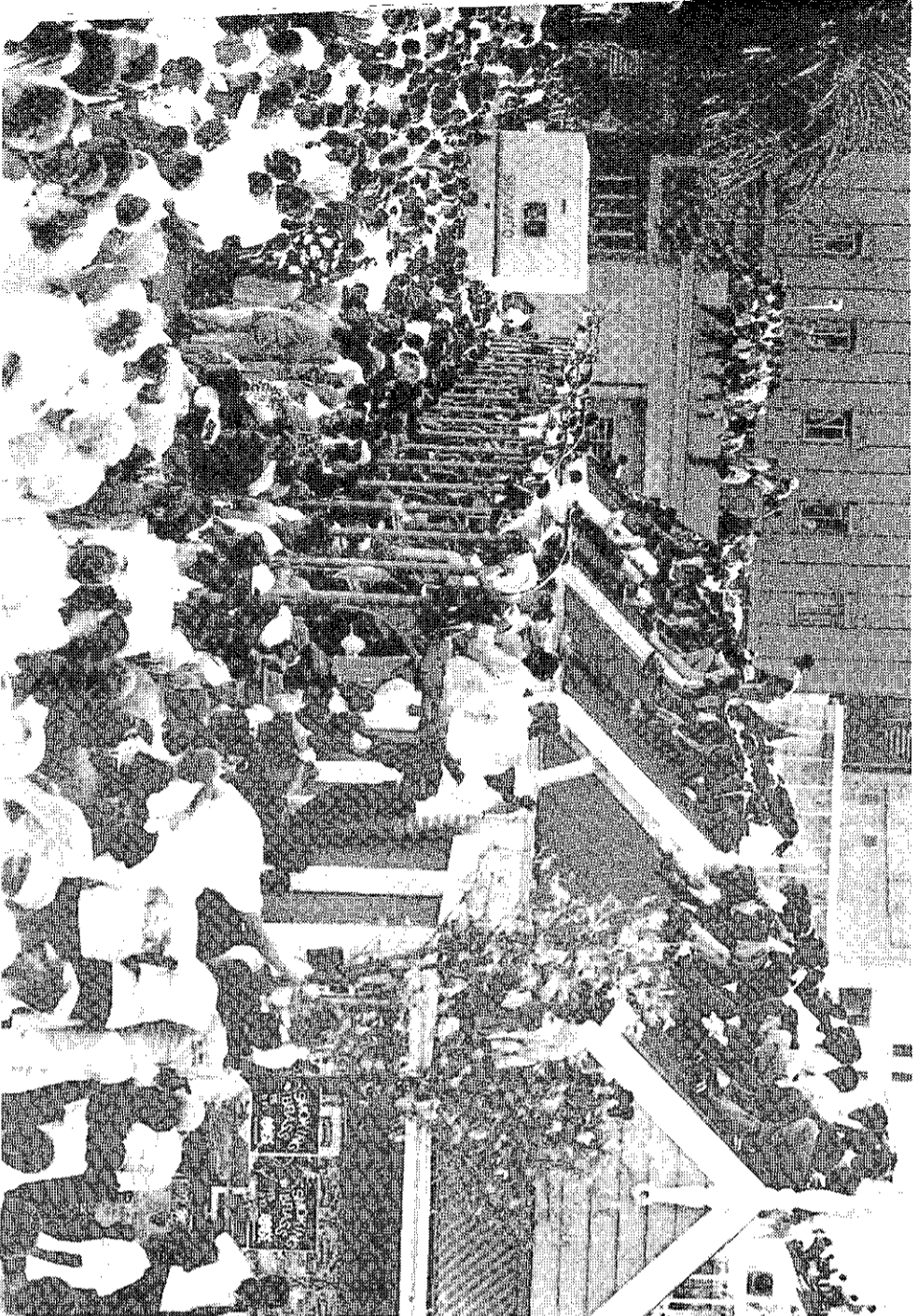
"We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a national



VANTAGE POINT: Crowds took advantage of every vantage point on the Grand Parade in order to get the best possible view.



TAKING COVER: People fall down and run away as police open fire at the scene of the violence at the back of the Grand Parade.



RANDSTAND VIEW: People made use of all vantage points at the Grand Parade to catch a glimpse of their hero, but had to wait several hours in the sun before he appeared.

Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus



CASUALTY: An injured person is treated at the Shawco mobile unit on the Grand Parade where more than 100 people were treated with wounds inflicted by buckshot, birdshot and broken glass.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have acted as the conscience of white South Africans. Even during the darkest days in the history of our struggle you held the flag of liberty high. The large-scale mass mobilisation of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

"I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organised strength is the pride of our movement. You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

"I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organisations of our people were silenced.

"I greet the traditional leaders of our country. Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes like Hintsa and Sekhukuni.

"I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You the young lions have energised our entire struggle. I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation. You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

his own.

"It is our task as leaders to place our view before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference.

"This is a principle which must be upheld without any exceptions.

"Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the government have been aimed at normalising the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of the struggle. I wish to stress that I, myself, have at no time entered into negotiation about the future of our country, except to insist on a meeting between the ANC and the government.

"Mr De Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation.

"However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic

home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime.

"To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid. Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.

"Universal suffrage on a common voters' role in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

"In conclusion, I wish to quote my own words during my trial in 1964. They are as true today as they were then. I quote: 'I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have carried the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.'

"I hope you will disperse with dignity and not a single one of you should do anything which will make other people to say that we can't control our own people."

Most welcome Nelson's freedom

JOHANNESBURG. — South African reaction to Mr Nelson Mandela's release has been largely favourable.

The National Hindu Development Trust of South Africa has welcomed the release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader as a historic step.

Trust chairman Mr Ram Maharaj said Mr Mandela would make a vital contribution towards the reconstruction of a new South Africa and would play a key role in peaceful negotiation for a just political dispensation to embrace all South Africans.

The Chinese Association of South Africa welcomed Mr Mandela's release, describing it as an "event of great significance for the future of South Africa" and the region.

"The Chinese Association believes that the bringing together of all South Africans should have happened many years ago. Time has almost passed by," the association said in a statement yesterday.

"The community (Chinese) is confident that Mr Mandela will play a significant role in the restructuring of the new South Africa."

PW declines to comment

Political Correspondent

FORMER State President Mr P W Botha has declined to comment on Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

When The Argus telephoned his Wilderness home, a secretary said she would convey the request for comment. Moments later, she returned to say: "Mr Botha is not available".

● At his Press conference on Saturday afternoon, Mr De Klerk acknowledged that the process that led to Mr Mandela's release was begun during Mr Botha's presidency, notably the former head of state's meeting with the African National Congress leader at Tuynhuys, which turned out to be the first of two such meetings.

The association also paid tribute to President De Klerk for his courage in freeing Mr Mandela.

The South African Youth Congress said Mr Mandela's release was a victory for all progressive and democratic forces in South Africa and abroad.

"This unflinching struggle waged for over 2½ decades has its foundation in the bottomless hatred of racism," they said in a statement.

It contained a letter to Mr Mandela saying his unwavering commitment to ideals of liberation, in spite of the hardships were an inspiration to the youth.

"You are a shining example of a

symbol of commitment and struggle against apartheid.

"With leaders like you ... and others at the head of our marching columns we're doubly sure of a victory."

The United Democratic Party was overjoyed that Mr Nelson Mandela was a free man.

Secretary-general Mr Abie Williams said: "This is what our party has been pleading for and we trust that Mr Mandela soon will be involved in negotiations."

They wished him well in the role he was going to play in uniting all oppressed South Africans.

From Harare, it is reported the

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania yesterday welcomed the release, but said it had no praise for President De Klerk, reports Ziana news agency.

PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwanazi said that by releasing Mr Mandela and other political prisoners Mr De Klerk was not doing the dispossessed black majority any favour because those people had been illegally imprisoned.

"The PAC welcomes the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela, who with the others has languished in the racists' jails for so many years.

"While we rejoice that Mandela is now a relatively free person, the PAC has no praise for Mr F W de Klerk," he said.

Mr Mkwanazi called on the international community to continue isolating South Africa until a non-racial and democratic society was established.

He appealed to the whole of Africa to continue through the Organisation of African Unity to give material and political support to the liberation movements.

He said the PAC was aware Mr Mandela's release would be exploited by "apologists" such as British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

The statement noted Mr Mandela would return to the same environment he left about 27 years ago.

"Mandela has come back to live in the ghettos of Soweto, Langa, Umlazi and others.

"There is nothing new, except there are more Draconian laws than they were when he went to prison," he said.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday welcomed Mr Mandela's release, saying it heralded a new era in the liberation struggle.

"For far too long our struggle has retrogressed more than it has advanced due to the jailing of our compatriots, of which Mr Mandela has been the most prominent."

Azapo was aware the real struggle for liberation had just begun.

"It is now that the test of man, organisations and ideals really begins.

"Mandela would do the struggle a great service if he were to rise above the confines of his organisation and preside over the greater whole in striving for the unity of the oppressed.

"Black people await this effort. The multitudes who hold him as a symbol deserve no less," said Azapo. — Sapa.

Release was 'a calculated State move'

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA'S release was not a "jump into the dark", but a calculated, important and necessary step, according to Cabinet Minister Mr Hennis Kriel.

The government was now looking forward to "real negotiations".

Another Cabinet member, Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw, responded: "This is the beginning of a new dispensation. Mr Mandela's release fits in with the era of negotiations. It is very exciting."

Mr Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, appealed to the African National Congress now to step "into the middle of room" and begin negotiations.

"We are looking forward to getting real negotiations going. We feel the

decision to release Mr Mandela is an important step to create the climate for negotiations."

He said their only wish now was that as they, as a government, had moved to the middle of the room for negotiations to begin, that other participants would come out and meet the government at the table.

He added: "One must understand that people will be scared ... that's a normal reaction. But, I can give the assurance that both President F W de Klerk and the Cabinet really gave this a great deal of thought and we have a lot of information (on which) to act.

Taken by surprise

"This was not a jump in the dark. This was a calculated move which we think is important and necessary."

He acknowledged that the move had "taken everybody by surprise ... some pleasantly and others not so pleasantly. Mr De Klerk promised this and he is a man of his word."

Asked about reaction within National Party ranks, Mr Kriel said: "On the whole, the reaction has been quite favourable."



Mr Kriel

Knockout win for ANC, says CP's Van der Merwe

Political Staff

THE government would end the state of emergency when Mr Nelson Mandela wanted it dropped, says Conservative Party spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe MP.

Speaking after attending President de Klerk's press conference — he was the only other politician there — Mr Van Der Merwe described the release as a "knockout victory" for Mr Mandela.

"I think Mr Mandela is governing the country. That's what he's doing. What he wants goes," he said.

Mr Mandela had not renounced violence, and "he is a winner by a knock-

out. Mr de Klerk is being carried away on a stretcher".

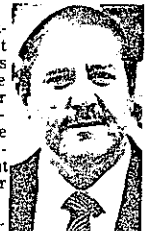
The CP would, if it was in power, have told Mr Mandela: "You are an old man. You have sat in that bloody prison for 30 years. You have got the key to the cell in your own hands. Just renounce violence and come out and be free".

Mr Van der Merwe said the CP would call on its members not to turn to violence. "We are absolutely against violence. We believe our bullet is the ballot".

The CP would continue in a legal and democratic manner to try and obtain white majority support and take over the government.

Mr Van der Merwe said he hoped the aftermath of Mr Mandela's release would be peaceful.

But Mr Mandela had not abandoned his demands. He wanted one-man, one-vote, and wanted to nationalise banks, mines and big business.



Mr v d Merwe

'Very happy' Nujoma has hope for peace

Celebrate in responsible way, say

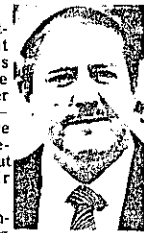
THE STARS WILL SHINE

Knockout win for ANC, says CP's Van der Merwe

Political Staff

THE government would end the state of emergency when Mr Nelson Mandela wanted it dropped, says Conservative Party spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe MP.

Speaking after attending President de Klerk's press conference — he was the only other politician there — Mr Van Der Merwe described the release as a "knockout victory" for Mr Mandela.



"I think Mr Mandela is governing the country. That's what he's doing. What he wants goes," he said.

Mr Mandela had not renounced violence, and "he is a winner by a knock-

out. Mr de Klerk is being carried away on a stretcher".

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'Very happy' Nujoma has hope for peace

WINDHOEK. — Swapo President Sam Nujoma said his party and the entire Namibian population were "very happy to learn the news" of Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

"I would like to thank President De Klerk for having taken this broad stand. I hope a peaceful solution will soon be found in South Africa as happened here in Namibia," said Mr Nujoma.

Chairman of the ruling Military Council in Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said his government and people welcomed Mr Mandela's release.

He said Transkei wanted to encourage Mr De Klerk to forge ahead with reforms and deal with other critical matters. He said if Mr Mandela wanted to live in Transkei after his release he was welcome to do so.

The Bophuthatswana government said Mr Mandela's release "was the crowning seal in vindication of Mr De Klerk's genuine commitment to a peaceful negotiated settlement".

Botswana President Quett Masire said he was "most heartened" by the news. "This is a development we have long called for and waited for".

Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said it was a positive step that provided South Africa with an opportunity to embark on genuine negotiations with credible representatives of the black community.

He said Mr De Klerk should dismantle all the homelands as they had no future role and added that "myopic utterances" by far-rightwingers should not stop the process that had started.

Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H W Ntsanwisi, hailed Mr Mandela's release as "the epoch-making greatest story of the 20th century".

The release, he said, cleared the way for negotiations to usher in a South Africa free of racism and ethnicity.

He said the status of homelands would form part of the negotiations agenda, but said he saw them forming part of a federal system.

He added that Mr Mandela's release was a moment for joy for all the people of the world.

Ciskei President Lennox Sebe said Mr Mandela's release had made the way to negotiations "smooth and wide".

"Full marks go to Mr De Klerk for his courage, his vision, his commitment to peace and also the great statesmanlike manner in which he has handled a very difficult situation.

"One only hopes that while we jubilate, we will jubilate with dignity and there will be no instances that will mar this great historical event," he said. — Sapa.

Celebrate in responsible way, say employers

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Chamber of Business has welcomed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, but hoped workers would celebrate in "a peaceful and responsible manner".

Noting the release as a major step "towards a new political dispensation in South Africa", the president of the chamber, Mr Leslie Boyd, said the chamber hoped Mr Mandela's public presence would strengthen a climate in which political differences are settled through peaceful negotiation and not through violence or coercion.

It was an important event in South African history and many South Africans would want to mark the occasion.

The chairman of De Beers, Mr Julian Ogiivie Thompson, welcoming Mr Mandela's return to public life, said it would provide an opportunity "for all parties to resolve how to structure democratic politics in the future South Africa".

WITHOUT VIOLENCE
"We believe it will help to create an environment in which political differences can be reconciled without violence," he said.

Shell South Africa said the release of Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders was symbolic of the new hope for a rapid and peaceful transition to a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr John Kilroe, chief executive, said Mr Mandela had for years "stood as a powerful leader and symbol of the resistance of the people to the apartheid system".

"I salute him for the courage and resolve which saw him through this ordeal. I wish him well in his years of freedom."

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said any work stoppage would be a blow to industry. It called on employees to behave in a responsible manner and report for work as its members would adopt a "no work no pay" approach to stoppages. — Sapa.

Suzman delighted at release

JOHANNESBURG. Veteran politician and former Member of Parliament, Mrs Helen Suzman, who campaigned for many years for Mr Nelson Mandela's release, said she was absolutely delighted by the announcement of his freedom.

She believed it would be beneficial to South Africa's relations internationally and have a good effect on race relations at home.

Mr Mandela's presence at the nego-

tiating table was indispensable for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

His release was long overdue, she said.

● The Western Cape chairperson of the Black Sash, Mrs Beva Runciman said: "We are absolutely delighted."

"It is wonderful to have a man of his calibre involved in the change that has to happen," — Sapa.

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HE'S FREE . . . A triumphant Mr Nelson Mandela walks out of prison yesterday.

Picture: REUTER

Viljoen sees 'black' future

By FRED BRIDGLAND
of the Sunday Telegraph

SOUTH AFRICA'S Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is a private man not fond of grabbing easy headlines.

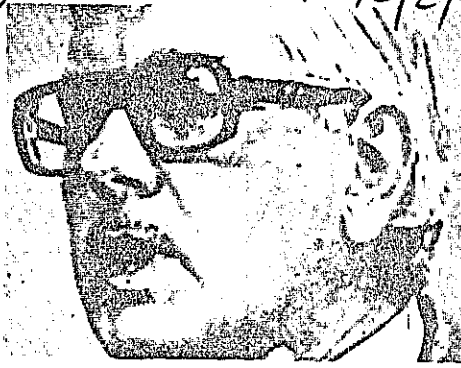
But this week he demonstrated in two devastating sentences why he is regarded by many as the second most powerful man in the government after President F W de Klerk.

"De Klerk tells white South Africans what must happen now," said one Afrikaans newspaper editor. "But it is Viljoen who is planning the future."

The future for whites, according to Dr Viljoen, is a black one. By the year 2000, he told them last week, it is doubtful whether the National Party will exercise government control and the Population Registration Act, the legislative pillar of apartheid which classifies citizens by race, will be long dead.

Dr Viljoen was a prominent academic till, at 53, he was asked to become administrator-general of South-West Africa.

It took him just over a year there to



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

soothe Afrikaner fears (about the road to Namibian independence) and restore their unity, and he returned home to claim a cabinet post, but was given the poisoned chalice of black education.

At this ministry he realised that the grand apartheid ideal was impossible in South Africa's highly complex situation. Logically, therefore, it would be necessary

to integrate and the role of Afrikaner nationalists would be to secure for themselves an important role in the new society.

Dr Viljoen applied himself to black education with energy and rigour. A cabinet colleague recalls: "He was an intellectual giant... P W Botha felt really intimidated by him."

Between 1982 and 1989 expenditure on black education increased tenfold. Dr Viljoen realised the necessity of educating black people for democracy.

In 1989 Dr Viljoen, with the (now liberalised) Broederbond behind him, was the obvious man to take over the constitutional affairs portfolio when Mr De Klerk wrested power from Mr P W Botha.

Persuading suspicious black opponents that the National Party is serious about achieving change has brought him into contact with Mr Nelson Mandela, whose directness and constructiveness in argument he admires.

He believes the veteran ANC leader is capable of playing a highly constructive role in designing a new South Africa.

Shrill Boesak keeps it all together

FOR many, after rioting broke out on or near the Grand Parade yesterday, the sole source of information about events in front of the City Hall was the shrill voice of Dr Allan Boesak.

Dr Boesak, standing on the City Hill portico in front of the microphone, could see. Thousands of us, who had positioned ourselves on the station deck and elsewhere to escape the violence, couldn't.

We relied on the broadcast commentary of the president of the World Alliance of Churches.

Interspersed with gunshots, the roar of circling helicopters and the sirens of ANC-flag-bedecked minibuses, Dr Boesak pleaded, cajoled, shouted and screamed from about 6pm.

It went like this:

"Please, comrades, get off the car, get off the car, get off the car, move the car. Comrades, Mandela is going to speak to you ...

"Don't move *this* car, don't move this

OFF TRIPS
12/2/90
BY JOHN SCOT

second car ... Comrades, please don't do that, please don't provoke, please don't do that, don't provoke. Comrades on the other side, please don't do that ...

"Now don't run round the car, don't run round the car, keep the road open. Thank you, comrades ... Oh, my God! Don't, don't, stop that right now, stop that right now ...

"Oh dear, my throat has gone ...
"Comrades, please come back. Comrades, please have patience, where is your discipline? Who is this, who is this? Look here — no, no, no, please ...!
"All ready, comrades, let's keep it cool ...

"This is the last car, this is the last car, get this car out of here. Don't do that again. Let that car through here ...

At 6.45pm, when there was still no sign of Mr Mandela, Dr Boesak came on the air again:

"Mr Mandela is coming to speak to you. Amandla! Amandla! Will you please keep quiet. Please listen, please listen to me! Take my word for it, he is coming. We will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, that's right, we will see Mandela.

"Let me hear it, let me hear it — we will see him ...

"Just take my word for it, he is coming. We are bringing him out. When I appear on this platform again, it will be with Mandela. I am not kidding, I am not kidding. It will not be long now, my brothers and sisters ...

"No, no, please, no, no, please! Please, comrades, don't push ...

"The tower is going to fall over in time. It will fall over in time. No, no, no, don't hurt anybody, please ..."

At 7.15 pm there was still no sign of Mandela but, thanks, to Dr Boesak, we had a shrewd idea of what had been going on in that seething mass outside the City Hall.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu, wife Leah and a friend do the toyi-toyi as they celebrate the news

LOCAL reaction to the release of Nelson Mandela:

■ **ARCHBISHOP TUTU**, head of the Anglican Church: "F'W, you have done well. We want to congratulate you for the things you have done and the things you are going to do. We were hoping there was going to be a general amnesty and all political prisoners would be released. (But) today is not a day to be churlish. It is a time to say 'Yeah!' It is time to celebrate."

Archbishop Tutu referred to the announcement as "mind-boggling", adding that he needed a large dictionary to seek words for his joy.

"We want to say thank you to our friends in the international community. Your concern has paid off. It looks like we will be able to invite you soon to celebrate a new South Africa."

■ **HELEN SUZMAN**, former MP: "Oh, my God! I'm absolutely delighted. I believe it's long overdue. I thought he should have been released years ago."

"I have no doubt that this man is going to play an enormously important part in the whole negotiating process which we all hope will begin shortly."

"I have a high regard for the intelligence, integrity and moderation of this man."

■ **GAVIN RELLY**, chairman of Anglo American: "Mr Mandela's return to public life creates opportunities for all parties to engage in reasoned debate about how to structure democratic politics in a future SA. We hope his release will also help to create an environment in which political differences do not lead to violence and the loss of lives, as is particularly evident in Natal at present."

■ **ZACH DE BEER**, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party: "The stakes are desperately high: if whites are selfish or blacks are vengeful, we shall endure decades of misery. But if whites are generous and blacks are forgiving, the sky is the limit for SA."

"Above all, blacks and whites will sink or swim together. Neither can succeed without the co-operation of the other."

SI Times 11/2/90

Tutu: A time to say 'Yeah!' and a time to celebrate

■ **HARRY OPPENHEIMER**: "How very exciting! I hope it all goes off with peace and dignity." He said the news could mean "a new beginning for SA" and would have a "positive effect" on the economy, but it was unlikely that sanctions would be lifted immediately."

■ **CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI**, head of Inkatha: "Whatever conflict there was between his organisation and my organisation must now be set aside so that we put the good of the State before the good of political parties."

He called on Mr Mandela to address the issue of the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. He said he respected Mr Mandela and had great faith in his leadership qualities.

Chief Buthelezi added that he did not fear political conflict between himself and the released ANC leader.

■ **FATIMA MEER**, author of Nelson Mandela's biography, said his release concluded for the Government the fulfilment of the most important remaining condition to negotiation.

Mrs Meer said she could see very few problems now facing South African leaders to work towards negotiation.

"There are many who still have misgivings and who do not trust the Nationalists. This is understandable, but we owe it to our people that we give negotiation a try."

■ **KOOS VAN DER MERWE**, Conservative Party information spokesman,

who attended the Press conference: "It's a complete capitulation."

■ **REV FRANK CHIKANE**, SACC general secretary: "I am convinced Mr Mandela's quality of leadership and stature will instantly make it easier to resolve the problems of this country. It is quite clear Mr De Klerk is committed to creating conditions in which to negotiate a settlement in SA."

■ **KRISH NAIDOO**, leader of the National Sports Congress: "This is tremendous news, and I am very pleased to hear he has been released at last."

■ **GEORGE SEWPERSAD**, president of the Natal Indian Congress: "All oppressed people are overjoyed that Nelson Mandela will be released. He has been a tremendous inspiration to the oppressed, and we hope he will assist in resolving the country's problems."

■ **JN REDDY**, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates: "All South Africans must welcome with satisfaction the release of Mr Mandela. He carries on his shoulders an immense responsibility that SA goes forward in a spirit of reconciliation to resolve the political impasse."

■ **LESLIE BOYD**, president of the SA Chamber of Business: "This is an important event in South African history and, while many South Africans will want to mark the occasion, the chamber hopes workers will do so in a peaceful and responsible manner."

THE African National Congress has been campaigning for black rights in South Africa for the past 78 years. Yet it has only in recent times achieved its present status as the most powerful internationally recognised organisation capable of negotiating with the Government.

Why has it taken Africa's oldest political movement so long to come within sight of its objective?

Part of the answer lies in the Western world's refusal to intervene on behalf of blacks during decades when the economic relevance of white South Africa mattered more than human rights.

Part of the explanation dates back to the nature of the ANC's leadership until the late Forties. And most of the answer lies in the iron-fisted methods of repression devised by President FW de Klerk's predecessors to prevent the formation of a viable mass political movement.

The ANC began in 1912 as a pressure group led by a few politically conscious black men, most of whom had been educated abroad. They were mainly engaged in participation politics, whereby they sent deputations and petitions to the Government in the hope of persuading whites to rethink their position on racial discrimination.

by Heidi Holland

author of The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress, to be published this week

Successive ANC leaders, some of whom were fearful of offending white liberal sympathies, failed to exploit the growing grievances of impoverished urban blacks through mass protest.

By 1944 a new generation had come to the fore in black politics. Mainly educated at Fort Hare, they rallied behind a man of extraordinary intellect, Anton Lembede, who longed for the day when African nationalism would be "pursued with the fanaticism and bigotry of religion, for it is the only creed that will dispel and disperse the inferiority complex which blurs our sight and darkens our horizons".

With Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, Lembede formed the Congress Youth League (CYL). It aimed to unite blacks in order to mobilise mass protest. At the end of 1949, the CYL ousted the

ANC's "old guard" and a more militant era of strikes and boycotts began.

Although Lembede had promoted Africanism, many Youth Leaguers were impressed by the passive resistance campaigns organised by Indian activists and by successful strikes organised by black and white members of the South African Communist Party.

Walter Sisulu in particular favoured an alliance with Indians and communists in the interests of anti-apartheid unity and the ideal of nonracialism.

By 1950, even Nelson Mandela — an ardent Africanist in earlier years — had agreed that a broadly-based nationalism was preferable to racial exclusivity.

It was an important change of direction for the ANC, by overcoming its fear that outsiders might dominate and subvert the struggle, the organisation was immeasurably strengthened for the campaigns which lay ahead.

The defiance campaign in 1952 swelled the ANC's membership from 7 000 to 100 000. Three years later, the Congress of the People, described by the then ANC president, Zulu chief Albert Luthuli, as

The eighty-year rise of the ANC

5 Times 11/2/90

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"the first really representative gathering in the Union's history", drew up the Freedom Charter, a blueprint for the democratic future envisaged by the ANC.

The Fifties, wrote journalist Lewis Nkosi, "was a time of infinite hope and possibility; it seemed not extravagant in the least to predict that the Nationalist government would soon collapse".

Then came the crackdown: the mammoth treason trial of 1956, a state of emergency prohibiting all gatherings in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings; harsher detention laws; the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress; the arrest of thousands of activists.

Verwoerd's crushing measures left many ANC members believing that no option remained other than armed struggle.

The ANC joined the PAC and other anti-apartheid organisations to agitate for a national constitu-

tional conference. A three-day strike began on May 31 1961, the day South Africa declared itself a republic.

Verwoerd responded swiftly, introducing unprecedented repressive laws, and people were arrested in their thousands.

Mandela said afterwards: "The question that is being asked is this: Is it politically correct to continue preaching peace and non-violence? ... Have we not closed a chapter on this question?"

Seven months later, after half a century of peaceful ANC resistance, Umkhonto we Sizwe's first campaign of violence began with a series of home-made bombs damaging electrical installations and government buildings.

At its Rivonia hideout, Umkhonto's leadership progressed from sabotage to plans for guerrilla warfare.

A fanciful nine-page document

entitled Operation Mayibuye was drawn up, which envisaged submarines bringing trained guerrillas home from Algeria and Russia. It was largely on the strength of this document, described by Umkhonto leadership's defending counsel Bram Fischer as "an entirely unrealistic brainchild of some youthful and adventurous imagination", that the Rivonia trialists were sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964.

Umkhonto's underground structures collapsed after the arrest of its leaders. The next 12 years saw little significant black protest in South Africa.

Student leaders like Murphy Morobe and Popo Molefe, imprisoned for their part in the Soweto uprising of 1976, emerged from Robben Island to rejoin the struggle and established the United Democratic Front in 1983.

Unity of the country's 6-million black workers followed in 1986 with the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The UDF and Cosatu shared political goals that were indistinguishable from those of the ANC except in their repudiation of violence.

Together they achieved the ANC's chief objective during the mid-Eighties — mass mobilisation, culminating in the unbanning of the ANC.



MANDELA FREEDOM DAY

Tears and whoops in Soweto

NELSON MANDELA'S release was greeted with tears and whoops of joy by a massive crowd which gathered outside his Soweto home yesterday.

"Hooray! Hooray!" yelled Archbishop Desmond Tutu, driving past Mandela's house shortly after the news broke.

The air among the 300-strong crowd was electric as car radios and the car phones of foreign news crews brought the joyful news to neighbours and curious onlookers.

Danced

The ground shook to the beat of the toyi-toyi.

Moments before Mr Mandela's release was announced in Cape Town, a smiling Winnie Mandela left her Diepkloof home wearing a smart khaki outfit decked with the ANC colours of green, black and gold. She wore a jaunty peaked khaki cap.

As her car pulled into the street a group of chanting,

By MANDY JEAN WOODS and EZRA MANTINI

dancing and ululating women started bouncing and banging on the car. The group danced up the street chanting "Buya Mandela" (Come Mandela).

National Reception Committee member Popo Molefe, who made a surprise appearance at the Orlando West house, said Mr Mandela would be expected to address a series of rallies countrywide.

Many of the crowd outside the Orlando West home were primary school children, who

sang and danced throughout the afternoon.

Cars blasting their horns drove by the house, the drivers giving the symbolic clenched-fist salute.

Nearby, shebeen patrons were entertained to free drinks in honour of the occasion.

It is expected there will be huge parties around the country's townships today as the news spreads.

The crowd outside the Mandela house grew as the news filtered out.

Dozens of foreign television crews — armed with microwave dishes, communication vans, caravans, smart cars, portable telephones and step ladders — and journalists clutching notebooks swarmed over the area surrounding the Mandela house eager to get every bit of news and reaction possible.

Almost every house next to, behind, across the road and down the street from the Mandela house has been rented by journalists for use as communications centres.

A minibus-load of white tourists, all clutching cameras, hopped out at the house

and took pictures of the crowds and the home.

Sunday Times reporter Victor Khupiso broke the news of Mr Mandela's release to people waiting at a Johannesburg taxi rank.

One passenger jumped with joy in the back seat and said delightedly: "I knew Mr F W de Klerk meant business when he said he was to be released before the end of the year."

Another said: "This is a major breakthrough. Most of the firms that have disinvested will now come back. I have not been working for the past four years.

"Now I can get a job. My children will get jobs. Mr Mandela was a stumbling block for South Africa's future and progress.

"Countries that had a negative attitude towards South Africa will now change.

"The black nation is proud of what is happening in the country. Mr F W de Klerk is a true man.

Leader

"He is a man of great calibre. We are going with him to a new history for the country.

"Our children will learn about F W de Klerk in school as a man who rescued the country from apartheid laws."

Among honours to be bestowed on Mr Mandela is the honorary life presidency of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers.

A spokesman said yesterday Mr Mandela could now take his rightful place as the leader of the liberation struggle along with other released leaders.

He said the union would ask Mr Mandela to preside as honorary life president at an extraordinary central committee meeting.

Release 'stuns' ANC's leadership

By DRIES van HEERDEN
Lusaka

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's release caught the ANC leadership in Lusaka completely by surprise yesterday.

"I am stunned," ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said when the Sunday Times broke the news to him.

"For us it is very, very welcome news. It is what we have been calling for for so long.

"I believe it is another step Mr De Klerk has taken towards creating conditions for negotiations," he said.

"The ANC has always insisted that Mr Mandela must be part of the negoti-

ating process. We would not have been able to do it without him."

However, Mr Sebina said that even though the release was an important step there remained a number of matters that Mr De Klerk had to address before the process could start — most importantly the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all other prisoners.

"Hopefully, he'll tackle these questions soon. And after that we will go together on our way forward," he said.

Asked whether Mr Mandela would soon visit the exiled ANC leadership in Zambia, Mr Sebina said that this would be discussed with him soon after his release.

"We would want to give him some time to settle down and take in his new surroundings outside the prison. However, the whole world is ready to receive him," he said.

It is now up to the ANC to act fast

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Now that Nelson Mandela has been freed, the ANC would be well advised to act quickly in response. Government's fears of a right-wing backlash are real, and it will risk no more without some flexibility from the ANC.

The NP is desperately awaiting a signal from the ANC that will transform President F W de Klerk's spectacular break with the past into a tenuous negotiation process.

All that is needed according to government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, is "for the ANC to be willing to start pre-negotiations without conditions".

Differences

If the flexibility is forthcoming the first step to be addressed will be the ending of the state of emergency. On this issue there are clear differences in government thinking.

Viljoen said last week it could be lifted in a matter of weeks. Foreign Minister Pk Botha wants the ANC to co-operate with government in creating conditions in which it will be possible to drop the emergency, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok says it cannot be dropped while the revolutionary climate prevails and the slaughter in Natal continues.

A second issue is the status of political prisoners and exiles. Government

says it is prepared to be flexible, but whether this will extend to a general amnesty remains to be seen.

In the period from initial contact to sitting down around the negotiating table, Viljoen sees Mandela, De Klerk and perhaps Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi playing a vital role.

"An informal working group of highly distinguished leaders understanding each other and working together will play an important part in the pre-negotiation phase," he says.

The working group will to a large extent sort out just who sits at the negotiating table.

Government's preferred option for a negotiating forum is an informally constituted body consisting of about 30 or 40 leaders. Viljoen says such a body can be constituted with the least difficulty. Authority for decisions taken by this body will flow from the perceived legitimacy of those taking part.

The question is just how far the NP would be prepared to go once at the table. Viljoen says the Population Registration Act must lapse and be replaced by negotiated measures in which the definition of groups will be based on freedom of association.

There is an acceptance by government that its desire for protection of groups will not get off the ground if it is seen as protecting white privilege. Access to land is at the core of this problem, and the way government thinking

appears to be heading is to create large areas in which all people can live.

Viljoen is heading an investigation into the Land Act. So far he says there has been opposition from homeland governments to opening up land in these territories. If black people require protection of land rights, then other groups must get similar protection, he says.

Government's answer to the imbalances in access to land in urban areas is twofold. Firstly, more land will be made available for black housing, but more importantly Viljoen foresees a spectacular increase in free settlement areas. "The latter is the thing that has got to happen quickly. We would like spectacular movement."

One possibility is declaring government is investigating is declaring entire cities open areas.

Schools

The likely result is a situation where most land in urban and rural areas will be open to all, while pockets will be reserved for particular groups.

Opening of schools to all races will also be linked to free settlement areas.

All the above fall under what the NP is now calling protection for minorities, which is likely to be the most heatedly debated aspect of negotiations as its proposals on land, schools and hospitals fall far short of what the DP, ANC, Inkatha and other groups advocate.

Viljoen and other Ministers hasten to

add that what they are now proposing is just the vague detail of the blueprint they will take to the table. While they do not expect to get everything accepted, they are confident they will be able to get as much as they give.

One issue on which there now appears to be a broad level of consensus is a bill of individual human rights.

De Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee have both endorsed the idea in principle. The Law Commission will submit its final report this year and while it will have to be placed on the negotiating table it is quite likely that a bill of rights could be introduced during this parliamentary session.

Government spokesmen have been loath to put a timetable on negotiations except to say that basic principles, if not the entire constitution, have to be in place before the next election in five years' time.

De Klerk, Viljoen and other NP leaders are displaying flexibility on almost every issue. At the same time, however, the NP is nowhere near abandoning its insistence that there be some kind of protection for groups or minorities. Reaching compromises is going to be an arduous task, especially as the ANC, by insisting on strict adherence to the Harare Declaration, has limited its scope for flexibility.

What the final package will look like is anyone's guess. What is not in doubt now is government's commitment to negotiations. The ball is in the ANC's court if it wants to play.



Part of the huge crowd that gathered outside Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA



Mandela: The Interview

By JOAN FUBBS of Sapa who was the first reporter to get an interview with Mr. Mandela

SHORTLY before his release Mr Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

Unity, he said in an interview, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and not one torn apart by the racial divisions manipulated by the policy and structures of apartheid.

"Unity, not just between the oppressed but between all South Africans, is the critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country."

He had always been committed to creating harmony in South Africa... and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country.

"Unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy," said Mr Mandela.

Any impression that he had now accepted the government's concept of freedom and their agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all South Africans.

'Language of apartheid'

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: Majority rule in a unitary state and the insistence on the protection of the white's political position.

The protection of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

"As long as whites think in terms of group rights they are talking the language of apartheid."

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, freeing of certain political prisoners and the lifting of other restrictions was a positive move towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure.

Unity only if
SA society is
non-racial'

CAPL TIMES 12/2/90

114

There was much that still had to be done but the beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight.

This was not the time to relax but to press forward with renewed vigour.

"Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle," Mr Mandela said.

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle launched by their grandfathers. It was not a new struggle, nor was the struggle divided in its goals.

"The youth have given the struggle fresh impetus, not a new direction."

He added that the old guard and the youth, "everyone", remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent endorsement... represented in the Harare Declaration.

was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy but one that should not be blown up out of context.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Some people had given their lives, others had suffered many hardships in the pursuit of liberation, hence there could be no compromise over social justice.

Concerning the violence in Natal, Mr Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in South Africa if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively... with commitment and discipline towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution to the problems in South Africa, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

Share his ideas

"We must work towards a common destiny and that can only be achieved through a non-racial society and not one in which whites continue to demand special political treatment.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

He said that just as he needed to be able to share his ideas about how to construct a democratic South Africa so too did all his fellow comrades who had battled against the greatest difficulties to build democratic structures.

For him to have been unconditionally freed into a shackled political environment would not have solved anything.

Mr Mandela added that he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for continued commitment and a unified thrust. — Sapa

"Freedom cannot be given in doses, one is either free or not free... not half-free."

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform only benefited the white politically dominant group.

The government should know by now that it could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

However, he added, this was a time of reconciliation and not recrimination, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on broken promises in the past, and a time to concentrate on constructing a new South Africa.

On the issue of the armed struggle, he said this

Viljoen sees 'black' future

By FRED BRIDGLAND
of the Sunday Telegraph

SOUTH AFRICA'S Constitutional Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is a private man not fond of grabbing easy headlines.

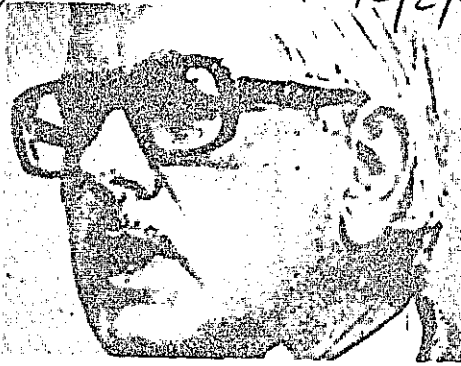
But this week he demonstrated in two devastating sentences why he is regarded by many as the second most powerful man in the government after President F W de Klerk.

"De Klerk tells white South Africans what must happen now," said one Afrikaans newspaper editor. "But it is Viljoen who is planning the future."

The future for whites, according to Dr Viljoen, is a black one. By the year 2000, he told them last week, it is doubtful whether the National Party will exercise government control and the Population Registration Act, the legislative pillar of apartheid which classifies citizens by race, will be long dead.

Dr Viljoen was a prominent academic till, at 53, he was asked to become administrator-general of South-West Africa.

It took him just over a year there to



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

soothe Afrikaner fears (about the road to Namibian independence) and restore their unity, and he returned home to claim a cabinet post, but was given the poisoned chalice of black education.

At this ministry he realised that the grand apartheid ideal was impossible in South Africa's highly complex situation. Logically, therefore, it would be necessary

to integrate and the role of Afrikaner nationalists would be to secure for themselves an important role in the new society.

Dr Viljoen applied himself to black education with energy and rigour. A cabinet colleague recalls: "He was an intellectual giant ... P W Botha felt really intimidated by him."

Between 1982 and 1989 expenditure on black education increased tenfold. Dr Viljoen realised the necessity of educating black people for democracy.

In 1989 Dr Viljoen, with the (now liberalised) Broederbond behind him, was the obvious man to take over the constitutional affairs portfolio when Mr De Klerk wrested power from Mr P W Botha.

Persuading suspicious black opponents that the National Party is serious about achieving change has brought him into contact with Mr Nelson Mandela, whose directness and constructiveness in argument he admires.

He believes the veteran ANC leader is capable of playing a highly constructive role in designing a new South Africa.

Shrill Boesak keeps it all together

FOR many, after rioting broke out on or near the Grand Parade yesterday, the sole source of information about events in front of the City Hall was the shrill voice of Dr Allan Boesak.

Dr Boesak, standing on the City Hill portico in front of the microphone, could see. Thousands of us, who had positioned ourselves on the station deck and elsewhere to escape the violence, couldn't.

We relied on the broadcast commentary of the president of the World Alliance of Churches.

Interspersed with gunshots, the roar of circling helicopters and the sirens of ANC-flag-bedecked minibuses, Dr Boesak pleaded, cajoled, shouted and screamed from about 6pm.

It went like this:

"Please, comrades, get off the car, get off the car, get off the car, move the car. Comrades, Mandela is going to speak to you ...

"Don't move this car, don't move this

CARE TRMB
12/2/90

By JOHN SCOTT

second car ... Comrades, please don't do that, please don't provoke, please don't do that, don't provoke. Comrades on the other side, please don't do that ...

"Now don't run round the car, don't run round the car, keep the road open. Thank you, comrades ... Oh, my God! Don't, don't, stop that right now, stop that right now ...

"Oh dear, my throat has gone ...
"Comrades, please come back. Comrades, please have patience, where is your discipline? Who is this, who is this? Look here — no, no, no, please ...!

"All ready, comrades, let's keep it cool ...

"This is the last car, this is the last car, get this car out of here. Don't do that again. Let that car through here ...

At 6.45pm, when there was still no sign of Mr Mandela, Dr Boesak came on the air again:

"Mr Mandela is coming to speak to you. Amandla! Amandla! Will you please keep quiet. Please listen, please listen to me! Take my word for it, he is coming. We will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, we will see Mandela, that's right, we will see Mandela.

"Let me hear it, let me hear it — we will see him ...

"Just take my word for it, he is coming. We are bringing him out. When I appear on this platform again, it will be with Mandela. I am not kidding, I am not kidding. It will not be long now, my brothers and sisters ...

"No, no, please, no, no, please! Please, comrades, don't push ...

"The tower is going to fall over in time. It will fall over in time. No, no, no, don't hurt anybody, please ..."

At 7.15 pm there was still no sign of Mandela but, thanks, to Dr Boesak, we had a shrewd idea of what had been going on in that seething mass outside the City Hall.

FW not doing the dispossessed majority any favours, says PAC

13/10/74 2190
HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday welcomed the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, but said it had no praise for President F W de Klerk, the Ziana news agency reports.

In a statement released in Harare, PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanzu said by releasing Mandela and other political prisoners De Klerk was not doing the dispossessed African majority any favours because those

people had been illegally imprisoned. Mkwanzu called on the international community to continue isolating SA until a non-racial and democratic society was established.

He appealed to the whole of Africa to continue through the OAU to give material and political support to the liberation movements.

He said the PAC was aware Mandela's release would be exploited by

(11A) "apologists" such as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, "who even before Mandela was physically out of prison had already talked of increasing European investment to SA.

"Mandela has come back to live in the ghettos of Soweto, Langa, Umlazi and others," he said.

"There is nothing new except there are more draconian laws than they were when he went to prison." — Sapa.

Prayers for a father's safety 11

^{610 a 12/2/90}
BOSTON — Nelson Mandela's eldest daughter, Madaziwe Mandela-Amuah, said yesterday she feared for her father's life outside prison.

Mandela-Amuah, speaking from Amherst, Massachusetts, as she watched TV coverage of her father's release from Victor Verster Prison, said there were many "lunatics" in SA who wanted to kill or harm him.

"I really care for my father and deep down I'm really bothered, really scared about what could happen to him," Mandela-Amuah said.

"There are many people who are lunatics, many people who don't agree with my father, and I know they will do anything possible to kill my father, to harm him in some way," she said.

"As a daughter I would like to somehow protect my father, but I can only

hope and pray that he will spend many more years alive — maybe 10 years more — to see the people of SA liberated."

Mandela was released yesterday after being jailed for 27 years, said to be the world's longest-serving political prisoner.

Mandela-Amuah, 35, a doctoral candidate in anthropology at Massachusetts University, said her father's release was an important development.

But she believed much change was still needed in SA.

"I think I would like to emphasize ... that my father's release is a significant day, but that (the world) shouldn't forget that we are still under apartheid laws.

"We should continue to fight in SA until apartheid is totally dismantled," she said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cajee preparing for 'active' work again

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B/Dam 12/2/90

CHARLENE SMITH

AMIN CAJEE, the ANC leader who accompanied Nelson Mandela from SA to Lobatse airfield in January 1962 and who ferried him to secret meetings at Lilliesleaf farm in Rivonia, yesterday said he was preparing for active work with Mandela again.

Cajee joined the ANC in 1938. "I began working with Nelson since May 2 1950, after the May Day strike of that year."

The white-haired 72-year-old lives in the flat Ahmed Kathrada occupied in central Johannesburg before the Rivonia trial, when Kathrada was convicted with Mandela of sabotage.

Cajee, a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, accompanied Walter Sisulu around SA in 1955 before the Congress of the People in Kliptown, collecting ideas and demands from South Africans about the desired content of the Freedom Charter.

In January 1962, he recalls, Mandela asked him to drive him to Lobatse, Botswana, from where Mandela travelled to Africa and the world seeking support for the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"Mandela pretended he was the chauffeur and I was an Indian businessman in the back. We paid a pilot £600 for the specially chartered flight.

"I spent the night in Lobatse jail after getting into an argument with two racists in a pub. Nelson was very cross with me."

Before Mandela left, he had ferried Mandela and his wife Winnie, sometimes with their two children, to different venues, including Lilliesleaf farm.

Cajee said that "now we are going to do more work than ever before. I've arranged with Winnie to see him."

Amina Cachalia, a close friend of Mandela, recalled that one of the last times she saw him before he was arrested was on her 21st birthday.

Cachalia left on an early morning flight for Cape Town yesterday to visit her friend. Her husband, Yusuf Cachalia, 75, of the SA Indian Congress, is one of Mandela's closest friends.

He said he hoped to see Mandela today. "The last time I saw Nelson before he was arrested was two years before he was sentenced for life.

"I'm really very happy he is coming home. I think he will play a very important role in facilitating the possibility of negotiations beginning," he said.

Helen Joseph, 84, who was waiting for Mandela's release to be screened on television when she spoke to Business Day, was a 1956 treason trialist with Mandela and Walter Sisulu and 154 others.

"We used to share a car driving to Pretoria every day for the treason trial. We used to buy peaches, but Nelson wouldn't let us even throw pips out of the window. He is a very correct person.

"We had wonderful political debates and discussions as we drove."

Joseph saw Mandela at Victor Vester Prison on December 21 last year and said she did not expect to see him soon "because he will be too busy".

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Soweto heard the news, sang joyfully, and waited

MAHALESELE Road in Soweto, where the first spark of the 1976 riots was struck, exploded into unbridled jubilation on Saturday night.

With cries of "Viva Mandela" ringing out into the night at the news of Nelson Mandela's release, a procession started by the Sowetan Youth Congress outside the Mandela home swelled into thousands and choked up the street.

As if by instinct, the procession paused right on the spot where the West Rand Administration Board vehicle was set on fire on the morning of June 16, 1976, and young stalwarts sang the praises of black leaders.

It was 500 metres from this spot that the first casualty of the riots, Hector Petersen, was shot by police almost 14 years ago.

On Saturday night the youths — most of whom were toddlers in 1976 — were shouting in triumph instead of crying out in frustration and anger.

With car horns blaring, motorists cheerfully complied as they were shooed into side roads by marshalls.

There was not a policeman in sight as Soweto residents lined the streets to welcome the new era.

There was an atmosphere of revelry deep into the night. In the shebeens, talk was of how bold a step De Klerk had taken.

One old man spoke of the good things that came with the absence of fear.

**EDYTH BULBRING
and THEO RAWANA**

"Fear had to go before this government took such a step," he said.

It seemed that De Klerk's courage was put on par with Mandela's stature, and people voiced confidence that nothing would now stop SA on its way to peace and prosperity.

Buzzing

In the morning yesterday, Mandela's home buzzed with activity in preparation for his return. An ANC flag fluttered from the garage roof of the modest Orlando West house, occupied by Mandela prior to his imprisonment, while supporters wearing ANC T-shirts thronged outside.

The roads leading to the house were cordoned off, and marshalls guarded the entrances.

Marhall Mbube Mdingi said: "The owner of the house is not home yet, but when he comes you can go inside."

It was not known when Mandela would arrive, but this did not seem to trouble enthusiastic supporters.

Youths painted the wooden garden posts black, green and yellow, while others toyi-toyed with placards and the ANC flag, singing and shouting slogans.

It was happening at last — he was coming home.

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TOTAL	
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TOTAL	

13/04 12/2/90

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More than 35 000 people crammed into Soweto's Jabulani amphitheatre yesterday to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release. Thousands more were turned away.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

The next step towards a climate for talks hailed

13/04 12/2/90

ADELE BALETA

THE ANC in Lusaka has welcomed the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela as another step to creating a climate for negotiation.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said, however, the Harare Declaration preconditions still had to be met. These were the immediate lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the scrapping of the Internal Security Act and all legislation inhibiting free political activity, the removal of troops from the townships and the abolition of all political trials and executions.

James Stuart, a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), said talks with Pretoria now would be meaningless as blacks were still being killed by security forces under the emergency, reports Sapa-Reuter.

"We would lose support if we go into negotiations while our people are being slaughtered on the streets of Johannesburg," he said, referring to reports of clashes on the Rand.

The emergency "seriously hampers political activity among blacks... we need to be on an equal footing with the NP if we are going to negotiate".

Sebina said Mandela had also been negotiating with government for the release of all those convicted of public violence during unrest. He had told government their actions had been a result

of political frustration.

The sooner the preconditions were met the quicker a peaceful settlement could be reached, Sebina said.

He said the atmosphere in Lusaka was "electric" and the mood of the ANC was that it was serious about getting to the "nitty gritty" of negotiations. Mandela's immediate task on his release would be to join other recently freed ANC leaders to become part of the visible ANC leadership in SA.

Speculation

IAN HOBBS reports from London that ANC executive spokesman and chief representative to Britain and Ireland Mendi Msimang said yesterday Mandela was immediately rejoining the NEC, which would undergo "some restructuring".

But Msimang and ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki made no comment on speculation that Mandela would be asked to take over presidential duties from the ailing Oliver Tambo until executive elections mid-year.

Tambo, Mandela's closest lifelong friend, is still recovering in a clinic in Stockholm after suffering a partially disabling stroke last August. While he is recovering rapidly indications are he

will require rehabilitation physiotherapy for some time yet.

Msimang and Mbeki — who is a likely future president — emphasised Mandela was moving to the mountain (meaning the ANC), rather than the other way around.

Msimang said: "Together with his colleagues they will certainly be expected to move things a little bit faster. And that is a battle the international community will have to assist us with by keeping up the pressures."

Msimang said the release would move the tide of history more rapidly towards majority rule.

Mbeki, talking on Independent Television News in London, said Mandela would allay white fears about the consequences of his freedom — but his main role was to "participate in the processes aimed at ending apartheid.

"If in the process of that there is need to address white fears, of course they will be addressed.

"But the principal thing that Mandela will have to do is to join the rest of the ANC and the rest of the anti-apartheid process in the country to bring apartheid to an end as quickly as possible."

Mbeki emphasised: "However gigantic and outstanding a person, he is very, very conscious of the need for him to be part of this collective leadership."

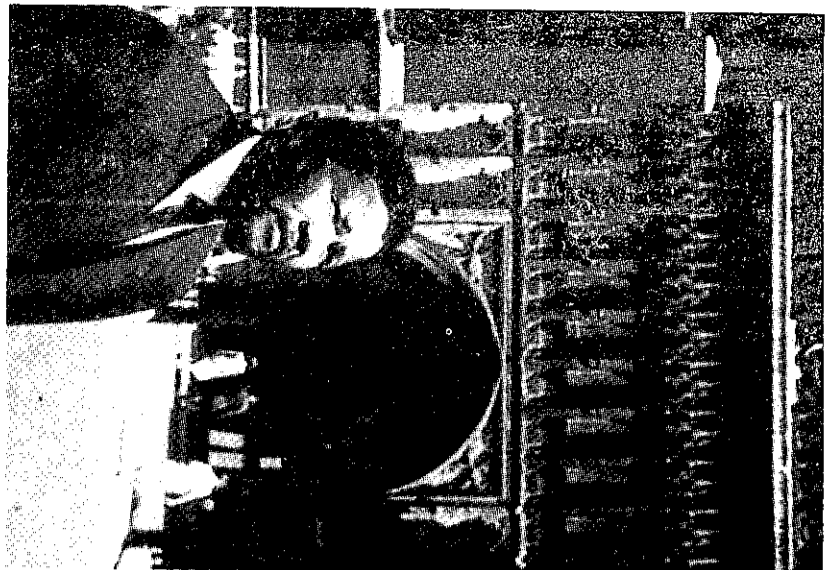
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Cape Times 12/2/90 11A

Mandela: The Man

Mandela's idolised status a major problem

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff



WESTMINSTER, 1962... Mr Nelson Mandela photographed outside the British Houses of Parliament at Westminster during a clandestine trip abroad during his 17 months 'underground' between April, 1961 and August 1962.

WITH his release from prison, Nelson Mandela has an idolised status that could cause him major political problems. Since he was arrested in August 1962 he has lived in an environment where he could make no public mistakes. Until fairly recently, he was effectively silenced and little, if anything, he said was reported in the press.

Gradually, more and more of his views have been published, often unsatisfactorily through third parties who had visited him, but the fact of the matter is that now he will be public property — every move, every statement, every comment he makes will be reported and analysed.

For any politician, the change from the "protection" of Victor Verster Prison into the full public glare would be a severe test and it would not be surprising if there were a few hiccups.

Even more difficult for Mr Mandela are the huge expectations that have been built up around him — among all groups, young and old, black and white, conservative, moderate and radical.

Although not much is really known about the person himself, he is hero-wor-

shipped and there are huge expectations that he will heal all. Somehow, it is expected that he will be able to wave the proverbial magic wand.

And of course, he has no such wand. He will not be able to satisfy all those expectations.

He will be a key figure in the negotiations for a new democratic South Africa, but Mr Mandela on his own cannot resolve all the country's problems.

He will have to reduce those expectations and make sure that people understand he has to operate within the severe limitations of local realities — and that he will do so within the confines and discipline of his own organisation, the ANC.

That will be no easy task. His own position in the ANC could also be problematic. For many years, it has been assumed that he will take over the leadership after his release and that his former law partner, Mr Oliver Tambo, was only holding that position until he was freed.

But recently NUM's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, a key member of the MDM, stressed in an interview that Mr Mandela was an ordinary member of the ANC and his position in the organisation

would only be clarified after his release. Obviously, the ANC leadership will do everything possible to cool down any tensions of this sort, but for Mr Mandela this could be a particular problem as he is the only ANC leader to have negotiated directly with the government. There may well be suspicions about these discussions and Mr Mandela will have to dispel these.

In particular, he will have to be careful about being sucked into negotiations and talks with the government that do not produce results. And he cannot afford to be seen as having negotiated any deals with the government.

The retention of his political support base and his legitimacy is crucial to his role in the future South Africa. Mr Mandela will clearly have to be cautious that he does not undermine that support.

One of the major problems facing the leadership of the ANC and other political organisations is their ability to control the situation in the townships, particularly of ten undisciplined and frustrated youngsters, who may be unwilling to accept the more pragmatic strategies of the older generation.

This issue will test not only Mr Mandela but the ANC leadership in general.

Political Staff

THE possible release of the world's most famous political prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela, has for a number of years sent the international and local press, all disparate for the story and the first pictures, into a frantic and often wild frenzy. About 18 months ago, The Guardian's correspondent in South Africa, Mr David Beresford, called this phenomenon "Mandela release fever, an affliction which bears a resemblance to malaria for the way in which it afflicts sufferers periodically".

The rumours and speculation about his release began as long ago as March 1984, when it was suggested that Mr Mandela would accept an offer by his nephew, ex-President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, of freedom in the homeland if he were released.

Since then virtually every political leader in the world, ranging from Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the now-disgraced former president of the German Democratic Republic, Mr Erich Honecker, have called for his release.

All black groups inside the country have been calling for his release for years, and most have refused to enter negotiations with the government until he is freed.

In short, the journalistic frenzy, the wild speculation about his release and the calls for his release demonstrate an unprecedented fame and reputation, despite the fact that he has been in jail since August 1962.

Why is this? A small part of the answer is symbolism. If anyone symbolised the long struggle against apartheid and for black liberation, it is Nelson Mandela.

Virtually all his adult life he has been actively involved in that struggle, and for the past 27 years he has been kept in jail because of his political commitment.

But, while he graphically symbolises the fight against apartheid, and a highly principled one at that, his status is very much more than that. And it is summed up in the words of his former legal partner and ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who

World press in uproar over release

once described him as a "born mass leader".

It was not, however, merely leadership within the context of a prison, it was also consistent, uncompromising political leadership.

"Mandela's most outstanding quality is perhaps his conviction that what he represents is just and right for himself, his people and his country," his biographer, Professor Fatima Meer, wrote recently.

On top of that, Mr Mandela is seen by many people on all sides as the one person who can negotiate on behalf of the black majority with the government to introduce a democratic system of government in South Africa.

Judging from the comments made recently in Parliament by various cabinet ministers, it seems that this credibility has now even been accepted by the government. His influence and status is emphasised by the simple fact that the government obviously had the power to release him from prison whenever it chose, but it did not do so till the whole process had been negotiated with Mr Mandela himself.

Mr Mandela, quite clearly, is the man of the moment.

"I have cherished the ideal

of a democratic and free society

in which all persons live together

in harmony and with equal opportunities.

It is an ideal which I have to live for

WINNIE SALUTES
Cape Times of June 12, 1964 shows Mrs Winnie Mandela (below) raise a

THE CAPE TIMES
MAY 27 1989
MAY 27 1989
MAY 27 1989

RYONIA SENTENCES IN TRIBAL DRESS
Cough Kills 36 Children in Two Weeks
Eighth Round Gully

MANIC SPURS TWO
NO DEATH INJURIES 28

Press Shows
Men, 31
No Death

fist outside the Palace of Justice in Pretoria while judgment in the Rivonia treason trial was being given. Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of co-accused Mr Walter Sisulu, is shown in the top picture, in tribal dress.



'An African patriot' steps into freedom

Political Staff

MR Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who turns 72 on July 18, is, despite more than 27 continuous years in jail, a major political actor and leader on the South African political scene.

It is a position and status he has earned by a remarkable commitment and dedication to his cause — the liberation of the black majority in South Africa and the establishment of a non-racial democratic state.

His roots go back to the small village of Qunu in Transkei where he was born into the Tembu royal household on July 18, 1918.

After matriculating from the Healdtown Institute in Butterworth, he studied at the University of Fort Hare but after leading a student boycott of the SRC elections in this third year, he was suspended.

He then moved to Johannesburg to study law, a decisive step which led him into active politics in the ANC Youth League and into close personal friendships with two former Fort Hare colleagues, Mr Walter Sisulu, with whom he first stayed, and Mr Oliver Tambo, with whom he later formed a law practice.

In Johannesburg he completed his BA degree through the University of South Africa and then studied law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He was the national secretary of the youth league when it organised a "coup" of the ANC in 1949 and he then became a member of its national executive.

He became the youth league president in 1950 and during the 1952 Defiance Campaign he was the volunteer-

in-chief.

In December 1952 he was charged with 19 others under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was given a nine-month sentence.

Shortly before that he was elected Transvaal president of the ANC, and soon afterwards he became the ANC's deputy national president.

When the ANC was banned in 1960, the M-Plan, named after Mr Mandela — a system of building mass grass-root membership, was adapted to form the organisational base of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's military wing.

The ban and the launch of Umkhonto resulted in a political impasse which dominated South African politics till President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

After March, 1961, Mr Mandela remained underground for 17 months and became known as the "Black Pimpernel".

In August 1962, he was caught at a roadblock as he was leaving Durban after a meeting. Since then he has been in jail till his release yesterday.

Three months after his arrest, he was convicted of leaving the country illegally and of incitement and was sentenced to three years in jail.

Then on July 11, 1963, the police swooped on the Rivonia farm in Johannesburg and arrested most of the ANC's underground leadership. When the famous Rivonia trial was held, Mr Mandela was Accused No 1.

In his statement from the dock, which received worldwide publicity and has been used ever since as a demonstration of his beliefs, he admitted he was guilty of sabotage and was involved in the preparation for guerrilla activity. He was, he said, "an African patriot".

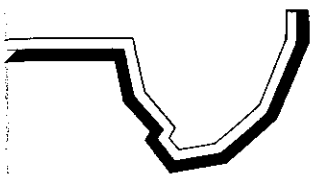
Like most of his co-accused, Mr Mandela received a life sentence. He spent the first 18 years of his imprisonment on Robben Island before being transferred to Pollsmoor Prison.

Then, after he was treated for TB in two Cape Town hospitals, he was transferred to a house at Victor Verster Prison.



Nelson Mandela

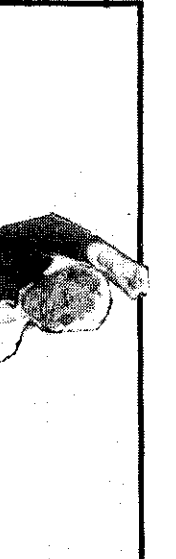
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Mandela: The celebrations



Soweto erupts in celebration

JOHANNESBURG — Soweto erupted in celebration last night as hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Widespread jubilation marking the release was marred by deaths and outbreaks of violence countrywide, but the mood in the sprawling township remained positive as thousands of people ran along the highway near Baragwanath hospital, singing, dancing and chanting "Viva", while nearby bridges were packed with people thrusting clenched fists into the air.

Cars, full to capacity, with people on bonnets, roofs and boots — almost all displaying, in one form or another, the green, black and gold of the ANC — drove through the streets hooting constantly.

Most seemed to be on their way to the Mandela house where several thousand people had formed a joyous human chain.

"This is a marvellous day for Soweto and for us," said one of the crowd wearing a green top, black pants and a yellow cap.

The length of the street outside the Mandela home was filled with crowds of chanting rejoicers who converged from all parts of the township and the Jabulani Stadium where a rally attended by about 35 000 people, and addressed by recently released Mr Andrew Mlangeni, was held earlier.

Mr Mlangeni stressed the ANC was

17 die, 25 hurt, 53 arrested

Police recorded 40 unrest incidents around the country at the weekend, with nearly half of them occurring in the Cape Province.

Police said a total of 53 people were arrested while 17 were killed and 25 injured.

Police also said numerous incidents of petrol bombings, grenade attacks stone-throwing and arson took place. Three policemen were injured during the actions.

In their unrest report, police said 18 incidents of unrest occurred on Friday and Saturday in the Cape Province, during which five people were killed and four injured.

Thirty-five people were also arrested for illegal gatherings or unrest incidents.

During some of the incidents, police said they arrested 28 people at Eise's River after an illegal gathering.

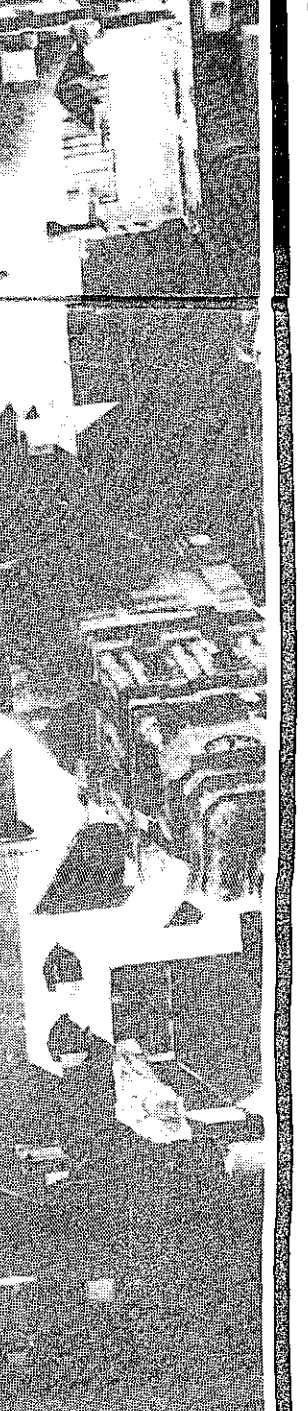
At Crossroads, several shots were fired at a police patrol. No casualties were reported.

In the same area two houses were petrol-bombed.

At Crossroads, police arrested one man after shots were fired at a police station with an automatic rifle, while at Gugulethu, handgrenades were thrown into the livingroom of a council member causing extensive damage.

Police also said that at Kraaifontein, a mob of youths stoned a passenger train, damaging windows. A policeman fired several shots scaring the youths away. Near Bonheuwel, the body of a man was found next to the railway line with stab wounds.

Apr. 11/15/12/90



Home village hadn't heard

QUNU, Transkei. — News of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was denied to this village of his birth 40km from Umtata, which has no TV or telephone links.

When a Sapa correspondent called on his sister-in-law, Mrs Agriette Mandela, she stared in disbelief on hearing of his release.

"Because you are from the media, I will believe you," she said.

As they do not have telephonic links or television sets, the entire family in the village missed the historic event. — Sapa

Township celebrates
KATHLEHONG, East Rand. — Hundreds of thousands of people left their township homes and took to the streets yesterday minutes after Mr Nelson Mandela was released.

Before the 4.16pm release, the streets were quiet as most residents watched the TV broadcast.

"Then it was like an explosion. It was amazing — like a bombshell, as people left their houses and started singing and dancing in the streets," Sapa correspondent Mr Vusi Mangosaid. — Sapa

Four die as car hits revellers
PORT ELIZABETH. — Four people were killed and 17 injured in KwaZakhele yesterday when a car ploughed into a group of people celebrating Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

Ten of the injured were in a serious condition in hospital.

Thousands of people yesterday look to the streets of Grahamstown's Jozza township to celebrate Mr Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC. Hundreds of vehicles blared their horns as throngs sang and danced down the dusty streets.

AWB: Hang

Daughter fears for released leader's safety

BOSTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela's eldest daughter, Ms Makaziwe Mandela-Annuh, said yesterday that she feared for her father's life outside prison, while his younger daughter said she was "excited" by the news of his release.

Ms Mandela-Annuh, 35, a doctoral candidate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, local pro-liberation forces and the government are taking extensive security precautions to ensure that Mr Nelson Mandela is not the target of either right- or left-wing fanat-

Although President F W de Klerk denied that the government would be responsible for Mr Mandela's release once he left Victor Verster Prison, it is known that the entire spectrum of police and intelligence staff are involved in monitoring the safety of the ANC leader.

The ANC and its intelligence staff have been involved in planning security details for Mr Mandela and have shared discussions with key leaders of the mass democratic movement.

Both sides have drawn on experience in providing security arrangements for the seven ANC leaders released in October last year, including Mr Walter Sisulu.

Massachusetts' Amberst, said there were many "hundreds" in South Africa who wanted to kill or harm him.

"I really care for my father, and deep down I'm really bothered, really scared about what could happen to my father," Ms Mandela-Amunah said from her home in Amberst.

"As a daughter I would like to somehow protect my father, but I can only hope and pray that my father will spend many more years, maybe 10 years alive, to see the people of South Africa liberated."

"We should continue to fight in South Africa until apartheid is totally dismantled," she said.

Meanwhile Ms Zenani Mandela, a 31-year-old graduate student, said she was "excited" her father had been released, but added that she hoped the world did not think the battle against apartheid was over.

"It is something that we have worked for for all these years," she said.

Mr Patrick Lekota of the United Democratic Front told a news conference here that black leaders continued to fear for Mr Mandela's safety. — Sapa-Reuters and UPI

incidents of unrest took place during which 12 people were killed, 19 injured and 17 arrested. — Sapa

Durban: Violence mars celebrations

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Celebrations marking Mr Nelson Mandela's release were marred by outbreaks of violence which left three people dead — in several townships here yesterday.

Residents of Kwamashu said violence, which started with the burning of shacks in the squatter areas near Newlands East yesterday morning, moved to the new K Section in the afternoon.

The smoke from burning homes could be seen from as far as Umhlanga.

According to a KwaZulu policeman, initial reports were that three people were killed, and that the South African Police were called in to help control the situation.

There were many spontaneous celebrations in the townships, with more than 5,000 people attending a rally in Ntuzuma. Marches were also held in Inanda, from Clermont to Kwa-Dabeka, and another in Umhlanga.

One of the marches in Inanda was called off after marshals were warned of an impending attack by vigilantes from Mshayazase. Residents said shots were heard in the area and five cars were stoned. A report that a Natal Technikon arts student had been shot in the chest could not be confirmed last night.

Other residents interviewed in Umhlanga, Ntuzuma and Clermont reported great jubilation in the streets with dancing, singing, toyi-toying and displaying of ANC banners.

Five killed as youths clash with police

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Five people were killed and at least 46 injured in violence at Tokoza township on the East Rand on Saturday.

In a day of fierce clashes with police, youths protesting at increased rents burnt out the properties of two local councillors before looting and setting fire to municipal hostel buildings.

A matron at Natal's pruit hospital, where the injured were taken, said staff had been busy throughout Saturday night tending to people with gunshot and multiple gunshot wounds.

Two of the 51 people attended to had died and three were still in intensive care.

SAP liaison officer Lieutenant Burger van Rooyen yesterday confirmed the deaths and that incidents of stone-throwing and arson had occurred after a meeting called by the Tokoza Youth Congress.

He said one man had been killed in police action during a robbery at the hostels.

Two other bodies were found in the area with shotgun wounds.

'Too busy to feel anything'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — "Everyone is human," said Warrant Officer Gregory yesterday morning on being asked whether he expected to feel any emotion at Mr Nelson Mandela's pending release.

But, said the Prison Services man who has been Mr Mandela's keeper for the past 24 years, he was far too busy on the morning of Mr Mandela's last day as a prisoner to feel anything yet.

WO Gregory said Mr Mandela had had free access to the prison telephone ever since he arrived at Victor Verster Prison a year ago, but had asked that this not be made public.

GRAND PARADE RALLY ...

An estimated quarter of a million people swamped the Grand Parade yesterday to await the momentous arrival of Mr Nelson Mandela. Here is a bird's eye view of the scene yesterday evening.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

The march took place after AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche addressed 2,000 people on Church Square. — Sapa

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MUIZENBERG TUESDAY 7.30 pm FEB 13 Committee Room, Civic Centre on Atlantic and Beach Roads (teach-front)	CAPE TOWN WEDNESDAY 7.30 pm FEB 14 6th Flr, Penthouse Suite, St George's Centre 13 Hour Street (opp Reserve Bank)
CONSTANTIA THURSDAY 7.30 pm FEB 15 Alphen Hotel (at Sports Centre turn into Alphen Drive)	CAPE TOWN SATURDAY 9 am FEB 17 6th Flr, Penthouse Suite, St George's Centre 13 Hour Street (opp Reserve Bank)

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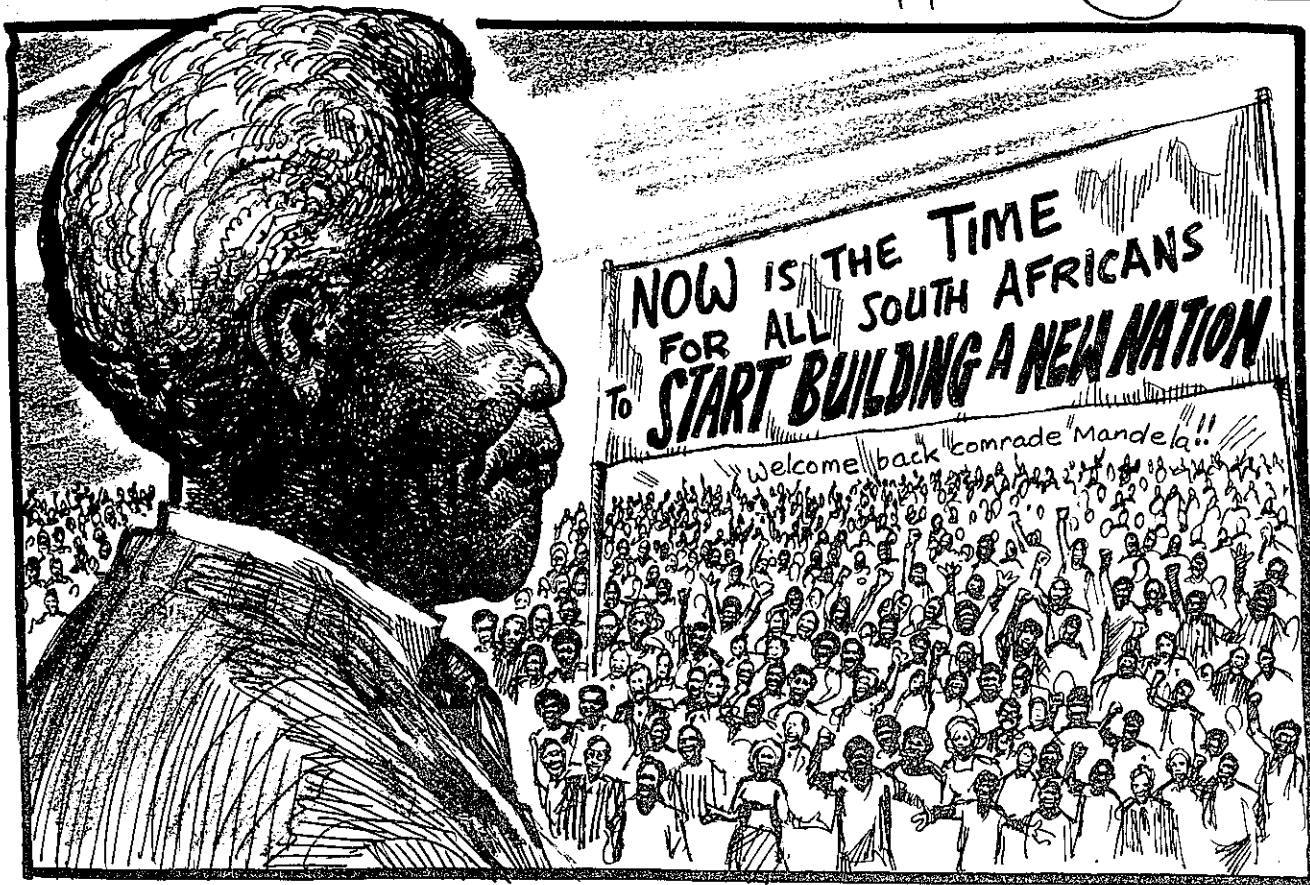
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Unite, Mandela tells the nation

CAPE TOWN - Shortly before his release yesterday Mr. Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

Unity, he said in an interview, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and not one torn apart by the racial divisions manipulated by the policy and structures of apartheid.

"Unity, not just between the oppressed but between all South Africans, is the critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country."

He had always been committed to creating harmony in South Africa ... and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country.

Reality

"Unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy," said Mandela.

Any impression that he had now accepted the Government's concept of freedom and their agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all South Africans.

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: majority rule in a unitary state; and the insistence on the protection of the whites' political position.

The guarantee of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

"As long as whites think in terms of group rights they are talking the language of apartheid."

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, freeing of certain political prisoners and the lifting of other restrictions

FOCUS

was a positive move towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure.

There was much that still had to be done but the beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight.

This was not the time to relax but to press forward with renewed vigour.

"Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle," Mandela emphasised.

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle launched by their grandfathers. It was not a new struggle, nor was the struggle divided in its goals.

"The youth have given the struggle fresh impetus, not a new direction."

He added that the old guard and the youth - "everyone" - remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent endorsement ... represented in the Harare Declaration.

"Freedom cannot be given in doses, one is either free or not free ... not half-free."

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform

only benefited the white politically dominant group.

The Government should know by now that it can no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

However, he added, this was a time of reconciliation and not recrimination, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on broken promises in the past, and a time to concentrate on constructing a new South Africa.

Context

On the issue of the armed struggle he said this was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy but one that should not be blown up out of context.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans, did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Some people had given their lives, others had suffered many hardships in the pursuit of liberation, hence there could be no compromise over social justice.

Concerning the violence in

Natal, Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in South Africa if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively ... with commitment and discipline towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution of the problems in South Africa, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

"We must work towards a common destiny and that can only be achieved through a non-racial society and not one in which whites continue to demand special political treatment.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

He said just as he needed to be able to share his ideas about how to construct a democratic South Africa, so too did all his fellow comrades who had battled against the greatest difficulties to build democratic structures.

For him to have been unconditionally freed into a shackled political environment would not have solved anything.

Mandela added he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for continued commitment and a unified thrust. - Sapa

Celebration turns to chaos

By JOHN YELD, HENRI DU PLESSIS, ANDREA WEISS, DALE KNEEN, GRAHAM LIZAMORE and MICHAEL DOMAN Staff Reporters

ONE man died and more than 50 people were taken to various Peninsula hospitals when Mr Nelson Mandela's triumphant return to his people deteriorated into chaos in Cape Town's centre where 80 000 people gathered to welcome him.

The man who died was one of scores shot — some seriously injured — when police repeatedly opened fire with shotguns at close range as protesters went on the rampage, smashing windows, looting shops and a restaurant and breaking into locked stalls on the Grand Parade.

Several people were injured — including one man who broke a leg and another with severe lacerations — when the packed corrugated iron roof of a gazebo over a flower-seller stand on the Parade collapsed, sending people crashing to the ground.

The man who died was shot as he climbed from the smashed window of Ackermans in Darling Street. His badly wounded body hung over the broken glass as police carried on firing when bottles were flung at them.

Windows smashed

Two men — one of them Democratic Party researcher Mr Stef Snel — rushed across the road with a stretcher and carried the man to the Shawco mobile clinic parked on the Parade. He was treated before an ambulance managed to force its way through the crowd. The man was reported later to have died.

Staff at the clinic reported treating more than 100 people. Ambulance officials reported treating 22 people for gunshot wounds and at least 60 for dehydration.

A steady stream of ambulances battled their way through the huge crowd to get to the mobile clinic where a first-aid area had been cordoned off in front of the kiosks.

Trouble flared about 4pm in Corporation Street when a window in Cape Union Mart was smashed. Police arrived with dogs and shotguns, and marshals battled to control a small group who taunted police.

Youths then smashed windows at the "Select-A-Shoe" store at the corner of Darling and Plain Streets and the windows of Ackermans. "Why are you doing this? Go! Get out!" angry marshals screamed.

Police raced off to the entrance of the Golden Acre in Plain Street where youths sheltering from the sun smashed through the glass of the "Factory Shoe Shop" and started looting.

Police, going down Adderley Street with sirens blaring, arrived and took up position in Strand Street. They advanced towards the crowd with shotguns and several bottles were flung at them, smashing on the road.

A warrant officer ran forward and fired at least three shots at the retreating crowd. More shots were fired as the crowd scattered. People dived behind cars and tried to shelter behind poles.

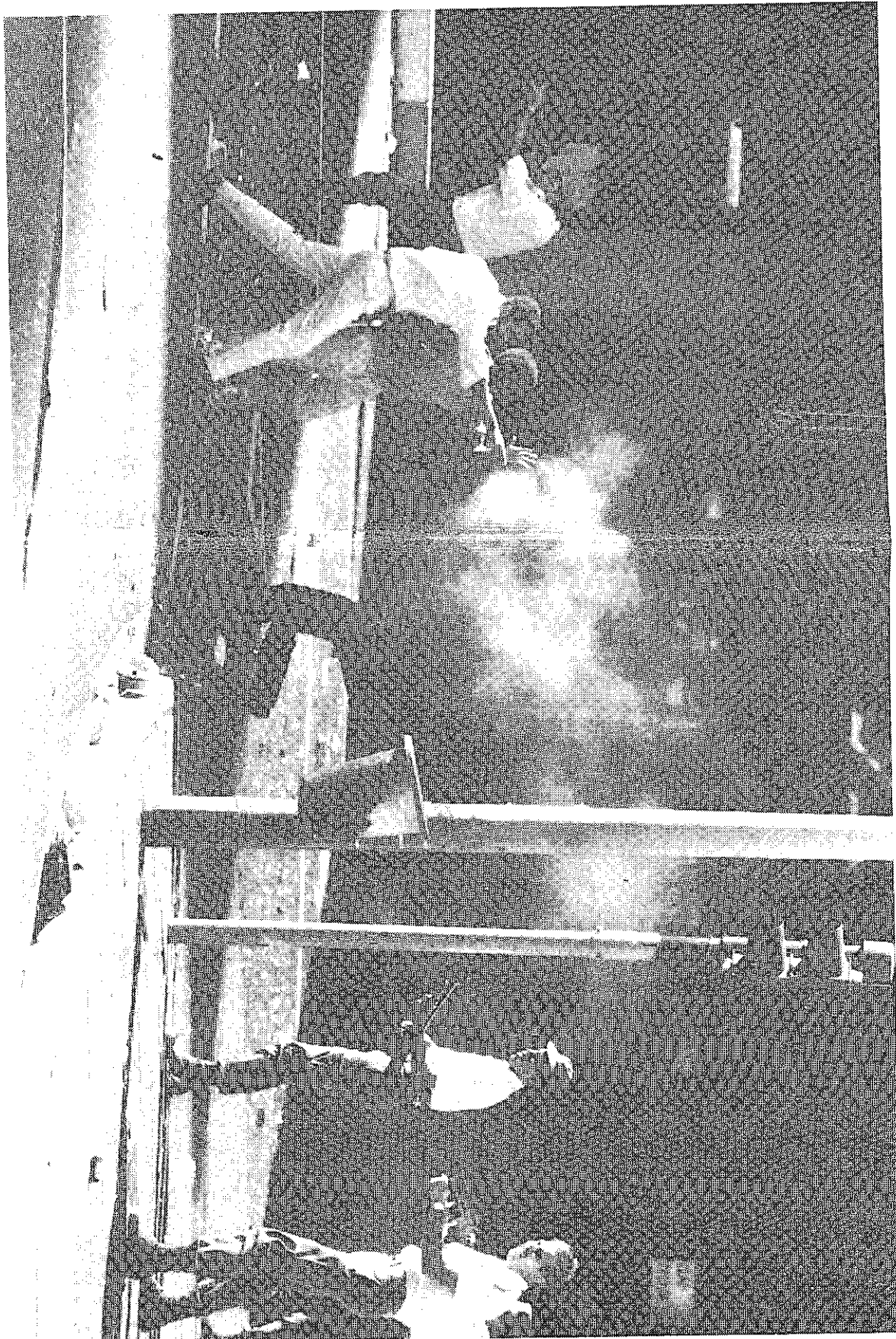
Police vans stoned

One wounded man was lying on the ground. Bystanders ran to help him and helped him away as he clutched his groin. Police vans driving down Plain Street were stoned.

A marshal ran up to a policeman and tried to push his shotgun into the air and there was a roar from the crowd as the policeman threatened to hit him with the shotgun.

One man was shot, apparently in the face and head, as he tried to throw a bottle at the police.

The widow of a liquor shop overlooking the bus terminus was



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

SHOUTING DEFIANCE: These two men defied orders to disperse after police lobbed and fired teargases at looters in the city.



Army called in to stop looting as city rejoices

Staff Reporters

ARMY units stood guard outside buildings in central Cape Town late last night after looting earlier in the day on the edge of the 80 000 crowd that crammed — and then overflowed — the Grand Parade to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela.

The windows of at least six businesses near the Parade were shattered and the con-

... and the people waited under the

sun's blaze

By LINDA GALLOWAY and JOHN VILJOEN Staff Reporters

AMID frenzied excitement and jubilation, Mr Nelson Mandela stepped over the threshold of Victor Verster Prison near Paarl to freedom, ending 27 years as the world's most famous political prisoner.

Thousands of supporters had waited in the searing heat since early morning. Shade was in short supply, as were good viewpoints.

Few in the crowd were prepared for their long wait in the heat. One entrepreneur did a brisk trade selling cold drinks which were snapped up.

The colours of the African National Congress (ANC) were much in evidence and one person had spray-painted his hair in stripes of black, green and gold.

The eager ones stood on cars and climbed trees for a better view of the historic moment.

HELICOPTERS

The large Press contingent were inventive in their efforts to capture the definitive photograph or to make sure the news reached destinations around the globe.

Foreign photographers hired two helicopters which circled continuously during the dramatic release.

A French radio correspondent organised a telephone line to her car opposite the prison entrance and filed live reports, as did the BBC crew.

As the hours went by and the crowd swelled in anticipation, the police and army contingent also grew larger.

There was a flutter as Mrs Mandela and her daughter, Zindzi, arrived with some of Mr Mandela's co-travellers, including Mr Walter Sisulu.

scenes when police opened fire repeatedly at the crowd as bottles were flung at them where they stood outside the liquor store. At least three people were injured and were taken to the Shawco mobile unit.

Teargas canisters were lobbed high over the roofs of the market shops and people sitting there stood up with their hands above their heads.

The situation was defused when Mr Mandela's arrival on the podium was announced and people rushed across the Parade to hear him.

Struggle goes on

(Cont from page 1)

Macozoma insisted. "We can do better and I will not blame the police for the pressuring and crushing near the City Hall."

"There have been complaints that police acted against people, but I am not in a position to comment on these actions."

Diplomats at the scene described it as a "fiasco". "Where is Mandela?" one asked. "They've got to get him here quickly or the trouble will escalate."

Initial government reaction came from a senior source late last night who said that while the government "had expected this (violent outbreaks), we hoped it would not happen."

The political right is expected to turn on President De Klerk today with a blunt: "We told you so."

Mr Mandela — who, it appears, was not told of the violence before he addressed the crowd — was to have submitted himself to questioning by a large contingent of local and foreign journalists after the rally yesterday. But at 10 pm MDM spokesmen arrived to say that in view of the "circumstances" during the day, Mr Mandela would not be coming.

Instead, he is to address a Press conference in Johannesburg at an as yet undetermined date.

Asked where Mr Mandela was, spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said: "He is staying here (in Cape Town) overnight, but I cannot tell you where because it affects his security."

"The nation wants to know," a journalist said. "I will not answer, because of his security situation," Mr ANC urged: 'Give right response'

The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — Britain has called on the African National Congress (ANC) to give the "right response" to Pretoria's bid to get negotiations off the ground.

Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said the right response from the ANC to Mr Mandela's release would be for it to say at once it was willing to enter discussions.

"They don't have to abandon their objectives, they don't have to accept everything that is being done."

Uncertainty still surrounds the reasons for the delays.

Mr Omar said Mr Mandela had left prison later than planned because he refused to leave without his wife, Winnie. She had arrived late because her private plane landed in Cape Town only after 2 pm.

Mr Mandela addressed the crowd shortly after actually arriving at the City Hall, but eyewitnesses said they saw him in a car near the City Hall around 5 pm. It appears he was taken to another venue, or other venues, while organisers arranged access to the City Hall.

Mr Omar insisted, however, that the ANC leader had not been waiting inside the venue.

At last he appeared and crowd impatience became jubilation

By ANTHONY DOMAN Staff Reporter

DOWN in the trenches it was trample or be trampled. Wellcome committee officials seemed as clueless as the crowd, which met their repeated announcements of Mr Mandela's imminent arrival with boos, jeers and cries of "voertsek".

But when Mr Mandela finally emerged before a clearly impatient mass at 7.38 pm, the mood suddenly turned to jubilation.

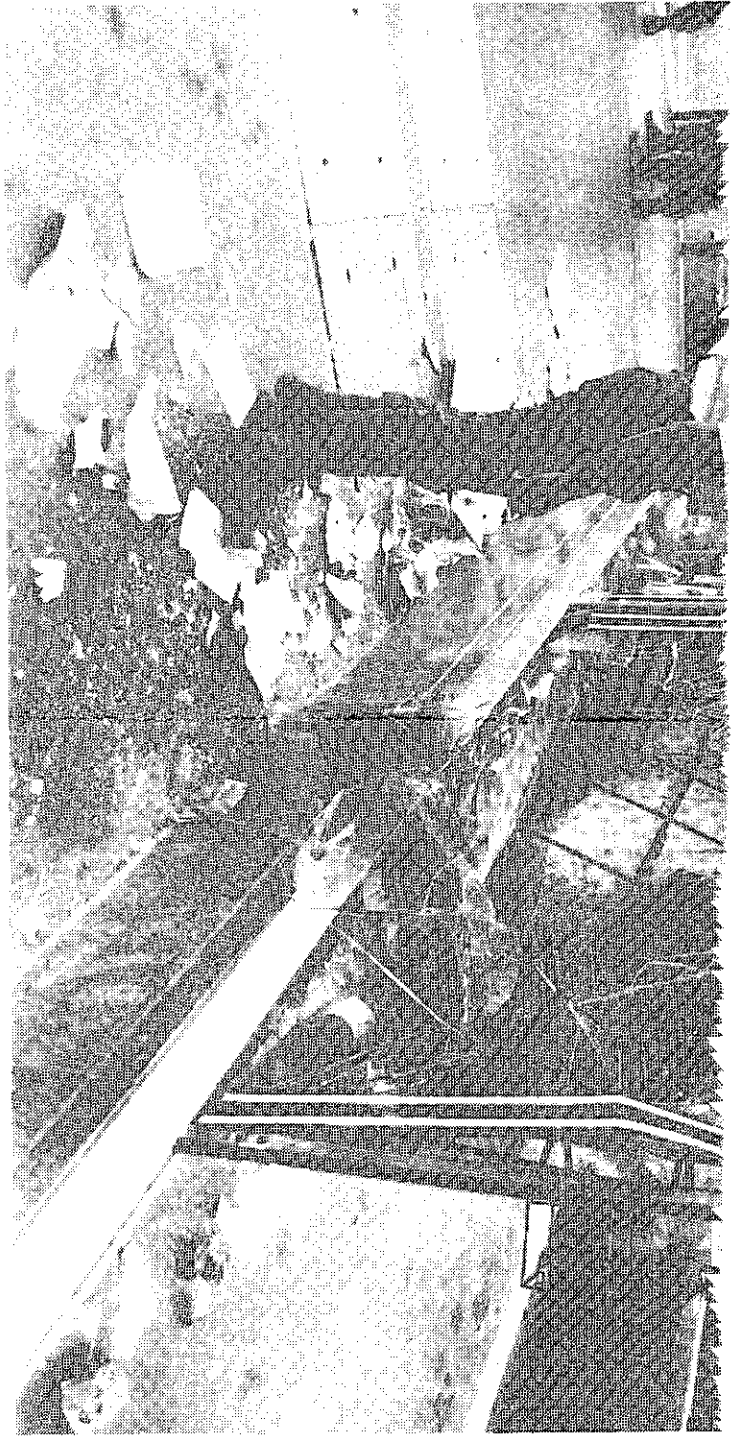
From a vantage point in the middle of Darling Street plumb in front of the balcony, the ova-

By GRAHAM UZAMORE Staff Reporter

THE CITY HALL was a rough place to be waiting for Nelson Mandela.

As one of the thousands caught in the python-like grip of a hearing, squeezing mass of humanity, you thought of England and Hillsborough.

Each time I was lifted off my feet I saw the sandstone walls of the City Hall loom closer and closer. Dr Allan Boesak was desperately trying to get the people to move back — to sit down —



LOOTING FRENZY: A policeman store of smashed shop windows after looters broke into a clothing store near the Grand Parade yesterday.

City streets bear the brunt of huge crowd

Staff Reporters

WHILE helicopters throbbed in the night sky and soldiers armed with R4 rifles stood guard over buildings in Cape Town, the 80 000 crowd evacuated the Grand Parade at the end of a momentous day.

As most headed towards the station, bus terminals and the phalanx of waiting taxis, Mr Mandela's exhortation to them to leave in an orderly manner was still ringing in their ears.

It was 8.15 pm when the ANC leader finished speaking to them. He turned to re-enter the City Hall, then swivelled back to appeal to the crowd to disperse with discipline.

Within 10 minutes all that remained was a knot of onlookers and TV crews packing up. Opposite the City Hall stood the luxury car used to ferry in the Reverend Jesse Jackson, its roof, boot and bonnet dented and windscreen smashed.

Not far away, several of the branches of a huge tree behind the statue of Edward VII had broken from the weight of scores of people who had climbed on to them.

As one walked a glass carpet crunched under foot from the numerous smashed shop windows as well as bottles used as missiles against the police.

Nearly, crowd-control barriers lay bent like black-and-white striped spaghetti. A few hundred people bearing ANC flags and banners toyed-up Darling Street towards St George's Mall where they passed without incident the ranks of armed and helmeted soldiers.

A human wave swamped City Hall

By GRAHAM UZAMORE Staff Reporter

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WALKED Mr Mandela walked from the guarded exit of the prison with his wife, Winnie, at 4.20 pm after he had spent an hour with friends and family. He and Mrs Mandela stood for a few seconds on the far mac outside the prison before walking back to a car adorned with ANC flags and posters.

The helicopters circled overhead and the crowd erupted in shrill whistles and chants of "ANC! ANC!". Mr Mandela's motorcade sped away from the prison, hooters blaring, with the international Press in frantic pursuit.

The motorcade took an alternative route through Simon-Dium on the Old Paarl road to avoid heavy congestion.

BRIDGES LINED Crowds of farm workers gathered along the roadside, some with home-made banners, to wave and shout greetings as the cavalcade made its way to the N1 freeway.

People also lined the freeway and at places brought traffic to a virtual standstill as they surged forward.

At last they can cut their wedding cake The Argus Correspondent DUBBAN. — At last Nelson and Winnie Mandela can cut their wedding cake — an event which had to wait for more than a quarter of a century.

When the couple married, Mr Mandela was on the run and could not stay for the wedding reception.

So Winnie kept the cake, which has remained covered on her wardrobe ever since. Now, with Mr Mandela back home, the cake at last can be taken down from the wardrobe and cut — even if only for ceremonial purposes.

Huddleston pledges support The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — One of the pioneers of the Anti-Apartheid Movement outside South Africa, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, has sent a message to Mr Nelson Mandela, pledging to continue the movement's fight to dismantle apartheid.

The British AAM said the release of Mr Mandela was "a victory for the people of South Africa and millions of people in Britain who have participated in the campaign to free Nelson Mandela".

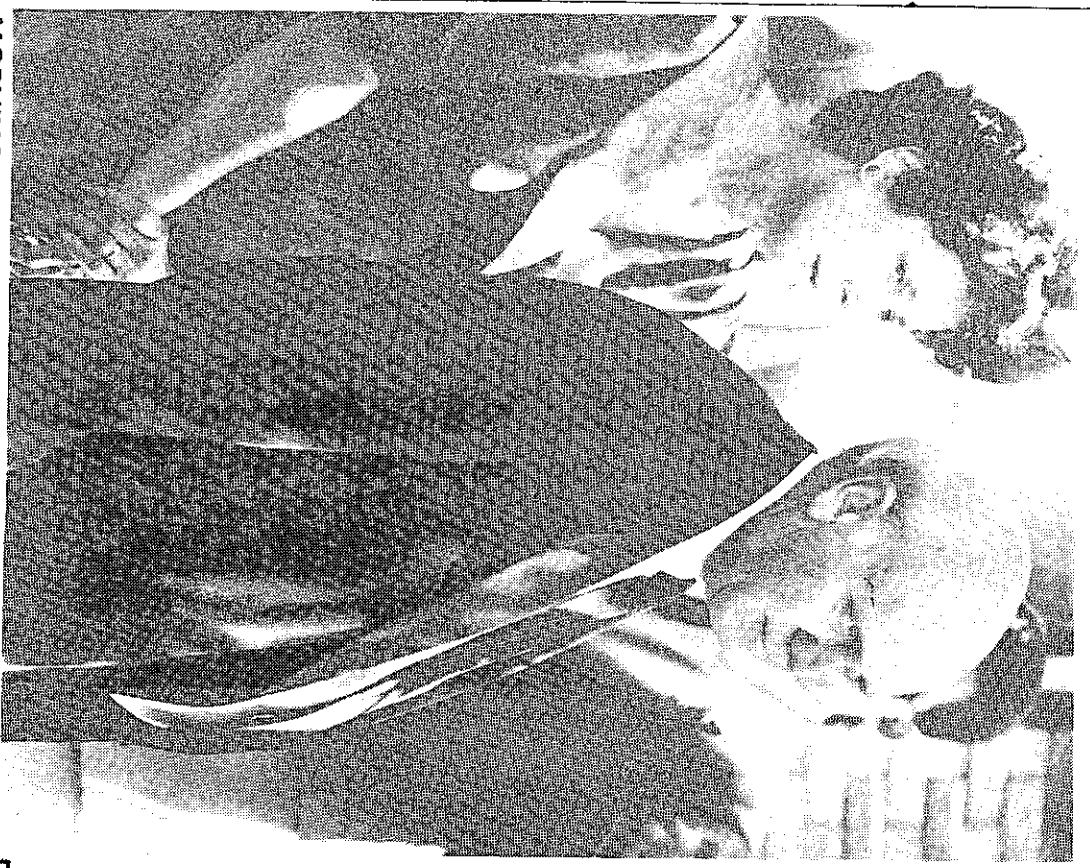
The movement and its sister organisations in Europe are presently planning measures to persuade the 12 European Community countries not to lift sanctions against South Africa.

The steps follow the announcement by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher that she would urge the EC countries to drop anti-apartheid sanctions at the coming meeting of EC foreign ministers in Dublin.

(11A)



MANDELA RELEASE



Church for F W as history is made

By HENRI du PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

ONE of the most momentous days in South African history began like any other Sunday for the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

Only hours before Mr Nelson Mandela walked to freedom from the Victor Verser prison and subsequently addressed a jubilant crowd on Cape Town's Grand Parade, the man who had announced the ANC leader's freedom was attending the morning church service in the Gereformeerde Kerk, Hof Street — as usual.

Shortly before 10am Mr De Klerk and his wife, Marike, took their customary seats in the gallery to listen to the sermon of the dominee, Dr P W "Pieter" Bingle.

"DIFFICULT TIMES"

In his opening prayer, Dr Bingle, prayed for the "government of the day, asking God to provide wisdom in "difficult times in a broken world". He asked that people realise it was God who ruled in the end.

Dr Bingle, who held the service at Mr De Klerk's inauguration as State President in Pretoria, read from Ecclesiastes and Corinthians.

He said the Speaker in Ecclesiastes was often seen as an arch pessimist, but his feet were "planted firmly in the truth of life".

The Speaker came to the conclusion that people's work in this life was meaningless if it were done without the blessing of God and not in His name.

This tied in with St Paul's teaching and meant that if a Christian did what was right in the eyes of God and what was dedicated to God's name, his actions would have eternal meaning, even if they were unpopular in the eyes of others.

This life was still the time of sowing and not reaping, a time of doubt and disappointments, Dr Bingle said.

NOTHING IN VAIN

Since the death and resurrection of Christ and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, however, nothing done in this life was in vain, he said.

The closing prayer was given by Professor Tjaard van der Walt, executor of the University of Portchef-stroom.

Professor Van Der Walt thanked God for the daring and courage He had afforded the State President when he had to make difficult decisions.

He also prayed for Mr Mandela ("him who would be freed today") and asked God to make Mr Mandela an agent of His and not of Satan in South Africa.

'Most critical moment in SA history'

Staff Reporter

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela was one of the most critical moments in the history of South Africa and the world — overshadowing every facet of communal thinking, St George's Cathedral parishioners were told.

In his sermon yesterday, Father Chris Ahrends, sub-dean at the cathedral, said millions of people all over the world had been waiting for decades to hear, see and read about Mr Mandela and "now that moment has arrived".

"The world's most famous political prisoner is a free person and stands at the brink, together with those who have struggled with him these past 40 years, of taking his rightful place in this society, and to begin carving out of the mass of evil, dehumanising and discriminatory legislation that has been apartheid, a new society, and a just community where each person, constitutionally at least, will have a place in the sun."

He said special prayers should be offered so that the "fledgling new beginning" should grow in strength and deeper commitment.

Father Ahrends urged people to become "channels of encouragement, channels of reconciliation" in the establishment of peace based on justice and a fair dispensation for all.

'High-stakes gamble for double payout'

Staff Reporter

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President De Klerk for a double payout — giving blacks a say in government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority.

"We must view this as an important boost in moving our country towards negotiation. One of the major conditions of the anti-apartheid movement has been fulfilled," said Professor John Barrett of Witwatersrand University Institute of International Affairs.

"If the ANC pulls back from negotiations now, it will damage the image of the anti-apartheid movement. The process must go forward," said Professor Barrett.

"This time, the government sees itself as having crossed the Rubicon. But whether or not they have depends on the reaction of the forces on the other side — the anti-apartheid movement," said Pretoria University political analyst Mr Mike Hough.

Mr Hough said neither the government nor anti-apartheid leaders were likely to halt the political momentum created by Mr Mandela's freedom and the release last October of seven of his comrades.

Professor Barrett said much depended on the reaction of the anti-apartheid movement to the long-awaited liberation of the world's most famous political prisoner.

"Much will depend on the part Mandela will play, how he will assert himself as a leader after having had the benefit of such a great symbolic role," he said.

If Mr Mandela managed to crystallise an effective leadership, readily identified abroad, the anti-Pretoria forces may be better able to offer a cohesive reaction to Mr De Klerk, analysts said.

Professor Barrett added that Mr Mandela's freedom would help the cause of Western leaders like British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who opposed economic sanctions on the grounds that such measures had not brought an end to apartheid.

Mrs Thatcher is tipped to be the first major Western leader to visit South Africa after Mr Mandela's release.

Anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Max Coleman forecast a huge outpouring of emotion that could become explosive." — Sapa-Reuter.

MORNING CHURCH: The State President Mr F W de Klerk and his wife Marike attend church as usual, hours before the historic release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Release is a hopeful step for SA, says Jesse Jackson

By ANDREA WEISS
Religion Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela's release was a "giant step for Mr Mandela, a hopeful step for South Africa and a courageous step for Mr F W de Klerk", the Rev Jesse Jackson told Dr Allan Boesak's Bellville South congregation.

Delivering a sermon a few hours before Mr Mandela's release, Mr Jackson said Mr De Klerk was rising to "new heights every day" and moving "step by step away from a wicked system".

"The opportunities for greatness are here. They are within reach," Mr Jackson said.

"RIGHT THING"

"If Mr De Klerk risks doing the right thing, he will lose himself and save South Africa.

"If he tries to save himself in the smallest sense of the word, he could lose both," Mr Jackson said.

"We must not accept a different standard of democracy in South Africa compared to the rest of the world. Our expectations must be as high as they would be in Nicaragua or the United States. Democracy must be defined by one set of rules," he said. "The equation is apartheid equals sanctions."

Taking up another theme, Mr Jackson said his visit and that of other black US clergymen to South Africa was like a family reunion after a 500-year journey from slavery.

Congregants crowded the foyer of the church and young and old climbed on chairs and craned their necks to get a glimpse of Mr Jackson as he delivered his impassioned sermon concentrating on the trial and incarceration of Mr Mandela, likening it to a trial by Pontius Pilate.

He marvelled at the power of "one man in prison without a gun, a knife, an aeroplane, missile, bank account, standing army or ph. office down".

WALTER COLEMAN

sador Mr William Swing, who was in the congregation, for economic pressure and sanctions to continue so that the incentive to do away with apartheid remained.

town". However, although Mr Mandela would be out of jail, he would not be free because the pillars of apartheid were still standing. Mr Jackson said.



IN FULL FLIGHT: The Rev Jesse Jackson makes a forceful point during his sermon at Dr Allan Boesak's church in Bellville South.

Fight Rivonia trialists now all free men after 26 years

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's release from jail means all the leading African National Congress activists captured in the early 1960s are now free men.

Nine men stood in the dock at the 1964 Rivonia treason trial, named after the village outside Johannesburg where the ANC's high command was situated and where most of the leaders were arrested in July 1963.

Only one, Mr Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein, was acquitted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow white rule. He was rearrested and banned after the trial. He later fled South Africa.

AMNESTY

The other eight were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mr Dennis Goldberg, the only other white defendant, was released in 1985 after accepting President Botha's amnesty if he renounced violence.

The other members of the Rivonia Eight rejected Mr Botha's amnesty. The oldest, Mr Govan Mbeki, born 1910, was released from Robben Island in November 1988.

Five of the Rivonia defendants were released in October 1989.

Most prominent of those freed is Mr Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, regarded as one of the ANC's most notable intellectuals.

In 1962, Mr Sisulu went underground to join Umkhonto we Sizwe

(Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing. He went to jail after being captured at Rivonia.

Another co-accused was Mr Raymond Mhlaba, a trade unionist active from the mid-1940s in both the ANC and South African Communist Party. He played a key role in anti-apartheid protest from his home in the Eastern Cape and was detained several times before his arrest at Rivonia and subsequent conviction.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni became politically active in the early 1950s and later joined the ANC, becoming one of the founder members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada, known as "Kathy", entered political life at the age of 11 and was a teenage member of the SACP.

He was elected secretary-general of the Transvaal Indian Congress and played a key role in boosting the group's relations with the ANC.

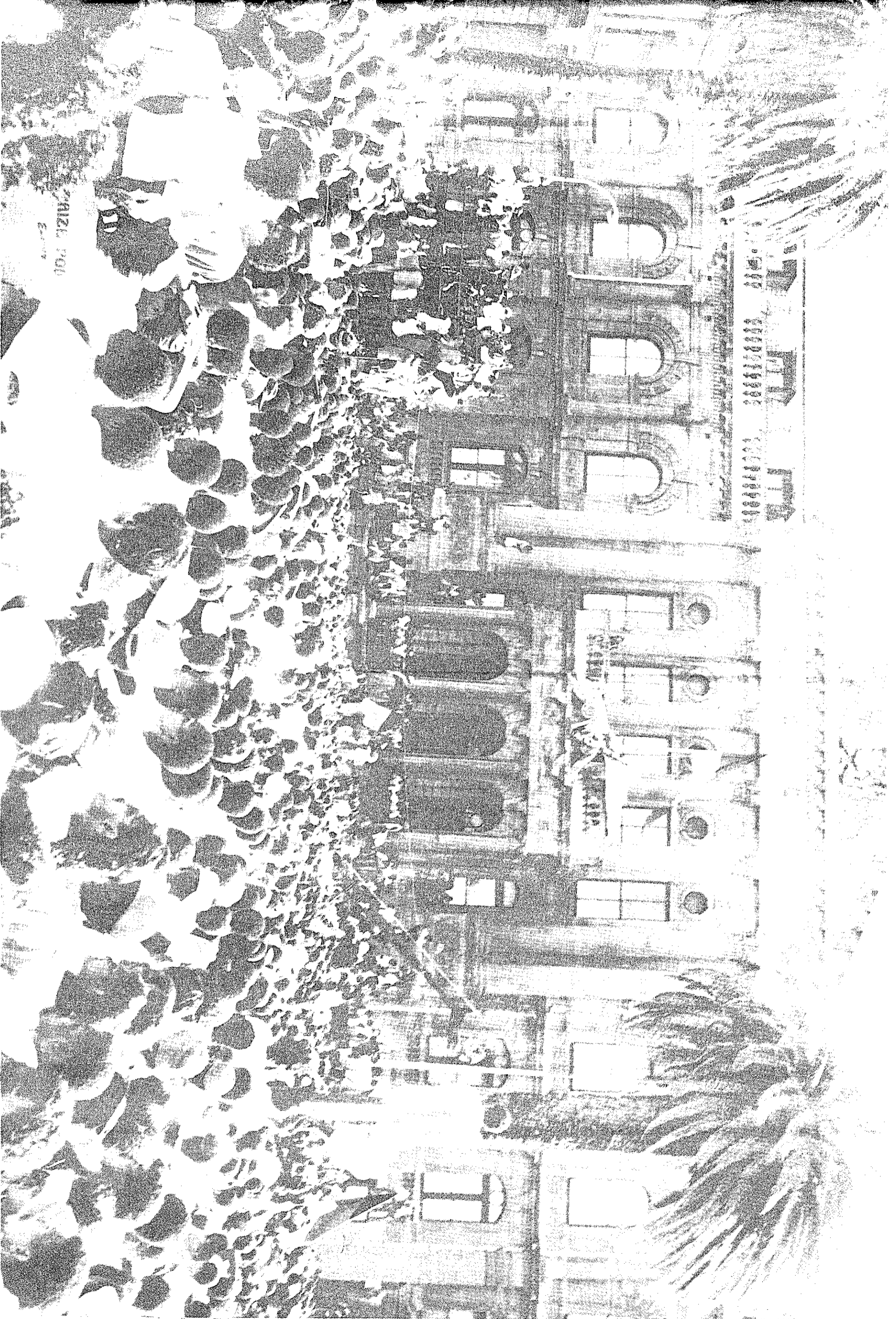
Mr Kathrada was found guilty on only one of four counts but received the same life sentence as the others. He completed three university degrees in jail.

Mr Elias Matsosaledi was an active trade unionist and member of both the ANC and SACP, entering politics as a factory worker in the early 1940s.

He too served with Umkhonto we Sizwe on its Johannesburg command, playing a similar role to Mr Mlangeni. — Sapa-Reuter.

BACK NEARLY SOON

MANDELA!



THE CROWD . . . A small part of the huge crowd who waited in the hot sun outside the City Hall to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela



Mandela: SA reacts

Mandela's release a 'great victory'

Political Staff

THE RELEASE of Mr Nelson Mandela has been greeted as "a great victory" for the people of South Africa and the world who campaigned for so many years for his release.

The United Democratic Front said the release was a welcome development "insofar as it adds to the creation of a climate conducive for any negotiations to take place".

Mrs Winnie Mandela said: "I feel wonderful. We have been waiting for this for 27 years. But it is a pity comrade Nelson Mandela is coming back to the same apartheid South Africa he fought against."

The head of the Anglican Church in South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, congratulated President De Klerk and the world community for its contribution towards the release of Mr Mandela. "F W, you have done well. We want to congratulate you for the things you have

done and the things you are going to do. We were hoping there was going to be a general amnesty and all political prisoners would be released. But it is a time to say 'yeah'. It is time to celebrate."

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, said the release would be a wonderful and great occasion for the people of SA.

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, expressed excitement. "His release will allow a man of his stature to facilitate the process of negotiations."

Veteran civil-rights campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman said she was absolutely delighted by the announcement. It would be beneficial to SA's relations internationally and have a good effect on race relations at home, she felt.

The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said Mr Mandela's release was a moment of enormous symbolic and psychological significance. "The stakes are desperately high. If

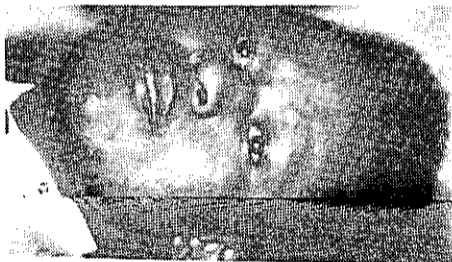
whites are selfish or blacks are vengeful, we shall endure decades of misery. But if whites are generous and blacks are forgiving, the sky is the limit for South Africa."

The chairman of the Military Council in Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said his government and people welcomed the release. If Mr Mandela wanted to live in Transkei after his release he was welcome to do so.

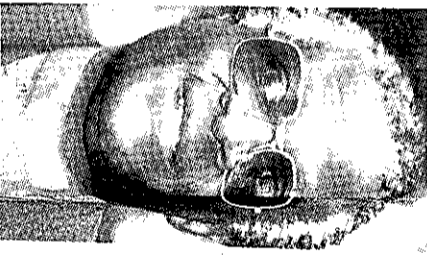
The Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, said: "I really am overjoyed at the news. He should have been released a quarter of a century ago."

SA's biggest trade union, the National Union of Mineworkers, said Mr Mandela could now take his rightful place in "the leadership of the liberation struggle".

The Rev Jesse Jackson said the release was a hopeful step in the right direction, but the lifting of sanctions would require the release of all prisoners and an end to the state of emergency.



Rev Frank Chikane



Bishop Tutu

ANC: No talks yet

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress said yesterday that it would not enter into negotiations with South Africa to end white minority rule till Pretoria lifted the state of emergency.

Mr James Stuart, a member of the ANC's policy-making national executive committee, said talks with Pretoria now would be meaningless as blacks were still being killed by South African security forces under the emergency.

"We would lose support if we go into negotiations while our people are being slaughtered on the streets of Johannesburg," he said, referring to ANC supporters killed by police in clashes on Friday and Saturday.

Mr Stuart described the release of Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday as "a step further in meeting our conditions for negotiations".

Mr Stuart said the national executive committee of the ANC would meet this week to discuss Mr F W de Klerk's political reforms, adding: "We have not lost the initiative at all."

The ANC in Lusaka has welcomed the unconditional release of Mr Mandela as another step to creating a climate for negotiation.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the Harare Declaration pre-conditions still had to be met. These were the immediate lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the scrapping of the Internal Security Act and all legislation inhibiting free political activity, the removal of troops from the townships and the abolition of all political trials and executions.

Mr Mandela's immediate task would be to join other freed ANC leaders to become part of the visible ANC leadership in South Africa, said Mr Sebina.

He added that Mr Mandela had expressed the wish to visit Lusaka as soon as possible but this would depend on things to be done in SA.

Mr Joe Slovo, a member of the ANC national executive committee and secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, said the re-

forms announced by President De Klerk on February 2 were "ambiguous".

Mr Slovo returned to Lusaka from consultations in Stockholm with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

"Obviously the release of Mr Mandela is good news to please everyone," Mr Slovo said. "We only hope De Klerk does more, since the ball is in his court."

The ANC spokesman in London, Ms Frene Ginwala, said yesterday, shortly before Mr Mandela was freed, that she believed President De Klerk was sincere in his reform moves.

Speaking on a live BBC television broadcast she said, however, that the dispensation Mr De Klerk was offering was still not the kind of democracy that the majority of people wanted. Asked if she thought Mr Mandela would be able to unite black opposition in South Africa, Ms Ginwala said the pertinent point was that Mr Mandela would be able to unite all, black and white, who believed in democracy for the country. — Sapa

We have no praise for FW, says PAC

Carl Ted
12/2/20
11/4

HARARE. — Both the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday welcomed the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — but the PAC said it had no praise for President F W de Klerk.

In a statement released here, PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwanazi said that by releasing Mr Mandela and other political prisoners Mr De Klerk was not doing the dispossessed African majority any favour, because those people had been illegally imprisoned.

Mr Mkwanazi called on the international community to continue isolating South Africa till a non-racial and democratic society was established.

He appealed to the whole of Africa to continue, through the Organisation of African Unity, to give material and political support to the liberation movements.

He said the PAC was aware Mr Mandela's release would be exploited by "apologists" such as British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, "who even before Mr Mandela was physically out of prison had already talked of increasing European investment to South Africa".

The statement noted that Mr Mandela would return to the same environment he left about 28 years ago.

Meanwhile, Azapo said Mr Mandela's release heralded a new era in the liberation struggle.

"For far too long our struggle has retrogressed more than it has advanced" due to the "jailing of our compatriots of which Mr Mandela has been the most prominent".

Azapo was aware the real struggle for liberation had just begun.

"It is now that the test of man, organisations and ideals really begins," the organisation said. — Sapa

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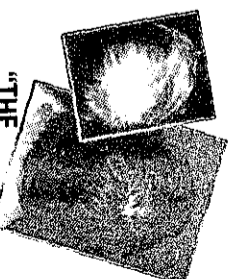
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FREEDOM: African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, left, salutes well-wishers as he leaves Victor Verster Prison near Paarl. Top: The crowds throng around the Mandela cavalcade in front of the City Hall. Above: A happy Mr Nelson Mandela in shirt sleeves as he enters Adderley Street.

AR645 12/2/90

PICTURES: UTTMICHTEL, Reuters.

Struggle goes on,

Mandela tells 80 000

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela emerged from jail yesterday to greet the nation "in the name of peace, democracy and freedom" ... but hammered home a call to intensify the struggle on all fronts, including the armed campaign.

He told a roaring crowd of 80 000 that a climate for negotiations had not yet been created and, while he acknowledged that President De Klerk had "gone further than any other Nationalist president", he made it clear the ANC was not yet satisfied.

In a speech resolute in tone

and content, he demanded an immediate end to the state of emergency and the freeing of "all and not only some" political prisoners.

A "decisive moment" had been reached and "we can wait no longer". It was time to "intensify the struggle on all fronts". Sanctions should not be lifted.

"We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle."

He said: "It must be added that Mr De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honouring his undertakings."

"But as an organisation we base our policy and strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with and this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the Nationalist government."

In fact, Mr Mandela also indicated that the ANC itself was not ready for negotiations.

"The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people."

He repeated his 1964 declaration that he was prepared to die in the fight for a free, democratic society with equal opportunities for all.

The speech, punctuated by cheering, whistling and shouts of "viva" and "amandla", came more than three and a half hours late.

It emerged last night that the National Reception Committee had underestimated the crowd and was fearful of allowing Mr Mandela to appear before being sure that it was safe.

MDM spokesman Mr Dullah Omar said last night: "We were concerned about the situation on the Parade and wanted to be sure there would be no problems."

Mr Omar added that he was "not satisfied" with the security arranged by the rally organisers. (Turn to page 3, col 1)

INSIDE

- International reaction, page 2.
- Injuries and looting, page 3.
- F W at church, page 4.
- Jesse Jackson's sermon, page 4.
- South African reaction, page 5.
- The President's press conference, page 6.
- Full text of Mandela's speech, page 7.
- More pictures, page 7.
- Mandela interview, page 14.

WIN A CAR in the Argus-Atkinson's Toyota Stick-a-pic — new clue on page 9 today.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

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F W must go further, says ANC

Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — The leadership of the African National Congress has welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela back into the liberation movement but urged President De Klerk to go further to create the right climate for negotiations.

A statement by chief spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan said the release would move matters considerably in creating a climate for negotiations.

"On behalf of the leadership of the ANC, the fighting ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the entire membership of the ANC inside and outside South Africa, we greet Nelson Mandela and welcome him back to the warm embrace of our people and the national liberation movement," the statement said.

ANC STATEMENT

The ANC was convinced Mr Mandela would make an outstanding and indispensable contribution to the liberation struggle.

The statement called on President De Klerk to release all political prisoners and lift the state of emergency and other legislation to convince the world he really wanted change.

"There can be no reasonable excuse for the continued incarceration of Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants and others who have taken up arms against the apartheid regime," it said.

Mr Jordan, the National Executive Committee member in charge of information also called on the South African leader to put an end to police action.

LIFT EMERGENCY

Meanwhile, Sapa-Renter reports from Lusaka that the ANC has said it would not enter into negotiations until Pretoria lifts the three-year national state of emergency.

Mr James Stuart, a member of the group's policy-making national executive committee, said talks with Pretoria now would be meaningless, as blacks were still being killed by South African security forces under the emergency.

"We would lose support if we go into negotiations while our

A bold and imaginative step, says Bush

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — President Bush reacted with great pleasure to the news of Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

Mr Bush was given the news personally by the South African Ambassador to the US, Dr Piet Koorhof, in a telephone call early on Saturday.

Dr Koorhof, who relayed a message of goodwill back from Mr Bush to President De Klerk, said Mr Bush had been delighted.

In a brief statement later in the day, Mr Bush described President De Klerk's decision to release Mr Mandela as bold, imaginative and significant step towards democracy in South Africa.

CNN television news quoted an unnamed US official as saying the latest action by Mr De

Klerk could lead to a lifting of sanctions against South Africa. No confirmation on this could be obtained from the State Department on Saturday.

Not all the reaction in the US was enthusiastic, however.

Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, a lobby group which advocates stronger sanctions against South Africa, said it was still too early for Americans to celebrate.

He described Mr De Klerk's statement that all South Africans were to be given Class A citizenship as similar to the promises made by Prime Minister John Vorster and former State President P W Botha.

Mr Robinson described Mr Mandela's release as a tiny step on a long road. A total of between 1 000 and 3 000 other political prisoners still had to

be released, the emergency had to be lifted, the troops removed from black communities and parliament had to repeal discriminatory legislation.

Hundreds of people were expected to take to the streets in Washington DC following the news of Mr Mandela's release.

A Nelson Mandela Reception Committee was formed by the ANC in the United States and several American organisations only two weeks ago. Part of their plans were to organise street celebrations once news of Mr Mandela's freedom had come.

The Bush administration is expected in the next few months to use separate meetings with Mr Mandela and President De Klerk to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

'Sign that apartheid walls may soon be breached'

AUSTRALIAN Prime Minister
Bob Hawke has described Mr Nelson Mandela's release as the most positive sign the world had seen that "the walls of the abhorrent apartheid system may soon be breached".

He urged the government to urgently build on the good will flowing from the release, and to extend democracy. "Australia will do whatever it can to assist in this process," he said.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney commended Mr De Klerk and said "we rejoice in the knowledge that Nelson Mandela will at last be reunited with his family and with his people".

French President Francois Mitterrand welcomed Mr Mandela's release and urged South Africa to press on towards full democracy.

He expressed "great satisfaction" and

"I look forward to serious negotiations starting as soon as possible because I don't think we have time to waste."

Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said the release of Mr Mandela would be a great boost to dialogue "which has as its aim the end of all racist discrimination".

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak congratulated Mr Mandela on his release and said: "The decision to release you is a victory for human rights everywhere".

'NOBLE SPIRIT'

"Your victory is the fruit of sacrifices by our great people in South Africa inspired by your noble spirit and legendary steadfastness," Mr Mubarak said in a message.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat hailed the event and

MANDELAS IN AMERICA: Mrs Zenni Mandela-Diamini, daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela, holds the hand of her daughter Zamaswazi at a news conference in Boston to comment on Mr Mandela's release. Mrs Mandela-Diamini attends Boston University.



MANDELA RELEASE

Trafalgar Square chaos over release

LONDON. — It was like a "mini New Year's celebration" in London's Trafalgar Square yesterday as thousands of anti-apartheid supporters and on-lookers gathered to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

By 1pm London time — the time he was scheduled to be released in South Africa — the cheering, chanting, dancing and flag-waving crowd spilled over pavements and forced police to close the square outside the South African Embassy as the bells from St Martins in the Field chimed next door.

CHURCH BELLS

Estimates of the crowd

Thatcher rules out immediate visit to SA

LONDON. — British Premier Margaret Thatcher has ruled out an immediate visit to South Africa following the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, her last condition for such a trip.

Speaking to newsmen at the Young Conservatives conference in Torquay, she said a "huge task" preparing the way for negotiations now lay ahead in South Africa.

She is however expected to visit South Africa later this year, after President De Klerk has taken up her invitation to come to Britain during the next few months.

Mrs Thatcher's Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, speaking at a Press conference shortly before departing for Canada, said there was a "surge of hope" all over the world at Mr Mandela's release.

It was only Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock, who was being "mean and grudging about it."

"NO LONGER LOGICAL"

The Labour Party has welcomed Mr Mandela's release but emphasised it believes international pressure must be maintained.

The party would only consider reviewing its stance on sanctions and boycotts once Mr Mandela and the ANC called for these to be lifted.

Echoing Mrs Thatcher's statement on lifting some of the sanctions against South Africa immediately, Mr Hurd

Release dominates front pages in UK top papers

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — News of Mr Nelson Mandela's release after 27 years' jail was the dominant item in the media yesterday, with the event being cautiously welcomed by all of Britain's major newspapers.

Nearly all the papers alluded to the enormous role Mr Mandela must play to help bring about a resolution of South Africa's political conflict.

Writing in The Independent on Sunday, John Carlin said Mr Mandela would, with the possible exception of President De Klerk, "emerge as the most



Mrs Margaret Thatcher

said the European Community agreed measures, particularly the ban on new investment in South Africa, "are no longer logical."

He would be raising the matter with his EC counterparts at their next meeting in Dublin, on February 20.

Meanwhile, news of Mr Mandela's release dominated the front pages of Britain's "heavy" Fleet Street Sunday newspapers, as well as those of a number of the tabloids.

The photograph of President De Klerk and Mr Mandela at their meeting on Friday night — the first official picture of the ANC leader since his imprisonment — was prominently carried. — Sapa.

"For South Africans, his freedom compares in significance with the fall of the Berlin Wall: it is not a final step towards democracy, but an irrevocable beginning."

The Observer's Allister Sparks said Mr Mandela's release removed "the last major obstacle" to negotiation between Pretoria, the ANC and other black organisations.

The Sunday Times said in its front-page lead story, headlined "Five shot dead on eve of Mandela's freedom", that the news of Mr Mandela's freedom

people are being slaughtered on the streets of Johannesburg," he said, referring to five ANC supporters killed by police in clashes on Friday and Saturday.

event for human rights." Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who is a devout Christian, said: "The first thing I did was to say 'thank God. He is great!'"

said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle. "The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against

ernment reaffirms the certainty of man's victory everywhere in his just battle against the forces of evil, terrorism and apartheid," said King Hussein. — Sapa-Reuter.

10 000. Reports came in of church bells in many towns also ringing out at 1pm. Organisers said the demonstration also was aimed at re-

en up and the *Free Mandela* record, banned in South Africa, was played over a public address system and amplified by thousands of voices joining in. — Sapa.

African politics." The Sunday Correspondent's Shaun Johnson echoed the view of most newspapers that Mr Mandela would carry the hope of South Africa with him.

by police of five demonstrators on Saturday. All of Britain's serious newspapers carried the first picture of the ANC leader on their front pages.

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Mandela says 'unity is the critical catalyst'

ARK 12/2/90
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For 26 years there has been no contact between Mr Nelson Mandela and South African journalists, but last week JOAN FUBBS of The South African Press Association was permitted to interview the ANC leader before his release from prison

IN an interview shortly before his release, Mr Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny. Unity, he said in the first interview given to a South African journalist since his imprisonment 26 years ago, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and not one torn apart by the racial divisions manipulated by the policy and structures of apartheid.

INTERVIEW

"Unity, not just between the oppressed but between all South Africans, is the critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country," he said.

Harmony

Mr Mandela added that he had always been committed to creating harmony in South Africa and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country. But, he said, "unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy."

Any impression that he had now accepted the government's concept of freedom and their agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all South Africans.

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: majority rule in a unitary state,

and the insistence on the protection of the political position of whites.

The protection of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

"As long as whites think in terms of group rights they are talking the language of apartheid."

Positive

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, the freeing of certain political prisoners and the lifting of other restrictions were positive moves towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure.

There was much that still had to be done, but the beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight.

This was not the time to relax but to press forward with renewed vigour.

Equality

"Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle," Mr Mandela emphasised.

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle launched by their grandfathers. It was not a new struggle, nor was the struggle divided in its goals.

"The youth have given the struggle fresh impetus, not a new direction."

He added that the old guard and the youth — "everyone" — remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent en-

dorsement as represented in the Harare Declaration.

Dominant

"Freedom cannot be given in doses; one is either free or not free — not half-free."

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform only benefitted the white politically dominant group.

The government should know by now that it could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

Reconciliation

However, he added this was a time of reconciliation and not recrimination, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on broken promises in the past, and a time to concentrate on constructing a new South Africa.

On the issue of the armed struggle he said this was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy, but one that should not be blown up out of context.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans, did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Justice

Some people had given their lives, others had suffered many hardships in the pursuit of liberation, hence there could be no compromise over social

justice.

Concerning the violence in Natal, Mr Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in South Africa if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively, with commitment and discipline, towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution to the problems in South Africa, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

Preferential

"We must work towards a common destiny and that can only be achieved through a non-racial society and not one in which whites continue to demand special political treatment.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

He said just as he needed to be able to share his ideas about how to construct a democratic South Africa, so too did all his fellow comrades who had battled against the greatest difficulties to build democratic structures.

Shackled

For him to have been unconditionally freed into a shackled political environment would not have solved anything.

Mr Mandela added he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for continued commitment and a unified thrust.

Release opens 'new possibilities' - ANC

STAR 12/4/90 The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The release of Nelson Mandela had opened up new possibilities for the resolution of the apartheid problem by political means, the secretary-general and acting president of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, said yesterday.

A statement issued here yesterday in the name of the national executive committee and signed by Mr Nzo said that the release of Mr Mandela

was "a direct result of the struggles and sacrifices of the masses of our country and the international community".

The statement noted that the release of Mr Mandela followed the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the introduction of other measures "which constitute important steps towards the creation of an atmosphere of free political activity within South Africa".

PAC's Barney Desai back in SA after 27 years' exile

CAPL Times 12/2/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Barney Desai, a member of the PAC's central committee who has been in exile for 27 years, returned to South Africa with his son and daughter on Saturday.

Mr Desai, a former president of the Coloured People's Party and Cape Town City Councillor for District Six, his daughter Zivia and his son Rehad arrived at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before 11am to a small PAC welcoming committee.

He is believed to be the first long-term exile to have returned to SA.

Members of the PAC legal team were on hand in case Mr Desai should be detained.

One of the team, Mr Dinkgang Mosenke, said at the airport that the movement had been assured by the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, that Mr Desai would not be arrested but could be interrogated.

Mr Desai left SA in 1967 while on

bail on a charge of attending an illegal gathering.

"I am very happy to be back at home with my people," he said while embracing members of his welcoming committee.

"I want to be with my people and am prepared to continue the struggle for the dignity of my people.

"Just now I am very happy to be home and I will play my part."

Mr Desai was a member of the PAC's central committee based at the organisation's United Nations mission in New York.

He was head of the SA Coloured People's Congress, which was affiliated to the Congress of Democrats and affiliated to the ANC, Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses. Following his restriction in the '60s he was forced to resign the presidency of the party.

Mr Desai, who practised as a barrister in London, said he went into exile as he had been "stripped of all civil rights". — Sapa

African states laud SA struggle

TUNIS — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday hailed the release of black nationalist Nelson Mandela and said Palestinians and most South Africans were fighting the same battle. (11A)

"The struggle of the people of Palestine and South Africa is a common struggle against racism, colonialism and oppression for one just cause — to win the right to self-determination," Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, said in a message to Mandela. (11A)

Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Tunis-based Arab League, said in a statement: "The Arab peoples, who never ceased supporting and admiring him (Mandela), hail his fight for freedom and equality between the races and wish him com-

plete victory over racial discrimination."

The Tunisian newspaper La Presse said that with the release of Mandela, SA's future depended on his and F W De Klerk's ability to persuade whites and blacks to abandon the politics of "all-or-nothing".

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Saturday also congratulated Mandela. "The decision to release you is a victory for human rights everywhere," Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), told Mandela in a telegram. 8102 12/2/90

Mandela's release marked the start of "the total liberation of our brothers in South Africa", Mubarak said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Bush wants to meet SA leaders

WASHINGTON — President George Bush's administration is expected in the next few months to use separate meetings with newly-freed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk to encourage negotiations on a new constitution.

Repeatedly, the US has expressed willingness to do whatever it can to further a non-racial and democratic SA.

The release of Mandela yesterday after 27 years in jail will test that commitment.

Although Bush hailed as "bold and imaginative" De Klerk's decision to free Mandela, it may be some time before US sanctions against SA are lifted.

Mandela's release still does not satisfy the demands of US law, which calls for freedom for all political prisoners, the repeal of anti-apartheid laws and the lifting of the state of emergency, among other things.

"Certain things have to be done before President Bush can modify or reverse the sanctions legislation; and those things have not happened yet," a US State Department official said.

"I welcome this move and view it as another significant step on the road to the non-racial democratic SA which we all desire," Bush said

in a statement from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, after De Klerk announced his intention to free Mandela.

Bush also reiterated his desire for separate meetings with De Klerk and Mandela "in the coming months as part of my continuing dialogue with the SA leadership".

Policy towards SA has split the US in recent years. The US Congress in 1986 passed economic sanctions against Pretoria over President Ronald Reagan's veto. Bush and his top aides have indicated they would like to avoid such divisiveness and forge a more bipartisan approach to Pretoria.

They seem more willing to work with the anti-apartheid group in Congress and elsewhere. Even with Mandela's release, the anti-apartheid lobby has cautioned against revoking prematurely the sanctions that many view as effective in forcing De Klerk to move towards reform. *By 12/21/90*

Beyond the US reaction to Mandela's release is the question of how the ANC, legalised by De Klerk only last week after a 30-year ban, will handle itself now that the way has been cleared for serious talks with the SA government. — Sapa-Reuter.

Teargas and rainstorm fail to quell jubilation

Thousands sweep through city centre

By Karen Stander
and Janet Heard

Tens of thousands of revellers celebrating the release of Mr Nelson Mandela thronged the streets of central Johannesburg yesterday in a number of spontaneous marches.

Neither a dose of teargas nor a sudden thunderstorm were enough to deter one crowd.

Followed by a cavalcade of cars and minibuses with ANC flags fluttering from windows and a large contingent of police vehicles, one march, which later swelled to more than 10 000-strong, began in the city centre before 2 pm.

The crowd toyi-toyed through Joubert Park, Hillbrow and Berea, up Harrow Road, down Louis Botha Avenue and back through Hillbrow.

In Hillbrow, a pedestrian was knocked down by a vehicle during the celebrations.

A witness told Sapa that a group of Mandela supporters had gathered in Pretoria Street and were wending their way towards Claim Street when a small vehicle accelerated into the crowd.

"Three people in the car just drove into the crowd. I saw one person fall down, and the car sped away. Paramedics arrived and took the injured person away," the witness claimed.

Injured reveller

She added police arrived shortly afterwards and redirected the crowd away from oncoming traffic.

In Berea, an elderly white woman waved cheerfully from a third-floor balcony while a middle-aged man was heard to say: "They should all be shot."

At the corner of Edith Cavell and Pretoria Streets in Hillbrow thousands of people scattered when police fired teargas in an attempt to disperse the crowd. Undeterred and shouting ANC slogans, they immediately regrouped on the same spot.

To the accompaniment of car hooters, the march returned to Joubert Park, around the city and back to Hillbrow where the joyous atmosphere was reminiscent of New Year's Eve. Hundreds of people watched from the balconies of flats and waitresses in black dresses and frilly aprons cheered from the pavements outside restaurants.

An ice-cream vendor on a bicycle followed all the way. Although he was not seen dispensing any wares, he lifted several women who perched on his ice-box as he struggled to pedal up hills.

The numbers swelled as pedestrians joined in the spontaneous marches which swept through the city.

As one crowd dispersed, another was formed in a different street.

The crowds circled several Hillbrow blocks a number of times before returning to the city centre at about 6 pm.

While most people, black and white, were well-behaved, a handful of blacks taunted whites, yelling "Freedom is coming. Whites get out". A few furious whites lashed out, hurling bottles and insults at the blacks.

At the Carlton shopping centre, three young black men surrounded a young white couple, spitting on the frightened pair and shaking fists at them. Other blacks intervened and chased the men away.

STH 21/2/90

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(11A)



An excited crowd gathers opposite the Mandelas' home in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday as Soweto celebrated the release of the African National Congress leader. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek

SAR 12/2/90 (11A)

Vilakazi Street erupts in toyi toying, singing

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Soweto exploded into unbridled joy as Nelson Mandela took his first steps to freedom.

After his release yesterday afternoon, young and old burst on to the streets, dancing, whistling, singing and waving ANC and SACP flags.

Driving rain did nothing to damp the excitement outside Mr Mandela's house in Vilakazi

Street, Orlando West.

Thousands poured into the street. Numbers were impossible to estimate as the masses were constantly on the move, circling the block and toyi-toying down the street.

Children were hoisted shoulder-high, as were pictures and posters of Mr Mandela.

Outside Mr Mandela's house the ANC flag flew and ANC co-

lours were emblazoned on the garage door above a sign saying: "We celebrate your release. Welcome home Dr Mandela. You are a genuine people's leader. Long live ANC!"

At the rally in Jabulani stadium, which was packed to capacity, with thousands more outside, the mood was one of jubilation and excitement, reports Sapa.

The stadium was draped in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC, and an SACP flag and other banners lent a festive atmosphere.

The only sign of police presence was a helicopter which buzzed the stadium a few times.

● Shebeens in Hillbrow ran dry yesterday as hundreds of patrons flooded the liquor venues to toast Mr Mandela's release.

Kaunda urges ANC to suspend guerilla war

There was immediate world-wide reaction yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia last night urged the ANC to suspend guerilla actions in South Africa in the wake of the release of Mr Mandela. He added that the ANC's military

capability should remain in place to counter the presence of white right-wing extremists in South Africa.

□□□

President George Bush spoke by telephone to Mr Mandela last night and offered to use US influence to help resolve racial tensions in South Africa. He said he invited Mr Mandela to the White House for talks. Mr Bush extended a similar invitation to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

□□□

In London, Britain's official opposition Labour Party demanded that Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government make a clear statement in parliament today on her controversial move to lift some sanctions against South Africa. Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock said Mr de Klerk had not yet earned a relaxation of sanctions.

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Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for international affairs, said Mrs Thatcher should carefully study the speech made by Mr Mandela after his release and should not lift sanctions.

□□□

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, in Cape Town to witness the release of Mr Mandela, brought one shocking accusation into US coverage of the event yesterday when he was quoted as saying he had seen a policeman shoot an innocent bystander without provocation. The statement was made by Mr Randall Robinson, head of Trans-Africa. Mr Robinson said he had been telephoned by Mr Jackson, who told him the police had fired on a crowd of blacks who had gathered to meet him at Crossroads.

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Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney invited Mr Mandela to Ottawa for talks. External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark said he was planning a visit to South Africa.

□□□

Mr Marcelino dos Santos, chairman of Mozambique's People's Assembly and number two in the ruling Frelimo Party hierarchy, said Mr Mandela's release showed sanctions were needed against South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter-Associated Press — The Star's Foreign Service — The Star's Africa News Service.

Three dead in shack ^{MUS} attack, say ^{8/2/90} Crossroads residents

By EDWARD MOLONIYANE
Staff Reporter

THREE people died when four men shot at a shack before setting it alight in a new outburst of violence in the troubled township of Crossroads, according to residents.

Residents claimed the shooting was connected to the continuing power struggle between followers of the controversial mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and his opponents.

The dead were two women and a man, according to residents, who could not identify the victims. They are believed to have been visitors.

Police said a man and a youth died in the incident and a second youth was shot dead in another part of the township.

HEARD GUNFIRE

The attack took place about 3am yesterday at the Boys' Town home of Mr William Si-tyodana, one of 14 headmen who broke away from Mr Ngxobongwana.

Mr Kedamile Manisi, a neighbour whose shack was partly burnt, said he and Mr Si-tyodana were at another headman's house about 500 metres away when they heard gunfire from the direction of their homes.

They had just returned from "patrolling" about 2.30am, he said.

"The shooting went on for about 10 minutes."

He said a man told them that the isibonda's (headman's) home was on fire and they investigated.

"When we arrived a woman lay at the door outside and a number of neighbours were battling fruitlessly to put out the fire." The shack was razed.

Mr Manisi said that when firefighters arrived an hour later "a man and another person" were found.

They were "burned beyond recognition but still alive" and were taken to hospital "with slim chances of survival".

Another neighbour, Mrs Lucy Mtsweni, whose shack had two pellet holes, said she and her family were awakened by gunfire.

"When I peeped through the window there were huge flames outside and I could not see which shack was burning. The shooting continued. A red station wagon stood down the street. I saw about four men with long guns running towards

She said she joined other neighbours in attempts to put out the fire but their efforts were fruitless.

MURDER PROBES

A police spokesman, Captain Attie Laubscher said a youth and a young man had been burnt to death in the incident. They were Mr Tiekie Jordana, 24, and Michael Jordana, 15.

A youth, Zolisa Mgutyana, 16, was shot dead in another part of the township, he said.

Police were investigating two cases of murder and two of arson. No arrests have been

smr 12/2/90

Jail gates open on a legend

By Helen Grange

Mr Nelson Mandela walked as a free man through the gates of Victor Verster prison yesterday — amid the jubilant cries of a crowd that had waited all afternoon for this historic moment.

Dressed in a neat grey suit, the world's best known prisoner walked hand in hand with his wife, Winnie, through the prison gates at 4.16pm — more than an hour after the scheduled time of his release.

The thronging crowd — waving ANC flags, singing and shouting ANC slogans — was greeted by a smiling Mr Mandela giving the "black power" salute as he walked down the street through the prison gate.

A heavy police contingent along the street leaving the prison entrance managed to keep the singing, dancing crowd at bay only for moments before the couple were swamped by ANC supporters. After only a few steps, the couple returned to the car awaiting them just inside

(11A) the prison gates. (10)

As the car slowly left the prison — preceded by a convoy of policemen on motorcycles — ANC supporters broke through the police barriers to touch the vehicle as it passed.

Mr and Mrs Mandela continued saluting and smiling at the crowd behind the closed windows of the car.

The crowd and scores of foreign media representatives waited patiently in the sun for the release, occasionally bursting into song and cheers.

At exactly 3pm, Mr Mandela's family and close friends, including Mr Walter Sisulu, arrived at the prison.

While Mr Mandela greeted his wife and friends, the anxious wait continued. A supporter, wearing traditional tribal dress, entertained the crowd by singing and dancing in the street.

After his symbolic steps on free South African soil, Mr Mandela and his wife were driven to Cape Town.

Three dead in shack ^{At 6.15} attack, say ^{8/2/90} Crossroads residents

By EDWARD MOLOKYANE
Staff Reporter

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They had just returned from "patrolling" about 2.30am, he said.

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Police were investigating two cases of murder and two of arson. No arrests have been

FW: Mandela is committed to peace

COPY Text 12/2/90 (11A) (12/2/90)

Political Correspondent
PRESIDENT F W De Klerk said at the weekend that following two discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela he had come to the conclusion that the ANC leader was "committed to a peaceful solution and a peaceful process".

Speaking at his first international press conference to announce Mr Mandela's release, a relaxed and confident Mr De Klerk said the ANC leader's release became "a certainty" the moment he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release would "bring us to the end of a long chapter" of a process that had been started by his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

"Since the moment Mr Mandela met him at Tuynhuys, and since the moment that Mr Mandela clearly stated his commitment to peaceful solutions, it was a certainty that he would be released."

Mr De Klerk called upon Mr Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contribution towards creating a positive climate for peace and negotiations.

Asked if Mr Mandela now "officially rejects violence", Mr De Klerk said: "I do not intend this afternoon to speak on behalf of Mr Mandela."

Facilitator

Dealing with Mr Mandela's role in negotiations between the government and the ANC, Mr De Klerk said he followed an open-door policy.

"Should he come forward and be prepared to play the role of facilitator... to interest himself in promoting talks about talks, the door is open to him."

Giving his impressions of the ANC leader, based on their two meetings, Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela struck him as a friendly man.

He told journalists that his talks with Mr Mandela had taken place in a very civil atmosphere.

"He's an elderly man, he's a dignified man, he's an interesting man," he said.

Asked to describe Mr Mandela's reaction to the news of his release date, Mr De Klerk said he did not think he would like to comment on that.

Mr De Klerk said that during his

meeting with Mr Mandela he had "stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable me to lift the state of emergency without jeopardising the maintenance of law and order."

"Regarding the position of persons involved in politically motivated crimes, I indicated that while this is a matter that should be dealt with in negotiations, exploratory discussions could take place in the meantime."

Asked by a questioner about full citizenship rights for blacks, Mr De Klerk replied that it was a misconception that the government did not want to give full rights to black South Africans.

The question was how to structure them to accommodate the diversity of SA's total society in a non-discriminatory manner.

Mr De Klerk said his government was committed to bringing about a constitution that was fair and just to all the people of South Africa.

He said he had indicated in his address at the opening of Parliament and in another statement that there was reason for concern about Mr Mandela's safety once he was out of jail.

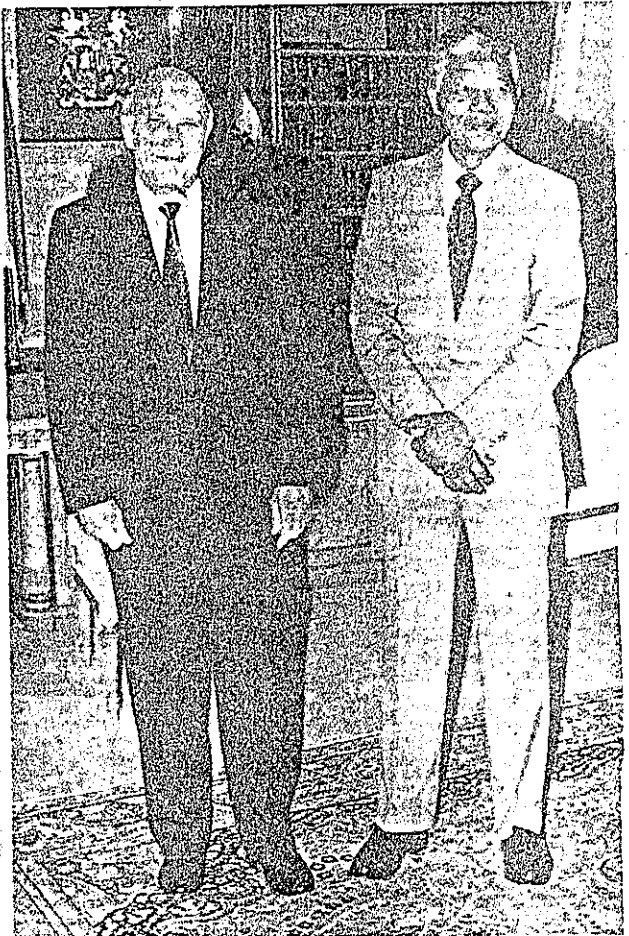
The state would secure Mr Mandela's safety while he was in the custody "but when he is released he becomes a free man".

"I hope now this chapter is ended that the world and all the people of South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play a supportive role in bringing to a conclusion the process that has been started."

Asked whether he believed his announcement would meet United States pre-conditions for lifting sanctions, Mr De Klerk replied: "We are not working against checklists. We are doing what we believe to be in the best interests of South Africa."

Asked if the presence in SA of US presidential hopeful the Rev Jesse Jackson had anything to do with the timing of the release, he said: "As far as the release of Nelson Mandela is concerned, his presence is totally irrelevant."

Asked if Mr Mandela was unhappy about being released before the lifting of the state of emergency and finally over political offenders had been reached, Mr De Klerk said: "I will not speak on his behalf. I went to great lengths to explain to him what the situation is with regard to the state of emergency."



FIRST PICTURE... President F W de Klerk with Mr Nelson Mandela at their meeting on Friday. This was the first picture the world has seen of Mr Mandela since he was imprisoned in 1964.

All in SA must work 'for common destiny'

B/Pw/12/2/90

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CAPE TOWN — Shortly before his release Nelson Mandela called on all South Africans to work towards a common destiny.

Unity, he said in an interview, could be achieved only through a non-racial society and was the "critical catalyst in resolving the problems in our country".

He had always been committed to creating harmony in SA and in exploiting any opening that offered hope of a non-racial and democratic country.

"Unfortunately whites fear the reality of democracy," said Mandela.

Any impression that he had now accepted government's concept of freedom and its agenda to end apartheid was a distortion of his desire to work towards justice and peace for all.

He said negotiations would have to address two basic issues: majority rule in a unitary state and the insistence on the protection of the whites' political position.

The protection of individual rights in the ANC Freedom Charter protected everyone without resorting to the protection of group rights.

He said the unbanning of political organisations and their members, freeing of certain political prisoners and the

lifting of other restrictions was a positive move towards creating a positive climate but that this was a result of the struggle and international pressure.

The beginning of the end of the liberation struggle, launched by the ANC, was now in sight, but he emphasised: "Not until my people have achieved political equality, economic equality and social equality can we begin to relax the struggle."

He said the youth of today were carrying on the struggle and giving it "fresh impetus, not a new direction".

Promises

He added that "everyone" remained committed to the Freedom Charter and its recent endorsement . . . represented in the Harare Declaration.

He said to talk of a programme of gradual reform only benefited the white, politically dominant group.

Government should know by now it could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiation cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

He added this was a time of recon-

ciliation and not recrimination, of pursuing all positive moves and not dwelling on past broken promises, and to concentrate on constructing a new SA.

On the issue of the armed struggle he said this was only one element, albeit an important one, in the overall liberation strategy.

Only after the failure of decades of peaceful demonstrations to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws, which sought to destroy the dignity of black South Africans, did certain members of the ANC resort to the armed struggle.

Concerning violence in Natal, Mandela said it was a glimpse of what could happen in SA if all South Africans did not resolve to work constructively . . . with commitment and discipline towards a non-racial and democratic SA.

It was absolutely essential that every individual group seeking a solution to the problems in SA, by whichever means, should subordinate themselves to a common aim.

"But as long as whites insist on a preferential political position there can be no peace in our country."

Mandela added he was more hopeful now than he had been for many years, but he warned of the necessity for commitment and a unified thrust. — Sapa.

11A
Release date caught reception team by surprise

Monday 12/2/90
CHARLENE SMITH

FEBRUARY 11 was a date no-one had ringed in red as a likely release date for Nelson Mandela — and that includes the MDM's National Reception Committee (NRC).

The NRC, formed last year when seven ANC leaders were released on October 15, has co-ordinated their movements, interviews, appointments and security. It has also been planning the details around Mandela's release since late last year.

UDF secretary general Popo Molefe, who was among 20 UDF leaders who met Mandela on Friday, said Mandela had received no indication by then of his release date.

Some NRC leaders were tipped off late last week that the release of Mandela would be either on Sunday or Monday, but no concerted planning was undertaken as a result.

Among the issues the NRC is now working on are the timing and circumstances of Mandela's Johannesburg arrival, his first Johannesburg rally and when he will travel to Lusaka for consultations with the ANC in exile.

It is believed Mandela's wife Winnie wanted her husband to hold his first rally in Johannesburg, but those who have visited him recently said he felt an affection and commitment to the people of Paarl and the Western Cape, and wanted his first rally to be in the Cape.

Fierce Sayco youths Mandelas Guard

APR 12 1988 (11A)

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE mysterious youths seen keeping watch over Nelson and Winnie Mandela whenever they appear in public apparently belong to the fiercely militant youth movement, the South African Youth Congress.

Mr Mandela chose to have their protection rather than take up Minister Adriaan Vlok's offer of police protection.

His personal bodyguard of suited "young lions" prowl about public events, assessing crowd situations, and appear to be armed. They are also much in evidence at the ANC leader's Soweto home.

Ties with Winnie

Prior to Mr Mandela's release the national leadership of Sayco developed a close relationship with Mrs Mandela and members of the Mandela household have since been directing media queries to Sayco general-secretary, Mr Rapu Molekane, for comment.

The organisation has come out clearly in defence of Mrs Mandela and about a fortnight ago Sayco issued a statement slating those who were critical of Mrs Mandela for building her Orlando West "palace".

The Sayco statement followed recent reports of conflict between the MDM's National Reception Committee and Sayco leadership about who was to handle the Mandela press campaign.

And fears that the major youth movement could seriously challenge the policies of the MDM and the UDF have been expressed.

Soon after the unbanning of the ANC there were claims that Sayco would simply form themselves into the ANC Youth League. However, MDM sources say the ANC Youth League already exists and Sayco cannot simply take control of it.

Although the organisation claims a membership of an estimated half a million it is not easy to confirm because a myriad of different youth groups have linked themselves to the umbrella body.

Township-based youth movements such as the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) have in the past decade been at the forefront of anti-apartheid resis-

tance and the national umbrella body Sayco is a powerful force within the UDF and the MDM.

The rallying cry of Sayco: "Freedom or death; victory is certain" and its colours: black, green, gold and red are common at political rallies. Its logo is a youth holding a red flag.

The organisation's guiding principles are the Freedom Charter.

Its roots go back to the August 1985 banning of the Congress of South African Students. Indeed executive members of Sayco, Mr Peter Mokaba, who is currently in detention, Mr Rapu Molekane and Mr Ephraim Nkwe have been dubbed "The Class of 87" as members were graduates of the banned Cosas.

After the banning of Cosas, its affiliates, Soyco and the Soweto Students Congress (Sosco), continued to speak for the youth in the township. In March 1987, after months of behind-the-scenes meetings between regional and township based youth groups, the national structure of Sayco was formed under State of Emergency conditions.

Although Sayco has links with the other major youth movement, the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), the two organisations are not affiliated to each other.

The February 1988 clampdown struck 12 major national and regional youth structures including: Sayco, the South African National Students Congress, the Cape Youth Congress, the Soweto Youth Congress and the Azanian Youth Organisation. By September 1988 the entire Sayco executive committee was being held in terms of Emergency regulations.

Unbanned itself

Sayco sputtered on and then unbanned itself last year along with other extra-parliamentary organisations.

Two weeks ago, however, emergency restrictions on the movement were officially lifted when State President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC, the PAC and the SACP. But Sayco national president Peter Mokaba, detained in January this year, is still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Roar of jubilation shakes SA House

LONDON — A mighty roar of jubilation shook the armour-plated windows of South Africa House yesterday when a singing, dancing, surging throng of about 5 000 in Trafalgar Square heard Nelson Mandela was finally free.

The crowd, which had been swelling throughout a bitter cold night, ignored freezing rain and a biting wind.

People were in a mood of noisy but well-behaved exhilaration, and cheers went up in mid-morning when they were allowed to move out of the square onto the road outside the embassy.

After several false alarms and an hour-long delay in which the London crowd shared the anxiety felt 10 000km away in Cape Town, a crowd organiser stepped forward with a microphone and bellowed: "He's free! Mandela is free."

Youngsters popped champagne corks and tourists joined in the celebration.

There had been concern earlier when about 15 burly skinheads, wearing bovver boots and paramilitary gear, lined up opposite a group from the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). They retreated after police warned them they faced arrest under the Public Order Act if there was "any provocation".

But by midday the euphoric crowd was jostling good-naturedly on the street, dancing between the cars.

People celebrated in different ways. Nikki Spencer, 29, clutched an enormous poster of the youthful Mandela in

IAN HOBBS

one hand and an unopened bottle of Sainsbury's champagne in the other. "I don't belong to any group or movement but I think it's brilliant that he's been released today."

Joe Collier and son Joshua, 14, unfurled a sheet reading "Mandela's Column" as they stood beneath the statue of Admiral Nelson.

A group from the London Sariba School tried in vain to make their drums heard above the din. Brian Harris, a British Rail fitter, put Mandela's release down to "that great man Mr Gorbachev".

Focus

Two girls danced together in the road and a Jamaican woman, dressed in a flamboyant if flimsy cotton outfit, laughed off the cold as she stamped her feet in time to the ANC anthem.

Sheena Ferguson, 22, from Johannesburg, said: "I think Mandela will be a focus for peaceful change in my country, but he is not a messiah, and it will be a while before things get better."

The AAM said it would hold an extraordinary general meeting on Friday to decide if the non-stop picket it started outside outside South Africa House four years ago should end.

CPK 11-15 12/2/90

'Don't rob Boerevolk of country'

11A
BOERS

JOHANNESBURG. — The ultra-right-wing Boerestaat Party (BP) yesterday said it granted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela his freedom as a Xhosa.

BP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said Mr Mandela would be making a "deadly mistake" if he thought he could "rob" the "Boerevolk" of their rightful land and freedom, by involving himself in President F W de Klerk's government.

"It also follows logically that (convicted Wit Wolf killer) Barend Strydom should be immediately released because Mr Mandela's ANC organisation has killed many more people than Strydom ever could have dreamed of killing," Mr Van Tonder said.

The chief information officer of the Conservative Party, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said that by taking this step the government had capitulated, because Mr Mandela had not acceded to a single demand. — Sapa



CROSS KOOS ... CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe accuses President F W de Klerk of capitulation following the announcement that Mr Nelson Mandela was to be freed.

Sanctions 'stay' until apartheid pillars lifted

PRETORIA — US presidential hopeful the Rev Jesse Jackson said at the weekend that the lifting of sanctions required the release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the emergency and the abolition of the "pillars of apartheid".

These he defined as the Group Areas, Population Registration, Land and Separate Amenities Acts.

In addition, he told a press conference, "negotiations must be in place".

Addressing newsmen at a Sea Point hotel on Saturday evening, Mr Jackson and Dr Allan Boesak alleged that police opened fire on a crowd of about 2 000 which gathered in Crossroads on Saturday to welcome him.

One man was wounded, they said.

Police in Pretoria issued two statements about the incident, saying initially that police had not used firearms "at any stage".

This was corrected later to state that shots fired near vehicles in the entourage of Mr Jackson had not been aimed in the direction of the vehicles.

The second police statement said "a black man in possession of an R4 rifle fired on an opposing group and at other SAP members in the area".

"An SAP foot patrol returned fire but the man escaped.

"The shots heard by Mr Jackson were thus not fired in Mr Jackson's direction," the police report said.

● A man was forcibly ejected and another was asked to leave the hotel after harranguing Mr Jackson.

In a further altercation outside, one of the men was knocked down by a punch from a hotel staffer. — Sapa

474 71415
Turoks 12/2/90
allowed in (11A)
for a week (11A)

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
Two well-known left-wing academics last week became the first ANC exiles known to return to South Africa on a visit limited by the government to one week.

Mr Ben Turok, 62, disclosed that he and his wife Mary, 57, arrived on a strictly personal visit last Tuesday on the urging of relatives following Mr F W de Klerk's February 2 speech.

They arrived at Jan Smuts Airport using British passports, not knowing whether he would be arrested, sent back or allowed in.

He was one of the more than 100 people delisted following the speech.

"When the customs officials checked on their computers, our names came up. We had already briefed an attorney who quickly got into contact with De Klerk's office, and they decided to give us one-week visas," Mr Turok said.

Mr Turok, now a London academic and a member of the ANC's regional political committee in the UK for the past three years, fled in 1966.

SOWETAN

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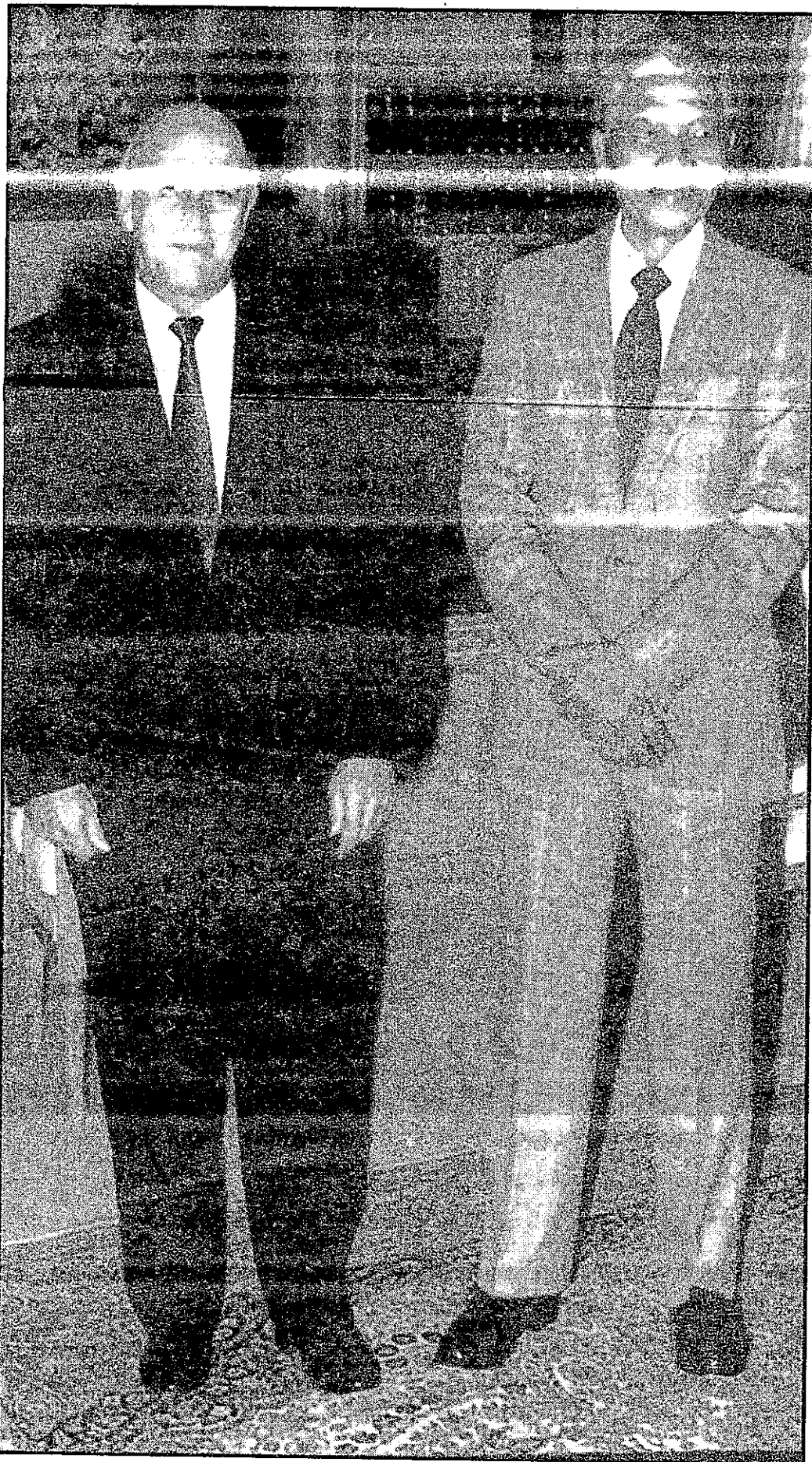
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Nelson Mandela free after 27 years



Two men who shook the world. President FW de Klerk and a trim Mr Nelson Mandela, photographed at Tuynhuys on Friday night. More pictures and stories inside.

IN recognition of the historic events that gripped the country's imagination yesterday, the Sowetan has postponed the publication of your favourite columns and features. The sports pages also had to be given less prominence for this, your souvenir copy of the Sowetan.

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11A

MANDELA: Free at last

Mandela calls for armed struggle

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the continuation of the armed struggle, saying some of the factors for embarking upon it still existed.

In his first public speech since being released yesterday afternoon after nearly

By Sello Rabothata, Themba Molefe and Sapa

three decades in prison, Mandela told thousands of enthusiasts at the Cape Town City hall that he remained a loyal member of the ANC, subscribing fully to its strategies and policies.

This included armed struggle. He said

the ANC had no option but to continue the armed struggle. He hoped that factors conducive to negotiations would come about soon so that there would be no more need for armed struggle.

Released from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl at 4.20 pm yesterday, the tall, slender, grey haired and immaculately dressed Nelson Mandela walked out of the prison gate and gave a clenched fist salute to a tumultuous welcome from about 5000 people who had been waiting for his release since 10am.

He was escorted by police, traffic officers and supporters along the 60km route to Cape Town in a manner befitting a head of state.

Enthusiastic crowds of people lined the highway waving placards and shouting pro-Mandela and ANC slogans.

Cape Town came to a standstill as thousands

gathered at the Grand Parade where Mandela praised State President F W De Klerk as a man of integrity. He said De Klerk had gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation.

The majority of whites and blacks in South Africa today realised that apartheid had no future, ANC. Mr Nelson Mandela told a vast crowd in Cape Town City Hall last night.

"However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration, before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

Mr Mandela said the ANC's resorting to the armed struggle with the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1960 was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid.

Meanwhile, violence marred the welcome of the ANC leader with a number of people, including a boy aged about eight, being shot. This was when youths went on the rampage and started breaking windows of shops in the city and looting.

In his address at 8 pm Mandela called for the immediate end to the State of Emergency. He



OUT: Released African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela punches the air on leaving Victor Verster Prison at the end of over 27 years in jail.

said the struggle against white domination should be intensified.

Describing State President FW de Klerk as a man of integrity, Mandela said: "He is the only nationalist president who has gone further in creating a climate conducive to peace in this country. The sight of freedom is on the horizon."

Mandela called for the immediate release of all "and not some" political prisoners and said the Government should meet all the requirements of the Harare Declaration before negotiations could begin.

As thousands of people, mostly the youth, danced and chanted freedom songs in the streets

of Soweto hoping to see their hero arrive back to his home, it was reported last night that he would stay overnight in Cape Town.

Together with his huge entourage which included his family and members of the National Reception Committee, Mandela is expected in Johannesburg sometime today.

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AMERICAN viewers watched live TV coverage of Nelson Mandela's release from the Victor Verster prison in Paarl for more than four hours - while the historic occasion was screened on SABC's TV1 for barely an hour yesterday afternoon.

Phoning from Boston, an ecstatic Mrs Sarah Wilson Cianbrone said the ABC and CBS channels started beaming the event as early as 7.30am (1.30pm SA time) yesterday.

Song and dance at Jan Smuts

By SY MAKARINGE and PHANGISILE MTSHALI

JAN Smuts Airport yesterday vibrated with song and dance as a huge enthusiastic crowd of African National Congress supporters waited for the arrival from Cape Town of their leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Watched closely by a contingent of police in riot gear, the crowd chanted slogans and sang freedom songs a few paces from the main concourse as minutes to Mandela's freedom ticked by.

The crowd started gathering at the airport as early as 11am. As it started to swell to more than

800, more police reinforcements, some with dogs, were brought in to prevent the people from moving into the main concourse.

All entrances were sealed off. At about 4.30pm, black policemen announced through a loudhailer that "the person you are waiting for will not be coming today".

He was ignored and the people continued doing the toyi-toyi dance.

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Smuts 12/2/90

111

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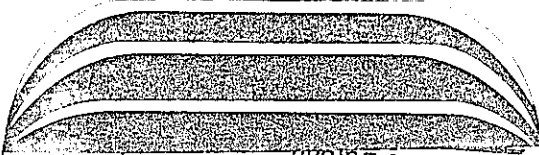
By SY MAKARINGE and PHANGISILE MTSHALI

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Release is a double payout

THE release of Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President FW de Klerk for a double payout - giving voteless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority. (11A)

"If the ANC pulls back from negotiations now, it will damage the image of the anti-apartheid movement. The process must go forward," said Professor John Barrett, political scientist with the University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of International Affairs.

"The release of the ANC leader after 27 years behind bars ensures that, after only five months in office, De Klerk has done more to resolve the apartheid deadlock than predecessor PW Botha did in over a decade.

"This time, the Government sees itself as having crossed the Rubicon. But whether or not they have depends on the reaction of the forces on the other side - the anti-apartheid movement," said political analyst Mike Hough.

Sowetan 12/2/90

Reaction

Hough, of the University of Pretoria, said neither the Government nor anti-apartheid leaders were likely to halt the political momentum created by Mandela's free-

dom and the release without restrictions last October of seven of his comrades.

Barrett said a lot was riding on the reaction of the anti-apartheid movement to the long-awaited liberation of the world's most famous political prisoner. (S)

"Much will depend on the part Mandela will play, how he will assert himself as a leader after having had the benefit of such a great symbolic role," he said.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has a fluid and often cumbersome leadership which has made it difficult for it to respond quickly to De

Klerk's rapid-fire reform programme.

If Mandela manages to crystallise an effective leadership, readily identified abroad, the anti-Pretoria forces may be better able to offer a cohesive reaction to De Klerk, analysts said.

Max Coleman, a veteran anti-apartheid campaigner who headed a group monitoring detentions without trial until it was banned by Pretoria, forecasts a huge outpouring of emotion that could become explosive.

"Pretoria's problem is to show that it is moving forward and at the same time maintain control," Coleman said. - Sapa-Reuter.

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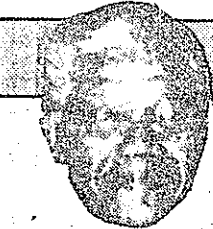
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11A

MANDELA: Free at last



UNSEEN and scarcely heard for more than a quarter of a century, Nelson Mandela still dominates the fight for black rights in South Africa as an enduring world-wide symbol of opposition to white minority rule.

Mandela was arrested in 1962 and his last public address was a speech from the dock almost two years later at his trial for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

Calling himself a nationalist, but not a communist, Mandela said his outlawed African National Congress (ANC) had no option but to fight the violence of apartheid with violence of its own.

"I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in

Nelson Mandela joins a triumphant crowd of supporters outside the courtroom where 91 ANC members and sympathisers accused of treason were acquitted at the end of March 1961.

Pic from: *A History of the African National Congress* by Heidi Holland.

harmony and with equal opportunities," he told the court.

"It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

On Robben Island, in Cape Town's modern Pollsmoor Prison and latterly alone in a prison bungalow among the vineyards of Paarl, his influence remained undiminished through the imprisonment he called

"these long, lonely, wasted years".

Township revolutionaries and moderate black leaders invoked his name in heroic terms. Moderate whites saw him as the only one who could prevent bloody civil war.

Streets and squares were named for him around the world. Peace prizes and honorary degrees were awarded to him in the East and West. In 1984, a pop song entitled *Free Nelson*

Mandela became an international hit.

The campaign for his release rose from a murmur in the '60s to a clamour when he marked his 70th birthday on July 18 1988, a month before he was transferred to hospital with tuberculosis.

For 25 years he was allowed no more than two 40-minute visits a month from his family but in

An icon of liberty 25 years later

Paarl, where he told friends he was lonelier than ever in a former warder's house with a swimming pool, some restrictions were lifted.

"My task is a very limited one, and that is to bring the country's two major political bodies to the negotiating table," Mandela wrote to ex-President PW Botha, adding that as a prisoner he could not himself negotiate.

Guerilla war

Mandela is credited with helping comrades to liberty through meetings

in his cell with Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee.

For his own part, Mandela insisted always on unconditional release, consistently refusing to repudiate the ANC guerrilla war against white rule as the price of liberty. From his prison cells

he insisted that the struggle must go on, but he distanced himself from his more hardline supporters.

"We go for hard targets only - military installations and the symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched," he said in early 1985.

Mandela resisted radical pressure from rival liberation movements, telling an American lawyer in January 1986: "Unlike white people anywhere else in Africa, whites in South Africa belong here. This is their home - we want them to live here and share power with us." - Sapa-Reuter.

Senator Man

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MANDELA: Free at last

Orlando West celebrations over Mandela's release

He will work for peace, says FW

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela doubly convinced that he was committed to a peace for South Africa.

This was his impression of the world's most legendary prisoner after two meetings, the first in December and the second on Friday night in Cape Town.

De Klerk was speaking at a packed news conference at Parliament. Looking calm and assured, he answered ques-

tions easily but very carefully after making his momentous 5pm announcement of the release awaited around the globe.

Mandela's freedom after 28 years had become a certainty after his meeting last year with former President PW Botha who had started the process of his release.

There Mandela had committed himself to a peaceful solution for the country.

Describing Mandela as "an elderly man, a dignified man, an interesting man", De Klerk said there had been a positive

chemistry in his own meetings with him.

"Yes, the discussion really took place in a very civil atmosphere, and he is a friendly man. I like to think I also am a friendly man."

"Yes, the discussions really took place in a good spirit," he said.

De Klerk said his door was open to Mandela, and others, if the ANC leader wanted to involve himself in facilitating a climate for negotiation, or even talks about talks.

Yesterday's release brought South Africa to the end of a long chapter,



he said: "I hope that now that this chapter has ended, the world and especially all in South Africa will grasp the opportunity and play whatever support role can be played towards a peaceful conclusion to the process that has already started."

He called on Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contributions towards a positive climate.

"The eyes of the world are presently focused on all South Africans," De Klerk said.

"All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa."

De Klerk said by this move and those 10 days

ago, he believed the most important obstacles to negotiations had been addressed.

On foreign demands for reform including those from the US, he noted that the Government was not working to a checklist. "We're doing what we sincerely think is in the best interests of South Africa."

Turning to the state of emergency, De Klerk said the final test of how the Government viewed it was the situation on the ground.

"Everything will depend on the question of whether we get an increase in unrest or whether we get a decrease in unrest."

The State President said the Government was reviewing the emergency

situation almost daily.

But it was not an issue for negotiation. The government had imposed it because of the lack of stability. "It will be a Government decision to uplift it. And the test will be whether stability can be restored sufficiently," he added.

Stability meant a condition where people could feel safe, go to work if they wanted, a normal life without threat or intimidation, free of arson, where political strife did not cost lives.

The Government went to great lengths to draw the distinction between plain crime and politically-related violence, he noted.

De Klerk was asked whether the end of the emergency would have to wait until violence stopped in Natal, and about the realism of Government estimates of the emergency lasting a few more weeks.

He said there was obviously an element of uncertainty - "none of us

can exactly say what will happen tomorrow and the day after".

It was the Government's hope "that with these steps we have taken it will make a contribution and that it will bring us soon to the situation where it can be considered."

"We are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency lifted as soon as possible," he said.

On Mandela's personal safety, De Klerk said there was cause for concern: there are all sorts of people who might threaten his life. I think radicals from the very far left might be tempted to do so and I think there is also a risk that it might come from radicalists from the right.

"Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world almost in all countries."

"And with him having such a high public profile, I think yes, there is a risk. I think one should take every precaution that nothing happens to him."

"But when he leaves prison then he will be moving to his own circle of friends and will in all probability, as in the case of Mr Sisulu and the others who were released, there was no request to the State to give assistance with regard to their security."

When Mandela was released, he became a free man. "He doesn't owe it to me to inform me of his programme, and I didn't ask him about it either."

Thatcher slammed by Mbeki over sanctions

8/02/90 13/2/90
11A

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's support for the lifting of sanctions against SA has been slammed by ANC international secretary Thabo Mbeki.

Speaking on the BBC's Newsnight Special in the wake of Nelson Mandela's release, Mbeki backed Mandela's call for international pressure to be retained until apartheid had been completely eradicated.

Thatcher, who had written to European and Commonwealth leaders calling for a "more positive" approach to encourage the ending of apartheid, yesterday released a statement reaffirming this standpoint.

Britain's voluntary ban on new investment in SA has already been ended, and the government here will now encourage scientific, academic and cultural contacts.

Thatcher's commitment to this course is sure to lead to another acrimonious round of talks when EC foreign ministers meet to discuss sanctions in Dublin next Tuesday.

Mbeki said Thatcher had "always been opposed to any struggle against apartheid. It is therefore not surprising that she has wanted to remove even those little sanctions that this country has imposed."

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday acknowledged that sanctions had played a significant part in Mandela's release — but added that British support for positive moves had also been beneficial.

While US President George Bush was not prepared to discuss sanctions yesterday, White House sources quo-

KIN BENTLEY

ted here said Congress was unlikely to soften sanctions, with the possible exception of reinstating landing rights for SAA in recognition of Mandela's release.

□ Also on Newsnight, SA Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe was asked about the possibility of a coalition between the ANC and the NP.

He said: "We believe that the future government of SA should be composed in such a way that all the relevant parties, all the parties that make a difference to the future of the country, should be represented in such a government."

Selecting

On whether a black election would be held prior to negotiations starting, he said: "What is clear is that at the negotiating table all the people of SA will have to be represented."

The means of selecting those leaders was something that should be negotiated before the time, he said. "But the point is that eventually all the people must be represented and must feel themselves represented."

He said negotiations would still "take some time" to get underway.

□ In the same programme AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche verbalised right-wing threats after footage was shown of the march in Pretoria on Saturday, including that of a white man badly beaten up for opposing the AWB. Terre'Blanche said government's "capitulation" would result in war.

Stompie's death: Soweto man in court

118
CART Times 13/2/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson, 41, of Orlando West, Soweto, appeared briefly in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in connection with the murder of 14-year-old James Moeketsi "Stompie" Sepei.

Mr Richardson was not asked to plead and the case was postponed till Thursday.

In addition to the murder allegation, Mr Richardson also faces an allegation of attempted murder, four counts of kidnapping and five counts of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm.

According to the indictment, Mr Richardson was one of a group of people who in December 1988 removed Stompie and three men from the house of the Rev Paul Verryn in Orlando West, and took them to Mrs Winnie Mandela's home at 585 Diepkloof Extension.

The men were assaulted and Stompie's body was found on January 6 last year in the veld between Noordgesig and New Canada. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 13/2/90
Release an
overdue step,
say Soviets

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union yesterday welcomed the release of black nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela, calling it an overdue step on the way to dismantling apartheid.

“Together with all countries and peoples, we hail the release of Nelson Mandela,” Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Gennady Gerasimov told a news briefing.

He said the release of the ANC leader was “a step that should have been taken long ago”.

The official comment followed a brief report and profile yesterday in the Soviet Communist Party daily Pravda. — Sapa-Reuter

Lone CP hits out at Mandela speech

119
CMT Times 13/2/10

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was the only strident voice in Parliament yesterday about the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and his speech to thousands on the Grand Parade on Sunday.

Several speakers during the Part Appropriation debate referred to the momentous events but, as was expected, only the CP was critical, attacking the government for having sold out the Afrikaner.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said events surrounding Mr Mandela's release — "and on a Sunday" — showed he had not given an inch and that he wanted to carry out the full programme of classic Marxism.

"Mandela does not promise moderation, but the intensification of the struggle," said Dr Treurnicht.

He had promised the typical Marxist reconstruction of the economy and demanded majority government even before negotiations had taken place.

"His so-called non-racial election is an arrogant rejection of the Afrikaner folk, and all other people. It spells the destruction of all the rights of our

nation."

The government was capitulating and would not achieve anything at the negotiation table.

Dr Zach de Beer, parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, hit out at the right-wing demonstration in Pretoria at the weekend against government reforms at which a Star of David flag was burned.

The country could no longer tolerate racism, and especially not anti-Semitism.

Referring to Mr Mandela's speech on Sunday, he said there could have been more flexibility and a willingness to recognise the changes that had taken place in South Africa and the rest of the world in the past 28 years.

"I think however, the speech must be seen as a move by Mr Mandela to ensure that he has the loyalty of members of his movement.

"I think he was in fact placing himself in the middle of that movement," Dr De Beer said.

"I believe that with yesterday's events we concluded one phase of our history and started with another."



Dr Treurnicht



Dr De Beer

Political Staff

Parliament

DP hails
police ^{Chair}
handling ^{13/2/90}
of Parade
violence

Political Staff

THE police commander in charge of the situation at the Grand Parade rally on Sunday is to be commended on his highly professional handling of a very difficult situation, the Democratic Party MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday.

Mr Carlisle, who was at the rally, said he had seen the police commander in action and he wanted to say to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he was impressed.

In his maiden speech in Parliament, Mr Carlisle said every decent South African deplored the acts of violence and vandalism that occurred.

"They were nowhere more bitterly regretted than by the organisers and marshals of the meeting.

"It is also abundantly clear to me that the key priority of our current phase of politics is transition management and that requires the involvement of not only the police and extra-parliamentary movements but also of every party in this Parliament."

Violence, with its attendant henchmen of coercion and co-option, was destructive in every degree.

"We cannot build the new SA on fear and hatred and we certainly cannot build it on revolution."

Most homelands ready to talk, but ANC rejects ethnic leaders

By Mdu Lembede

Most of the leaders of self-governing and independent homelands say they are looking forward to taking their places at the negotiation table for South African constitutional talks, but they are likely to face stiff opposition from the African National Congress.

In interviews this week the majority of the leaders said they were keen to be involved in the negotiation process.

Only the Bophuthatswana president, Mr Lucas Mangope, totally rejected the idea of being part of the negotiations, favouring instead a loose federation with neighbouring Botswana.

However, the ANC has made it clear that leaders of ethnic-based groups will not be welcomed in any circumstances.

Mr Tom Sebina, the ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said his organisation would sit down only with leaders or delegations representing differing political viewpoints, not different ethnic groups.

"We don't recognise the bantustans as separate entities from a united and democratic South Africa."

However, Ciskei's president for life Chief Lennox Sebe said: "We are not going to abdicate. We will be at the negotiating table, but only as a sovereign state. We are not going to re-

nounce our cherished independence."

Mr Mangope said there was no question of Bophuthatswana being re-incorporated into South Africa, no matter what changes took place.

"We did not opt for independence 13 years ago to go back when the situation that forced us out had improved."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi kwaZulu leader said: "To talk in terms of ethnicity is to use the language of racism and I will not be party to this in any manner whatsoever."

Role

"South Africa is one country with one people. All South Africans must decide their future. Whether we become a free enterprise multiparty democracy or a one-party socialist state is to be decided by negotiation and by the people in free and fair elections."

He said Inkatha had a role to play in the negotiation process, and intended to put forward its views, aims and objectives for scrutiny and debate.

Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa said most of the people in the homelands did not even participate in the elections because of their support for the ANC and PAC, which staunchly rejected the bantustan policy.

"If the South African Government is going to allow the homeland leaders to come to the negotiating table, it must keep all this in mind, as most of them are guilty of having eliminated opposition."

"Pretoria must decide. If it is serious about dismantling apartheid, then it should abolish its cornerstone, the bantustans."

This week he announced a committee that would organise a referendum for Transkeians to decide whether to abandon or retain independence.

KaNgwane Chief Minister Dr Enos Mabuza said: "Our standpoint is clear: we are opposed to the homeland policy. I believe they should be dismantled as I see no future for them in a post-apartheid society. President de Klerk says he believes in one nation, and this cannot be reconciled with ethnic homelands."

KwaNdebele Chief Minister Mr M J Mabena said although he believed all leaders should come together representing South Africans as one nation, there was nothing that could be done at this late stage to correct the situation. He said he would be at the negotiation table representing Ndebele interests.

'Out of jail but still in chains'

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela is not free, he is simply out of jail, says US civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson. (11/1)

He told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday: "Unless Mr Mandela is free to live where he wants, can send his children to a school of his choice and is free to run for office in this country, he is not free."

"Until he is free, the struggle to end apartheid will continue," he said.

Jackson said many white leaders had "demonised" blacks with disinformation. B/D a 13/12/70

"These lies have lead to fear, hatred, violence and the rebellion which is now taking place."

"It is up to the white leaders and churches to lead their people away from these misconceptions."

He said blacks had access to neither privatisation nor nationalism — they did not have access to banks or equity. But he appealed to whites to stay in the country as they would "reap the benefit".

Responding to a question about his thoughts on a one-man-one-vote system in SA where the blacks were in majority, he said: "One person is one vote. If you are going to make a black less than a whole person then it is not a moral formula."

"Democracy is majority rule that has laws to protect minorities from the tyranny of majorities. The formula should not be altered just because the majority of democrats are blacks."

"All these fears must be overcome with courage. I would urge people to precede the government by making friends across the colour line. The more people communicate in dialogue, the less the fear will become," he said. — Sapa.

FACTORIES CLOSE AS UITENHAGE'S PARTY CARRIES ON

PORT ELIZABETH — This could turn out to be one of the longest parties in the world.

Not only did they party all night Saturday, through into Sunday and all Sunday night, but the celebrations in Eastern Cape townships over the release of Nelson Mandela continued yesterday.

Workers at Uitenhage's major factories popped into work yesterday, then streamed out of the factory gates singing and toyi-toying to continue the party.

Unions gave the assurance they would return to work today.

However, a source said there was "pandemonium in Uitenhage".

Thousands of workers, who have demanded that so-called vigilantes be expelled from their places of employment in the town where a bitter feud has raged between Charterists and Africanists, were preparing to march to the Law Courts yesterday to protest against alleged vigilante action.

At 9.30am police said the situation appeared under control but they were monitoring events to ensure the marchers did not get out of hand.

Two homes in KwaNobuhle were petrol-bombed on Sunday night and local UDF leaders were hard pressed to stop a march of about 30 000 supporters to the Khayelitsha area, traditionally an Africanist stronghold, to attack alleged vigilantes. The source said the crowd was turned back.

The party in Port Elizabeth seemed to be slowing down after celebrations began in the townships soon after President F W de Klerk's announcement at 5pm on Saturday and took off after Mandela's release on Sunday afternoon. *B/Dam 131290*

Workers at the major factories, including Delta and Firestone, reported for work as usual yesterday.

Municipal cleaning workers turned out in force to ensure basic services were not disrupted, said a municipal personnel spokesman.

An industrial relations spokesman for the Midland Chamber of Industries said the stayaway was widespread only in Uitenhage.

Uitenhage municipal traffic department chief Charles Reynolds said groups of between 50 to 300 people seemed to be marching "aimlessly" throughout the town's industrial, central and coloured residential areas to celebrate Mandela's release.

There were also sporadic marches in the townships. By 11am yesterday, thousands of people were dancing in KwaNobuhle, while the town centre had quietened down. He said there were no incidents. — Sapa.

B/DW 13/2/90 (11A)

Many leave work early to celebrate

ADELE BALETA
and DANIEL FELDMAN

EASTERN Cape workers left work early yesterday to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release.

However, Witwatersrand employers reported normal attendance at factories and plants, though some employees were allowed to leave early.

A Volkswagen labour relations spokesman said workers, all of whom were Numsa members, reported for work as usual yesterday, but by 8am, everyone had left for home to celebrate.

The situation at Goodyear was similar. A company spokesman said all workers would return today.

Johannesburg employers said few people stayed away from work, although thousands of people had gathered in Soweto for Mandela's arrival.

A National Council of Trade Unions spokesman said there had been no stayaway call on the Witwatersrand. Spokesmen for the Chamber of Mines, Anglo American, SA Chamber of Business and Sats reported normal attendance.

Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce CE Jeff Tyler said he had received no reports of stayaways.

OK Bazaars industrial relations executive Gavin Brown said the chain had approved requests from workers at four stores to attend yesterday's scheduled rally at Orlando Stadium.

Barlow Manufacturing group personnel manager J P Kilian said employees were at their positions as normal yesterday. The company would deal with requests for time off to attend rallies for Mandela as they arose.

Checkers human resources director A S McLaurin said there was normal attendance at work yesterday. Managements should not respond to calls for leave to attend rallies in a knee-jerk style, and workers should not believe they would have an open ticket to take time off work, he added.

Between 4pm and 4.30pm Checkers workers at two West Rand stores "were allowed to leave early because transport became difficult".

Pick 'n Pay labour relations GM Frans van der Walt said about 60% of its Johannesburg staff was allowed to leave early because of transportation problems. Those who left were replaced by casual labour. A stayaway was expected today.

Putco director Vic Coetzee said 17 Pretoria buses and several from Soweto and the East Rand were commandeered to Orlando Stadium. "The incidents were not very serious, and there was no major damage to the buses."

'Rules for meetings' change

CAPE TOWN — The rules governing Nelson Mandela's meetings with President F W de Klerk would change now that Mandela was free, senior UDF official Murphy Morobe said yesterday. *Blum 13/2/90*

Morobe was answering questions before Mandela's Press conference at Bishop's Court.

Asked if any arrangements had been made for Mandela to see the State President before he left Cape Town, Morobe first jokingly replied: "Which State President?"

"Inside (prison) he had to deal with the situation as it came, but the rules will change a little bit now," said Morobe. ~~(SA)~~ (IA)

Mandela would first have to consult the ANC leadership in Lusaka before such a meeting.

He said he did not think the picture of Mandela and De Klerk, which appeared in weekend newspapers, had been published with Mandela's permission.

There was uncertainty about Mandela's movements when Morobe spoke to reporters.

"Our main concern is where he sleeps tonight," said Morobe. "Our information is that his Soweto house is surrounded by thousands. We must devise a means of relieving the pressure on the house if possible." — Sapa.



COURTESY VISIT ... Mr Pik Botha and the Rev Jesse Jackson met yesterday to discuss the removal of discrimination in the land. South Africa could have a "very bright future", they agreed.

Cape Town 13/2/90

'Courageous step' gives hope for SA

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

THE mutual trust and respect between President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela had established the basis for a bridge in a society that had been torn apart by fear, the Rev Jesse Jackson said yesterday.

He also praised Mr De Klerk for taking "a courageous step" in releasing Mr Mandela and compared it with President Abraham Lincoln's decision to do away with slavery.

"There comes those rare moments in time when one person by sheer force of their will or will to make difference, a sense of human dignity or love for their country, can rise above the politics of the status quo or do some

magnificent, courageous thing to save a country, save a people," Mr Jackson told the Cape Town Press Club.

Abraham Lincoln had such a moment and Mr De Klerk now had a similar moment.

The relationship between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had to be built on.

"It seems they have agreed to agree, and agreed to disagree but with mutual trust and respect."

In his first speech, Mr Mandela had referred to Mr De Klerk as a man of integrity and in doing so had shown his character and courage, and this was building material in South Africa, Mr Jackson said.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Jackson met President De Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A spokesman for the president's office described the meeting between the two leaders as "a courtesy visit" and said no statement would be issued.

Mr Botha, who held discussions for 45 minutes with Mr Jackson, said they talked about the removal of discrimination and the future of all South Africans.

They had agreed South Africa could have "a very bright future".

Mr Jackson said there had been some hopeful steps but although Mr Mandela was out of jail, he was not free.

The vote was still restricted, and the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act had not been abolished, he said.

"Beyond these, South Africa will have its brightest days."

Mr Jackson added that he supported Mr Mandela's position on sanctions.

CAF Times 13/2/90 (11A) Ca



FRONT PAGES . . . How London newspapers covered the release

'Blessed day' — Boigny

JOHANNESBURG. — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast has sent congratulatory messages to Mr Nelson Mandela and to President F W de Klerk on the release of the ANC leader.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the Ivory Coast rejoiced with Mr Mandela on what he called "this blessed day of 11 February". He said the efforts of all men of good faith and peace-loving people the world over had been fruitful.

The Ivorian leader said the whole world counted on Mr Mandela to work for the triumph of the noble cause of peace through dialogue, equality and brotherhood in South Africa.

In his message to Mr De Klerk, Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the decision showed a high level of political and humanitarian consideration. — Sapa

British invitation stands

CAF Times 13/2/90 Own Correspondent (11A)

LONDON. — Despite Mr Nelson Mandela's support for the armed struggle and sanctions, an invitation extended 10 days ago for him to meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher still stands.

This was confirmed by a Downing Street spokesman yesterday, amid speculation in the British press that Mrs Thatcher was fuming at the contents of Mr Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday.

The spokesman said the formal invitation would be sent to Mr Mandela "soon".

Although President F W De Klerk had publicly accepted an invitation, no formal response had yet been received.

He said it was hoped that both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would be able to meet Mrs Thatcher before her visit to South Africa later in the year.

Kohl wants Bonn meeting

BONN. — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has invited Mr Nelson Mandela to Bonn for "political talks", a government spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, Mr Norbert Schaeffer, said the invitation was aimed at encouraging "the black and coloured opposition in South Africa to engage in dialogue and to use peaceful means".

"The federal chancellor considers it urgent that the opportunity presented by the release of Mr Mandela should be used to start negotiations aimed at working out a new, just and democratic constitution for South Africa," Mr Schaeffer said.

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Looting: Tutu, Omar express distress

CMT-
11/11/90
13/12/90
11A


By CHRIS BATEMAN

TWO leading local anti-apartheid figures yesterday expressed their distress at Sunday's violence and offered explanations as the full toll of the huge welcoming rally for Mr Nelson Mandela emerged.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu apologised to "those who suffered losses as a result of the looting", while Mr Dullah Omar, UDF regional vice-president, promised a "massive and critical assessment".

The confrontations between police, looters and unruly elements left a township schoolboy dead, 69 people hospitalised and damage of at least R82 000 to Cape Town shops — police however estimated damage at "hundreds of thousands of rands". The schoolboy had not been identified by late yesterday.

Mr Omar targeted the "fundamental cause" of the violence as stemming from "a legacy of degradation and dehumanisation" caused by apartheid and the rising township gangsterism which ensued.

The UDF had had 24 hours' notice to prepare for the rally and had just emerged from three years of banning; "I think people acquitted themselves wonderfully in the circumstances".

Security arrangements at the rally had been inadequate, he admitted.

'Unruly criminal element'

Without full information he could not point fingers at the police for their actions and said the suddenly changed political climate would force reassessments all round.

"We don't want to dampen the enthusiasm of the people but we also don't want anarchy and lawlessness," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said he believed he spoke for the vast majority of the 80 000-strong crowd when he apologised to those who had suffered losses from looting.

"I condemn that form of violence unequivocally. I believe it was caused by the arrival of an unexpectedly large crowd, inadequate resources to control it, the long wait before the appearance of their hero and to an unruly criminal element."

A police spokesman said that anybody who felt that they were injured unlawfully should report this to police for investigation. No arrests were made, he added.

A Cape Times survey of CBD shops revealed a damage and looting tally of R82 000.

Link likely between tour move and Mandela release

Cricket test called off

13/2/90
11A
ARGUS 13/2/90
11A
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The second unofficial cricket test at Newlands between South Africa and Mike Gatting's English team has been cancelled, as have two of the limited-overs internationals scheduled for the same venue, informed sources said today.

A statement is expected to be released at a news conference here today outlining reasons for the cancellation of the three matches.

Members of the touring media were expected to be told of the cancellations at a meeting to be held by Dr Ali Bacher, managing-director of the South African Cricket Union.

Sacos delight

Mr Yusuf "Joe" Ebrahim, president of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), expressed his delight. "This justifies our opposition to the tour.

"It was a very belated decision, but we are pleased our opposition helped in the decision. Our opposition will not cease until the rest of the tour is called off.

"This is not the end of the battle. It is obvious that Sacu is losing money on the tour and it is not a question of conscience but finances which has ruled their decision."

The National Sports Congress and Mass Democratic Movement had said they would make "life unbearable" for Gatting's team in Cape Town. They had promised continual protests during the tourists' visit, according to a statement.

Referring to the bomb blast at Newlands yesterday, the statement said the NSC/MDM understood the anger of people opposed to the tour.

Sparked anger

The anger had been sparked by Dr Bacher "making a mockery" of protests by applying for permission to hold them, and Mr Gatting's "arrogance" in hotels and restaurants when NSC/MDM supporters refuse to serve him.

"If he makes his own food, then he should be quite capable of arranging his transport back to London in an emergency situation," the statement said.

An alleged offer to end the tour if the NSC/MDM guaranteed three protest-free days for three one-day internationals would be rejected.

Not even traditional supporters of the multi-racial Sacu supported the tour as it was "wrong for the times", the statement said.

● Demonstrations against the tour had a negative effect on crowd attendances Dr Bacher has admitted.

In an interview published in



The Times newspaper, Dr Bacher also disclosed that the Sacu's development schemes in the townships had been "put on hold" because of political pressure.

Dr Bacher also disclosed that, following a meeting with the NSC at least one member of his board had had "second thoughts" about going ahead with the tour, but did not name the person concerned.

He denied the tour had done harm to the government's reform programme, citing the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress as proof.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

...kled up and ready to go, Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie one more picture before take-off for Johannesburg.

5.7.82 13/490

(11A) (2)

'ANC aware of fears of domination'

Mandela's olive branch to whites

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday held aloft the olive branch to white South Africans and promised that the ANC would decide on guarantees for white security.

He also said that he expected President F W de Klerk to remove the remaining obstacles to negotiations "very soon".

Taking a far more conciliatory line than his tough rally speech on Sunday night, a statesman-like Mr Mandela told a news conference that the ANC regarded white fears of domination as extremely important.

Armed struggle

"We understand this fear and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

He said normalisation of South Africa could only take place once the state of emergency had been lifted entirely and political prisoners freed.

Asked whether he had in fact proposed to the Government a power-sharing transitional formula before full majority rule, Mr Mandela said he did not want to go into specifics:

"Except to say this is a problem we are fully aware of and one of the most important duties is to address this problem."

Turning to apparent contradictions in his policy on the armed struggle, he said there was no conflict in his statements.

"The armed struggle is merely defensive. Its defensive action against the violence of apartheid. But we remain committed to peace, and if the Government gives us the opportunity and if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful solution of the problems of this country."

Other points Mr Mandela raised in 50 minutes of questions and answers under a tree in the gardens of Bishops Court, the official residence of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were:

- On communism, he was a member of no other party but the ANC.
- On homelands, he invited them to join the

struggle.

● Any bitterness he might have felt had been wiped away by his treatment in prison.

● He would visit Lusaka as soon as possible for instructions on his role and policy directions.

● Mr de Klerk was a man of integrity who had been very flexible in his discussions — "that is very promising".

● But the ANC was not concerned so much with the personal virtues of individuals and the struggle was determined by the harsh realities of National Party policy.

● On Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said that though he disagreed on some policies, Dr Buthelezi had a following and it seemed correct to try to settle the problem amicably.

Mr Mandela also disclosed he had had "countless" encounters with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, about four with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen, as well as his publicised meetings with former President P W Botha and two with Mr de Klerk.

A meeting had been planned between him and Mr de Klerk on February 1, the eve of the opening of Parliament and Mr de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC. It had been called off because of leaks to the press.

Facilitator

He said he had held talks with the Government on two separate but related questions.

Firstly he negotiated for the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and others.

"The second issue was a meeting between the ANC and the Government. There I have been acting purely as a facilitator to bring these two major political organisations to the negotiation table."

On whether he would accept an invitation to visit British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, he said: "An invitation from a British prime minister is something very important ... but I will have to be advised by the ANC."

Mr Mandela fully endorsed the ANC policy of nationalising mines and "similar sectors of the community". It was fundamental policy, he said.

He noted he would live in Johannesburg, but would return to Transkei, his birthplace, for "certain rites I have to perform".



Waiting for their leader . . . tens of thousands of people gather at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto expecting to be addressed by Mr Mandela.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with 'treason'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and against PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally of about 3 000 people in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the meeting was part of a campaign to gain more CP seats, found a supportive newspaper, and put the CP's case to "leaders of other peoples".

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

"We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon," Dr Treurnicht said.

Speaking on the CP "Action One Million" plan, Dr Treurnicht said to cheers: "We will form an almighty front of conservatives." A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26.

"We will give President F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are num-

bered," he said.

"We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?" he asked.

Mr de Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering.

"F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smiles as if he is already ruling the country," Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been

released, there had been a marked increase in ideological and ethnic conflict. There had been "Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation".

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a "policy of suicide" to whites.

Reforms to date had been a part of a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped.

"I am not proclaiming an armed struggle tonight, but if a Government does not protect the rights of its people, what can be expected but that the volk will protect itself," he said.

Markets nervous over Mandela

11/19/90
CAPT 11/15 13/2/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Jitters shook South Africa's financial markets yesterday in the wake of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's release — sending the financial rand plunging as capital market rates shot up and the JSE suffered a sharp setback.

Euphoria evaporated as it dawned on both local and foreign investors that SA's political future was fraught with uncertainty. Concern over Mr Mandela's firm belief in nationalisation, coupled with reports of unrest, awoke the bears and sent the bulls running for cover.

The barometer of foreign perceptions — the financial rand — nose-dived by about 7% in a day of unprecedented volatility. The investment currency's initial strengthening earlier was followed by a dramatic reversal later after Mr Mandela had reiterated his belief in nationalisation.

Dealers expected the JSE to open higher but with both local and overseas buyers withdrawing from the market the lower finrand gave scant support to share prices and the overall index closed 2% down at 3 273.

ROBERT GENTLE reports that the futures market gave Mr Mandela's weekend speech the thumbs-down yesterday from as early as 7am.

● Full Report — Page 15

Faction

Cart. Fight 13/2/90

fight

caused

blaze

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE massive blaze that destroyed 210 Old Crossroads shacks on Sunday night and yesterday was the result of fighting which broke out between factions during a tour by US civil-rights campaigner the Rev Jesse Jackson on Saturday.

According to the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wcusa), five people were seriously injured by shotgun fire when thousands of supporters of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe celebrated the congressman's visit.

They and the Rev Sid Lockett of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility said the gunfire came from supporters of conservative Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, when the crowd toyi-toyed past his committee's headquarters.

Mr Nongwe is Mr Ngxogongwana's former chief headman and broke away with 14 other headmen last year. Sporadic fighting and continuing tensions have followed ever since.

A fieldworker with the Western Province Council of Churches, Ms Buyiswa Jack, helped transport some of the wounded to hospital.

● 'Courageous step' gives hope for SA — Page 7

International markets react to ANC plan

SMK (11A) (11P)
13/2/90 Finance Staff

International markets signalled thumbs down to the African National Congress nationalisation stance by dumping the financial rand and South African shares.

Euphoria has changed to caution as foreign investors who bid shares up to extreme heights on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange last week once again reflect on political risk.

Unless the gold price moves to much higher ground, fickle foreign money will leave South Africa for a new play in the global financial casino.

The financial rand reflected the more cautious approach. The investment currency slumped to 27 US cents from 30,50c before reviving to 28,50c.

Gold shares tumbled by five to 10 percent on the JSE.

● See Page 16.

Apology over ANC book

Sowetan yesterday published a biography of Nelson Mandela in which extracts from Heidi Holland's book, *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress*, were used. *Sowetan* 13/2/90

(11A)
No credit was given, and *Sowetan* would like to apologise for any inconvenience caused to Holland or Collins, her publisher.

"I have cherished the ideal
of a democratic and free society
in which all persons live together
in harmony and with equal opportunities.
It is an ideal which I hope to live for,
and see realised ..."

Nelson Mandela 1963

We see change taking place now.

But we need to move quickly on:

- The Group Areas Act
- The Population Registration Act
- The Land Acts

To ensure an open and free society
for all South Africans.

BPSA 1990.

Working today. For all our tomorrows.



MANDELA: Free at last



Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

This truck was one of several vehicles which were hijacked by schoolchildren in Soweto yesterday to take them to Orlando Stadium where they expected to see Nelson Mandela.

Thousands stay away to hail Mandela

Sowetan 13/2/90



MORE than 20 000 workers stayed away from work at Ekandustria outside Bronkhorstpruit in KwaNdebele to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The stayaway left all factories closed in the industrial heart of the homeland.

Mr C du Toit, manager of the Kwandebele Development Corporation, said it was a peaceful gesture and no incidents occurred.

"I assume the people will return to work tomorrow. No factory is operating in the vicinity," he said.

"People came to work but on the outskirts were told by marshalls to return to

Sowetan Correspondent

their homes - the obvious reason being to celebrate the news of Mandela's release," Du Toit said.

* At Lilhable outside Brits almost 8 000 people - including pupils - also celebrated Mandela's release with a major gathering at the local stadium today.

Pupils and parents converged on the stadium early this morning.

There were freedom songs and poetry and various local speakers made speeches.

THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE



Two injured in Mandela-mania

TWO youths were seriously injured when they fell off a moving taxi outside the FNB Stadium yesterday.

The youths were part of a group of schoolchildren who marched from Soweto to the stadium in anticipation of an address by released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

When it became apparent that there would be no rally, the youths filed out of the stadium and police used teargas to disperse them.

By MOEKETSI MPHAKI

In the ensuing pandemonium cars and taxis were stopped and commandeered to ferry the youths back to the townships.

Two youths who had climbed on top of a taxi fell at this point.

A police sergeant on the scene told *Sowetan* reporters: "These boys were not injured as a result of police brutality. It's your people. The taxi

people. Move away from here! No pictures!"

Thousands of schoolchildren took to the streets waving ANC flags and banner.

Putco buses, trucks and vans were hijacked by the youths to ferry them to the Orlando stadium, where Mandela was expected to address them.

Meanwhile messages of welcome for his release came pouring in yesterday.

The World Assembly

of Muslim Youth and its 450 associate Muslim Youth organisations the world over congratulated Mandela as the "great freedom fighter".

The National Council of Trade Unions congratulated Mandela for his "unwavering commitment and dedication to the struggle for democracy and peace".

"While we rejoice on his release, it should be remembered that hundreds of political prisoners still remain in jail and the regime is dubbing them criminals," the Nactu statement read.

Pupils march to Mandela rally

SCHOOLING in many parts of the country was disrupted yesterday when pupils left classes to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

In Soweto more than 90 000 schoolchildren gathered at Orlando Stadium in anticipation of the arrival from Cape Town of their hero.

But disappointment was written all over their faces several hours later when it was announced that due to unforeseen problems, the welcome home rally was to be postponed.

The rally will now be held at the First National Bank Stadium in Crown Mines at 2pm today.

Pupils arrived from as far as

By SY MAKARINGE

Bophuthatswana, Pretoria, the East Rand, the West Rand and other parts of the Reef. By 2pm the stadium was bursting at its seams and there was a near chaos when a group of pupils who did not have seats surged forward and forced open the gate leading to the pitch.

* In Soshanguve, Pretoria, thousands of pupils marched through the township's streets looking for transport to take them to Jan Smuts Airport.

Pupils carrying banners saying: "Welcome home Nelson Mandela" barricaded the main road into Soshanguve hijacking buses, trucks and taxis.

11A
There were wild scenes of jubilation throughout Soweto earlier in the day when thousands of people marched in the streets on their way to FNB Stadium where it was initially thought the rally would take place.

* In Mohlakeng near Randfontein, youths broke windows at the Mohlakeng Primary school when they could not force pupils to abandon classes. They were from the nearby Phahama Senior Secondary School.

* In Venda there was also chanting as pupils took to the streets to celebrate Mandela's release.

Soweto 11/12/90

Spotlight swings to ANC economic policy

Negative reaction to Mandela statement

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

HOPES that foreign bankers would now be more willing to roll over SA debt receded — at least for the time being — yesterday. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange fell, and the financial rand weakened, following a statement by Nelson Mandela that the ANC would nationalise banks and mines.

Economists and stockbrokers said that any hint of nationalisation made foreign bankers nervous and would discourage them from giving SA more time to pay.

But some considered that Mandela's statement yesterday, and his call on Sunday to continue the struggle and for sanctions to remain, were "posturing" for the benefit of his supporters and in preparation for negotiations.

The financial rand fluctuated wildly yesterday before closing at R3,58 to the dollar compared with \$3,33 on Friday, indicating a loss of confidence by foreign investors.

A lower gold price also helped to depress the JSE. The over-all index fell to a preliminary close of 3 271 from 3 341 on Friday. The industrial index was 28 points lower at 3 158 from 3 178.

And the all-gold index fell 80 points to 2 091 as the gold price fell to \$415,25 before recovering slightly to an afternoon fix of \$418,85.

Trust Bank chief economist Nick Barnardt said: "The attitude of foreign bankers and their willingness to reschedule loans will depend very much on the statements Mandela makes.

"The spotlight has swung round from apartheid to the ANC's economic policy. The more there is talk of nationalisation the more negative the reaction will be.

"We all understand that there

are certain subtleties in the internal dynamics of the ANC position. People cannot lose their constituencies and make themselves irrelevant.

"But these statements of intention to nationalise undermine SA's chances of attracting investment from overseas, necessary for economic growth.

"I believe they are only posturing. As I see it, the government will put the remaining vestiges of apartheid on the table and the ANC will put its economic policy on the table and that will form the crux of negotiations."

Glenn Moore of Personal Trust said: "The fall in the financial rand does not indicate positive foreign reaction. I believe there has been movement out of mining houses and banks.

"As long as nationalisation remains a cornerstone of ANC policy, it will be frightening for shareholders."

Moore said the reaction by SA shareholders "does not indicate a wholesale sell-off. But there is probably quite a bit of apprehension."

Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw said he thought statements about nationalisation should not be taken too seriously. "Once it gets to the negotiating table it will probably be traded off.

"But, as far as the outside world is concerned, such statements are unfortunate at this stage. They have created uncertainty and stopped the inflow of foreign investment. Hopes of rolling over SA's foreign debt have certainly receded."

Louw said he thought uncertainty would cause prices on the JSE to decline even further. He thought SA institutions would step in and buy — but not until prices had fallen more, to a level that offered good value.

"I think we are entering a period when the stock market will be much more volatile."

Manny Pöhl of the stockbroking firm Davis, Borkum, Hare said he thought the falling market offered a buying opportunity.

"Only very naive people thought that change would come quickly and without trouble.

"Overseas investors are fickle. They rushed in and now they are rushing out again."

However, Pöhl said, two callers from New York yesterday asked him to send research material of SA shares after he had given his view of the situation.

He pointed out that, in Namibia, Sam Nujoma had talked of nationalisation but Swapo had agreed to a constitution "which pleasantly surprised us. When the ANC goes to the negotiating table, sanity will prevail".

Stockbroker Frank Brewer of Frankel, Kruger, Vinderine said he was "still bullish on gold".

He thought the industrial sector was still a bit high, judged purely on its fundamentals. But he thought gold mining shares and mining financials offered a buying opportunity.

Matt Brenzel, head of research at Syfrets Managed Assets, said Mandela's speech on Sunday "must have had a dampening effect as people realised there was still a long way to go".

He thought it might result in a 15% or 20% correction in the stock market. However, with the weight of institutional funds on the sidelines — including money being invested for the SA Transport Services (Sats) pension fund — a steep fall might be avoided. "It might ratchet down slowly."

And he thought gold, which was "down for a bit of a breather", would dominate the share market. The market would, however, be "very volatile".

13/12/90

Albie Sachs: Do we have the cultural imagination for a new SA?

11A
Cm. Yv's 13/2/90 11A

WE ALL know where South Africa is but we do not yet know what it is. Ours is the privileged generation that will make that discovery, if the apertures in our eyes are wide enough.

The problem is whether we have sufficient cultural imagination to grasp the rich texture of the free and united South Africa that we have done so much to bring about.

For decades now we have possessed a political programme for the future — the Freedom Charter. More recently the National Executive of the ANC has issued a set of Constitutional Guidelines which has laid down a basic constitutional approach to a united South Africa with a free and equal citizenry.

What we have to ask ourselves now is whether we have an artistic and cultural vision that corresponds to this current phase in which a new South African nation is emerging. Can we say that we have begun to grasp the full dimensions of the new country and new people that is struggling to give birth to itself, or are we still trapped in the multiple ghettos of the apartheid imagination?

Instrument

For the sake of living the debate on these questions, this paper will make a number of controversial observations.

The first proposition I make, and I do so fully aware of the fact that we are totally against censorship and for free speech is that our members should be banned from saying that culture

11A

and through his or her struggles and torments and moments of joy, the reader would be thrust into the whole drama of the struggle for a new South Africa.

Directions

Instead, whether in poetry or painting or on the stage, we line up our good people on the one side and the bad ones on the other, occasionally permitting someone to pass from one column to the other, but never acknowledging that there is bad in the good, and, even more, acknowledging that there can be elements of good in the bad; you can tell who the good ones are, because in addition to being handsome of appearance, they can all recite sections of the Freedom Charter or passages of Strategy and Tactics at the drop of a beret.



What is the ANC's idea of South African culture and nationhood? Former Cape Town advocate ALBIE SACHS, a London-based member of the legal and constitutional department of the organisation, offers some insights. This is PART 1 of three extracts from an ANC in-house paper "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom".

is a weapon of struggle. I suggest a period of, say, five years.

Allow me, as someone who has for many years been arguing precisely that art should be seen as an instrument of struggle, to explain why suddenly this affirmation seems not only banal and devoid of real content, but actually wrong and potentially harmful.

In the first place, it results in an impoverishment of our art. Instead of getting real criticism, we get solitariness. Our artists are not pushed to improve the quality of their work, it is enough that it be politically correct. The more fists and spears and guns, the better. The range of themes is narrowed down so much that all that is funny or curious or genuinely tragic in the world is extruded. Ambiguity and contradiction are completely shut out, and the only

conflict permitted is that between the old and the new, as if there were only bad in the past and only good in the future. If we had the imagination of Sholokhov, and one of us wrote: And quiet flows the Tugela, the central figure would not be a member of UDF or Cosatu, but would be aligned to Inkatha, resisting change, yet feeling oppression, thrown this way and that by conflicting emotions,

the role of the white working class? Surely even those comrades whose tasks deny them the opportunity and direct possibilities of love, remember past love and dream of love to come. What are we fighting for, if not the right to express our humanity in all its forms, including our sense of fun and capacity for love and tenderness and our appreciation of the beauty of the world?

Every page

There is nothing that the apartheid rulers would like more than to convince us that because apartheid is ugly, the world is ugly. ANC members are full of fun and romanticism and dreams, we enjoy and wonder at the beauties of nature and the marvels of human creation, yet if you look at most of our art and literature you would think we were living in the greyest and most som-

bre of all worlds, completely shut in by apartheid. It is as though our rulers stalk every page and haunt every picture; everything is obsessed by the oppressors and the trauma they have imposed, nothing is about us and the new consciousness we are developing.

Listen in contrast to the music of Hugh Masekela, of Abdullah Ibrahim, of Jonas Gwangwa, of Miriam Makeba, and you are in a universe of wit and grace and vitality and intimacy, there is invention and modulation of mood, ecstasy and sadness; this is a cop-free world in which the emergent personality of our people manifests itself. Pick up a book of poems, or look at a woodcut or painting, and the solemnity is overwhelming. No-one told Hugh or Abdullah to write their music in this or that way, to be

Anguish

Their music conveys genuine confidence because it springs from inside the personality and experience of each of them, from popular tradition and the sounds of contemporary life; we respond to it because it tells us something lovely and vivacious about ourselves, not because the lyrics are about how to win a strike or blow up a petrol dump. It bypasses, overwhelms, ignores apartheid, establishes its own space.

So it could be with our writers and painters. If only they could shake off the gravity of their anguish and break free from the solemn formulas of commitment that people (like myself) have tried for so many years to impose upon them.



Nelson and Winnie Mandela salute the crowds in Cape Town.

The words we've all been waiting for ...

Talking to the public after 27 years

11A
South Africa 14/2/90

FRIENDS, Comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all.

I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today - I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.

On this day of my release, I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots and those in every corner of the globe who have campaigned tirelessly for my release.

I extend special greetings to the people of Cape Town, the city which has been my home for three decades. Your mass marches and other forms of struggle have served as a constant source of strength to all political prisoners.

I salute the African National Congress - it has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom.

I salute our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for leading the ANC even under the most difficult circumstances.

I salute the rank and file members of the ANC. You have sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of the noble cause of our struggle.

I salute combatants of

FOCUS

Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel, who have paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its sterling contribution to the struggle for demo-



'I stand here not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people'

cracy. You have survived forty years of unrelenting persecution. The memory of great Moses Mabhida will be cherished for generations to come.

I salute General Secretary Joe Slovo - one of our finest patriots. We are heartened by the fact that the alliance between ourselves and the Party remains as strong as it always was.

I salute the United Democratic Front,

Cosatu, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Youth Congress and the many other formations of the Mass Democratic Movement.

I also salute the Black Sash and the National Union of South African Students. We note with pride that you have acted as the conscience of white South Africans. Even during the darkest days in the history of our struggle you held the flag of liberty high.

The large-scale mass mobilisation of the past few years is one of the key factors which led to the opening of the final chapter of our struggle.

I extend my greetings to the working class of our country. Your organised strength is the pride of our movement. You remain the most dependable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward when the organisations of our people were silenced.

I greet the traditional leaders of our country. Many among you continue to walk in the footsteps of great heroes like Hlisa and Sekhukhuni.

I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You, the young

lions, have energised our entire struggle.

I pay tribute to the mothers and wives and sisters of our nation.

You are the rock-hard foundation of our struggle. Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else.

On this occasion we thank the world community for their great contribution to the anti-

convicted that your pain and suffering was far greater than my own.

Before I go any further, I wish to make the point that I intend making only a few preliminary comments at this stage. I will make a more complete statement only after I have had the opportunity to consult with my comrades.

Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaigns of defiance and other actions of our organisations and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy.

The apartheid destruction on our subcontinent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered. Millions are homeless and unemployed. Our economy lies in ruins. And our people are embroiled in political strife.

Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope



'I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You, the young lions ...'

apartheid struggle. Without your support our struggle would not have reached this advanced stage. The sacrifices of the Frontline States will be remembered by South Africans forever.

My salutations will be incomplete without expressing my deep appreciation for the strength given to me during my long and lonely years in prison by my beloved wife and family. I am



Crossroads women call for end to committee

AR 645 13/2/90 (11A) (2R) (3R)

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

A DEPUTATION of more than 50 women from Crossroads has asked that the government dissolve the Crossroads Town Committee because they allege it is responsible for the violence which has claimed more than 15 lives since November last year.

They said violence in the squatter camp had reached alarming proportions after last week's attacks in which three people were killed.

They also called for the removal of a Cape Provincial Administration official seconded to the committee.

The women, some in tears, were speaking to journalists at the home of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, one of the headmen who broke away from the township's controversial mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

They said unlike before when battles were fought with sticks and pangas, guns and petrol bombs were now being used.

Want peace

The women did not want to leave but wanted peace. Mrs Magie Mgadi, 39, whose nine-year-old son died after he was shot last year, had lived in the township for 10 years.

"I think of leaving but I don't know where to go."

The views of the women have been echoed by Democratic Party MP, Mr Jan van Eck who last year appealed to President De Klerk to intervene in the strife.

The number of police in the camp was increased in December but withdrawn in January.

"There were no incidents in the two months but after their withdrawal the whole thing started again."

Committee members, who officials claimed had been elected "unopposed", had not been elected at all.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

HOMELESS: Mrs Miriam Fokwana faces a bleak future after her house was destroyed in an attack on Sunday night.

Mothers find homes gutted

By VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

TWO Crossroads women who moved their families away from the troubled township because they feared for their safety returned hours later to find their homes gutted and their possessions destroyed by fire.

Mrs Florence Tubela, a self-employed dressmaker, and Mrs Rosie Batyi, a mother of three, were among hundreds left homeless after 200 shacks were set alight at the weekend.

Some of those that lost everything said they had been caught up in the power struggle

for control of Crossroads, which had started in December.

Others said they did not know why their houses were set alight because they were not politically involved.

Most of the affected people were in Sections One and Five. No-one was injured.

Mrs Tubela, a mother of three, said she moved her children to her sister in Khayelitsha because several houses were set alight on Saturday.

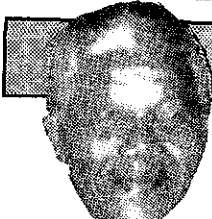
"It was really unsafe for the children as some houses were being set alight and shots fired. When my husband and I re-

turned yesterday to collect our belongings we were shocked to see that everything was destroyed in the fire.

"I am sad as I had just bought a sewing machine worth R800 and a television set," Mrs Tubela said.

A mother of three, Mrs Florence Ludziya, said her house was burnt because she refused to join one of the factions in the township.

Mr Joseph Msindo, 65, whose house was also burned down, said: "What puzzles us is that we are not involved in the political squabbles of the area."



MANDELA: Free at last

Thousands of people waited in vain for Mr Nelson Mandela to address them at the Orlando Stadium yesterday. The rally will now be held at Soccer City today.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU



A pupil cries in agony as he is sandwiched in a crowd forcing its way onto the pitch at the Orlando Stadium yesterday.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Mandela returns

Sowetan 13/2/90
● From page 1

Up to about 80 000 anxious youths, mostly schoolchildren, spent most of yesterday waiting for Mandela to address them at Orlando Stadium.

Soccer City's managing director, Mr Aziz Loonat, yesterday confirmed that the stadium had been booked for the whole of tomorrow.

Loonat said: "They suggested 2pm as a pos-

sible starting time."

The NRC and the South African Black Taxi Association have appealed to people to ensure that the rally runs smoothly. They should also avoid Jan Smuts Airport.

A Sabta spokesman said yesterday: "We wish to stress that the matter be treated with the seriousness it deserves so as to work out mutually agreed arrangements with the local taxi associations."

11A



CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with treason

AR 6/13/2/90 (11A) (11A)



Dr Andries Treurnicht shares a joke with a supporter at the Parow meeting last night.

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

THE Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Seph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the campaign was directed at gaining more CP seats, founding a newspaper, and putting the CP's case to "leaders of other peoples".

"We will form an almighty front of conservatives," Dr Treurnicht said to cheers.

A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26.

"We will give F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered," he said.

"Simple people"

"We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?" he said.

Mr De Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering.

The State President had released a "display picture" showing the two leaders of South Africa.

"F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smiles as if he is already ruling the country," Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been released, there had been an increase in ideological and ethnic conflict.

There had been "Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation".

Dr Treurnicht said the government had no mandate for the "revolutionary unbanning of the ANC, SACP, and PAC and does not represent the majority of our people".

Indignant crowd

The government had "thieved" from whites by scrapping separate amenities. "It seems public indecency on beaches is the new South Africa," he said.

He told the indignant crowd that a Boland army commando had been told the ANC was no longer the enemy but the right wing was.

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

"We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon," Dr Treurnicht said.

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a "policy of suicide" to whites.

Reforms to date had been a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped, he said.

EWJ a 'traitor'

De Klerk 'didn't go far enough'

WHILE the ANC has welcomed its unbanning, it has stated President FW de Klerk did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the



President FW de Klerk



Kobie Coetsee

Harare Document

The Harare Document was drawn up after consultation with groups such as the UDF, the trade unions and the churches. The ANC was involved in the discussion. In the end a document was produced which was placed before, and passed by, the ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on August 21, 1989.

The main feature of the declaration revolved around the question of negotiations. It says the government should create a climate for negotiations by, "at the very least";

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally (De Klerk has promised to do this);
- Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons. (There are conflicting reports, some saying the Internal Security Act consolidated list has been scrapped, others that the names of some ANC members have not been removed from the list);
- Removing all troops from the township. (De Klerk did not mention this in his speech last Friday);
- Ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity. (This basic condition has also not been fulfilled).
- Ceasing all political trials and political executions. (This point is also not clarified through De Klerk's statement).

De Klerk in his speech to open parliament made much play of the fact that through his concessions, the armed struggle was no longer justified.

The Harare Declaration, however, states that only *after* these conditions to create a climate for conditions are met, discussions should take place between the ANC and Pretoria to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.

A nation hanging on his words

that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle.

I am a loyal and disciplined member of the African National Congress. I am therefore in full agreement with all of its objectives, strategies and tactics.

The need to unite the people of our country is as important a task now as it always has been. No individual leader is able to take on these enormous tasks on his own. It is our task as leaders to place our views before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide on the way forward.

The inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised.

It must be added that De Klerk himself is a man of integrity who is acutely aware of the dangers of a public figure not honouring his undertakings. But as an organisation we base our policy and strategy on the harsh reality we are faced with. And this reality is that we are still suffering under the policies of the Nationalist Government.

Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards democracy is rapid and uninterrupted. We have waited too long for our freedom. We can wait no longer.

'Our march to freedom is irreversible'

Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

Our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid.

Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way. Universal suffrage on a common voters' roll in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is the only way to peace and racial harmony.

In conclusion I wish to quote my own words during my trial in 1964. They

are as true today as they were then:

"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

'I have fought against white domination, I have fought against black domination'

Demands

The people need to be consulted on who will negotiate and on the content of such negotiations. Negotiations cannot take place above the heads or behind the backs of our people. It is our belief that the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis.

Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demands of our people for a democratic, non-racial, and unitary South Africa. There must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that

On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty bound to make the point that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle which must be upheld without any exception.

Today I wish to report to you that my talks with the Government have been aimed at normalising the political situation in the country. We have not as yet begun discussing the basic demands of our struggle.

Future

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

Mr de Klerk has gone further than any other Nationalist president in taking real steps to normalise the situation. However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin.

I reiterate our call for, inter alia, the immediate ending of the state of emergency and the freeing of all and not only some political prisoners.

Only such a normalised situation which allows for free political activity can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

CM 7/4/8
13/2/90

White support surprises Mandela

Staff Reporter

THE number of white people who had lined the roads to Cape Town after his release had surprised him, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

On Sunday thousands of people lined the route taken by the motorcade and on the N1 near Kraaifontein and at Parow and Bellville, hundreds of whites stood next to the road — with several holding posters welcoming Mr Mandela.

Near the Parow turn-off, two young blonde girls stood next to the road holding a poster saying "Welcome home Mr Mandela".

ANC expects Mandela to visit Tambo

STOCKHOLM. — Mr Nelson Mandela is likely to travel to Sweden very soon to visit the ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating in a Stockholm clinic, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Tambo, 72, is recuperating from a stroke which has left him partly paralysed.

A delegation of ANC leaders led by former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu was in Stockholm visiting Mr Tambo when Mr FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC on February 2. — Sapa-Reuters

Mandela to make Egoli his home

Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela plans to make Johannesburg his home but he will visit the area of his birth in Transkei.

Mr Mandela told a press conference yesterday that there were "certain rites" which he had to perform in the area of his birth "and for that reason I will go down".

He then added: "I also long to see the little stones on which I played as a child, the little rivers where I swam and will go down — but my home, I am stationed in Johannesburg."

Armed struggle cannot end yet, says ANC's Nzo

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — Acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo said yesterday that the government still had to comply with two pre-conditions before the movement could start negotiating about the cessation of violence or a new constitutional dispensation.

Speaking at a mass rally for ANC supporters in Zambia, Mr Nzo said the two remaining issues were the release of all remaining political prisoners, including those convicted of violence, and the total lifting of the state of emergency.

The armed struggle could be suspended only after President F W de Klerk had "created the right climate ... then we can start discussing the possibilities of a mutually binding ceasefire".

Referring to Mr De Klerk's invitation to ANC members in exile to return, Mr Nzo said: "I must admit that even within our own ranks there was a tendency to emphasize the need to

return. It is thanks to the political discipline within our ranks that chaos has not yet resulted around this question.

"The euphoria that was aroused seemed to suggest that all was almost over. Return we must and we shall, but we will do it in a planned fashion."

Mr Nzo said Mr Mandela had told him he wanted to come to Lusaka to meet the leaders and members of the ANC as well as the leaders of the frontline states as soon as possible.

Referring to sanctions, Mr Nzo said those within the international community who expected the ANC to abandon its struggle would obviously be disappointed.

"We are obliged to continue the struggle until apartheid is finally and irrevocably eliminated."

The National Executive of the ANC starts meeting here tomorrow. It is expected that the movement's response to the De Klerk initiative will dominate the agenda.

Capt Timp 13/2/90

(11A)



Mr Nelson Mandela answers questions at yesterday's press conference

Q: Mr Mandela, you used the word "normalising" quite freely in your address last night and you used the word again just now, and you said that Mr De Klerk also had spoken of normalising. Would you say that your views and Mr De Klerk's views are the same as far as normalising is concerned?

A: Well, I have no doubt that we are talking about the same thing, but if he regards the steps that he has taken so far as being sufficient for the normalisation of the political situation in the country, then I differ with him, because the state of emergency has to be lifted in its entirety and also political prisoners have to be released. Once we have removed these obstacles we will be entitled to say that the situation has been normalised.

Q: You have spoken a couple of times this morning of your sensitivity to the concerns of the white population. Have you modified in any way your views on the redistribution of wealth?

A: No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it.

Q: Mr Mandela, do you intend returning to the Transkei to visit or to stay?

A: My home is in Johannesburg, but I was born in the Transkei and it is proper for me to visit the area of my birth and there are certain rites which I have to perform and for that reason I will go down. I also long to see the little stones on which I played as a child, the little rivers where I swam and I will go down, but I am stationed in Johannesburg.

Q: You have mentioned the lifting of the state of emergency. Before you came out there was talk that you would disobey the emergency laws until you were rearrested if you were released into a state of emergency. Could you tell us your views on that and how soon do you think the state of emergency will be lifted?

A: There has also been a great deal of misunderstanding on that question. My position was a simple one: That the question of my release could be approached from two angles. The first from the relationship between a jailer and a prisoner. If the government released me under those conditions, then I would have no obligation whatsoever. There would be no continuity between the work I was doing inside prison and the work that the ANC might give me outside, but if they want to release me with my consent and on the basis that they do not want to release me into a vacuum, then they must normalise fully. In other words the state of emergency should be lifted and political prisoners should be released. That is my argument.

Q: Yes, but how soon should it be lifted?

A: Well, I cannot specify a time. It can be lifted this morning or it can be lifted tomorrow, but we want it lifted before we can regard the situation as being normal.

Q: Comrade Nelson, we now see people taking to the streets, with or without the permission of the government. How do you feel about that and how does that relate to your release now?

A: Well, I think these developments are breathtaking and they are very inspiring. It is clear now that the masses of the people who want to free themselves are no longer prepared to wait for the government to free them. That is a clear lesson that emerges from the demonstrations that have taken place.

Q: Do you believe that sanctions played an important role in creating a climate for your release? What other important forces do you think were at play?

A: Well, the release is the result of the accumulative effect of many factors. There is the question of the internal mass struggle which has reached a new level of intensity. There is the pressure which comes externally. Then, of course, even the government are not themselves unanimous in some of these things. There have been many who have been insisting that change is absolutely necessary. I think that their numbers within the government, the NP, are increasing and I think all these factors have contributed to my release.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have been talking a lot about the assurances that you'd like to give whites. Does that mean that you would be prepared to compromise on the system of one man, one vote, maybe by having separate voters' rolls, things like that?

A: No, I have said that I would not like to go into any specifics at this time. This is, however, a matter which is regarded as extremely important by the ANC. When we decide the actual structure of the guarantees, that might be developed at the time when we are addressing this question.

Q: Can you describe your emotions as you came out of

Medical check for Mandela

MR Nelson Mandela underwent a medical examination at Bishopscourt yesterday, according to Mr Dullah Omar. Mr Mandela and his wife spent the night at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's official residence on Sunday.

This was his second medical examination in the course of a few days. Shortly before his release Mr Mandela was examined by a specialist who had treated him over the years. The results of these examinations will be made available to Mr Mandela by the Prisons Services, Mr Omar said.

prison yesterday and also your first impressions of the South Africa you saw, particularly the rally and the violence?

A: I must confess that I am unable to describe my emotions. I was completely overwhelmed by the enthusiasm. It is something I did not expect. I would be merely rationalising if I told you that I am able to describe my own feelings. It was breathtaking, that's all I can say.

Q: And your first impressions of the South Africa that you found?

A: Well, it's a totally different South Africa. Along the route I was surprised to see the number of whites who seemed to identify themselves with what is happening in the country today among blacks. I was absolutely surprised. I expected that response from blacks, but the number of whites who seemed to feel that a change is absolutely imperative surprised me.

Q: You said yesterday: "Our economy lies in ruins". Now if we compare it to other countries in Africa it's actually not that bad. Could you elaborate on what you meant when you said this?

A: Well, there are three important aspects we must consider when we are discussing the economy of a country. The question of full employment, the question of productivity and the question of social responsibility. Once we can guarantee that there is progress in these three aspects, then the economy of the country is performing very well. But it is my impression that it is not performing well in the sense of these aspects which I've mentioned and that is why I say that it is in ruins.

Q: (Inaudible. Sound of helicopters.)

A: . . . We must assume that the initial steps which he (Mr De Klerk) have taken are indicative that he is able to take the NP with him, but we still want more evidence. If he is able to remove the last obstacles to a negotiation then I will have a better chance of assessing what new ideas are in the NP. But for the time being there is not much evidence that the NP as such has changed its policy.

Q: In view of the chaos and struggle on the perimeter of last night's rally — you will know the details now — how would you answer those on the far right who will now tell President De Klerk: "We told you so. You cannot control this once Mr Mandela is out?"

A: That would be totally wrong. Given the circumstances under which that meeting was held, our people controlled the crowds very well. You must remember we just had one day to organise that meeting. There would have been trouble, no matter who had organised that. The point is that the people are disciplined. The protest marches that have taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere have shown that we can control crowds.

Q: Mr Mandela, there have been some important policy shifts on the government's side over the past few years. Tell us to what extent your in-depth discussions and consultations with the government in the past few years have contributed to their train of thinking.

A: Well, it would be most presumptuous for me to imagine that I've had any effect on influencing government policy. I have already told you that my impression is that for some time there have been men inside the NP who felt that a change was absolutely necessary. I may have contributed in some small way, because for the first time the government had the opportunity of getting our point of view from us directly. But otherwise I couldn't claim that I've had any effect on the attitude of the government.

Q: You may not . . . (Inaudible) . . . but you had an effect.

A: Well, it is for others to say that. Mr De Klerk would have been in a better position to say so.

Q: I have two questions. The one is: If you could have your life all over again would you change things so that you wouldn't be in prison? Secondly, I think most people are very surprised, even shocked, to find the ANC being unbanned. We expected you to be released, but not the ANC to be unbanned. Why do you think the government took that step? Also, it seems that many people seem to feel that the ANC was unprepared and has been caught off-guard. Do you agree with that?

A: Starting with the last question. The ANC was never caught off-guard. I have been giving regular reports to them and they have been responding to me. They have actually been instructing me what to do, what views to put forward. They have been getting feedbacks from me. They were never caught unawares. You must remember that the government and the NP had been discussing specific moves that they should take for some time. We had no such an opportunity because we were banned, but the ANC — given the circumstances under which they operated — had a positive response and a well-considered response . . .

Q: On the SABC this morning there was a report saying that you were involved in the Communist Party, while during your final ??? said that you were not a communist.

A: Well, I have explained my relationship with the Communist Party. I have been working with them. Their immediate objective is similar and it is natural for us to work closely together. What my personal stand on this is is of no importance.

Q: You are not a communist?

A: Let me make it clear: I do not belong to any party apart from the ANC.

'ANC wants solution that will suit blacks and whites'

than that they should join us.

Q: What do you plan to enhance black unity?

A: No single person can undertake such an enormous task. It is the duty of the political organisations, in particular the ANC, to determine in what way can we increase the momentum of unity among black organisations and then give instructions.

Q: What is your view on sanctions? And do you intend to take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation?

A: Everything that we set out to achieve through sanctions is still the same. Nothing has changed. You must remember that the demand in this country is for a non-racial society. We are very far from that, and it is too early for anybody to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions. But having said that, I would like to add that there is nothing that worries us as much that we should be involved in politics of confrontation and we will seize the earliest opportunity of settling our problems through peaceful means.

Q: Will you take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation to visit?

A: Well, an invitation from a British prime minister is something very important, and we cannot treat it very lightly. But on this question, I will have to be advised by the ANC.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have told us of parts of your life in prison . . .

A: I have lost a great deal over these 27 years. My wife has been under all sorts of pressure and it is not a nice feeling for a man to see his family struggling, without security, without the dignity of the head of the family around, but despite the hard times that we had in prison we have also had the opportunity to think about programmes, and it is an opportunity which is also very rewarding in that regard. You learn to get used to your circumstances, and in prison there have been men who are very good in the sense that they understand our point of view, and they do everything to try to make you as happy as possible. That has wiped out any bitterness which a man could have.

Q: Could you tell, on the basis of your talks so far, how close you feel you are to having a meeting between the ANC and the government?

A: Well, I am very confident that that day is not very far off. One thing I have been able to assess is that Mr De Klerk is a man of integrity, and as I said yesterday, he seems to be fully aware of the danger to a public figure of making undertakings which he fails to honour and I think that is a very promising sign. In my discussions with him he has been very flexible, but as an organisation, of course, we are concerned not so much with the personal virtues of an individual. Our policy and strategies are determined by the harsh reality of the fact that the National Party has a policy which is not progressive and that is what determines our attitude. But I am confident that if Mr De Klerk is able to carry the National Party with him in the new line that he has taken that he himself wants to normalise the situation as soon as possible. Therefore I think that very soon obstacles to negotiation will be removed and it will be possible for us to sit down and talk.

Q: Of deep concern in Natal has been Chief Buthelezi's insistence that he has a very personal relationship with you. He has been publicising a letter that you allegedly wrote to him and has been using that to try to whip up support for himself. What will your public attitude now be towards Chief Buthelezi?

Q: Could you tell us something about the meetings you had with South African cabinet ministers? Which cabinet ministers did you meet and could you tell us something about the content of your discussions?

A: Well, that is a very good question, because there has been a lot of misunderstanding about it. I have been having discussions with the government over the last three years on two separately related questions. The first one in which I had been negotiating with the government, was the release of my comrades, Mr Sisulu and others. As far as that is concerned, I have been negotiating. But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government. There I have been acting surely as a facilitator to bring these two major political organisations to the negotiating table. In the course of my attempt to secure results of these groups, I met a number of cabinet ministers. The first, of course, was Mr Kobbie Coetsee. I had countless meetings with him. The second has been Dr Gerrit Viljoen, whom I have met about four times since he took over his new portfolio. As you know, I had met the former State President Mr P. W. Botha. That meeting has been misunderstood. There is a submission that this was a propaganda play on the part of the President at the time. It is not so. That meeting was requested by me and the former SP merely responded to my request for him to see me. Secondly, it has been suggested that this was an attempt on the part of the former SP to do something that would embarrass Mr De Klerk, and that is not so. Minister De Klerk was involved right at the outset in the arrangement for this meeting. He was kept informed and he himself was in line with the fact that this discussion should take place.

Q: The government has indicated that you are willing to act as mediator. Do you agree with the use of that term?

A: Well, in a sense I have been acting as a mediator, because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government. So I have been playing that role, but now that I am released, it is for the ANC to determine what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you give us some insight into the events before President De Klerk addressed parliament? It is our understanding that you were to meet him or one of the cabinet ministers?

A: Well, it is correct to say that I was supposed to meet the SP, but that meeting did not take place, because you people knew about it and you made it impossible for us to meet.

Q: Mr Mandela, the bantustans that have been created since you were in prison, what is their future on the prospects of the ANC?

A: Well, the ANC has called upon them to join the struggle and I think that is the correct policy. You must remember that some of them, although disagreeing with their policies, are quite innocent and they are men who have served the community in one way or the other. Nothing would please us more

Q: Can you tell us how you feel on your first morning as a free man?

A: Before I respond to that question, I think it proper for us to apologise for the failure of the press conference yesterday. Our marshals certainly did good work, but the crowd was too big and it became impossible for us to keep up with our programmes. We very much regret that we could not fulfil that engagement. Having said that, I want to assure you that I'm absolutely excited to be out. I'm also excited to have the opportunity of addressing you, because throughout these difficult years in prison, the press — both locally and foreign — have been a brick to us. I think it was originally the intention of the government that we should be forgotten and that their leaders, leaders of the homelands, bantustans and all those who work within government structures, should be built up and that we should be forgotten. It was the press that had the memory of those who had been in prison for offences which they committed in the course of their political activity. It was the press who never forgot us. We are therefore indebted to you and I'm happy to be at this interview this morning.

Q: Mr Mandela, in the light of your reference to your speech yesterday and the fact that leaders must be elected by the national conference of the ANC, do you envisage for yourself a different kind of role before the next conference and could you tell us about what sort of role you envisage yourself playing in the coming months?

A: No person has the right in our organisation to determine what his role is in the course of the struggle. We are loyal and disciplined members of the organisation. It is the organisation that will determine what role we should play. It is my intention to go to Lusaka at my earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you tell us why, in your understanding, the state has decided to release you back to your people at this point in time, in history?

A: Well, I think it is a normal thing for the government to decide at some stage to release a prisoner. They had already released Comrade Walter and others and my release was a matter of development.

Q: When President De Klerk announced your release on Saturday afternoon, he said that after two meetings with you he had come to the conclusion that you were committed to peace. Last night you committed yourself to the intensification of the armed struggle. Would you care to comment?

A: There is no conflict between those two statements. I have committed myself to the promotion of peace in the country, but I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been taken and launched by the ANC. There is no conflict whatsoever. There is not a single political organisation in this country inside and outside parliament which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peace. The armed struggle is merely defensive. It's a defence act against the violence of apartheid, but we remain committed to peace. If the government give us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country.

Q: Mr Mandela, the government's new battle cry seems to be protection for minority rights and a new negotiated constitution. Do you detect a shift here away from group rights maybe, and do you see any room for accommodation here between the ANC and the government?

A: The ANC is very much concerned to address the question of the concern of whites over the demand of one person, one vote. They insist on structural guarantees, that is the whites, to ensure that the realisation of this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks. We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country.

Q: That should be a matter of no concern. We have differences with Dr Buthelezi. Firstly, on the question of violence. Secondly, on the attitude towards government structures. And thirdly, on questions of sanctions. These are fundamental differences, but nevertheless, he is a figure with a following. It may not be as big as and may not command as many resources as we command, but he has a following and it seems to me correct to try to settle problems in which he is involved amicably, and I wrote to him because I did not think it was correct that Africans, the blacks, should be killing one another, and that situation we must try to solve.

Q: You spoke yesterday of objectives of majority rule in this country. You also spoke again this morning of the need to address the concerns of whites in this country. Do you feel, and would you be advising your colleagues to feel, that there should be a period of power-sharing before the ultimate objective of majority rule is reached?

A: Well, I do not think it would be proper for me to go into any specifics here, except just to stress that this is a problem we are fully aware of and it is one of our most important duties to address this problem. Whites are fellow-South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country.

Q: Mr Mandela, President De Klerk has met already with several African leaders and he is going to meet more African leaders this year. What do you think of the African countries that have links with South Africa?

A: Well, South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution South Africa will play a major role in promoting developments in various fields, which today require immediate attention in the sense that some of the problems are beyond the resources of the African states around South Africa and therefore, if an internal settlement is reached, I would urge that the relations between our country and Africa should be improved and I would encourage such meetings.

Q: Comrade Mandela, now that you have been released, a number of leaders in the West are extending invitations to you. Are you going to accept the invitations of these people first or the invitations of those countries that have always supported the struggle of the people of this country?

A: If I had to decide the matter I probably would feel that those countries which have supported us very strongly, like India, should get first preference. You must remember that India was the very first country at the United Nations to call for action against South Africa, because of its racial policies. You will remember the contribution of Judge Chagnel (?) and that would be my preference. But all these things are in the hands of the ANC. They will plan whatever trips I take as a result of these invitations, but I have no doubt that they will consider India as one of the very first countries which I should visit.

ANC repeats its demand for pre-conditions

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

LUSAKA — Acting ANC president Alfred Nzo said yesterday government had still to comply with two pre-conditions before negotiations on the cessation of violence and a new constitutional dispensation could begin.

Speaking at a mass ANC rally in Zambia, Nzo said the pre-conditions were as set out in the Harare Declaration drafted by the ANC and adopted by the OAU and UN.

The remaining issues are the release of all remaining political prisoners, including those convicted of violence, and the total lifting of the state of emergency.

He said the armed struggle could be suspended after only President F W de Klerk had "created the right climate."

Then we can start discussing the possibilities of a mutually binding ceasefire."

Referring to De Klerk's invitation to exiled ANC members to return to SA, Nzo said: "I must admit that even within our own ranks there was a tendency to emphasise the need to return. It is thanks to the political discipline within our ranks chaos has not yet resulted around this question."

The euphoria that was aroused seemed to suggest that all was almost over. Return we must and we shall, but we will do it in a planned fashion."

Nzo said he had spoken to Nelson Mandela on the phone yesterday morning and Mandela had expressed the desire to come to Lusaka to meet the leaders and members of the ANC, as well as the leaders of the Frontline states, as soon as possible.

The ANC national executive starts meeting here tomorrow and it is expected that the movement's response to the De Klerk initiative will dominate the agenda.

Referring to sanctions, Nzo said those within the international community who expected the ANC to abandon its struggle would obviously be disappointed.

Negotiations formed part of the struggle and when they did happen, it would not mean apartheid had ceased to exist.

"We are obliged to continue the struggle until apartheid is finally and irrevocably eliminated," he said.

He called on the international community to "continue to isolate the apartheid regime. We still insist on the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions."

Reunion with Tambo in Sweden 'likely soon'

STOCKHOLM — Nelson Mandela, 71, is likely to travel to Sweden very soon to visit Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC) who is in a Stockholm clinic, an ANC spokesman said yesterday. *6/9/90 1312490*

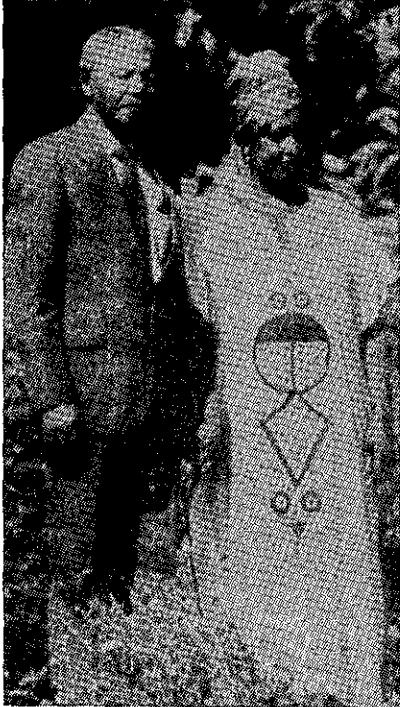
"We believe he will make a visit to Sweden one of his first priorities. After all, he used to work with Tambo and they are old friends," ANC spokesman Mike Ngoni said. *(11A)*

Tambo, 72, is in a Stockholm clinic recuperating from a stroke which has left him partially paralysed.

A delegation of ANC leaders led by former secretary-general Walter Sisulu was in Stockholm visiting Tambo when President F W de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC on February 2. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Dam 13/2/90

11A



Nelson and Winnie Mandela pictured yesterday in the gardens of Bishop's Court, Archbishop Desmond Tutu's official residence in Cape Town.



The scene at Orlando Stadium yesterday, where thousands gathered in the hope of seeing Nelson Mandela and at one point disaster was narrowly averted after dozens of schoolchildren were pressed against fences ringing the field as thousands more tried to enter the grounds.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Dozens crushed as crowd waits in vain for Mandela

HUNDREDS of people had to be treated for heat exhaustion and minor injuries and disaster was only narrowly averted as a crushed Orlando Stadium waited in vain for several hours for the arrival of Nelson Mandela.

It was the second consecutive day of crowd problems surrounding Mandela's release, although on this occasion the crowd was merely jubilant and high-spirited. There was an absence of the violence that marred Sunday's gathering in Cape Town.

But many ANC/MDM marshalls at the gathering expressed concern at the need for a more professional approach to crowd control.

The crowd, which eventually numbered about 60 000, began gathering from early morning in response to National Reception Committee announcements that Mandela would address them at 3pm.

News of the delay, for security reasons, in Mandela's return to Johannesburg began filtering through to the media by 10.30am.

Business Day Reporters

However, this was announced to a disappointed crowd only after 3pm as there was no adequate public address system available until then.

Earlier, dozens of young schoolchildren were crushed against fences ringing the field and trampled as thousands more attempted to enter the stadium.

At that stage a Press photographer persuaded uncertain marshalls to open the gates onto the field, a move that prevented people from sustaining serious injuries or worse.

Treated

Members of the SA Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco) treated the sick and injured in tents made up of banners hanging over the goalposts at each end of the football field.

Nursing sister and Sahwco member Shera Moosajee said that by 3pm, at least 400 people had been treated on the football field.

By the time ANC leaders Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada an-

nounced the postponement of the rally to Soccer City today, only a small area at the centre of the field was left unoccupied by the crowd.

Mlangeni appealed to the crowd to disperse peacefully. He warned there was a "bad element" in the township hijacking private cars and he appealed to people to apprehend anyone seen carrying out such actions.

Earlier in the morning, a large contingent of police prevented a crowd entering the Soccer City stadium and re-directed them to Orlando.

The SAP was nowhere to be seen in the vicinity of Orlando Stadium apart from a circling helicopter. A second unmarked helicopter arrived to circle the scene at 1.45pm, bringing a roar of approval from the crowd. The aircraft carried a foreign television camera crew to the disappointment of the on-lookers, many of whom thought their leader had arrived.

The area outside the nearby Orlando home of Mandela was often impenetrable as dense crowds of people danced, marched and sang past his house. Students made up a large proportion of the crowd.

BIDU 13/2/90 (11A)

ANC very concerned about white fears, says Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the African National Congress was very concerned about white fears of black domination.

Addressing a Press conference at Bishop's Court, official residence of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, he said: "The ANC will address that problem and find a solution which will suit both blacks and whites."

On the role he expected to play in coming months, Mandela said: "No person in our organisation has the right to determine what role to play in the struggle."

"We are loyal and disciplined members of the organisation, and the organisation will determine the role I am to play."

"It is my intention to go to Lusaka at the earliest opportunity and they (the exiled ANC) will tell me what role I shall play."

A questioner said that President de Klerk had described him as a man committed to peace, and asked whether this did not contradict his call for the continuation of the armed struggle in his first public speech on Cape Town's Grand Parade on Sunday night.

Mandela said there was no conflict at all between the two positions.

"I've committed myself to a position of peace for this country, but that has been part and parcel of the ANC's campaigns.

Defensive

"There is no political organisation inside or outside Parliament which can be compared to the ANC's total commitment to peace."

"The armed struggle is just a defensive act against the violence of apartheid."

If government gave the ANC the opportunity, it would make a positive contribution towards peace.

Mandela said he had had many discussions with government over the past three years.

These discussions, which had involved several members of the cabinet and the two state presidents, were concerned with two questions.

"The first was the release of my colleagues, comrade Sisulu and others, for which I negotiated with the government."

"The second has been concerned with a meeting between the government and the ANC but in this I have purely acted as a facilitator in order to bring these two to the negotiating table."

He said he had met Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee numerous times and had spoken to Gerrit Viljoen four times since Viljoen took over as Constitutional Development Minister.

Mandela said he believed the first step to a solution to SA's problems was a meeting between government and the ANC.

Now that he was free it was for the ANC to determine what should happen.

Asked about his possible role in bringing about reconciliation with organisations such as Inkatha and the PAC, Mandela said no single person could undertake such an enormous task.

"It is the duty of the political organisations, particularly the ANC, to determine in what way we can increase the momentum of unity among black organisations — and they give me instructions."

He said his personal relationship with Chief Buthelezi should be "a matter of no concern".

"We have differences with Dr Buthelezi

on the question of the use of violence, on attitudes to government structures, on the question of sanctions. These are fundamental differences. Nevertheless he's a figure with a following.

"Maybe he's not as big (or does not) command as much in resources as we do. But it seems to me to be correct to settle problems amicably."

He had recently written a much-publicised letter to Chief Buthelezi because he thought "it was not correct that Africans — blacks — should be killing one another".

Mandela said that all the problems that

as a man of integrity who seemed to be fully aware of the danger to a public figure who made promises he did not keep.

"I think that is a promising sign. In my discussions with him he has been very flexible."

However, organisational politics was not concerned with the virtues of individuals.

The ANC's policies were determined by the harsh realities of National Party policy.

"I am confident that if Mr de Klerk can carry the National Party with him... very



At the Cape Town Press conference yesterday, from left: Walter and Albertina Sisulu and Winnie and Nelson Mandela.

Picture: REUTERS

sanctions had aimed at solving were still there.

"Nothing has changed. The demand in this country is for a non-racial society... it is still too early for anyone to call for the lifting of sanctions."

However, the ANC would seize the earliest opportunity of settling problems.

Asked about an invitation from British prime minister Margaret Thatcher to visit her, he said this was a "very important invitation" and could not be treated lightly.

However, he would have to be advised on this matter by the ANC.

He felt that he would like to make his first international visit to countries such as India which had supported the liberation struggle very strongly.

"India was the very first country at the United Nations to call for action against SA because of its racial policies."

Normalised

Asked whether he thought his definition of a normalised situation in SA was the same as De Klerk's, he said: "I have no doubt we are talking about the same thing. But if he regards the steps taken so far as being sufficient for the normalisation of the country I differ with him."

The state of emergency had to be lifted in its entirety and political prisoners released.

"Once these obstacles are removed we will be entitled to say the situation has been normalised."

Mandela said he had assessed De Klerk

soon the obstacles to negotiation will be removed and it will be possible for us to enter into negotiation."

He said the matter of a period of power-sharing was a problem the ANC was fully aware of.

"Whites are fellow South Africans. We want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made to this country."

He said he had not modified his views on the redistribution of wealth.

"My views are identical with the ANC. The question of nationalisation of mines is a fundamental policy of the ANC. I believe the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and we should support it."

He would not like to go into specifics on guarantees for whites that might be incorporated in a new constitution.

"But this is a matter which is regarded as extremely important by the ANC."

The ANC would decide on structures for guarantees when the time came for this question to be addressed.

Asked to elaborate on his statement at Sunday's rally that the SA economy was in ruins, he said three important aspects had to be considered.

There were the questions of full employment, productivity and of social responsibility.

"Once we can guarantee progress in these three aspects, the economy is performing well."

His sense was that it was not performing well at the moment. — Sapa.

'We want whites to feel safe'



Mr Nelson Mandela gives a clenched fist salute at his press conference in the grounds of Bishopscourt, Cape Town, yesterday.

en the circumstances under which that meeting was held, our people controlled the crowds very well. You must remember we just had one day to organise that meeting. There would have been trouble, no matter who had organised that.

The point is that the people are disciplined. The protest marches that have taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Maritzburg and elsewhere have shown that we can control crowds.

Q: Mr Mandela, there have been some important policy shifts on the government's side over the past few years. Tell us to what extent your in-depth discussions and consultations with the government in the past few years have contributed to their train of thinking.

A: Well, it would be most presumptuous for me to imagine that I've had any effect on influencing government policy. I have already told you that my impression is that for some time there have been men inside the NP who felt that a change was absolutely necessary.

I may have contributed in some small way, because for the first time the government had the opportunity of getting our point of view from us directly. But otherwise I couldn't claim that I've had any effect on the attitude of the government.

Q: You may not... (inaudible)... but you had an effect. **A:** Well, it is for others to say that. Mr De Klerk would have been in a better position to say so.

Q: I have two questions. The one is: If you could have your life all over again would you change things so that you

wouldn't be in prison? Secondly, I think most people are very surprised, even shocked, to find the ANC being unbanned. We expected you to be released, but not the ANC to be unbanned. Why do you think the government took that step? Also, it seems that many people seem to feel that the ANC was unprepared and has been caught off-guard. Do you agree with that?

A: Starting with the last question. The ANC was never caught off-guard. I have been giving regular reports to them and they have been responding to me. They have actually been instructing me what to do, what views to put forward. They have been getting feedbacks from me. They were never caught unawares. You must remember that the government and the NP had been discussing specific moves that they should take for some time. We had no such an opportunity because we were banned, but the ANC — given the circumstances under which they operated — had a positive response and a well-considered response...

Q: On the SABC this morning there was a report saying that you were involved in the Communist Party, while (earlier you) said that you were not a communist.

A: Well, I have explained my relationship with the Communist Party. I have been working with them. Their immediate objective is similar and it is natural for us to work closely together. What my personal stand on this is is of no importance.

Q: You are not a communist?

A: Let me make it clear. I do not belong to any party apart from the ANC.

A: Well, it's a totally different South Africa. Along the route I was surprised to see the number of whites who seemed to identify themselves with what is happening in the country today among blacks. I was absolutely surprised. I expected that response from blacks, but the number of whites who seemed to feel that a change is absolutely imperative surprised me.

Q: You said yesterday: "Our economy lies in ruins". Now if we compare it to other countries in Africa it's actually not that bad. Could you elaborate on what you meant when you said this?

A: Well, there are three important aspects we must consider when we are discussing the economy of a country. The question of full employment, the question of productivity and the question of social responsibility.

Once we can guarantee that there is progress in these three aspects, then the economy of the country is performing very well. But it is my impression that it is not performing well in the sense of these aspects which I've mentioned and that is why I say that it is in ruins.

Q: (Inaudible.)

A: ... We must assume that the initial steps which he (Mr De Klerk) has taken are indicative that he is able to take the NP with him, but we still want more evidence. If he is able to remove the last obstacles to a negotiation then I will have a better chance of assessing what new ideas are in the NP. But for the time being there is not much evidence that the NP as such has changed its policy.

Q: In view of the chaos and struggle on the perimeter of last night's rallies — you will know the details now — how would you answer those on the far right who will now tell President De Klerk: "We told you so. You cannot control this once Mr Mandela is out?"

A: That would be totally wrong. Give

of your reference to your speech yesterday and the fact that leaders must be elected by the national conference of the ANC, do you envisage for yourself a different kind of role before the next conference and could you tell us about what sort of role you envisage yourself playing in the coming months?

A: No person has the right in our organisation to determine what his role is in the course of the struggle. We are loyal and disciplined members of the organisation.

It is the organisation that will determine what role we should play. It is my intention to go to Lusaka at my earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you tell us why, in your understanding, the state has decided to release you back to your people at this point in time, in history?

A: Well, I think it is a normal thing for the government to decide at some stage to release a prisoner. They had already released Comrade Walter and others and my release was a matter of development.

Q: When President De Klerk announced your release on Saturday afternoon, he said that after two meetings with you he had come to the conclusion that you were committed to peace. Last night you committed yourself to the intensification of the armed struggle. Would you care to comment?

A: There is no conflict between those two statements. I have committed myself to the promotion of peace in the country, but I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been taken and launched by the ANC.

There is no conflict whatsoever. There is not a single political organisation in this country inside and outside parliament which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peace. The armed struggle is merely defensive. It's a defence act against the violence of apartheid, but we remain committed to peace.

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

Q: Mr Mandela, the government's new battle cry seems to be protection for minority rights and a new negotiated constitution. Do you detect a shift here away from group rights maybe, and do you see any room for accommodation here between the ANC and the government?

A: The ANC is very much concerned to address the question of the concern of whites over the demand of one person, one vote. They insist on structural guarantees, that is the whites, to ensure that the realisation of this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks.

We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country.

Q: Could you tell us something about the meetings you had with South African cabinet ministers? Which cabinet ministers did you meet and could you tell us something about the content of your discussions?

A: Well, that is a very good question, because there has been a lot of misunderstanding about it. I have been having discussions with the govern-

ment. The government was indicated that you are willing to act as mediator. Do you agree with the use of that term?

A: Well, in a sense I have been acting as a mediator, because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government. So I have been playing that role, but now that I am released, it is for the ANC to determine what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you give us some insight into the events before President De Klerk addressed parliament? It is our understanding that you were to meet him or one of the cabinet ministers?

A: Well, it is correct to say that I was supposed to meet the SP, but that meeting did not take place, because you people knew about it and you made it impossible for us to meet.

Q: Mr Mandela, the Bantustans that have been created since you were in prison, what is their future on the prospectus of the ANC?

A: Well, the ANC has called upon them to join the struggle and I think that is the correct policy. You must remember that some of them, although disagreeing with their policies, are quite innocent and they are men who have served the community in one way or the other. Nothing would please us more than that they should join us.

Q: What do you plan to enhance black unity?

A: No single person can undertake such an enormous task. It is the duty of the political organisations, in particular the ANC, to determine in what way can we increase the momentum of unity among black organisations and then give instructions.

Q: What is your view on sanctions? And do you intend to take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation?

A: Everything that we set out to achieve through sanctions is still the same. Nothing has changed. You must remember that the demand in this country is for a non-racial society. We are very far from that, and it is too early for anybody to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions.

But having said that, I would like to add that there is nothing that worries us as much that we should be involved in politics of confrontation and we will seize the earliest opportunity of settling our problems through peaceful means.

Q: Will you take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation to visit?

A: Well, an invitation from a British prime minister is something very important, and we cannot treat it very lightly. But on this question, I will have to be advised by the ANC.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have told us of parts of your life in prison...

A: I have lost a great deal over these 27 years. My wife has been under all sorts of pressure and it is not a nice feeling for a man to see his family struggling, without security, without the dignity of the head of the family around, but despite the hard times that we had in prison we have also had the opportunity to think about programmes, and it is an opportunity which is also very rewarding in that regard.

You learn to get used to your circumstances, and in prison there have been men who are very good in the sense that they understand our point of view, and they do everything to try to make you as happy as possible. That has wiped out any bitterness which a man could have.

Q: Could you tell, on the basis of your talks so far, how close you feel you are to having a meeting between the ANC and the government?

A: Well, I am very confident that that day is not very far off. One thing I have been able to assess is that Mr De Klerk is a man of integrity, and as I said yesterday, he seems to be fully aware of the danger to a public figure of making undertakings which he fails to honour and I think that is a very promising sign.

In my discussions with him he has been very flexible, but as an organisation, of course, we are concerned not so much with the personal virtues of an individual. Our policy and strategies are determined by the harsh reality of the fact that the National Party has a policy which is not progressive and that is what determines our attitude. But I am confident that if Mr De Klerk is able to carry the National Party with him in the new line that he has taken that he himself wants to normalise the situation as soon as possible. Therefore I think that very soon obstacles to negotiation will be removed and it will be possible for us to sit down and talk.

Q: Of deep concern in Natal has been Chief Buthelezi's insistence that he has a very personal relationship with you. He has been publicising a letter that you allegedly wrote to him and has been using that to try to whip up support for himself. What will your public attitude now be towards Chief Buthelezi?

A: That should be a matter of no concern. We have differences with Dr Buthelezi. Firstly, on the question of violence. Secondly, on the attitude towards government structures. And thirdly, on questions of sanctions. These are fundamental differences, but nevertheless, he is a figure with a following.

It may not be as big as and may not command as many resources as we command, but he has a following and it seems to me correct to try to settle problems in which he is involved amicably, and I wrote to him because I did not think it was correct that Africans, the blacks, should be killing one another, and that situation we must try to solve.

Q: You spoke yesterday of objectives of majority rule in this country. You also spoke again this morning of the need to address the concerns of whites in this country. Do you feel, and would you be advising your colleagues to feel, that there should be a period of power-sharing before the ultimate objective of majority rule is reached?

A: Well, I do not think it would be proper for me to go into any specifics here, except just to stress that this is a problem we are fully aware of and it is one of our most important duties to address this problem. Whites are fellow-South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country.

Q: Mr Mandela, President De Klerk has met already with several African leaders and he is going to meet more African leaders this year. What do you think of the African countries that have links with South Africa?

A: Well, South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution South Africa will play a major role in promoting developments in various fields, which

today require immediate attention in the sense that some of the problems are beyond the resources of the African states around South Africa and therefore, if an internal settlements is reached, I would urge that the relations between our country and Africa should be improved and I would encourage such meetings.

Q: Comrade Mandela, now that you have been released, a number of leaders in the West are extending invitations to you. Are you going to accept the invitations of these people first or the invitations of those countries that have always supported the struggle of the people of this country?

A: If I had to decide the matter I probably would feel that those countries which have supported us very strongly, like India, should get first preference. You must remember that India was the very first country at the United Nations to call for action against South Africa, because of its racial policies. But all these things are in the hands of the ANC. They will plan whatever trips I take as a result of these invitations, but I have no doubt that they will consider India as one of the very first countries which I should visit.

Q: Mr Mandela, you used the word "normalising" quite freely in your address last night and you used the word again just now, and you said that Mr De Klerk also had spoken of normalising. Would you say that your views and Mr De Klerk's views are the same as far as normalising is concerned?

A: Well, I have no doubt that we are talking about the same thing, but if he regards the steps that he has taken so far as being sufficient for the normalisation of the political situation in the country, then I differ with him, because the state of emergency has to be lifted in its entirety and also political prisoners have to be released.

Once we have removed these obstacles we will be entitled to say that the situation has been normalised.

Q: You have spoken a couple of times this morning of your sensitivity to the concerns of the white population. Have you modified in any way your views on the redistribution of wealth?

A: No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it.

Q: Mr Mandela, do you intend returning to the Transkei to visit or to stay?

A: My home is in Johannesburg, but I was born in the Transkei and it is proper for me to visit the area of my birth and there are certain rites which I have to perform and for that reason I will go down. I also long to see the little stones on which I played as a child, the little rivers where I swam and I will go down, but I am stationed in Johannesburg.

Q: You have mentioned the lifting of the state of emergency. Before you came out there was talk that you would disobey the emergency laws until you were rearrested if you were released into a state of emergency. Could you tell us your views on that and how soon do you think the state of emergency will be lifted?

A: There has also been a great deal of misunderstanding on that question. My position was a simple one: That the

question of my release could be approached from two angles. The first from the relationship between a jailer and a prisoner. If the government released me under those conditions, then I would have no obligation whatsoever.

There would be no continuity between the work I was doing inside prison and the work that the ANC might give me outside, but if they want to release me with my consent and on the basis that they do not want to release me into a vacuum, then they must normalise fully. In other words the state of emergency should be lifted and political prisoners should be released. That is my argument.

Q: Yes, but how soon should it be lifted?

A: Well, I cannot specify a time. It can be lifted this morning or it can be lifted tomorrow, but we want it lifted before we can regard the situation as being normal.

Q: Comrade Nelson, we now see people taking to the streets, with or without the permission of the government. How do you feel about that and how does that relate to your release now?

A: Well, I think these developments are breathtaking and they are very inspiring. It is clear now that the masses of the people who want to free themselves are no longer prepared to wait for the government to free them. That is a clear lesson that emerges from the demonstrations that have taken place.

Q: Do you believe that sanctions played an important role in creating a climate for your release? What other important forces do you think were at play?

A: Well, the release is the result of the accumulative effect of many factors. There is the question of the internal mass struggle which has reached a new level of intensity. There is the pressure which comes externally. Then, of course, even the government are not themselves unanimous in some of these things.

There have been many who have been insisting that change is absolutely necessary. I think that their numbers within the government, the NP, are increasing and I think all these factors have contributed to my release.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have been talking a lot about the assurances that you'd like to give whites. Does that mean that you would be prepared to compromise on the system of one man, one vote, maybe by having separate voters' rolls, things like that?

A: No, I have said that I would not like to go into any specifics at this time. This is, however, a matter which is regarded as extremely important by the ANC. When we decide the actual structure of the guarantees, that might be developed at the time when we are addressing this question.

Q: Can you describe your emotions as you came out of prison yesterday and also your first impressions of the South Africa you saw, particularly the rally and the violence?

A: I must confess that I am unable to describe my emotions. I was completely overwhelmed by the enthusiasm. It is something I did not expect. I would be merely rationalising if I told you that I am able to describe my own feelings. It was breathtaking, that's all I can say.

Q: And your first impressions of the South Africa that you found?

THE text of Mr Nelson Mandela's press conference in the garden of Bishopscourt, the residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday.

Q: Can you tell us how you feel on your first morning as a free man?

A: Before I respond to that question, I think it proper for us to apologise for the failure of the press conference yesterday. Our marshals certainly did good work, but the crowd was too big and it became impossible for us to keep up with our programmes. We very much regret that we could not fulfil that engagement.

Having said that, I want to assure you that I'm absolutely excited to be out. I'm also excited to have the opportunity of addressing you, because throughout these difficult years in prison, the press — both locally and foreign — have been a brick to us.

I think it was originally the intention of the government that we should be forgotten and that their leaders, leaders of the homelands, Bantustans and all those who work within government structures, should be built up and that we should be forgotten.

It was the Press that had the memory of those who had been in prison for offences which they committed in the course of their political activity. It was the Press who never forgot us. We are therefore indebted to you and I'm happy to be at this interview this morning.

ment over the last three years on two separately related questions. The first one in which I had been negotiating with the government, was the release of my comrades, Mr Sisulu and others. As far as that is concerned, I have been negotiating.

But the second issue has been one of a meeting between the ANC and the government. There I have been acting surely as a facilitator to bring these two major political organisations to the negotiating table. In the course of my attempt to secure results of these groups, I met a number of cabinet ministers. The first, of course, was Mr Kobie Coetsee.

I had countless meetings with him. The second has been Dr Gerrit Viljoen, whom I have met about four times since he took over his new portfolio. As you know, I had met the former State President Mr P W Botha. That meeting has been misunderstood. There is a submission that this was a propaganda ploy on the part of the President at the time.

It is not so. That meeting was requested by me and the former SP merely responded to my request for him to see me. Secondly, it has been suggested that this was an attempt on the part of the former SP to do something that would embarrass Mr De Klerk, and that is not so. Minister De Klerk was involved right at the outset in the arrangement for this meeting. He was kept informed and he himself was in line with the fact that this discussion should take place.

Over the airwaves the SA debate begins

From SUE LEEMAN of The Argus Foreign Service in London

M64S 11A
13/2/90

IN one of the first debates of its kind, influential South Africans from assorted bands of the political rainbow met in a television studio this week to discuss the future of the country.

NEGOTIATIONS

David Dimpleby of the BBC, in South Africa to cover the release of Nelson Mandela, assembled representatives from the PAC and the National Party — and everything in between — for a discussion programme screened live from Johannesburg to British viewers.

Only a Conservative Party

representative was missing.

Chief spokesman Koos van der Merwe refused to sit in the same studio as the mixed audience and was interviewed privately beforehand.

He missed a lively discussion which focused largely on white fears and black hopes after Mr Mandela's first public utterances.

Dimpleby said the debate was significant, coming at the start "of a new phase in negotiations between whites and blacks".

Ahmed Kathrada, ANC member and long-time friend of Mr Mandela, was one of the first to speak. The government, he said, had made no concessions.

"We are back in 1960, when our organisations were banned. Nothing has changed."

Mr Mandela had therefore been right to endorse the continuation of the armed struggle, Mr Kathrada said.

But veteran Parliamentary scourge of the National Party, Mrs Helen Suzman, disagreed, saying such moves as the abolition of the pass laws and plans to scrap the Separate Amenities Act were signs of real change.

"The government has made some very startling statements in the past few weeks. We have started a process which is irreversible," she said.

Nevertheless, the PAC's Japhtha Mase-mola said he did not feel the time had come for talks with the government. He did not believe the Afrikaner had reached the stage where he would accept one-man, one-vote, he said — an assessment that was readily endorsed by several members of the studio audience.

This was underlined later in an "exchange" of sorts between the absent Mr van der Merwe and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

In his earlier and separate taped interview, Mr van der Merwe challenged the

government "to answer yes or no (whether) it is prepared to accept a future South Africa based on one-man, one-vote in a unitary South Africa.

"Mr Mandela has put certain preconditions... he has not given in one inch."

In a display of irritation well known to Botha-watchers, the Foreign Minister sighed and said he was "tired of splitting hairs, of participating in rhetoric.

"My government has accepted that whatever constitution is agreed upon must have majority support — that is elementary."

Constituency

Asked whether he was disappointed that Mr Mandela had not renounced the armed struggle, Mr Botha said he was looking at Mr Mandela's recent statements as a whole and not picking out individual details.

"Mr Mandela has a constituency and he has stated that first he would wish to consult with his followers, and the ANC executive.

"This means he wishes to achieve reconciliation — he has said so in so many words.

"I believe the ANC need a little time now to consult with one another."

Mr Botha said the government had found it "much harder" to oppose someone like Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had never believed in violence.

Forgetting

On cue, Dr Buthelezi, speaking on a monitor from another studio, was brought in to say he believed Mr Mandela was preaching reconciliation and forgetting the past.

But he added that not all black demands could expect to be met before the parties came to the negotiating table.

"Mr de Klerk has demonstrated — and it is the gut feeling of heads of state in Europe and Africa — that he is an honest man and I don't expect him to do everything himself.

"We must put negotiations on track, and the release of Mr Mandela removes a major obstacle."

Not uncharacteristically, Mr Botha had all but the last word: Blacks, he said, would have to learn "that there are genuine white fears" while whites must rid themselves of racial prejudice.

"I believe we are on the way to doing it, and we will achieve nothing from blaming one another for the past.

Framework

"Eventually we will establish a framework for negotiations and within that framework will be grey areas (such as) the return of political exiles, the release of political prisoners.

"But we must establish a framework to talk about it."

Speaking later on the BBC's Newsnight Chief Buthelezi said any talks between the ANC and the South African government, as suggested by Mr Nelson Mandela on his release, would be "quite wrong".

By excluding groups such as Inkatha such talks would sow the seeds of conflict.

Asked if he agreed that the ANC probably has the support of the majority of South African blacks, Chief Buthelezi said this would have to be tested.

Contending

The general secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, who had a meeting with Mr Mandela before his release, defended Mr Mandela's position.

"As I understand it, Mr Mandela is saying that the main contending parties which are taking up arms against each other are the government and the ANC.

"These parties must have talks in order that there should be a cessation of hostilities," said Mr Molefe.

The ANC's position, he added, was that once all obstacles to negotiations were removed all those who could prove they were representative would be entitled to take part in the negotiations for a new constitution.

Argus 13/2/90
3 extra (11A)
**welcome
rallies to
meet huge
demand**

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A huge "welcome home" rally is to be held for Mr Nelson Mandela at Soccer City, south of Johannesburg, today.

This will be one of three rallies planned today to try to meet the frenzied demands of tens of thousands to see and hear the revered African National Congress leader.

Mr Mandela arrived by private jet at Lanseria Airport at 6pm yesterday and was hurried away to a secret venue.

Following yesterday's unprecedented scenes when tens of thousands thronged the streets of the township, and thousands more flocked from neighbouring black areas, plans are afoot for the ANC leader to address three rallies today.

Last night only the Soccer City rally, starting at 1pm, had been confirmed.

The national secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, said it was hoped that rallies could be arranged at both the Orlando Stadium and at a yet-to-be-decided venue on the East Rand.

Mr Mandela would first address the Soccer City rally, expected to attract more than 100 000 people, and then the Orlando gathering before moving to the East Rand.

Events in Soweto yesterday — when people were crushed when welcomers flocked in their thousands to Orlando Stadium expecting Mr Mandela to arrive from Cape Town to address them — led to organisers trying to arrange the "triple rally" last night.

Organisers said even Soccer City, with a capacity of about 100 000, would be swamped if it were the only venue where Mr Mandela was to speak today.

DAY'S NOTICE

Mr Molefe, who is also spokesman for the National Reception Committee, said organisers had been taken by surprise by the timing of Mr Mandela's release.

Organisers had been given just a day's notice, and arrangements had not been finalised.

"The extent of the popularity of Comrade Mandela is simply overwhelming," said Mr Molefe.

While not expecting violence, he was concerned about "criminal elements" who in Cape Town took advantage of the massive welcome for Mr Mandela to loot stores.

He appealed to all, including the police, to act with restraint.

"We cannot afford any situation which would further deepen the conflict in our country," he said.

In spite of evident plans to slip Mr Mandela into Johannesburg unnoticed yesterday, hundreds of media representatives, airport staff and ANC supporters kept a vigil all afternoon on the airport terrace.

● Full text of Mr Mandela's Press conference, page 13.



● MANDELA



● SLOVO

'I still believe in nationalisation'

8/1/90
31/2/90
MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela said yesterday he fully supported the ANC's policy of nationalising the mines and other sectors of the economy.

But, in an interview with the BBC at the weekend, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo called for whole issue of nationalisation to be the subject of negotiations as he believed it was not necessarily the answer to redressing economic imbalances in SA.

Mandela was asked at a Press conference whether he had in any way modified his views on the redistribution of wealth.

He said: "No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it."

Later, challenged to justify his claim that the SA economy "lies in ruins", Mandela said full employment, productivity and social responsibility had to be considered when discussing a country's economy.

He said he felt SA's economy was not performing well in these aspects.

Slovo, indicating that the whole question of the ANC's economic policy was being re-examined, said that while any democratic government would have to address the whole issue of redistribution, this did not necessarily mean that sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.

Slovo said in SA there had been State ownership of basic sectors of the economy for some time, but this did not mean advantage for the people or socialism.

He added that the approach towards generating resources to address injustices of the past would have to be negotiated.

Slovo said that if redistribution of land took place this would not mean that all land owned by whites would be confiscated or that there would be no compensation.

Zac sad but not surprised

The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, yesterday expressed disappointment at the reference to the armed struggle and support for sanctions in the speech made by Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on Sunday night.

Reacting to the speech, Dr de Beer said he was not, however, surprised because it was the standpoint of the ANC.

He said there was reason to believe there was not much capacity to continue the armed struggle.

The tone of the rest of the speech was favourable and Dr de Beer said he was pleased Mr Mandela had insisted white South Africans had an important role to play in a new South Africa. — Sapa.

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Argus 13/2/90
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Publication of Mandela allegations forbidden

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has prohibited the publication of "serious allegations of criminal conduct" on the part of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zindzi.

The commission was appointed to inquire into the death in police detention of Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, who was found hanged in a shower room in John Voster Square police station on January 30.

Mr Sithole was the father of Miss Mandela's child and had a close relationship with her at the time of his arrest and death, the commission heard.

During proceedings yesterday Mr Justice R J Goldstone, chairman and sole member of the commission, referred to "serious allegations of criminal conduct" on the part of Mrs Mandela and Miss Mandela.

These were allegedly made by Mr Sithole and contained in notes taken by a police officer who questioned Mr Sithole on the day of his death.

The judge said the parties had agreed that these "untested" allegations would not be made public and he made this an order of the commission.

Immediately afterwards, the officer who had made the notes, Sergeant Jan Augustine, was recalled to give further evidence.

He said he had not discussed the allegations made by Mr Sithole against the Mandelas with anyone "because I did not think it necessary".

He agreed that it was "important" information, but said Mr Sithole was not the first person to allege "the same sort of thing" under interrogation.

Mandela's views are 'balanced', says Pik

LONDON. — The speech and Press conference given by Mr Nelson Mandela subsequent to his release on Sunday amounted to a "moderate and balanced statement for a man who has not had freedom for 27 years", said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Speaking in a live BBC television panel discussion last night, beamed to London from Johannesburg, he was giving the government's first unofficial reaction to Mr Mandela's pronouncements so far.

Acknowledging the different standpoints of his National Party government, the African National Congress and others at this stage, Mr Botha said he accepted that the ANC needed time to formulate strategies.

But "we will eventually establish a framework for negotiations".

GREY AREAS

"That framework will have grey areas, such as the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners . . . to be negotiated within the framework.

"I believe that reality will dawn on all of us — the blacks will have to learn that there are genuine white fears as a result of the mess in Africa to the north where there is no apartheid, and whites will have to get rid of their prejudices."

He had not been disappointed at Mr Mandela's words or expected more concessions.

He had "basically committed himself to a peaceful solution" and was "against white, as well as black domination".

AP66 13/2/96 (11P) (11P)
Mr Botha was participating in a panel discussion with representatives of the ANC, PAC, UDF, former MP Mrs Helen Suzman, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and black and white South Africans from across the political spectrum.

The Conservative Party declined to take part as it refused to sit next to members of the ANC, but its media spokesman, MP Mr Koos van der Merwe, contributed via a video inset.

His question was only that the government should say "yes or no" on the demand by black nationalists for "one man, one vote in a unitary system."

Mr Botha said he was tired of this CP question. Whatever constitution was eventually agreed on, it had to have majority South African support.

The panel discussion dealt extensively with the ANC's declared policy of a redistribution of wealth and whites' fears that it would introduce socialist policies as in Eastern Europe before those systems collapsed.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC prisoners released last year, said South Africa's wealth was presently in the hands of a few whites only and he could not see the black majority penetrating that "without major redistribution".

"This is, at the moment, the ANC standpoint. We are discussing our whole policy at present."

A white businessman said Mr Kathrada's statement was the "first ray of hope" he had seen in the whole argument about nationalisation.

He interpreted Mr Kathrada as having clearly indicated that the ANC's stance on nationalisation now was a negotiating standpoint to be dealt with at the talks table.

Mrs Helen Suzman, former Democratic Party MP and veteran anti-apartheid and human rights campaigner since the early '50s, disputed Mr Kathrada's claim that nothing had changed in South Africa, beside the removal of some petty apartheid.

STARTLING MOVES

The NP government had made "startling" moves in the last few weeks, and removed many apartheid laws since the late '70s. Black trade unions had been a "major advancement for black empowerment".

Mr Jeff Masemola, a senior PAC leader also released from jail last year, said his organisation was not interested in "negotiations" but in a "taking-over of the country by the people who own it."

Mr Kathrada, Mr Popo Molefe, and other panelists representing the ANC or its affiliated organisations maintained steadfastly throughout the discussion that the government's reform moves so far were still "not adequate" for negotiations on a new South Africa to start.

Mr Botha said President De Klerk had removed "almost all" of the obstacles. — Sapa.

Govt pressure to stop tour?

Cape Times 13/2/90 11A ~~2:20~~ ~~2:20~~

Staff Reporters

RUMOURS were rife in Cape Town last night that Mike Gatting's rebel cricket tour could be abandoned as a result of pressure from the South African government.

The rumours started after the national executive committee of the South African Cricket Union met in Johannesburg yesterday.

The speculation also came in the wake of a mini-limpet bomb blast at Newlands cricket ground, venue for the second five-day international against Gatting's English side starting on Friday. The cricketers arrive at D F Malan Airport this afternoon.

The blast happened at 1.30am, partly destroying a ticket office and causing damage estimated at R20 000.

Reacting to rumours that the SACU was under pressure from the government to cancel the remainder of the tour, or at least to amend the itinerary, SACU managing director Dr Ali Bacher said the tour would go ahead.

And Major-General Roy During gave an assurance that security at the venue would be tightened for the test match.

Dr Bacher and SACU president Mr Geoff Dakin were unavailable for further comment last night.

Mr Fritz Bing, president of Western Province Cricket Union, could also not be contacted.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the latest indications that the government is anxious to have the cricket itinerary modified follow earlier fears expressed by cabinet ministers that anti-tour protest actions might delay or possibly derail Mr F W de Klerk's reform programme.

Top government spokesmen have argued in private that anti-tour militants could well delay the lifting of the state of emergency — a key ANC pre-condition to negotiations with the government.

● Parow, Newlands rocked by explosions
— Page 2

Good chance of talks soon — Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was confident talks between government and the ANC would take place soon.

And, in a gesture of reconciliation, he committed the ANC to working for a solution that accommodated white fears of domination by the black majority.

Mandela, who said his future role would be determined by the ANC when he visited Lusaka shortly, told a Press conference that his organisation understood white fears about black domination and was prepared to work for a solution to suit all SA's inhabitants.

Mandela's first Press conference in 27 years was held at Bishop's Court, the state-ly residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. While Mandela and his wife, Winnie, strolled through the gardens, a delighted Tutu clapped and danced as a group of bystanders burst into a song of praise for the released leader.

On numerous occasions during the conference, Mandela stressed his understanding of white fears.

Asked if he saw any possibility of accommodation between the ANC and government over minority rights, Mandela said the ANC would address the concern of whites resulting from the demand for one-man-one-vote political system. Whites, he said, were insisting on structural guarantees to ensure the realisation of this demand did not result in their domination.

"We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both blacks and whites in this country."

Asked if he believed a period of power sharing would be necessary in SA, Mandela said it would not be proper for him to go into specifics at this stage. But he stressed

MIKE ROBERTSON

that addressing this issue would be one of the ANC's most important duties.

"Whites are fellow South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country."

Later, when asked if the ANC would be prepared to compromise by having separate voters' rolls, Mandela said the organisation had yet to decide on the structure of guarantees, but regarded them as extremely important.

As in his speech at Cape Town's Grand Parade on Sunday, Mandela again pledged his support for the armed struggle and sanctions. He said, however, there was no conflict between his support for armed struggle and President F W de Klerk's belief that he was committed to peace.

"I have committed myself to peace in the country, but I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns taken and launched by the ANC."

The ANC, he said, viewed armed struggle as a purely defensive strategy against the violence of apartheid. It remained committed to peace. "If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of the country."

Mandela said he had met Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on countless occasions over the past three years, and had met Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen four times.

These meetings and those with Presidents de Klerk and P W Botha had been directed firstly at securing the release of

□ To Page 2

Mandela B10 am 13/2/90

his colleagues and secondly at trying to set up a meeting between the ANC and government. Mandela said he had played a mediatory role while in prison, but now that he had been released, the ANC would determine his role.

Asked how close the ANC was to having talks with government, Mandela said he was confident that day was not very far off.

De Klerk, he repeated, was a man of integrity who, in their discussions, had been very flexible. However, the ANC's policies were not determined by the personal virtues of an individual, but by the harsh reality that the NP had a policy that was not progressive.

"But I am confident that, if Mr de Klerk is able to carry the NP with him in the new line that he has taken, he wants to norma-

11A □ From Page 1

lise the situation as soon as possible. Therefore I think that very soon obstacles to negotiation will be removed and it will be possible for us to sit down and talk."

Mandela identified the obstacles as the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Once government had taken these steps, he said, not only would the ANC be prepared to enter into talks but it would also have a stronger reason to appeal to people to be disciplined.

Government spokesmen yesterday declined to react to Mandela's speech on his release and the violence that erupted on the Parade. Viljoen is to address a Press conference this afternoon.

● See Pages 3 and 9
● Comment: Page 8

Freed leader whisked off to spend night in northern

13 | 2 | 90
NELSON Mandela, 71, spent his first night in Johannesburg at a home in the Northern Suburbs while at least 350 jubilant people gathered outside his Orlando West home determined to keep vigil until he arrived.

Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, 55, left Lanseria airport at about 6.30pm last night after arriving from Cape Town in a chartered Lear jet.

Mandela was freed on Sunday after 27 years' imprisonment.

In a statement released to Sapa at about 9pm last night, the National Reception Committee (NRC) said the couple would spend the night with friends in a home out-

side Soweto.

Sources close to the released ANC leader told Sapa Mandela wished to spend the night in quiet surroundings before beginning a series of hectic rallies and addresses this week.

SACC secretary general the Rev Frank Chikane told Sapa the NRC was concerned about crowds developing and therefore did not want the Press — and especially Press helicopters — to know their destination.

"We want to keep him away from the crisis of the crowds," said Chikane.

The group was whisked away from the airport in a convoy of four cars led by what

Business Day Reporters

appeared to be a white policeman. The entourage left via a sidegate where airport workers and the Press had gathered to catch a glimpse of him.

The crowd followed the car chanting "Viva Mandela!"

A police roadblock set up outside the airport grounds prevented the Press from following Mandela's maroon BMW.

Meanwhile, in Soweto, singing and toy-toting supporters and well-wishers main-

tained their vigil outside Mandela's Orlando West home despite speculation he would not go to Soweto until today.

"He has to come tonight, I've been waiting all day. I can only stay till dawn then I have to go to work," one middle-aged woman said. Residents and foreign television crews have maintained a tireless watch on the house since Mandela's release was announced on Saturday.

As the rain came down about 350 people, some wearing ANC T-shirts, danced under umbrellas, singing freedom songs and chanting slogans.

The street took on a carnival atmos-

phere as television lights illuminated the scene.

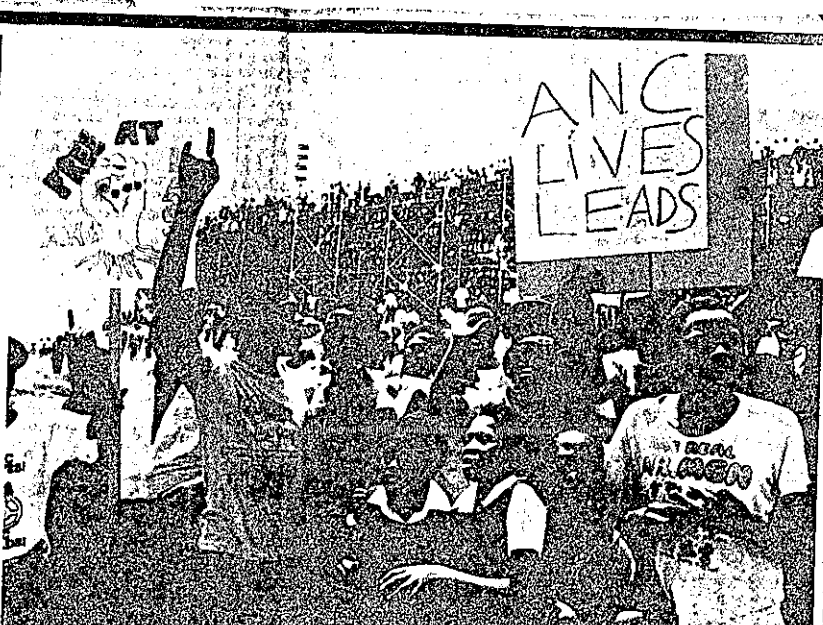
Roman Catholic priest Father George Clements said he had flown all the way from Chicago to see Mandela released. He said the scene in Soweto reminded him of the civil rights march to Washington in 1963.

Sabathi Mtebula, 16, said she and many of her friends have been waiting for Mandela to come home for two days.

She had not slept on Sunday night and had not eaten yesterday as she did not want to leave the scene. She said she would wait until Mandela came home.

suburbs home

11A



SOUTH AFRICA RESPONDS . . . While more than 60 000 people thronged Orlando stadium in Soweto yesterday to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison, 3 000 Capetonians packed the Parow Civic Centre last night to protest against the government's decision.

Talks 'soon'

CAPE TIMES
13/2/90

MR Nelson Mandela believes obstacles to power-sharing negotiations in South Africa will be removed "very soon"

On his first full day of freedom, Mr Mandela spoke with reporters during a 45-minute news conference in the garden of Bishopscourt, the official residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Mr Mandela also said the African National Congress was aware of the fears of SA's whites. Hours later, about 3 000 whites packed the Parow Civic Centre at a Conservative Party meeting called to protest against the release of Mr Mandela.

Yesterday a relaxed and confident Mr Mandela said he believed President F W de Klerk would "very soon" remove the remaining obstacles to negotiation "and it will be possible for us (the ANC) to sit down and talk".

Mr Mandela spoke against a background of increasing violence — and some deaths — related to his release.

The latest incident came in Johannesburg yesterday when a security guard fired on ANC revellers. A man was killed and four were wounded, police said.

In Ciskei 10 people were believed to have died on Sunday night when police allegedly fired on an Mdantsane crowd celebrating the release. The Border Coun-

cil of Churches and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers have called for a judicial inquiry, but Ciskei police have declined to comment.

Police confirmed that two boys had been shot dead in Barkly East during a Mandela celebration.

Reports of the deaths of two boys and the wounding of a 16-year-old girl in a shooting in Whittlesea were not confirmed by Ciskei police.

At his press conference, Mr Mandela said the ANC was concerned to address white demands for structural guarantees preventing black domination.

Mr Mandela also took a conciliatory line on black unity, arguing that the ANC should play a leading role in increasing the momentum for unity among rival political groups like the PAC and Inkatha.

He also made it clear that he did not intend assuming the mantle of ANC leader unless he was elected as such by a national conference of the ANC.

In the meantime, he would go to Lusaka "at my earliest possible convenience" to establish what role the ANC wished him to play.

Mr Mandela noted that during his last three years in prison he had been acting as a mediator "because I believe that the first step towards the solution to our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government."

"So I have been playing that role, but now that I am released, it is for the ANC to determine what role I should play."

Asked if he could tell, on the basis of the talks, he had been holding with government ministers, how close the government was to having a meeting with the ANC, Mr Mandela responded: "Well, I am very confident that that day is not very far."

He had found President De Klerk to be "a man of integrity", "very flexible" in discussions, and he was confident that the ANC leader could carry the rest of the party with him in formalising the political situation by lifting the state of emergency and freeing political prisoners.

"The ANC was very much concerned about addressing the concerns of whites over demands of one person one vote and calls for structural guarantees "to ensure that this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks."

"We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the black and the whites of this country."

Mr Mandela also said the ANC was "fully aware" of white fears of majority rule "and it is one of our most important duties to address this problem."

"Whites are fellow South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we

INSIDE:

© STOFFEL SEES FUTURE GOVT WITH ANC — Page 4
 © SLOYO: DEMOCRACY IS THE WAY — Page 7
 © LOOTING DISTRESSES TUTU, OMAR — Page 5
 © MANDELA MEETS THE PRESS — Page 13

Youths free 13 prisoners
 JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of youths returning home from a Soweto rally where they hoped to see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday — but did not — forced a police lock-up truck to slow down and freed 13 awaiting-trial prisoners, police said.
 The 13 prisoners were being transported from Orlando police station, Soweto, to District 6 police station

Mandela can sway SA whites — Economist

(1A) ~~(1A)~~

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela may be the only man who can persuade South African whites to "take the way of courage" and abandon apartheid, says the *Economist*.

And, judging by the speed with which he is moving, it could now be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites negotiate a new constitution, says the journal in its leading editorial this week.

"Only the assassin's bullet can rob (Mandela) of a starring role in his country's retreat from apartheid."

The editorial says it is no surprise that Mr Mandela is a man of conscience and principle. "The surprise is that he has emerged from jail as such a remarkably skilful politician. The real, free Mandela is a practical politician who intends to sit at the peace table in the name of the ANC and negotiate the end of apartheid with President de Klerk."

No precedent in history

The politician, the influential journal says, is likely to be a lot more useful than the symbol ever was.

With luck, says the editorial, SA "is about to make a U-turn that has no precedent in history".

But it warns that while yesterday's Leninist rulers "are being replaced by people who think differently but look the same", it is harder, in practice, to hand over to people of a different colour.

Mr Mandela's first job, says the *Economist*, is to make sure he is the movement's unchallenged leader — and that means staying loyal to ANC policy.

Mr Mandela, it believes, will drop the armed struggle in exchange for an end to the state of emergency.

"At this rate it may be weeks rather than months before blacks and whites sit down to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa."

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — South Africa must become a multi-party democracy — and the chaos caused by Eastern Europe's "dive" into nationalising and land-grabbing socialism will not happen, says Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Interviewed by BBC radio's Africa Service, Mr Slovo dismissed fears that some form of mindless communism would try to impose itself on the country.

"No single party, communist or not, has a right to rule, except under the processes of democracy for the South African people," he said.

Dismissing panic as unnecessary, he said: "I don't believe that nationalisation, or a change in legal owner-

Slovo: ^{CPPL} Only ¹¹⁹⁶ ^{13/12/90} democracy can work

ship, changes anything." He said the SACP had learnt from the hard lessons of Eastern Europe's economic chaos.

"You have had in South Africa for a long time state ownership of some very basic sectors of the economy which has by no means meant an advantage for the people or socialism."

He said the SACP alliance with the ANC had "grown firmer over the years and will continue into the future".

"Of course, as a party, we stand for an ultimate-

ly socialist South Africa (although) the ANC does not embrace that as an ideology.

"It (the ANC) is a sort of multi-class organisation which welcomes all within its ranks whether communist, non-communist or socialist.

"But in the immediate perspectives for a post-apartheid society, there is hardly anything which divides the SACP from the ANC."

On land, he said the present position by law was that blacks could buy land in only 13% of the land area. "That has to go," he said.

"That does not mean necessarily that every piece of land that a white man has owned will be confiscated, or that there will be no compensation if redistribution takes place. These things have to be worked out."

Mandela supports policy of nationalising mines ¹¹⁴

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he fully supported the ANC's policy of nationalising the mines and other sectors of the economy.

But in an interview with the BBC at the weekend, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo called for the whole issue of nationalisation to be the subject of negotiations as he believed it was not necessarily the answer to redressing economic imbalances in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, asked at a press conference whether he had modified his views on the redistribution of wealth, said: "No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should sup-

port it."

Indicating that the whole question of the ANC's economic policy was undergoing re-examination, Mr Slovo said that while any democratic government would have to address the whole issue of redistribution, this did not necessarily mean that sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.

He said that in SA there had been state ownership of basic sectors of the economy for some time, but this did not mean advantage for the people or socialism.

The approach towards generating resources to address injustices of the past would have to be negotiated.

If redistribution of land took place this would not mean that all land owned by whites would be confiscated or that there would be no compensation, said Mr Slovo.

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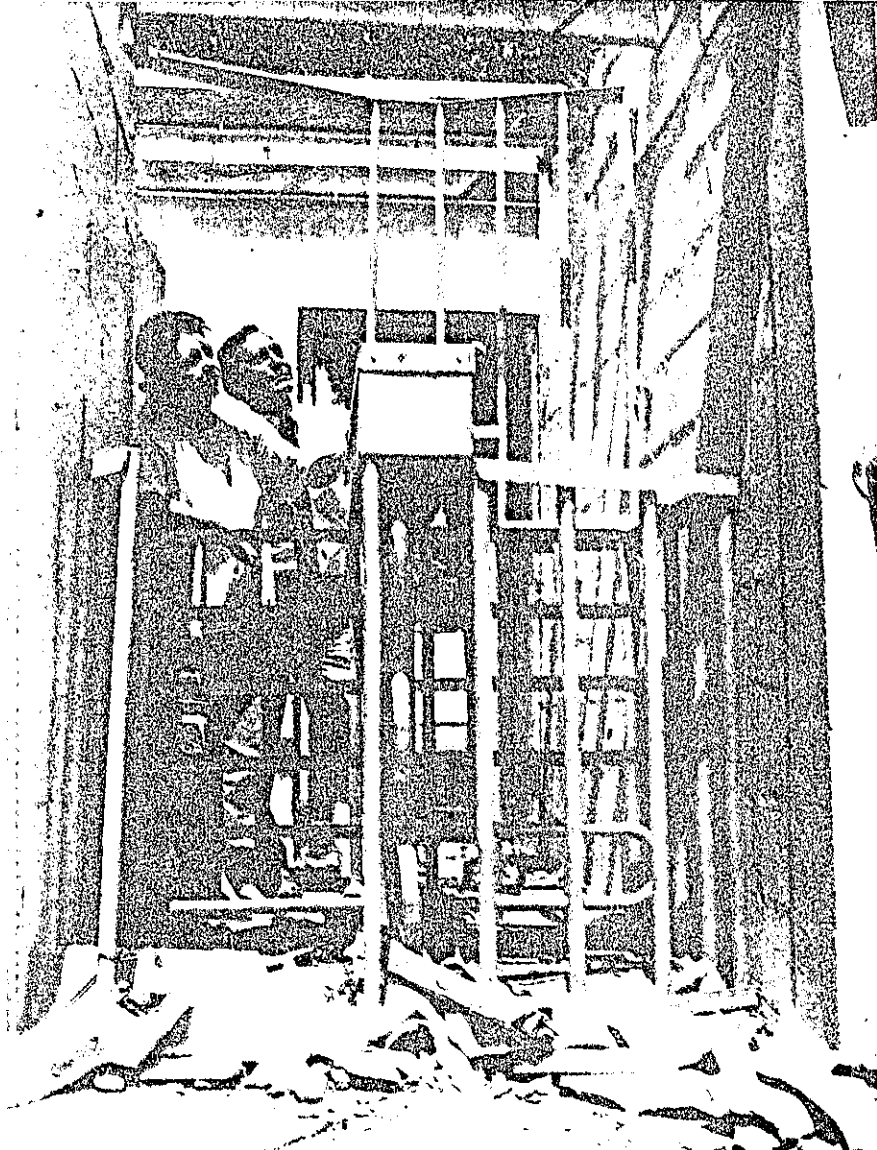
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RUINS . . . Administrative staff of the Western Province Cricket Union, Mrs Carol van Vuuren and Mr Otto Langenegger, inspect the ruined Campground Road entrance to the Newlands cricket ground.

Cape Times 13/2/90

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Parow, Newlands rocked by explosions

Crime Reporter

TWO mini-limpet mine explosions rocked the Peninsula early yesterday morning, extensively damaging the Newlands Cricket Club and the Parow Town Hall in blasts 45 minutes apart.

The Newlands Cricket Club is the venue for Friday's second test match between the Springboks and the rebel English XI, while the Parow Civic Centre was the venue for a Conservative Party rally last night.

Western Province Cricket Union general manager Mr Kevin Commins said security is to be doubled and trebled for Friday's test following a mini-limpet mine blast which damaged

an entrance and shattered the windows of several homes in the area on Monday morning.

He said damage estimated at between R10 000 and R20 000 was caused to a structure housing turnstile entrances on the Campground Road side of Newlands, the headquarters of the WPCU, when a mini-limpet mine exploded at 1.30am.

About 45 minutes later, the Parow Civic Centre was also rocked by a blast.

Parow Town Clerk Mr Harry Carstens said it would be "very unfair to speculate on a connection" between the blast and the CP rally.

South 15/2 - 21/2/90



ON BEHALF
OF THE TUC

REPRESENTING NINE
MILLION
BRITISH TRADE UNIONISTS
WE REJOICE AT THE
RELEASE OF

NELSON MANDELA

AS A VICTORY FOR THE
MASS DEMOCRATIC
MOVEMENT,
INCLUDING TRADE UNION
ORGANISATIONS, WHICH
LED THE CAMPAIGN
ON HIS BEHALF.

WE REITERATE OUR CALL
FOR THE RELEASE OF ALL
REMAINING TRADE UNION
AND POLITICAL DETAINEES
AND PRISONERS

-NORMAN WILLIS (GENERAL SECRETARY, TUC)

-RON TODD (CHAIRMAN, TUC INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE)

CAH Trucks 14/2/90



Township ban on Crossroads adviser

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Province's chief adviser to the Old Crossroads Town Committee, Mr Ricky Schelhase, has been barred from entering any black townships following his court appearance this week in connection with the murder of a township man.

Mr Schelhase appeared before Mr S Liebenberg in the Athlone court on Monday and was released on warning on condition he stay out of all Peninsula black townships till his next appearance on March 2 this year.

No charge was put to him and he

was not represented.

His appearance relates to a murder which allegedly took place on February 8 in Old Crossroads.

Mr L Lother appeared for the state.

Police yesterday confirmed that a separate four-month-old fraud investigation into the collection of tithes from Old Crossroads residents by Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his committee would reach the attorney-general "within a week".

The investigation follows claims by a breakaway group of 14 of Mr

Ngxobongwana's 19 headmen, under the leadership of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, that "millions" of rands were involved.

On December 20 last year a Supreme Court interim interdict forbidding the Crossroads Town Committee and Mr Ngxobongwana from destroying or damaging shacks in the area was extended till February 22.

At the weekend a blaze destroyed 210 shacks in Old Crossroads hours after shots were allegedly fired by town committee members' supporters at a large group of Mr Nongwe's

followers taking US civil-rights activist the Rev Jesse Jackson on a township tour.

A town committee spokesman said yesterday that Mr Schelhase was on leave till March 2. Mr Ngxobongwana was "away in the Ciskei".

A spokesman for the CPA said Mr Schelhase's court case, the Supreme Court interim interdict and the fraud investigation were sub judice.

However, allegations of long periods of absence by Mr Ngxobongwana from his mayoral duties would be investigated, he said.

He confirmed that police were investigating allegations of shots being fired by Mr Ngxobongwana's town committee members at the weekend.

Responding to community calls for the dismissal of the committee and for open elections, the spokesman said a response would be "premature in the light of the present investigations".

Mr Jan van Eck, DP spokesman for Black Affairs in the Western Cape, called for the immediate removal of Mr Ngxobongwana and his committee and a "thorough investigation into the whole situation".



Mr Schelhase warned by court.

5 killed in E Cape feud

CAPT Timfs 14/2/90

PORT ELIZABETH. — Five people were killed yesterday as the two-year feud between the Africanists and Charterists in KwaNobuhle township, near Uitenhage, flared again.

Police said they used teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the feuding Africanist Ama-Afrika supporters and residents allied to the UDF.

Volkswagen workers from the Uitenhage factory stayed at home yesterday, fearing for their families.

An interim report issued by police said two people were stabbed to death yesterday morning and three in the afternoon.

One was allegedly a 14-year-old boy who had been assaulted and stabbed to death before petrol was poured over his body, a source said.

The national publicity secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement, Mr Benny Ntwele, said 18 head of cattle and eight goats were confiscated by UDF supporters from a farm of an Africanist Movement member, Mr

Kelman Befile.

A spokesman for Ama-Afrika, Mr Timothy Jantjies, said a shop and two houses belonging to Africanist members in Khayelitsha were destroyed on Monday, when thousands of UDF supporters invaded Khayelitsha.

He said the latest violence erupted when armed groups thronged Uitenhage townships, adding to the confusion of thousands of workers and families dancing in the streets to celebrate the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Fikile Kobese, an MDM Peace Initiative member in Uitenhage, appealed to UDF supporters to stop fighting and concentrate their efforts on building their structures in Uitenhage.

Major Bill Dennis said police were always "caught up in the middle" of the feud.

Both camps accused police of offering support to the other group, he said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Call Times 15/2/90
Benz yes on Mandela car

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) has asked Mercedes-Benz South Africa (MBSA) here to build a luxury car to give as a gift to Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Numsa organiser here, Mr Msiteli Nonyukela, said the company had agreed to build the car for Mr Mandela.

An MBSA spokesman in Pretoria, Mrs Wendy Hoffmann, said she would issue a press statement when the company was ready to, because it was "still busy talking about the implications of Mr. Mandela's release on the employees and other things".

to reach a settlement within that time. They themselves, I think, are keen that a settlement should be reached before the end of their term."

The 71-year-old leader was also asked by AP if the ANC was willing to ease its demand for a one-person-one-vote system which would lead to black majority rule.

"Compromises must be made in respect to every issue, as long as that compromise is in the interest not only of one population group but for the country as whole."

"That is the nature of compromises."

The ANC has repeatedly rejected any system falling short of one-person-one-vote.

"We are aware of the fears of the whites in the country, of being dominated by blacks and we are addressing that very seriously and very earnestly," he said.

"I am convinced that in discussions between the ANC and the government, we will be able to find a

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From page 1

Call Times 15/2/90
solution which will be accepted by everybody.

Asked if he was aware that whites were alarmed by his call for an intensified armed struggle, and if this meant the ANC would "go back to putting bombs in white shopping centres", Mr Mandela replied: "If the whites want us to move away from the atmosphere of confrontation and conflict then they must support the government in its effort to reach a peaceful settlement."

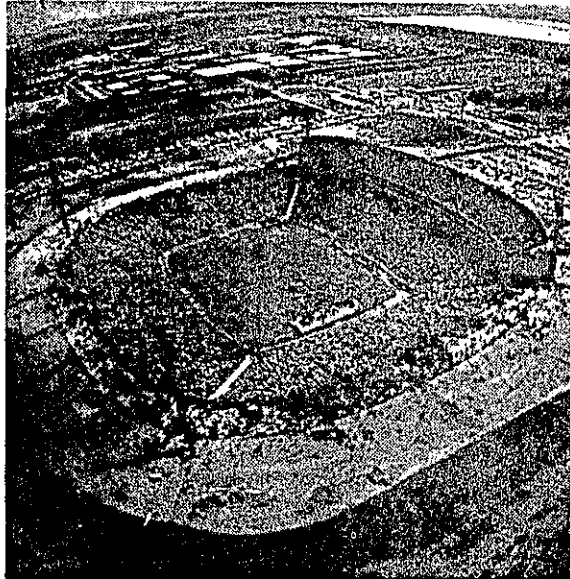
Asked if the ANC would include targets like shopping centres in the ANC campaign against white rule, he said: "We are concerned with government installations ..."

Asked about the deaths of white civilians in ANC attacks, Mr Mandela countered "just as many whites have killed many blacks".

"You can't avoid people being caught up in cross-fire when two groups are shooting at each other," he said.

In the months preceding his release, Mr Mandela frequently met senior government officials, including President De Klerk, to discuss prospects for negotiations between them and the ANC.

On these discussions, Mr Mandela said yesterday: "My optimism has been strengthened."



A view from the 702 helicopter of Soccer City, south of Johannesburg, scene of yesterday's rally to welcome Nelson Mandela home. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela calls for discipline and an end to violence

NELSON Mandela, in his first address in 27 years in Johannesburg, told more than 120 000 people at Soccer City yesterday that he had looked forward to the day he would return to the area he regarded as home.

"I greet you my brothers and sisters, my children," he told the cheering crowd.

"It is discipline and loyalty that will liberate us. And I have not the slightest doubt that you are capable of behaving like people who are ready to make a contribution to the solution of the problems facing us, and also to address the new society we wish to establish.

"I greet you in the name of the heroic struggle of our people, who will establish freedom in our society."

The ANC patriarch went on to salute exiled ANC leaders including Oliver Tambo.

"Today, I also return with a deep sadness — sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system. The housing shortage, the schools crisis, the unemployment. I am even more proud to be a member of this community because of the struggle for the democratisation of this community.

"I fully support the call made by our people for democratic systems of local government. In this regard I believe that the campaign for an open city must be seen as part of our struggle.

Crime

"As long as I am part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly shocked by the statistics of crime. I must make it clear that the level of crime in our country must be eliminated."

He added that he wished to salute the anti-crime campaign.

"The crisis in education that afflicts us demands special attention. The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis; it arises out of the fact that our people have no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people — students, parents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community. Let us build a united teachers' organisation, parents' and inter-student organisations and the National Education Crisis Committee.

"It is the policy of the ANC that the entire educational system is a site of struggle.

"All students must return to school and learn," he said to cheers.

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle.

"Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence. Joint initiatives at regional and

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle.

"Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence. Joint initiatives at regional and national levels must be launched."

Mandela also urged the people to build unity in action to prevent tension between the African and Indian people in Natal.

"I am also concerned by the ongoing violence perpetrated by certain sections of the security forces against peaceful marches and demonstrations. I condemn this.

"We call on the police to abandon apartheid and serve the interests of the people. Join our march to a new SA where you can serve the people," he said.

Dealing with nationalisation and redistribution of wealth, he said apartheid had created a heinous system of exploitation, with the vast majority of the oppressed being under-employed and unemployed.

"Black workers have built the cities, roads and factories. They cannot be excluded from enjoying this wealth. We are also committed to ensure that a democratic government is elected to end the inequalities of apartheid. Our people need proper housing, not ghettos like Soweto.

"Workers need a living wage, and the right to join the union of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives. Our history shows that apartheid has stifled growth and has led to inflation that undermines the financial power of both black and white.

"Only a participatory democracy will suffice. We call on employers to recognise the inalienable rights of workers in our country.

"We are marching to a new future based on a sound basis of respect. We call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act."

Mandela also called on those who "collaborated with apartheid" to join the liberation struggle.

"No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-racial united and democratic SA, based on one person one vote on a common voters' role."

He added the primary task was to unite the people across the length and breadth of the country.

"Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in all sectors. Our struggle against apartheid must be consolidated on all fronts.

"Let each one of you and all of the people give the enemies of liberty no space to take us back to the dark hell of apartheid.

"It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek." — Sapa.

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December 31, 1989

Increased by 19% but as a result of the increase in the productivity and efficiency profits reflected a 50% improvement. The tyre business, its transfer to a wholly owned Dunlop Tyres (Pty) Limited, and the manufacture of industrial products improvement.

Providing for deferred taxation was a positive figure for 1988 have been restated and decreased with the allowances applicable to capital expenditure during 1989.

It will be more difficult in 1990 but the company will maintain its growth in line with the industry.

The company declared a final dividend of 90 cents per share (making a total of 140 cents per share of 50 cents).

Chairman
Managing Director

A final dividend of 90 cents per share on ordinary share has been declared payable to shareholders on or after 9, 1990, 18, 1990 inclusive.

Shareholders' tax at the appropriate rate will be payable by shareholders outside the Republic of South Africa.

By order of the Board
D. M. Goodhead
Secretary

100, Johannesburg 2001
31

Adplan International SA

Visit to Tanzanian training camps is planned this month

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DAR ES SALAAM — ANC leader Nelson Mandela would visit Tanzania later this month for talks with government leaders and a tour of ANC training camps, government officials said yesterday.

Mandela, freed on Sunday after 27 years in jail for plotting to overthrow the SA government, would visit the ANC's headquarters in the Zambian capital Lusaka before going on to Tanzania, they said.

"Dates are being worked out but it is certainly before the end of this month," an official said.

ANC officials in Dar es Salaam said they knew of the visit, but declined to give information, saying an announcement would be made once all the details had been finalised.

Government officials said Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, would hold talks with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and ex-President Julius Nyerere. He would also visit ANC farming and educational settlements near Morogoro 280km west of the capital.

Diplomatic sources said Mandela was expected to visit ANC secret military training camps in southern Tanzania.

They speculated that the veteran ANC leader might also meet Johnson Mlambo, leader of the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which is based in Dar es Salaam.

Close friends

The radical but vehemently anti-communist PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, saying it was too soft on SA's whites.

Repeated attempts to reconcile the two movements have failed, but Mandela and Mlambo are close friends, having served long years together in prison on Robben Island.

Mlambo was released in 1984.

The ANC sources said after several days in Tanzania, Mandela would fly to Sweden to visit his old friend and comrade in arms Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, who is being treated in Stockholm for a stroke which he suffered last August.

Mandela, the ANC's historic leader, last visited Tanzania in 1961 to lay the groundwork for the ANC's military training facilities before being arrested with eight other colleagues in 1962.

A group of veteran ANC leaders who were released from jail last October, led by the organisation's former secretary-general Walter Sisulu, made a similar tour of Zambia, Tanzania and Sweden last month.

Tanzania yesterday announced nationwide festivities to celebrate Mandela's release, including a rally addressed by ex-President Nyerere in the future inland capital Dodoma. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC had key role in tour changes

Cape Times

5/2/90

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Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday congratulated the National Sports Congress and the SA Cricket Union on their agreement to terminate the rebel cricket tour prematurely, and confirmed its own role in initiating the arrangement.

The parties agreed on Tuesday that the Cape Town five-day test and three one-day matches be cancelled, in return for which the NSC would call on supporters not to demonstrate against the remaining four one-day games.

ANC information department head Mr Tom Sebina confirmed yesterday's report that national executive committee member Mr Thabo Mbeki contacted the two groups on Saturday and asked them to find a solution.

Mr Sebina said that in the existing political climate it was in the interests of everyone, including the ANC and the government, to defuse the situation because there was a risk that demonstrations against the tour could get out of hand.

The ANC would not want such developments to detract from the vast welcome being given to Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Sebina said. "We do not want little fires all over. We need peace so that people can concentrate on the bigger issues."

But a row is brewing in the NSC over the agreement. The Western Cape NSC yesterday dissociated themselves from the decision by NSC secretary-general Mr Krish Naidoo.

Local NSC spokesman Mr Ngeonde Balfour said they still wanted the whole tour to be cancelled and they did not agree with a compromise being reached.

Western Province Cricket Board president Mr Abe Adams is reported as saying that non-racial sports fans in the Western Cape were livid about the agreement.

Rebel tour captain Mike Gatting and his team were mercilessly attacked in the British press yesterday as "fools blinded by greed" and "the jackals of cricket".

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'Distorted picture of police' Vlok: SA reaping the benefits of freeing Mandela

Political Correspondent

SECTIONS of the foreign media had been responsible for "deliberate lies and distortions" which could not be allowed to continue unchallenged, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Part Appropriation Bill debate, Mr Vlok said that while most of the foreign media had been responsible in their recent reporting, there was also an element which wilfully presented a distorted picture of police actions.

An example of this was a report which claimed that all was quiet at Mr Nelson Mandela's rally at The Parade on Sunday till police began shooting at spectators.

Even the organisers of the event had praised the police action.

He appealed to foreign media to refrain from "slanted" reporting.

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA was already reaping the benefits of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament yesterday.

The government had not charged into the decision like "a bull in a china shop", he said.

There were still further benefits to be reaped and SA had to push ahead with the steps it had taken.

"We dare not become scared or back down. It would have unacceptable and frightening consequences for the country."

All aspects of the decision had been considered, Mr Vlok said.

"We looked at the detrimental effect on South Africa and where the country would be through confrontation and isolation."

There had also been concern about the impoverishment of the people as well as the continuing wave of violence. It was decided to resort to the proved anti-revolutionary strategy which had worked in other parts of the world.

"It rests on three pillars: Security action, good government and finding a constitutional/political solution. And we are busy with that," he said.

The government had been strong on security in the past but not as successful in finding a constitutional solution acceptable to the people.

"We could have continued as we were doing but this would not have brought a permanent solution to the problem. We would eventually have become involved in an 80-year-war."

'Moral shift in SA's politics'

Political Correspondent

A MORAL shift was taking place in South African politics, the Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said last night.

She was opening the first Groote Schuur Forum, a "think tank", attended by MPs and academics.

Ms Smuts said it had taken the "incipient normalisation" of South African politics by two men who rose above the traditional restraints of their constituencies — Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela — to restore the kind of politics in which people's bona fides were not necessarily questioned.

'No licence for chaos'

Political Correspondent

IT was understandable that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela had created excitement, but his freedom was not a licence for violence and chaos in the country, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Part Appropriation Bill, Mr Vlok said: "Lawlessness and anarchy are unacceptable. We will not hesitate to use the state of emergency regulations to maintain order."

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No more reason for violence, says FW Mandela 'must stop war talk'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC and Mr Nelson Mandela "must now stop the war talk", as the reason for the justification of violence had fallen away, President FW de Klerk told TV US viewers.

In an interview with Mr Ted Koppel on the ABC-TV programme "Nightline" on Tuesday, Mr De Klerk said the reason for the ANC's original justification of violence "as well as for the refusal to talk and the refusal to admit and accept that South Africa needed a constitution in which all South Africans must vote, has fallen away".

"They must realise that an essential change is now to take place within their own ranks, a change from being also a military organisation to becoming really a political party."

He added that he was prepared to talk to anyone, including the

ANC, who was interested in establishing the foundation which would make possible the end of the state of emergency.

He also said it was "a bit early" to judge Mr Mandela and how exactly he was going to react to events.

Mr De Klerk said there was a marked difference between Mr Mandela's first speech and the statements he made the day afterwards.

"On the one hand he made a very important statement when he said that he and the ANC are committed to peaceful solutions and that they recognise that those solutions must in the final analysis be able to have the support of blacks as well as whites.

"I've been saying that for some time now.

"On the other hand, the adherence to justification of violence is to my mind not justified."

Mr De Klerk said the state of emergency could be ended "within days, within weeks after we can be sure we can afford to up-

lift the state of emergency.

"The test is that basically there must be stability. The occurrence of unrest-related things must be limited to the marked exception and must not still be a common factor of our daily life."

In reply to Mr Koppel's question whether the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki or the Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo would be welcome at talks on the end to the emergency, Mr De Klerk said: "I think in their case, certain other talks would be necessary. We must also have discussions, and I declared myself willing to hold such discussions, as to how we should handle those outside SA who might be guilty in terms of the laws of the country, of certain crimes.

"We have to discuss that because there is fear amongst some of them that on their return they might be arrested. We want to solve that," he said.

"One will have to work out structures as to how people can clear their positions."

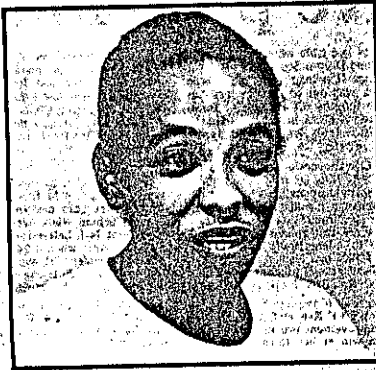


Mr Mbeki



Mr Slovo

Marching to a new FACE TO FACE



Cheryl Carolus

MASS marches through Cape Town's city centre have become a recognised, if controversial political tool.

Shedding some light on their organisation, their aims and their special problems is Cheryl Carolus, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape. She was Face to Face with Deputy Editor DEON DU PLESSIS and Staff Reporters VUYO BAVUMA and JOHN YELD. The interview took place before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Q: Political marches are becoming very much part of the South African scene. What are they meant to achieve?

A: They are meant to achieve two things. One is the internationally recognised human right of assembly. In SA we are deprived of that right by law, namely the internal Security Act. We feel that we want to consciously assert the right. The other thing is that we can't really get people into any closed venue, there's no place which can fit 10 000 to 20 000 people.

We think that it is important when we're talking about building history that we should have our people together in mass where they can feel that sense of being able to transform the society in a disciplined way.

Another thing that goes along with the marches is the kind of discipline that we are trying to install at the mass level. So that the march contributes to this ethos of a new South Africa.

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Q: Why have they always got to be held in city centres?

A: They are not always held in city centres. That is a complete myth. We never read about the ones which take place in the townships. In fact the responses in the townships are completely different to the responses one would find in the city centre and we often think it's because there are whites there and the world's eyes focus on it.

Q: You refer to "our people". Can marches in fact change existing political perceptions, particularly amongst conservative whites, or do they harden existing prejudices?

A: We think they can change people. I would say that all of the marches, even the small ones we had at the beginning of the Defiance Campaign, demonstrated very clearly to our people their own ability to bring about change. We feel we've moved the government back on that thing.

The other thing, we think it shows people what the MDM is all about. And I think particularly white South Africans, the conservative kind of element you are talking about, have been shown the discipline, the kind of goodwill which exists and the kind of determination which exists.

All of those we would see as very positive types of things but because white South Africans are very isolated from

our struggle, they never really have a chance to actually see it.

Q: The march through Cape Town about two weeks ago, the one that led to all the damage down St Georges Street, led to a lot of people saying that these marches are not disciplined.

A: There have probably been about 30 different marches if not more in the city centre varying in size since last August and all of them have had an impeccable track record of discipline. Under the most extreme provocation our people have not responded at all to the police.

So I think to use one march as a yardstick by which we measure the peacefulness or the intentions of marches is a total imbalance and grossly unfair.

Q: Who are the marshals at your marches?

A: The marshals are people from our organisations. Since the Defiance Campaign was launched last year, we have a body of about 100 marshals who are permanent marshals and we've used them for all our activities which were organised under the banner of the Defiance Campaign.

Q: It's been suggested that one of the prime reasons of these marches is to provoke the police.

A: I think again, there is a lot of hysteria around that Tuesday march. People forget, for instance, the UDF national launch which took place in a hall which by council standards was supposed to take 900 people.

We had 15 000 people packed in and around the hall, from the chandeliers, from the roof and even the city council, traffic police and the police commended us for the kind of discipline, and for way which we regulated traffic and order around the proceedings.

Similarly with the big march through Cape Town last year, everybody commended us for the kind of discipline. There's lots of provocation from the police and I must add that the provocation is often very extreme, in fact it's more than just provocation.

Q: Why are there so many marches?

A: I think it is that our struggle is reaching a new peak, that it symbolises the intensification of the struggle and that it symbolises the determination of the people. If we look at last year when the Defiance Campaign started, inevitably our marches were met with violence by the police and everytime people went back.

For us it was a tremendous inspiration, that in the face of that kind of violence and threats of arrests and criminal records and everything else people said: "This is our right, we will engage in any activity regardless of what the cost to ourselves personally will be." We feel we have a vested interest in peace and regardless of the sacrifices we will engage in such activities that we feel necessary to attain that.

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Q: We've got this ludicrous situation, where in terms of the Internal Security Act any anonymous person can apply for permission for a march even though they hold diametrically opposed views. Have you got any strategy to be able to deal with this in the future?

A: I think that we are not going to concern ourselves with that. We firmly believe we've got some documentation which implicates one Brigadier Hlemstra of the Security Police in these applications for the last two marches.

We laughed about it, but on the other hand it's actually to be viewed in a very serious light because it just underscores very clearly the point we are trying to make about the Internal Security Act — that the Act has got nothing to do with maintaining order or maintaining peace.

Here we find that somebody who has got absolutely nothing to do with the organisation of the march can apply on our behalf. And I think it proves to us that it has nothing to do with peacefulness or safety of citizens and it's got everything to do with ideological opposition; that, in fact, it has everything to do with curbing legitimate political protest.

Q: What is the follow-up action, let's say after a list of demands is presented to whoever it is sent to?

A: I think that our marches are not isolated acts. They are related to fairly extensive organisation on the ground. It's not the kind of stuff which enjoys a lot of publicity in the media. The media is not too interested in our door-to-door visits, where you spend half an hour talking to families. The media doesn't have a lot to do with discussions in our own ranks around discipline on marches, around what the demands in the marches are going to be.

And in fact marches like the education march had to do with lots of meeting in the townships, it had to do with lots of consultations with parents and in fact those meetings decided that we should have a march.

It wasn't just the march in itself. So the follow-up to those marches would also be linked to organising, because we don't believe our freedom is going to be won by a few dramatic manoeuvres.

They're very important gestures, important to the public, they do bring the people together. But ultimately we feel that our struggle will only be won if we are organised properly and in fact it is that organisation that enables us to have big marches and to be able to have peaceful marches and to maintain the kind of objectives that we set for the march. So the follow-up would be, in fact, to recruit people out of those marches.

Q: What steps do you take before a march to ensure that people who are going to march don't have weapons?

A: We don't have metal detectors or the means to frisk. But I would like to state for the record that I think most people come on a march, come there understanding very clearly the nature of the march, that it is a peaceful form of protest, that we require discipline, because we have very few problems in that regard.

The kind of steps we would take is to brief our marshals very clearly, we would go through all the possible scenarios which could unfold, such as if the police stop the march, if the police surround the place, we've had to include a new one such as if they put barbed wire down.

It's a vicious thing, I mean we haven't actually been able to come up with a proper way of dealing with it, because it's

so vicious. But our marshals are properly briefed.

Q: How does the wider community know there is going to be a march?

A: We use pamphlets. Our normal print order is 180 000. Then of course the Press and the churches are quite actively involved in things like that.

Q: If the MDM knew that there was for whatever reason going to be no publicity for a march, would it be worthwhile?

A: I think publicity is obviously an important part of a march, but I think there are lots of marches where there is absolutely no publicity, notably those in our townships and some of them are very big. For us it's part of a process of taking people, empowering ordinary citizens, giving them a sense of their own ability to unite, especially in a society like South Africa where there has been so much emphasis on dividing people.

And then the other part is actually to show people that we can win; that ultimately history is shaped by the masses of our people, not by a few clever politicians.

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Q: In recent marches most participants have been the youths and the students. Does this mean that the workers are being left behind?

A: I think there have been marches where workers have been present in substantial numbers. Workers obviously can't just leave their jobs for every single march that we do have.

It is true that a lot of the marches are often attended by young people. We don't think it is a problem. Over 60 percent of the people in South Africa are in fact quite young or under 26. In the same way you'd find most of the people in the marches will be black — it's also a reflection of South African society.

Q: Have you found agents provocateurs and how do marshals deal with them?

A: Yes in fact we feel that incidents like that Tuesday thing are definitely sparked off by provocateurs in an emotional situation. The problem is that it's easy for other people to fall into that particular thing and with that Tuesday march the problem there was that when the police force people to disperse into 30 different directions it's

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DEON DU PLESSIS
Deputy Editor

VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

much more difficult for us to in fact exercise control over those kinds of elements.

At the beginning of the march we explained that this was in terms of the Defiance Campaign; that it would be a peaceful march and that we would not respond to any provocation whatsoever and we basically drew the perimeters for the march.

There were a number of incidents on the big march where people had to deal very decisively with elements who tried to start stonings and things. We physically remove people who do that. With the big march I know of three incidents like that where somebody tried to break a shop window near the Cathedral.

The marshals just closed in on the person and actually said: "What is your name? Which area are you from? What organisation are you from?"

We called people from the area that he said and the people did not know this person and eventually he got quite scared and he said that there were another 50 people like him in the crowd and the people said just: "Leave, for your own interest we actually want you to leave."

There was another incident at the City Hall where somebody was trying to say: "Let's kill the kitskonstabel!" and people also dealt with that so there's lots of evidence of provocateurs.

We believe that the State would like these marches to end up in chaos. That's why we feel it's so important to have the strictest discipline and the clearest understanding of what we're trying to achieve.

Q: Can Cape Town city centre expect many more marches in the coming months?

A: Yes. I would like to believe that not all of them would be in protest. I would like to believe that very soon we'll be able to march as a celebration that we'll be able to celebrate the victory of the forces of democracy and that we will be able to say we are free. We hope it won't all be negative.

Q: Explain in what way does a march meet the demands defined in the Freedom Charter.

A: I think that the march is not so much about persuading the government. Yes we would like the government to change its mind but we also say more than that we are

saying that we have a particular responsibility to build peace out of the war that we have in our country.

We feel that that peace can only come when there is justice and we're also saying that it's very clear that the National Party is very limited as an agent for change, its got all sorts of constraints and we're saying that the main, the motive force of change will be the people and that is only when the people themselves are prepared to stand up and say: "We're not prepared to take this any longer".

A minority government can only govern for as long as the people directly or indirectly consent to that and we are saying that we are taking history into our own hands whether this government likes it or not; we are going to change our country and we are going to march whether they like it or not.

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Q: But the game is played according to the laws of the government. One might feel that this whole ball game is being played according to the rules of the government so in what way can it manage to fulfil the needs of the people?

A: No, we don't think that it's determined by the State. I think we're in a very decisive phase where we very clearly have moved beyond what we're against. We have a very clear vision about what we are for and what our vision for a new South Africa is, such as the right for the people to govern, such as non-racialism, such as non-sexism that we project through our marches.

On the question of the extent of which we do it in the framework that's determined by the government I think that we have said in any democratic country the only constraints you have on a march is that it should not interfere with essential services, that it should not interfere with the safety of other citizens.

We feel that those are reasonable prerequisites for marches and to that end we are prepared to co-operate with those people who are responsible for those aspects. As far as the safety of our people goes we're not prepared to co-operate with the police because we do not believe that they have that at heart. We feel that we have a form of people's police in the form of our marshals.

'designed to collapse'

SMAE
15/2/90

Staff Reporters

(11A)

The fence that collapsed at Soweto's FNB stadium at the massive Mandela rally on Tuesday seriously injuring 34 people, was designed to give way under pressure from a large crowd, the managing director of the stadium, Mr Aziz Loonat said yesterday.

Mr Loonat inspected the stadium to assess damage after the mass rally to welcome home ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Several thousand rands worth of damage was caused to fixtures in the stadium. Mr Loonat said he could not put an exact figure on the damage yet, as building contractors were still on the scene. Discussions would also have to be held with the National Reception Committee which organised the rally and the insurance company to decide who was responsible for repairs.

He emphasised that all damage to doors, toilets, roof sheeting and fencing was due to overcrowding. He said damage was "minimal" compared to the number of people present.

DOORS KICKED IN

"I was at the rally. There was no malicious damage. Some doors in the suites were kicked in so people could get through to see Mr Mandela, but there was no looting or any other damage to suites.

"As managing director of the stadium I can say I am glad the fence collapsed because otherwise we would have had more deaths.

"When we were building the stadium we made provision for situations where overcrowding could result in injury. The fence was designed to collapse if a certain amount of force was exerted."

The stadium is designed to hold a maximum of 75 000 people. Mr Loonat said he became concerned at noon on Tuesday when the flow of people continued although the stadium was already filled to capacity. He estimated there were 135 000 people inside the stadium and another 65 000 outside trying to get in.

People crammed into every open space in the stadium, climbing on to rooftops, and spotlight supports. ● A child died at Orlando Stadium on Monday after being caught in the crush of people hoping to see Mr Mandela.



Flashback . . . People breaking through the fencing around the Soccer City stadium after attending a rally addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday. Thirty-four people were injured in the stampede.

After 27 years, a night to cherish

Staff Reporters

Mr Nelson Mandela spent his first night on the Reef for 27 years relaxing in a rambling ranch-style house on a 2,5 ha smallholding in North Riding, on the outskirts of Randburg.

The R550 000 house is registered in the name of Mr R F Cohen but it appears he is divorced from his school teacher wife, Sally.

Mrs Cohen is a remedial teacher who joined the staff of Parkhurst Primary School this year.

She lives at the North Riding home with her triplets aged four, her mother and possibly two other children.

The large windows of the T-shaped building are well protected by stout, vertical security bars and the entrance to the property was tightly guarded by a group of ANC security marshals.

Yesterday at least two men were posted at the wire gate opening to a winding sand track to the main house at 253 Honeydew Road.

The grey-tiled, single-storey house is set well back from Honeydew Road, completely hidden by dense, well established trees.

Halfway up the driveway is Mrs Cohen's pottery studio, its windows closed and barred.

Extensive well-tended lawns surround the main house. Its T-shaped layout appears to fan from the bedrooms at the base to the lounge on the left and the kitchen and double garage on the right.

Pathways circle below the main bedroom where the Mandelas spent the night on Monday, and lead to a swimming pool off the lounge.

Most of the plots in the area are demarcated for shops and offices in the Randburg Development Plan.

Yesterday morning Soweto businessman Mr Richard Mabonya, who drove Mr Mandela from Lanseria Airport to 253 Honeydew Road after he and his entourage arrived by private jet on Monday, said his old friend Mr Mandela was in very high spirits.

"He was amazed at the growth which had taken place since he last saw that part of the Reef 27 years ago and he was looking forward to addressing the people," said Mr Mabonva, who lives in Melville

Neighbours braved the chilly weather to catch a glimpse of the ANC leader.

Miss Sandy Venter said: "It is so exciting to live in these historic times. This is a fearful thing in a way but there is also a sense of excitement."

Mrs Glenys van Halter, who got married in the Cohen home in 1977 and lived there for three years up until the time of her marriage said: "This is fantastic. To think we are so close to such an incredible man."

Neighbours said one family in the area included AWB members who recently interrupted a party to listen to broadcasts of speeches by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche.

Mrs Cohen, Mr Mandela's hostess in Honeydew on Monday night, had seemed very happy yesterday morning when she told a colleague at school that the ANC leader had spent the night at her home.

Mrs Elizabeth Mathebula (37), who works for Mrs Cohen, said Mr Mandela made up his own bed after waking up at the unusually late hour of 8.30 am. (Visitors to Mr Mandela in Victor Verster prison said he was a fitness fanatic and woke at 3 am every morning to exercise for two hours.)

Mrs Mathebula said Mr Mandela enjoyed a breakfast of cereal, eggs, bacon and toast. He was served the meal by Mrs Mathebula, who said the man who used to be the world's most famous prisoner was very friendly.

"I had no warning that he was coming, but recognised him as soon as he arrived."

Orlando West home 'unsuitable'

By John Miller

STW 14/2/90

(110)

Mr Nelson Mandela's Orlando West home should be kept as a national monument because the only way he could be protected if he lived there would be to cordon off surrounding roads, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association said yesterday.

Dr Motlana said it would be wrong for Mr Mandela to set up home in Soweto again. "He is not a Sowetan, but a South African" and should therefore live in the best site to cater for his needs.

He said the only way he felt Mr Mandela's "matchbox" township house could be made secure would be if the roads around it were cordoned off.

Dr Motlana also questioned the ability of the National Reception Committee (NRC) to organise and control the overwhelming response from crowds attending Mr Mandela's homecoming rallies.

He admitted and agreed with the NRC that

they had not been given much time to organise the rallies but hoped that things would improve.

Dr Motlana said that during the launch of the UDF in 1983, marshals wore bright yellow armbands and other items which could identify them from far away. "At some spots you would find more marshals than people. Marshals should be properly trained and easy identifiable."

'HELICOPTER SHOULD HAVE BEEN USED'

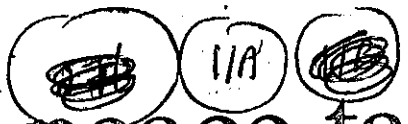
He could not believe that the organisers of Sunday's Cape Town rally had used a car instead of a helicopter to get Mr Mandela to the City Hall — "it was perfect stupidity". He said one needed professionals, as amateurs simply could not do the job.

Referring to the manner in which Mr Mandela had to try and page through his speech on Sunday, Dr Motlana said this was uncalled for.

The ANC leader should not have been subjected to that kind of indignity.

B/day 14/2/90

Inkatha ends peace talks



DURBAN — About 8 000 Inkatha members decided at a rally in Mpumalanga yesterday they would suspend their peace talks with the UDF because Inkatha was convinced the UDF was not honouring the agreement.

And a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said more troops were to be sent into Natal and KwaZulu in a bid to contain the escalating violence, which has left at least 51 people dead since Sunday.

The Mpumalanga rally was held on a patch of waste land between the Inkatha-dominated squatter area of Woodyglen and Ward 10. Placards reading: "The UDF was the first to murder", "Are these peace talks slowly poisoning us?" and "Enough is enough" had been erected in Unit 10 by Inkatha youth.

Inkatha Central Committee member Nqobisizwe Nkehli said in view of the recent upsurge in violence in the area in which at least 17 people have died, the rally had resolved to suspend the six-week-old peace talks.

He said Inkatha inhabitants of Ward 10 had been trapped in the area by "UDF comrades" who had barred their only exit from Mpumalanga on a road which ran

through UDF-dominated Unit 3.

He said on Monday a man going to work at Cato Ridge abattoir was hauled off a bus by "comrades" and burnt while 60 passengers were prevented from going to work.

Nkehli said 12 people involved in the incident were missing, but he believed they had gone into hiding.

He said the long series of recent UDF attacks signified that it was "all sides of the UDF here involved in the violence. Now we have resolved to suspend the peace talks and withdraw our delegates."

He criticised the fact that the original UDF delegation had been replaced at least twice since talks began.

Meanwhile, fighting continued in many of Natal's townships yesterday, with a number of incidents of arson, and refugees continued to flee from the strife-torn areas.

Police said a 13-year-old schoolgirl was stabbed to death by a mob in Lamontville. Staff and students at the Mangosuthu Technikon in Umlazi were sent home because of fears of violence in their area.

Residents in Kwa Mashu said children had been called out of their schools "to come and fight" yesterday, and houses in K-section were burnt.

In Inanda the atmosphere was very tense, with residents arming themselves with pangas and firearms before leaving their homes. Small children were spotted siphoning petrol out of underground tanks at a garage which was gutted during the violence.

Police said no incidents occurred in Inanda yesterday.

© Comment Page 12

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:.....	668
February 1989 — February 12 1990:.....	605
Past 24 hours' official toll:.....	9
TOTAL:.....	1 282

5 killed in E Cape feud

CAPT Timts 14/2/90

11A

1009

PORT ELIZABETH. — Five people were killed yesterday as the two-year feud between the Africanists and Charterists in KwaNobuhle township, near Uitenhage, flared again.

Police said they used teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the feuding Africanist Ama-Afrika supporters and residents allied to the UDF.

Volkswagen workers from the Uitenhage factory stayed at home yesterday, fearing for their families.

An interim report issued by police said two people were stabbed to death yesterday morning and three in the afternoon.

One was allegedly a 14-year-old boy who had been assaulted and stabbed to death before petrol was poured over his body, a source said.

The national publicity secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement, Mr Benny Ntwele, said 18 head of cattle and eight goats were confiscated by UDF supporters from a farm of an Africanist Movement member, Mr

Kelman Befile.

A spokesman for Ama-Afrika, Mr Timothy Jantjies, said a shop and two houses belonging to Africanist members in Khayelitsha were destroyed on Monday when thousands of UDF supporters invaded Khayelitsha.

He said the latest violence erupted when armed groups thronged Uitenhage townships, adding to the confusion of thousands of workers and families dancing in the streets to celebrate the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Fikile Kobese, an MDM Peace Initiative member in Uitenhage, appealed to UDF supporters to stop fighting and concentrate their efforts on building their structures in Uitenhage.

Major Bill Dennis said police were always "caught up in the middle" of the feud.

Both camps accused police of offering support to the other group, he said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

11A

Crucial ANC talks in Lusaka today



Mr Nelson Mandela

Mandela to visit ANC's camps in Tanzania

LUSAKA. — Closed-door discussions are beginning in the Zambian capital today among top policy-makers of the African National Congress.

Sources close to the ANC say the talks could determine the crucial next turn in South Africa's future.

The two main items on the ANC's national executive committee's agenda will probably include plans for their now unbanned movement to return to South Africa and preparations for Mr Nelson Mandela's imminent arrival in Lusaka.

"How they (ANC) will stage their return is the challenge the South African regime has

thrown at them," one source said.

South African President F W de Klerk has not yet granted a blanket amnesty to political exiles, so some of the 3 000 or more living in Lusaka could face stiff prison sentences for treason or sabotage if they return home now.

"But some exiles must return very soon to legitimise the (ANC) movement in the eyes of the international community," said a Western diplomat, "or Western governments will begin to ask whether the ANC is frightened of its own internal constituencies."

Another prominent issue, according to diplomatic sources, will be to bridge the generation gap between the militant youth of the armed

wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and the "old guard" — the ANC leaders jailed for almost three decades who were released in October last year, including Mr Walter Sisulu, and Mr Mandela, released on Sunday.

A Southern African diplomat said: "They (the executive) must now develop a system to bring the young and the old together so the movement can go forward united."

But the diplomat added that Mr Mandela's call on Sunday to continue the armed struggle had already healed some of these divisions.

And in a rally held on Monday in Lusaka to celebrate their leader's release, acting ANC president Mr Alfred Nzo

supported Mr Mandela's statement.

"We must now move forward and intensify our all-round offensive against apartheid," he said.

"For this purpose our glorious people's army must be given all the necessary and possible assistance to enable it to enhance its conduct capacity."

Mr Nzo emphasised that the ANC would not put down their arms till all conditions were met, including an amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles and the lifting of the four-year-old state of emergency.

"The ANC will not negotiate with De Klerk until they are in a position of strength," the source close to the ANC said. — Daily Telegraph

DAR ES SALAAM. — Mr Nelson Mandela will visit Tanzania later this month for talks with government leaders and a tour of African National Congress training camps, government officials said yesterday.

He would visit the ANC's headquarters in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, before going on to Tanzania, they added.

"Dates are being worked out but it is certainly before the end of this month," an official said.

ANC officials in Dar es Salaam said they knew of the visit, but declined to give information, saying an announcement would be made once all the details had been finalised.

Tanzanian officials said Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, would hold talks with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and ex-president Mr Julius Nyerere. He would also visit ANC farming and educational settlements.

ANC sources said that after several days in Tanzania Mr Mandela would fly to Sweden to visit Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, who is being treated in Stockholm for a stroke he suffered last August.

Mr Nyerere said Mr Mandela, not President F W de Klerk, ought to lead South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

120 000 greet Mandela

CAT-7m's
14/2/90
114



JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was as committed to economic growth as present employers claimed to be, Mr Nelson Mandela told a crowd of 120 000 at the giant FNB stadium yesterday.

However, the ANC was also committed to ensuring that a democratic government addressed the inequalities caused by apartheid. "We will certainly introduce policies that

address the economic problem we face," he said.

Earlier the massive crowd — which sang and danced for several hours before the ANC leader arrived — roared with joy as Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie entered the stadium. The couple, followed by an entourage, walked the perimeter of the stadium to cheers and singing.

At least eight helicopters, most chartered by foreign TV teams, hovered over the stadium.

After the meeting at least 32 people were injured, some seriously, when a fence sur-

rounding the stadium collapsed as thousands streamed from the arena.

During the rally, three rows of people in the stands in front of the press box were seen to domino into the stands as people crushed against each other.

Children were squashed against the glass windows of the press room and a baby was rescued from the crush by a marshal.

Three people broke limbs in the crush on the stands surrounding the field.

MANDELA RALLY . . . Mr Nelson Mandela acknowledges the crowd's cheers at a rally in his honour in Soweto yesterday.

- Crucial ANC policy talks in Lusaka today — Page 2
- Viljoen gives govt's response to Mandela — Page 5

Home at last for the Mandelas

SOWETO. — Mr Nelson Mandela arrived home at last yesterday.

A tumultuous welcome from thousands of cheering supporters greeted him at the Orlando West house.

He arrived about 4.15pm in a motorcade soon after his helicopter, followed by five others, touched down at Orlando Stadium near the home.

As the motorcade approached the home, the crowd, which had been waiting since early morning, cheered, whistled and toyi-toyed.

Mr Mandela, arm-in-arm with his wife Winnie, got out of a maroon BMW driven by Soweto businessman Mr Richard Haponya and both raised clenched fists for the crowd.

Mr Walter Sisulu appealed to the crowd to disperse after Mr Mandela had spoken to them so he could be with his family. He said Mr Mandela was tired.

Mr Mandela, addressing the crowd, apologised for not arriving at the rally in Orlando stadium on Monday.

He, his wife Winnie and his daughter Ziadzi with two other small children then went into their home.

The crowd were still in front of the house about half an hour later and he again asked them to disperse. — Sapa



AT HOME . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie at their home in Soweto yesterday.

P.T.O

988
Trent
14/2/90
11A

Mr Mandela was speaking against the background of a jittery stock market, after his statements on Monday confirmed ANC policy of nationalising the mines.

By last night, however, the SA financial rand had partly recovered from the punishment it received on Monday, dropping back to around R3,44 to the dollar from R3,60 on Monday.

Addressing the massive crowd yesterday, Mr Mandela said much debate had been sparked off by the ANC policies on the economy relating to nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

History had shown that apartheid stifled growth, created mass unemployment and led to a situation that undermined living standards.

Only a "participatory democracy" involving all the people in the structures of decision-making at all levels of society could ensure this was corrected.

He called on whites to join the struggle for one man, one vote, based on a common voters' roll.

He said SA was a wealthy country which had been built up by the labour of black workers who could not be excluded from sharing in the wealth.

"Our people need proper housing — not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage and the right to join unions of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives."

On the subject of discipline, Mr Mandela said he was disturbed that there were "those who say they are part of our movement, who hijack and set alight vehicles ... they are criminals ... I call on our people to mobilise against crime".

He condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle.

"Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy. I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence. Joint initiatives at regional and national levels must be made."

To cheers, Mr Mandela called on all pupils to return to school: "It is the policy of the ANC that the entire educational system is a site of struggle. All students must return to school — and learn."

The education crisis was a political crisis because it arose from the fact that blacks had no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community. Let us build a united teachers' organisation, parents and inter-student organisations and (support) the National Education Crisis Committee.

"I am also concerned by the ongoing violence perpetrated by certain sections of the security forces against peaceful marches and demonstrations. I condemn this. We call on the police to abandon apartheid and serve the interests of the people. Join our march to a new SA where you can serve the people," he said.

Before Mr Mandela arrived, a UDF official informed the crowd the National Reception Committee was concerned that people were hijacking buses in Soweto in attempts to get to the stadium. He asked anyone who had information about these incidents to inform the marshals.

Most taxi operators in the Soweto area stopped work yesterday, fearing their minibuses would be hijacked.

Soon after Mr Mandela walked on to the podium, two of the Rivonia trial defence team — Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC and Mr George Bizos SC — were called on to the stage where Mr Mandela embraced them. Other Rivonia trialists were also greeted.

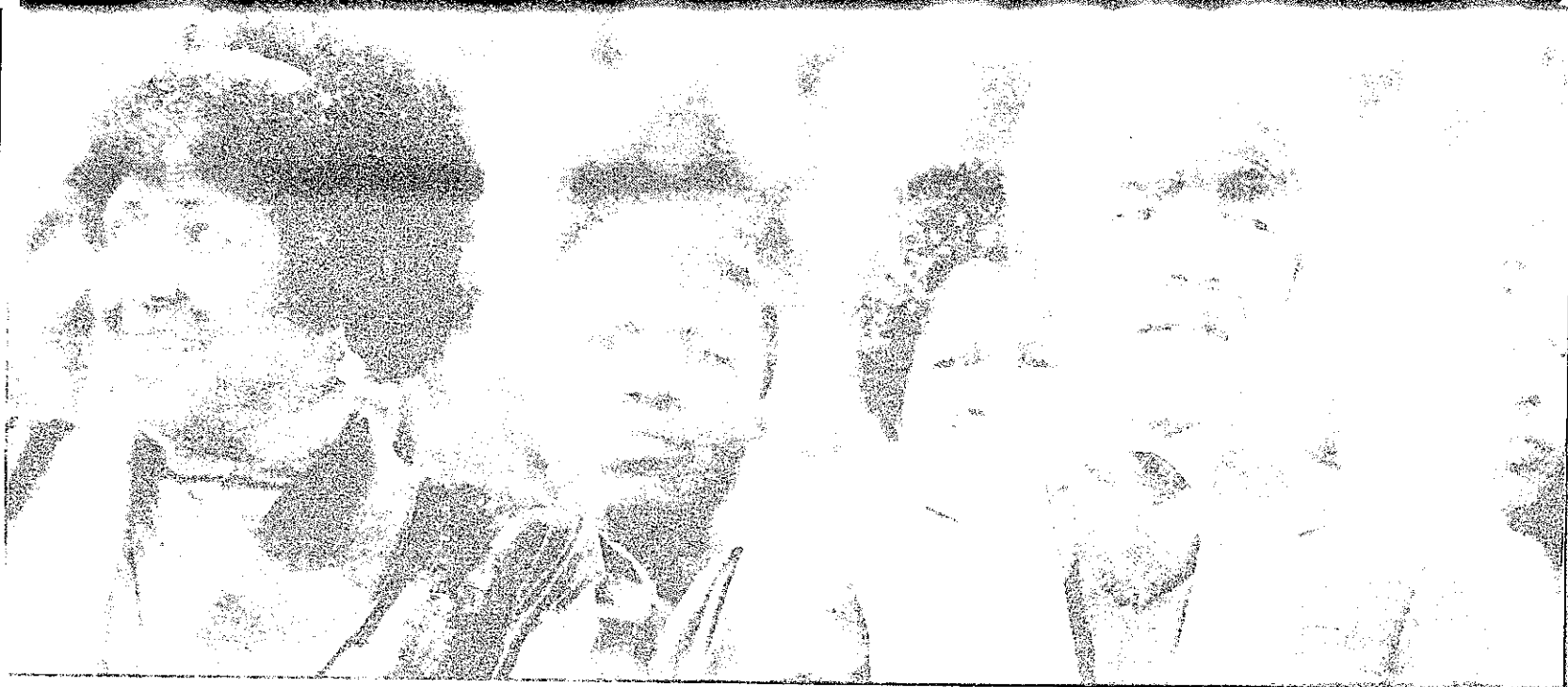
ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu addressed the gathering of people dressed in a sea of different-coloured T-shirts bearing the colours of several organisations.

As Mr Sisulu spoke a balloon with the words "Welcome Mandela" floated into the air.

At the end of the rally, the Mandelas left for their Orlando West home in Soweto. The huge crowd dispersed quickly and peacefully.

On Monday, a child was killed and scores of people were hurt when crowds stampeded the Orlando Stadium in Soweto while waiting for Mr Mandela.

● The Conservative Party on Monday laid charges of high treason against ANC leaders Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu, and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Nelson Mandela on the stage at Soccer City yesterday. (11A)

150 000 flock to welcome

Soweto 14/2/90

Mandela back in Jo'burg

People power

Part of the huge crowd at Soccer City, Crown Mines, to listen to released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's speech yesterday.

AMERICAN civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson had Heideveld pupils in Cape Town clamouring for more after he paid a whistlestop visit to their school before departing for Johannesburg.

Jackson show

the words: "And he's single!"

Speaking from the school balcony and giving his most spirited Cape Town performance, Jackson had the school children chanting after him:

"I am somebody, respect me, protect me, never neglect me, red, yellow, brown, black or white, we are all precious in God's sight, no more violence."

Jackson was to fly to Port Elizabeth yesterday but changed his plans to visit the school, sight-see around the Peninsula and then return to Johannesburg.

His son, Jesse Jr, drew squeals of delight from the pupils gathered outside on the sport's field when he was introduced by Jackson with

DIPLOMA IN BUSINESS ACCOUNTANCY

FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME COURSES
PART-TIME COURSES START 24/2/1990
DURATION OF THE COURSE 28 WEEKS

● Books of Prime Entry

of Sales Journal, Cash

11A

Jackson annoys PE crowd



JACKSON

US civil rights leader Jesse Jackson has annoyed and disappointed anti-apartheid activists in Port Elizabeth by failing to turn up for a visit.

Instead of coming to Port Elizabeth as part of his week-long South African tour, Jackson went to Johannesburg to see freed black nationalist Nelson Mandela.

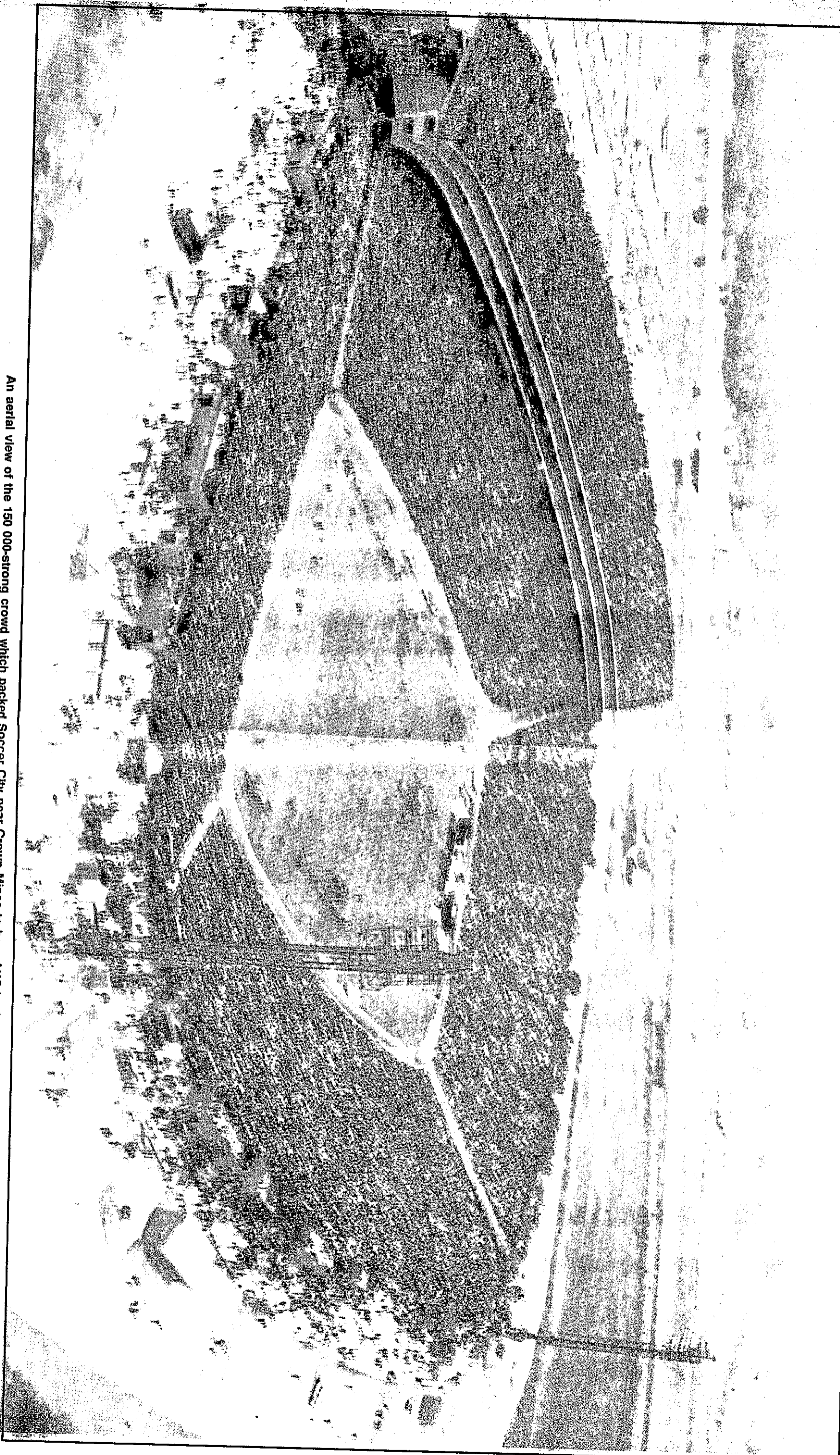
A rally was planned for yesterday night for Jackson to attend, and the organisers are now

"a little angry and very disappointed", said Mkhusele Jack, a senior member of the anti-apartheid Mass Democratic Movement.

"Ordinary people were looking forward to hearing a man who has stood for human rights and the organisations had invested a lot of time in planning for this visit. We were running around so much yesterday planning for this thing," Jack said.

The Jackson visit, his first in more than 10 years, has been overshadowed by the release of Mandela.

MAYIBUYE IAFRICA



An aerial view of the 150,000-strong crowd which packed Soccer City near Crown Mines to hear ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela speak in the Transvaal for the first time in 27 years.

118

The charges arise from work stoppages at all



MANDELA: Free at last

FNB too small for rally

11A

THE First National Bank Stadium was too small for the thousands of people who thronged the venue to welcome home ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday.

The stadium was bursting at its seams as more than 100 000 people from all over the Transvaal packed the stadium, with no room to move.

More than 20 000 others could not get in.

Stampede

The risk of having another catastrophe similar to the Hillsborough disaster was prevented when the gates were locked.

There was a stampede when a group of people, who had just poured into the already jam-packed stadium, overpowered marshalls and forced their way into the Press gallery.

In his address - the first in the Transvaal since his release on Sunday - Mandela said the ANC would continue with its armed struggle as long as the "violence of apartheid" continued.

Concerned at widespread reports of the hijacking and burning of cars in Soweto, Mandela said these were

By **SY MAKARINGE**

criminal acts which had no place in the struggle.

He urged supporters to act in a dignified and disciplined manner.

Referring to the situation in Natal, the former ANC president called on the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and Inkatha to revive the peace initiative.

"Security forces must (also) act with absolute impartiality.

"My return to Soweto fills my heart with joy. But it is with a deep sense of sadness that you are still suffering under the inhuman system," he said.

Crime rate

He said he was concerned at the high rate of crime in Soweto. While noting that Soweto people were economically deprived, he said criminal acts must be eliminated.

He said people must fight for "people's education" with a single education system. He called on the Department of Education and Training to build more schools and train more teachers.

Amid shouts of "amandla",

Mandela said the ANC was committed to economic growth in South Africa.

"We need proper houses and not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage and the right to join unions of their choice.

"Apartheid has stifled growth. We will introduce policies that will address the problems that we face. We are marching to a new future," he said.

Stalwarts

Three ANC stalwarts - Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Oscar Mpetha - could not attend the rally because of ill-health.

Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Harry Gwala also did not attend because of "certain reasons".

Before Mandela's arrival, the crowd, which had already packed the stadium, were entertained with revolutionary music and poetry readings by amongst others, the Pretoria Cultural Forum and the Alexandra Arts Students.

Marshalls were posted at strategic points inside and outside the stadium to maintain order.

Many weapons, including firearms, were confiscated.



This bus tells the story...Almost every window was broken after frenzied youths chanted all the way to Soccer City to listen to Mr Nelson Mandela.

IC must change its positions, says Constitution Minister Viljoen

119

THE Government disagreed with certain views enunciated by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela since his release on Sunday but felt, overall, that they should be seen as having been made

within the confines of current long-standing ANC policy which needed to be revised.

In the first top-level Government reaction to Mandela's release speech and other utterances, Dr

Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, told an international news conference yesterday afternoon that Mandela had also made statements which the Government welcomed.

It was, however, awaiting an authoritative

response from the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The Government specifically disagreed with Mandela's views on sanctions, the armed struggle and economic nationalisation.

It had become in-

cumbent on all within the ANC to readjust their positions.

Viljoen said the Government welcomed Mandela's description of President FW de Klerk as a man of integrity; that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement should be established so that there should be no more need for the armed struggle; and his rejection of black and white domination.

Sanctions

Viljoen said the Government felt the aptness of sanctions should be seen in a new light following the Government's recent actions and should be systematically withdrawn.

The unbanning of an organisation was not equal to supporting the policies of that organisation.

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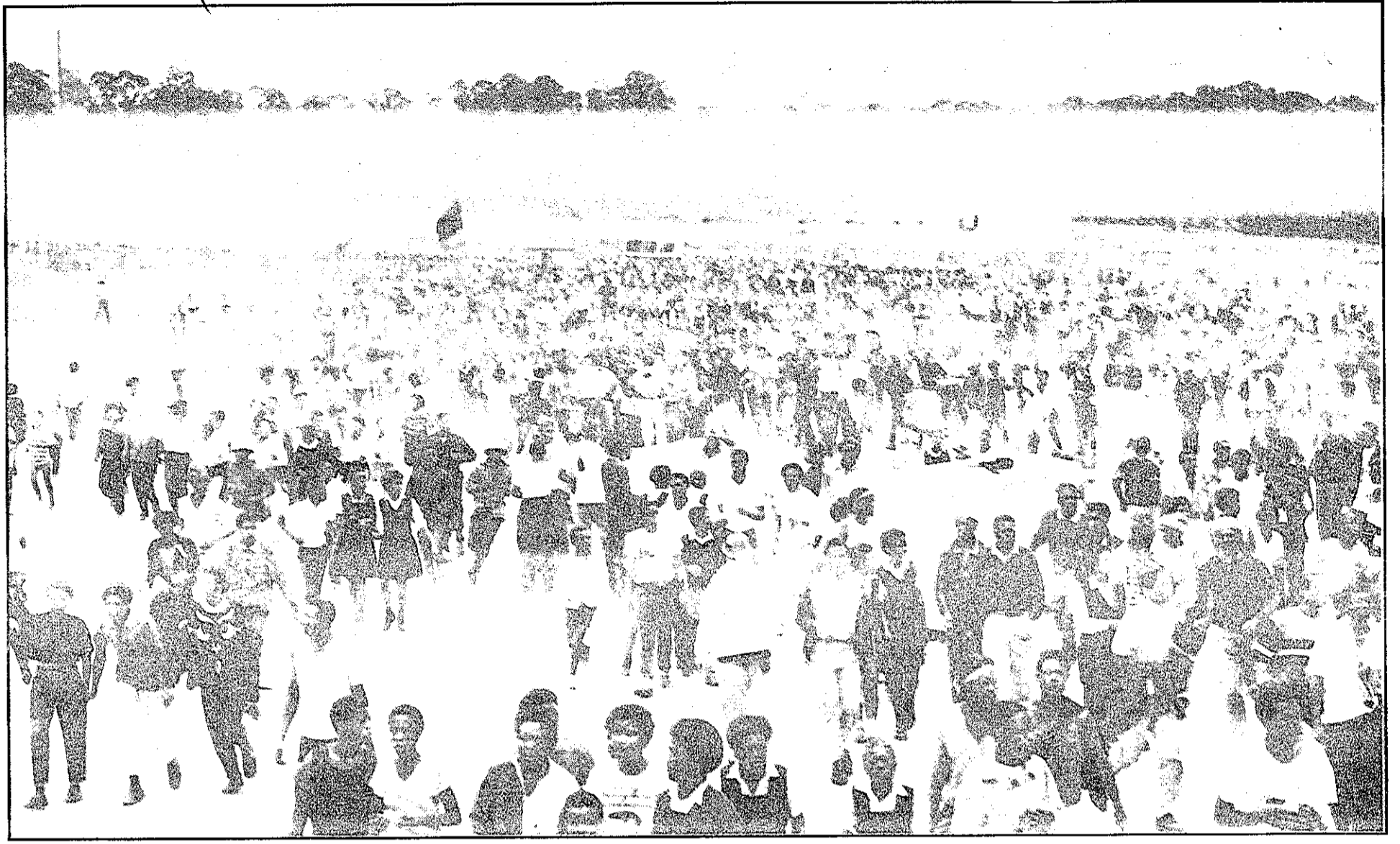
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Management



Some of the thousands of people who could not get into Soccer City, near Crown Mines, to hear Mr Nelson Mandela make his first speech in the Transvaal in 27 years.

March to a new S Africa

Mandela, in his first address in 27 years in Johannesburg, yesterday told more than 150000 at the FNB Stadium, near Soweto, he had looked forward to the day when he would return to the area he regarded as home.

"I greet you my brothers and sisters, my children," he told the cheering crowd.

"It is discipline and loyalty that will liberate us.

"And I have not the slightest doubt that you are capable of behaving like people who are ready to make a contribution to the solution of the problems that are facing us, and also to address the new society we wish to establish.

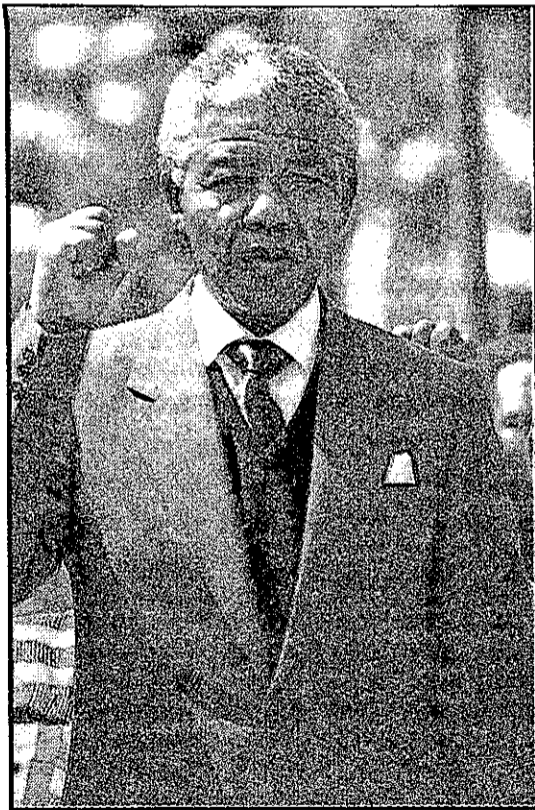
Struggle

"I greet you in the name of the heroic struggle of our people who will establish freedom in our society."

The ANC patriarch went on to salute exiled ANC leaders including Oliver Tambo.

"Today, I also return with a deep sadness, sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system.

"The housing shortage, the schools crisis, the unemployment,



Mr Nelson Mandela addressing the huge Soccer City crowd in Johannesburg yesterday.

"I am even more proud to be a member of this community because of the struggle for the democratisation of this community.

"I fully support the call made by our people for democratic systems of local government.

"In this regard I believe that the campaign for an open city must be seen as part of our struggle.

"As long as I am part of the Soweto community, I have

been greatly shocked by the statistics of crime.

"I must make it clear that the level of crime in our country must be eliminated."

He added that he wished to salute the anti-crime campaign.

Crisis

"The crisis in education that afflicts us demands special attention.

"The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis, it

arises out of the fact that our people have no vote.

"Education is an area that needs attention from all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers and all other organised sectors of our community.

"Let us build a united teachers' organisation, parents and inter-student organisations and the National Education Crisis Committee.

"It is the policy of the ANC that the entire educational system is a

unity in action to prevent tension between the African and Indian people in Natal.

"I am also concerned by the ongoing violence perpetrated by certain sections of the security forces against peaceful marches and demonstrations. I condemn this.

"We call on the police to abandon apartheid and serve the interests of the people.

"Join our march to a new South Africa where you can serve the people," he said.

Dealing with nation-

"Workers need a living wage, and the right to join unions of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives.

"Our history shows

aborated with apartheid" to join the liberation struggle.

"No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-

QUOTE

Let each one of you and all of the people give the enemies of liberty no space to take us back to the dark hell of apartheid.

It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek.

QUOTE

It is the policy of the ANC that the entire educational system is a site of struggle. All students must return to school and learn.

site of struggle.

"All students must return to school and learn," he said to cheers.

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle.

"Our victory must be celebrated in peace and joy.

"I call on our people to take decisive action to end the mindless violence."

Mandela also urged the people to build alisation and redistribution of wealth, he said

apartheid had created a heinous system of exploitation with the vast majority of the oppressed being under and unemployed.

"Black workers have built the cities, roads and factories.

"They cannot be excluded from enjoying this wealth.

"We are also committed to ensure that a democratic government is elected to end the inequalities of apartheid.

"Our people need proper housing, not ghettos like Soweto.

that apartheid has stifled growth and has led to inflation that undermines the financial power of both black and white.

"Only a participatory democracy will suffice.

"We call on employers to recognise the inalienable rights of workers in our country.

"We are marching to a new future based on sound basis of respect.

"We call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act."

The ANC patriarch went on to urge all workers, black and white, to join hands in Cosatu.

Mandela also issued a call on those who had out of ignorance "coll-

racial united and democratic South Africa, based on one-person one-vote on a common voters roll."

He added their primary task was to unite the people throughout the country.

"Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in all sectors.

"Our struggle against apartheid must be consolidated on all fronts.

"Let each one of you and all of the people give the enemies and liberty no space to take us back to the dark hell of apartheid.

"It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek." Sapa.

Try a career change

CAREER suggests long term path towards a rather dedded goal, which hopefully will not easily change.

A job on the other hand is somewhat short-term and could lead to the realisation of the goals of particular career in some cases. At times it takes more than one job to achieve the ultimate goal of a career.

Career choice invariably involves decision making. This decision is fact informed by the individual or for that matter societal values right from the beginning. The general saying that you cannot change horses in mid-stream, has somehow proved to be a fallacy when it comes to the subject of mid career change. From time to time individuals and organisations have to cope with mid career changes.

Central to this subject is a question of motivation. Some motivational theorists contend that job satisfaction is based on many other things, human needs and motivational factors such as intrinsic challenge, recognition, rewards and self actualisation.

Mid-career change is a general problem involving both men and women. In both instances there are numerous reasons to be cited as causes, for example, marital status, racial and sex discrimination, lack of promotional prospects, poor remuneration and others.

It is usually in their early twenties that people acquire certain professional qualifications rather than settle into jobs or careers. It would seem that it is only in their twenties and thirties that most people find the opportunity to gain experience in the field of their choice. Career crisis usually occurs in the late thirties onwards.

It is not unusual for some professionals such as accountants, lawyers and doctors to leave their initial employment in order to set up practices. In very rare cases some professionals such as nurses, social workers and teachers do make a horizontal move towards other professions in the social service sector.

Those professionals who are motivated by monetary rewards, find industry and commerce more attractive, to the extent that they may leave the social service sector.

A very small percentage of professionals may, due to other considerations, leave industry and commerce for social services.

The Careers Centre is perceived as catering for the needs of the youth, either at school or preparing for tertiary education and employment. Approximately five percent of the people we see are clients who come for advice on alternative careers. Through our professional counselling service, provision is made to assist individual clients to cope with the mid career crisis. In essence this means that individuals are assisted to identify the problem and alternative opportunities available in order to make informed career decisions.

Mid career change in itself is not a step backwards but may instead be the advent of new career prospects. Career guidance and counselling service is intended to take place at any stage of one's life.

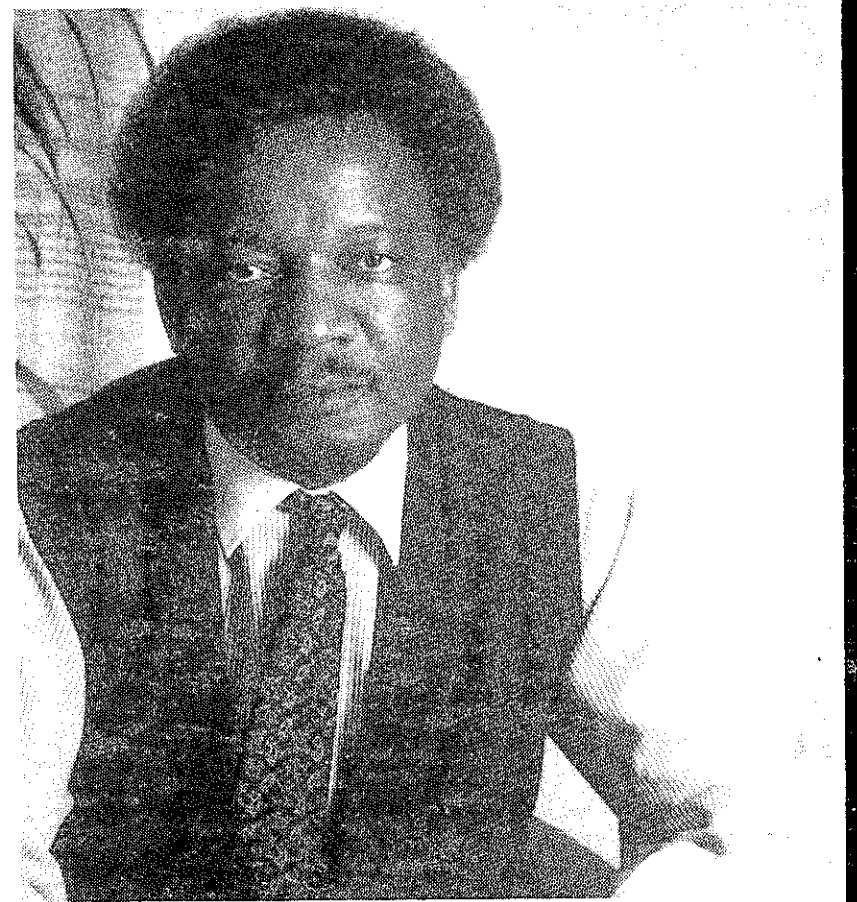
Societal norms and cultural practices to a large extent determine the influence of parents on their children's education

and career choice. It is well known that in more enlightened societies children have more say in the running of their lives and hence in their career choice as well. In less enlightened societies parents seem to dominate career decisions which may add to later mid-career crises.

To ensure that children make the right choices that also satisfy them, parents should:

- * Make a conscious effort to take an interest in their children's education.
- * Take an active interest in their children's abilities and interests.
- * Be in regular contact with their children's teachers.
- * Seek professional career guidance advice from careers centres.
- * Refrain from pressuring children into their (parents) preferred choice.
- * Insist on proper subject streaming towards a specific field of study.
- * Encourage children to visit the Career Centre for professional career guidance and counselling.
- * Involve themselves and their children in career exploration, well before the children reach high school.

Most women at one time or another experience frustration in their jobs during mid-career. Some go to the extent of leaving otherwise very satisfactory jobs for new ones. Director of Careers Centre Dan Monyemore explains the signs and symptoms of a mid-career crisis.



Director of Careers Centre Dan Monyemore



STAR BEAT

ARIES: March 21 - April 21
You may be unconsciously trying to deceive yourself and would do well to study your thoughts quite carefully for flaws. Be completely frank with yourself as a new and realistic line of reasoning will be best for you.

Taurus: April 21 - May 21
You can rack up solid achievements over a wide range of activities during this fortunate chapter in your life. There'll be lots of scope to attain success and pleasure. Put your knowledge and talents on show.

EMINI: May 21 - June 22
Good rapport with close relatives should give you the confidence you need to promote new family plans. Shared enterprises within the domestic domain are highly favoured to succeed. Set a good example for your family.

CANCER: June 22 - July 23
The rapport between you and your closest allies not being as good as usual, your surroundings may be more than a little unpleasant at times. Put discussions and requests concerning vital issues on ice for a while.

LEO: July 23 - August 24
Emotional complications will be experienced from time to time but romantic bliss will mostly prevail. Try not to be the cause of upheaval in the partnership sphere. Be forgiving, contain jealousy, avoid arguments.

VIRGO: August 24 - September 23
Your financial fortunes should improve if you take money-making opportunities seriously. Diligence shown in the workplace could lead to a salary increase. You could profit through interesting sidelines if you try.

LIBRA: September 23 - October 23
Keep your wits about when handling money. You can both gain and save by being alert moneywise. Look for ways to increase your income via spare-time endeavours. Study the market and you're sure to spot an opening.

SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23
Proved understanding in the family circle will please you. Arrange a few special treats for your loved ones. Entertain in the old-fashioned manner and you'll find your family drawing closer to you and each other.

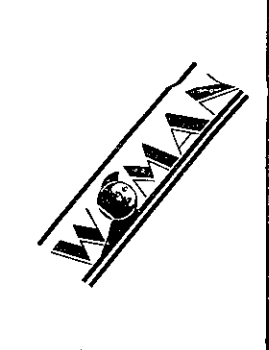
SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22
A safe and sound period to negotiate. You'll taste success in a big way if you put distraction to one side in order to concentrate most of your energy and time upon special projects. Score big if self-confidence is high.

CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21
You ought to make several fresh contacts during this round; some of which could prove to be exceptionally useful over the long term. You'll probably start adjusting to a new way of living; I satisfy certain hopes.

AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20
Personal affairs proceed steadily. Partnership should be happy and undemanding. You'll have reason to be proud of their efforts where children are concerned. Family affairs are much to the fore and easily resolved.

PISCES: February 20 - March 21
A favourable phase where romantic partnership is concerned. You can probably make a good love match if you're single and lonely. The important thing is that new dreams can be launched with good chances of coming true.

If Today is your Birthday
Plan ahead carefully in order to bring important goals forward. It's a perfect patch of advancing hopes provided you set off along the right avenue. Be innovative and energetic; spirited effort will be rewarded.



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Vital

Sowetan 15/2/90

11A

talks

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met leaders of the United Democratic Front, Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement to discuss future tactics and strategy in the liberation struggle.

Among those at the meeting were Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers' and co-leader of the NRC, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the UDF, Mr Eric Molobi of the National Education Crisis Committee, and ANC leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

At the same time the ANC began a two-day meeting which started in Lusaka yesterday.

According to international affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki the executive committee would focus on Mandela's future role in the organisation.

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**,
Sapa and Sowetan
Correspondent

Mbeki said the 35-member national executive committee will discuss a broad range of issues stemming from reforms announced by President FW de Klerk on February 2.

Mbeki said: "The leadership in South Africa know this (meeting) is taking place and they say every day that the executive is the executive with full powers to take all decisions."

In another development the ANC yesterday confirmed Mandela would be flying to Lusaka

● To page 2

P.T.O.

For some of us, the long wait is over

118
Sowetan
14/2/90

FOCUS



By SELLO RABOTHATA and THEMBA MOLEFE

THE long wait for Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is over.

Sowetan was the only newspaper to predict last week that Mandela would be home by Monday. And, lo and behold, at about 6.15pm he landed at Lanseria Airport and was whisked away by businessman Richard Maponya.

By Thursday last week, the international press did not know he would be free. The long wait came to an end when State President FW de Klerk announced at a press conference at the Parliament building that Mandela would be free the next day at 3pm.

On Sunday February 11 thousands of people started gathering outside the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, about 60km from Cape Town. The prison is in what could be described as the "middle of nowhere" with no sign of life in sight, except the nearby one-horse town of Paarl.

Unprecedented

The multitudes got there all the same. At about noon roadblocks had already been set up and those allowed through had to contend with the 35 deg C sweltering heat. They could not move lest they lost their place in the growing crowds waiting for a glimpse of the world's most famous political prisoner. Mandela emerged one and a half hours later than the scheduled 3pm.

De Klerk's announcement was unprecedented in a period spanning more than two decades in which his predecessors shied away from demands to "release Mandela now".

The eventful day was marred by violence in Cape Town. One person was killed and about 60 in-

jured when more than 80 000 people gathered at the Grand Parade, waiting to hear Mandela address them. As the masses waited, a group started throwing bottles at police and broke store windows and began looting. Dr Allan Boesak kept imploring the impatient crowd: "Comrades, you will see him now, Mandela is coming to address you. You will hear his voice."

He was unaware that a boy, aged about 15, was being rushed to a waiting ambulance. He had been shot.

Five hours before Mandela walked to freedom, it became clear that the day would be one of spectacular theatre. About 5 000 people waited at the prison gates. On the 60km route to Cape Town from Paarl, hundreds lined the N2 highway.

They stood in little groups, occasionally raising their fists in salute or shouting slogans like: "Viva Mandela" and "Our leader is free". Others held aloft placards inscribed with words of praise.

The motorcade that eventually snaked through the milling crowds befitted a monarch, a head of State, or a great man. Mandela is no ordinary man.

Cape Town shops were guarded after looting broke out as a huge crowd awaited Mandela on Sunday.

Between Boschendal and Simonsvlei the motorcade suddenly stopped. Everyone wondered what had happened to Mandela. Car doors were flung open and everybody ran towards the car he occupied. Police, the press, the "Young Lions" and those in the convoy rushed to see what the matter was. It was a false alarm and the motorcade proceeded.

The proceedings were a security nightmare for the organisers.

At 8pm Mandela addressed the people: "I greet you in the name of peace..."

The country was enthralled.

Confident

What were the first impressions of an aging man who went to jail young and handsome, charismatic and robust?

At 71 he is grey-haired but still stands tall and confident ... As he left the gates of Victor Verster, the face of the person the whole world was awaiting was immediately

flashed on television screens internationally. At last, a person of almost mystical stature, who exudes dignity despite his age, appeared. And those who were expectedly waiting shouted: "It's him, it's Mandela."

On Monday he addressed a press conference at Bishopscourt, the home of the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu. In dignified silence and occasionally flashing a smile, Mandela later posed for portrait pictures for the media.

He left DF Malan Airport in a private jet at 3.40pm.

In the 60s the media dubbed him the "Black Pimpernel" after he had disappeared from the country, with rumours flying wildly about his whereabouts. He returned and once again the title fell on his elegant shoulders. Everybody was kept guessing about where Mandela was heading, where he would sleep.

In the meantime the long wait for him, the vigil for the return of the nation's hero, was kept up by patient crowds.

Five in ^{14/2/90} court after city looting

By VUYO BAVUMA ¹¹⁹
Staff Reporter

FOUR men and a minor appeared in Cape Town Magistrate's Court today in connection with a charge of public violence, after looting in shops in the city before Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the Grand Parade on Sunday.

Mr Ntobeko Bambelo, 21, and Mr Edwin Maphanga, 21, both of Guguletu, Mr Eighteen Qajana, 27, and Mr Welcome Banga, 25, both of Khayelitsha, and a minor were not asked to plead.

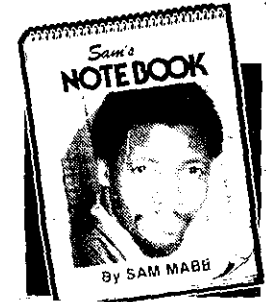
Their appearance followed incidents in which the windows of at least six businesses were smashed and their contents looted.

Bail of R300 each was fixed and the case was postponed to March 20 for further investigation.

The magistrate was Mr T Swanepoel. The five were not represented.

Don't expect miracles

Mandela won't wave a magic wand and give us freedom



THE release of Comrade Nelson Mandela has surely heralded a new and exciting era in the history of South Africa/Azania.

It has instilled fear and resentment in the hearts of some people and hope in those of others. From him, both the local and international communities expect a lot. Some of the expectations, due to wrong perceptions of what his freedom means and of his capabilities, will be most unrealistic.

But they are real and will have to be addressed soon. As Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman rightly put it, no miracles should be expected from Mandela.

He won't wave a magic wand and give us housing, employment and give us freedom.

I thought it was a pathetic shame, though understandable, that since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, some whites have been arming themselves in anticipation of trouble from blacks. With Mandela being free, more guns are going to be sold.

Weapons

This does not worry us, though. Whites have always armed themselves even when nothing was happening. The defence force budget in this country has been soaring at an alarming rate over the past few years.

We are being taxed to pay for weapons that kill us. Through various other methods, our people have continuously and systematically been decimated. Yet we don't move around with long faces like whites do. They have failed to reduce us to their level of unwarranted hatred.

They become nasty to us and we still smile and laugh at their jokes. At times, we even joke about apartheid.

Throughout the years, it has become very clear that our struggle is not motivated by racial animosity, but a desire to be what our creator intended us to be - free.

There are many whites who virtually live in Soweto. Sunday's rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre and yesterday's at FNB Stadium was attended by many whites. We could have slaughtered them if we were full of racial hatred.

Horns

But at the end of the day, the Government must be blamed for the fear that's troubling whites. For many years, it used the SABC and other propaganda machines to lie and disinform them about Mandela and us blacks.

If for close to three

decades whites have been made to believe that Mandela had horns and a tail, how were they to react if the same Government that condemned him released him from jail and unbanned his organisation?

It is for this reason that all those Broederbond members who run the SABC should be thrown

out. Their propaganda - to which they are still clinging even after De Klerk's speech on February 2 - is doing irreparable damage to attempts being made to normalise the situation in South Africa.

Some are now looking at the violence and looting of shops in centres where people had gathered to welcome Cde

Mandela, and want to use that as an argument for opposing his release.

But that is typical of any situation where thousands of people are brought together. Such events are not always politically motivated. They happen at soccer matches, in South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

They are moaning too, about his call for the continuation of the struggle. But why not? It is because of the struggle that he is now out of jail and that some political prisoners are free. It is because of the struggle that the NP is prepared to go to the negotiation table, that they can now marry our daughters, that we are

able to fight for better working conditions through our trade unions.

Why on earth should we now abandon the struggle when we should in fact, be intensifying it? If you oil the wheels of change and they start turning, do you turn away and forget about them?

To my fellow blacks I say those of us who have

noble intentions about the future of South Africa/Azania should realise that a long and arduous journey to freedom is only about to begin.

We should start building a new nation to make South Africa/Azania a happy land to live in for our children and theirs too.

11A

14/2/90

'Join forces against apartheid'

Argus.

14/2/90

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

MORE than a hundred thousand people jam-packed South Africa's largest sports stadium yesterday to welcome Mr Nelson Mandela in Soweto, the home he last saw almost three decades ago.

Marshals occasionally lost the battle to control the crowds as more than 120 000 people struggled to catch a glimpse of the African National Congress leader on his return to the township which, he said, had played a pioneering role in the struggle for democracy.

Mr Mandela's 26-minute address at the First National Bank Stadium was met with roars of approval from an ecstatic crowd — many of whom were not even born when he was jailed.

In a conciliatory address, Mr Mandela invited all South Africans to join forces against "the hell of apartheid" and untidily work towards a non-racial democracy.

He strongly condemned "mindless" violence, urged black students to return to school, and called for disciplined action during the "irreversible march towards freedom".

The struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts.

"The ANC will pursue the armed struggle against the government as long as the violence of apartheid continues."

As organisers battled to control the crowds, Mr Mandela warned that he would not complete his speech if people were "unable to listen".

The rally was cut short to prevent chaotic scenes such as those which marred his first public address in Cape Town on Sunday. The only other speaker was Mr Walter Sisulu, who pleaded with the crowd to give "the man who has led a struggle for nearly 50 years" a dignified welcome.

Mr Mandela announced that he would soon travel to Lusaka to consult with the ANC's external leadership.

Thereafter, he would fly to Sweden to meet ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo — "to shake hands and congratulate the man who has led this movement" and who had placed the ANC at the country's political centre stage.

He said that although the ANC was as opposed to black domination as it was to white domination, many whites feared majority rule.

"We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots and convince them that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better home for all.

"We call on those who out of ignorance have collaborated with apartheid to join our liberation struggle. No person who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our organisation," he said to applause from the crowd dressed in the green, black and gold colours of the ANC.

Mr Mandela presented three clear demands to the government:

● Security forces should act with absolute impartiality in strife-torn Natal and arrest people who continued with violence.

● The government should "respond constructively" to demands that all political prisoners be freed, and

● It should alleviate the black education crisis by expanding the infrastructure and "abandon its policy of forcing our children out of the schools".

Referring to the heated debate on the ANC's economic policy of nationalisation and wealth redistribution, Mr Mandela said black workers could not be excluded from the country's wealth.

"The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as the pre-



This big truck provided transport for a great number of people on their way to the stadium in Soweto to hear Mr Nelson Mandela speak

sent employers claim to be. Yet we are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address the inequalities caused by apartheid."

Turning to local issues, Mr Mandela paid tribute to Hector Petersen, the young schoolboy who was the first victim of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

"We gained inspiration by your courage and conviction during our lonely years on the island," he said.

His return to Soweto filled his heart with joy, yet with a deep sense of sadness.

"Sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an in-

human system. The housing shortage, the schools crisis, unemployment and the crime rate still remain.

"As proud as I am to be part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly disturbed by the statistics of crime that I have read in the newspapers. Although I understand the deprivations our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is unhealthy and must be eliminated as a matter of urgency."

Democratic organisations such as anti-crime local structures could play a vital role in this regard.

● Scores of people were hurt. 34 of them seriously,

when a security fence collapsed from crowd pressure as people poured out of the stadium.

A number of the more seriously injured were children. A dozen ambulances were summoned to take the injured to Baragwanath Hospital.

Red Cross and SA Health Workers Congress (Sahwco) assistants treated the injured before the ambulances arrived.

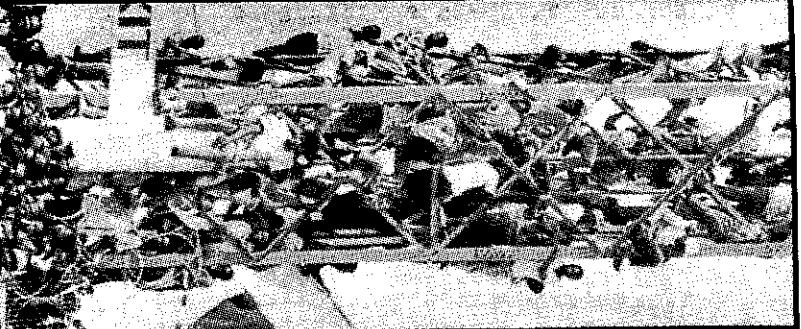
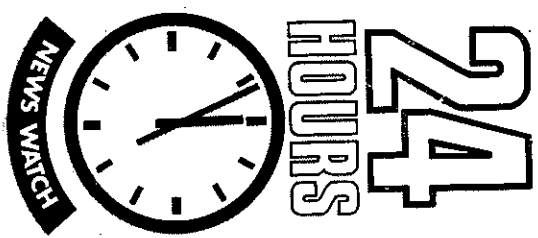
"Many people were treated for minor injuries and sent home. Most of the 34 injured sustained fractures and bruises and had to be taken to hospital," a Sahwco spokesman said.

A Johannesburg ambulance service spokesman confirmed that ambulances had been sent to the stadium.

The incident took place at Gate B when scores of people rushed out of the stadium when Mr Nelson Mandela's speech ended.

A witness, Mr Sipho Ndlovu, of Soweto, described the scene as "horrific".

"A large crowd rushed out and the gates were too small. People just pushed and shoved and one of the fences gave in. People were screaming as some got entangled in the fence and others fell and were trampled by the crowd," he said.



Spectators used every vantage point to get a view of Mr Nelson Mandela in Soweto yesterday

Mandela evokes memories of dramatic trial



MANDELA then ...

'He wants to live only in the Orlando West home'

ANC leader Nelson Mandela had expressed his desire while in prison to live nowhere but in his four-roomed Orlando West home in Soweto, according to his colleague Andrew Mlangeni.

Although he had spent his first night in Johannesburg at a home in North Riding, Mandela would definitely return to his house in Soweto, he said.

Mlangeni arrived at the home on yesterday morning for an interview with a foreign television crew.

He also said he had come to ask the hundreds of Mandela supporters waiting at the home to leave, and go to the First National Bank Stadium, where Mandela delivered a speech yesterday.

Thousands of people waving flags toyi-toyed in the streets of Soweto on their way to listen to Mandela at the stadium. *8 Dec 1970*

Mlangeni, also recently released from prison, shared the platform with Mandela.

Asked whether there was any concern about Mandela's safety, Mlangeni said: "We have no problems with Mr Mandela's personal safety. The only fear is in the mind of the government, which says Mr Mandela might be threatened by people from the right and left of the political spectrum."

Mlangeni went on to say there were no immediate plans for Mandela — or himself or other ANC leaders — to leave for Lusaka to consult with the external leadership of the ANC.

"That depends on the national executive committee of the ANC," he said. — Sapa.

WHEN a newly freed Nelson Mandela addressed tens of thousands of supporters, he chose to repeat some of his own most famous words — words he first spoke more than a quarter-century earlier when on trial for his life.

In repeating those phrases on Sunday, Mandela evoked the determination of unchanged principles. But his words also served as a striking reminder of the importance of that dramatic proceeding, which resulted in life sentences for the core of the ANC leadership.

It was a trial that changed SA history. Mandela, already jailed for two years for his covert activities, and 10 other men went on trial, charged with sabotage and conspiring to overthrow the government. They faced possible execution if convicted.

"There was a very real fear of the death penalty," said Arthur Chaskalson, one of the defence attorneys.

Several of the defendants, including Mandela, decided not to contest the sab-

otage charges. They contended that ANC's use of violence was a necessary last resort after the government rejected non-violent protest campaigns.

Despite these admissions, the state summoned a parade of witnesses.

Joel Joffe, another defence lawyer, wrote in an unpublished account of the trial that most of the witnesses were held for long periods in solitary confinement and subjected to duress.

Presiding in the Pretoria Supreme Court was Mr Justice Quartus de Wet, described by Joffe as "politically independent, but arrogant, prejudiced, temperamental".

Joffe later moved to Britain, where he became a businessman and a trustee of Oxfam, a private relief agency. Chaskalson and George Bizos, another member of the defence team, are two of SA's most prominent civil rights lawyers.

But the head of their team, Bram Fischer, was arrested in September 1964, five months after the trial ended, on charges of membership of the outlawed Communist Party. He went under-

ground while on bail, was caught in November 1965 and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Stricken with cancer, he was allowed to move to a brother's home under house arrest, and died soon afterward, in May 1975. Chaskalson said prison authorities took Fischer's ashes after he was cremated and never returned them to relatives.

The prosecutor was Percy Yutar, still a practising lawyer. Yutar refused to comment on the trial or Mandela's release. "I'm not a politician, I'm a legal man," he said.

During the trial, Yutar scoffed at the ANC's assertion that it represented the wishes of the black majority.

"The deceit of the accused is amazing... They took it on themselves to tell the world that the Africans in SA are suppressed, oppressed and depressed," Yutar said. "It is a great pity that the rank and file of the Bantu in the

country, who are peaceful, law-abiding, faithful and loyal, should have been duped by false promises."

On April 20 1964, Mandela entered the dock to explain why the ANC took up arms in pursuit of freedom. On Sunday in Cape Town, Mandela ended the first speech of his newfound freedom with the same words he had used in Pretoria.

"During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination," he said.

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve, but, my Lord, if needs be, an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

During the five-hour statement, recalled Joffe, "the silence became more and more profound, until it seemed that no one in the court dared move or breathe."

On June 12, 1964, Mandela and seven co-defendants were sentenced to life in prison. Mr Justice de Wet said sparing them from the gallows was the only leniency he could show.

"We'd done all we could," said Chaskalson. "These were the leaders of the apartheid resistance. They conducted themselves with tremendous dignity — they stated their cases so well."

The only white among those convicted, Dennis Goldberg, was freed in 1985 after he agreed to renounce violence. The others, except for Mandela, were freed unconditionally last October.

Mr Justice De Wet is dead, as are Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd and Justice Minister B.J. Vorster, who oversaw the police attempt to smash the ANC. All the convicted defendants are alive, the oldest being 80-year-old Govan Mbeki.

Could it be said that, in some ways, the defendants won the case, Chaskalson was asked. "They certainly didn't lose," he replied. "They had the moral high ground." — Sapa-AP.



... and now

Exiled leaders gather in Lusaka

It's now up to the ANC

ARGUS 14/2/90 (11A)

Out from the shadows — the ANC National Executive

HERE are the people who lead the African National Congress. The top positions are held by Mr Oliver Tambo (President), Mr Alfred Nzo (Secretary-General) and Mr Thomas Nkobi (Treasurer-General).

The others are (in alphabetical order): Mr Stephen Dlamini, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Josiah Jele, Mr Palla Jordan, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Stanley Mabizela, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Simon Mankana, Mr Henry Makgoti, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Robert Nanci, Ms Francis Meli, Mr Sindiso Mfenyana, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Timothy Mokoena, Ms Jacqueline Molefe.

Ms Ruth Mompoti, Mr Anthony Mongalo, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Mr John Nkadimeng, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Mzwandile Piliso, Mr Jackie Selebi, Mr Reginald September, Ms Gertrude Shope, Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr James Stuart, Mr Dan Tloome, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Jacob Zuma.

In addition three men — Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Rodney Mahlaba, recently released from detention — will take up the positions on the executive which they used to hold. They will become de facto members.

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The most crucial meeting of the African National Congress's policy forming national executive committee to be held for years got under way today.

Since State President F W de Klerk went out on a political limb two weeks ago with his reform programme, the ANC has been divided in its response.

This morning 27 of the 34 members of the NEC present in Lusaka sang *Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika* in the conference room of the Mulungushi Centre outside the capital before sitting down behind closed doors to consider its response.

In the glare of media coverage from dozens of foreign television crews, acting ANC president Alfred Nzo reversed an earlier decision to make an opening statement and, after a brief photo session, the Press were ushered from the meeting.

Whitehall spokesmen said the invitation had been conveyed through the British embassy in Pretoria. However, no date has been fixed.

And from Stockholm it was reported that Mr Mandela would come to Sweden to see Mr Tambo after visiting ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

● The Ministry of Home Affairs said today no application for a passport by Mr Mandela had been received. But it was possible Mr Mandela had submitted an application at a regional office and the papers had not yet arrived at headquarters.

Mr Mandela has said he would visit Lusaka soon for consultations with the ANC leadership and it is expected he will go next week.

● The first African National Congress office opened its doors in the Natal North Coast town of Stanger with former Robben Island detainee, Mr Justice Mpanza, as its head.

● Mandela in Soweto, page 13.

SMK 14/2/90 (11A)

ANC opens first office at Stanger

MODURBAN — The first African National Congress office opened its doors in the Natal North Coast town of Stanger, with former Robben Island detainee Mr Justice Mpanza as its head.

The Stanger branch, which opened for the first time on Monday, is operating from the offices of Mr Abdul Mangera in Jackson Street. Mr Mangera runs an export business from the same premises.

Mr Mangera said the opening of the office — probably the first in the country — had been widely supported by locals. People of all races were signing up to become members. — Political Correspondent.



The Man(dela) ^{ARCUS} ^{14/2/90} ^{11A} who came to dinner

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's hostess in Honeydew, near here, on Monday night was a teacher at a northern suburbs primary school.

A source at the school said Mrs Sally Cohen, 39, who was in her thirties, had taught a special class for children with learning problems since the beginning of this year. Mrs Cohen — a friend of Mr Richard Maponya, Soweto millionaire and intimate of Mr Nelson Mandela — seemed happy yesterday when she told a colleague that the African National Congress leader had spent the night at her home.

Mrs Elizabeth Mathebula, 37, who works for Mrs Cohen, said Mr Mandela made his own bed after waking up at the unusually late hour of 8.30am.

He was served breakfast by Mrs Mathebula who said the man who used to be the world's most famous prisoner was very friendly.

"I had no warning that he

was coming, but recognised him as soon as he arrived," she said.

Mrs Mathebula said Mr Mandela did not introduce himself to her, but spoke to her for a long time.

Mrs Mathebula was not sure whether Mrs Mandela had slept at the home at all, nor whether she and her husband had shared a bedroom.

● Mr Mandela returned in grand style to his "matchbox" Soweto home after 27 years of separation from his family.

He was driven in Mr Maponya's chocolate-coloured luxury car.

Followed by German-made vehicles, Mr Mandela drove up to his old Orlando West home to a large crowd that had been waiting for him since the weekend.

Helicopters

A large ANC flag and banners were draped in front of the house and there was a huge sign on the green, black and gold garage door which said: "Amandla Awethu", "We celebrate your release", "Welcome home, Dr Mandela" and "You

are a genuine people's leader" greeted him.

While he stood on the lawn to address the 800-strong crowd, five helicopters hovered overhead.

The media was kept at a distance by marshals. He finally addressed the impatient crowd and said: "Since June 1964, until October 13 1989, when my seven colleagues were released, I have never forgotten the support and inspiration you have given us during all those difficult years."

"I have not the slightest doubt that we will reach the goal of liberation in the country. I have no doubt that you will disperse peacefully from here."

After being addressed a second time, the crowd dispersed peacefully.

● Copies of *Mandela — The Road to Freedom*, the exclusive four-part special section on Nelson Mandela published last week, can be purchased at the front counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, at 60c a special section.

A sea of joy . . . part of the huge crowd which yesterday celebrated at the mass rally in honour of Mr Nelson Mandela.

● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Mandela

STAK 14/2/90
(11A)

comes home



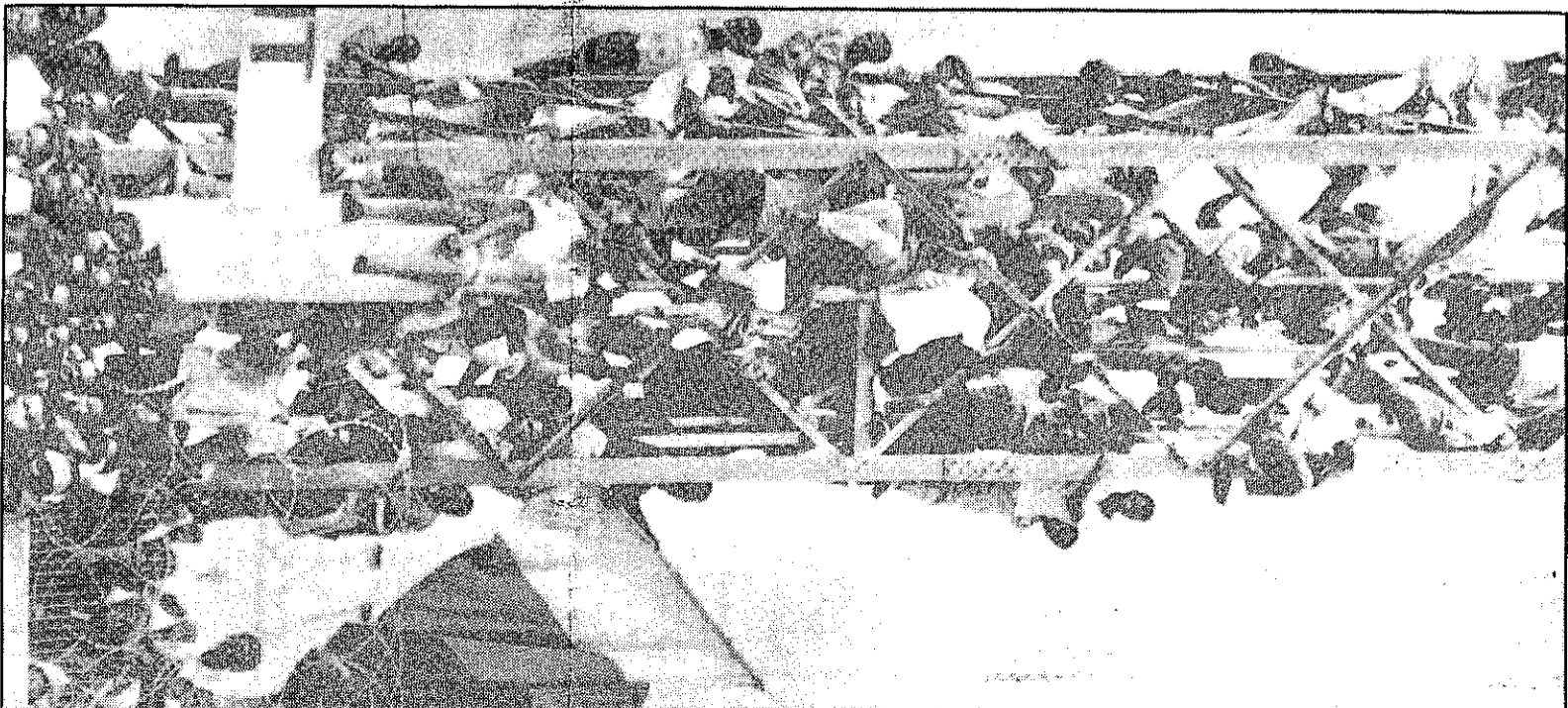
Welcome home . . . the hours of waiting give way to joy for Mandela supporters as the ANC leader arrives at yesterday's mass rally.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.



Emergency services personnel remove injured people from the parking lot. At least 34 people were seriously hurt when a security fence collapsed. They were taken to Barragwanath Hospital.

● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



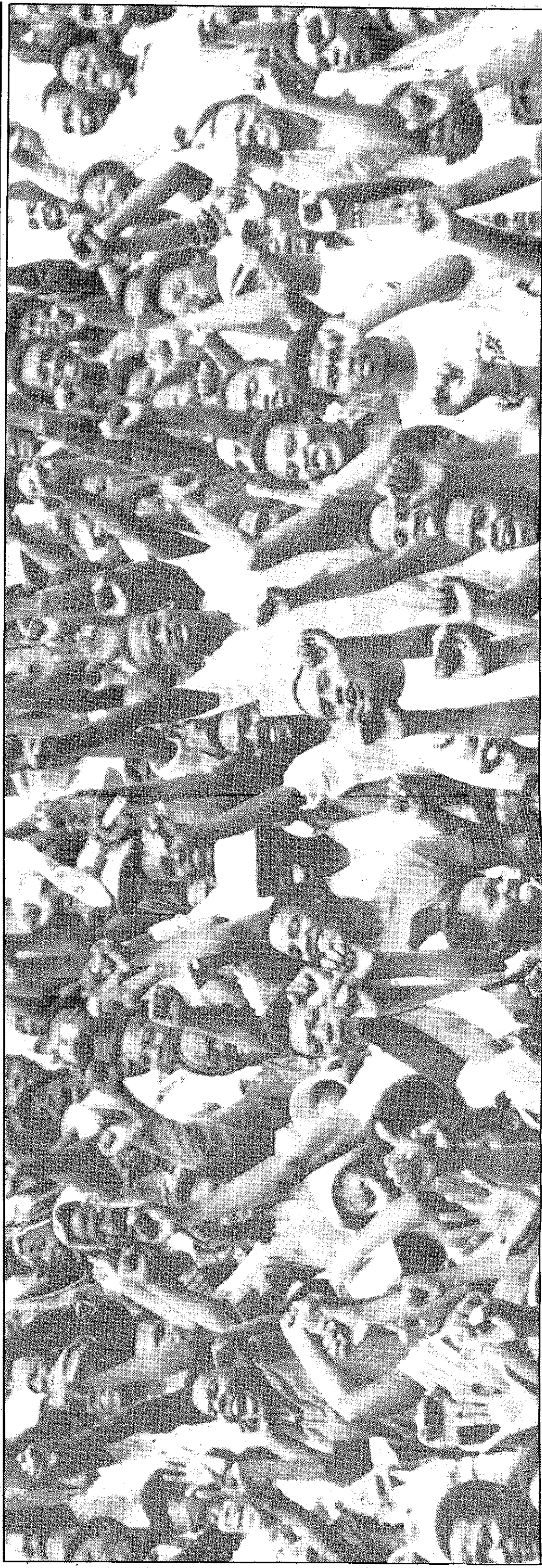
Scores of people clamber up floodlight pylons at the First National Bank stadium yesterday in the hope of getting a better view of Nelson Mandela. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Stars

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11A



STATE 14/2/90 (AIA) ()

Africans strove for unity in early 1800s

The formation of the African National Congress in 1912 was the result of black grievances that go as far back as the beginnings of British colonialism in the early 1800s.

United in the will to survive and defeat the forces of colonialism, blacks began to move away from tribalism towards an African nationalism, which was to cut across ethnic identity and emerge as a powerful force against the governments which followed.

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the late 1800s was a significant event which led to a new social force that consolidated this nationalism — the working class.

It was in the mining environments of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand that African nationalism grew most rapidly.

The mining, and industrial sites later, drew in migrant peasants.

This coming together of people from different ethnic backgrounds into a single black brotherhood was a new phenomenon that enabled workers to see themselves as "Africans" rather than members of particular tribes.

It was in these working class environments that Africans found their first weapon of resistance — the strike.

Writes L Forman in 'Chapters in the History of the

Mr Nelson Mandela's name has become synonymous with the ANC. Yet little attention is paid to the early grievances that led to black nationalism.

HELEN GRANGE reports.

March to Freedom': "It is remarkable how soon these men were using the universal weapon of the working class.

"In December 1882, before there is any record of a strike by white workers, one hundred Africans at a Kimberley mine stopped work for two days and brought the mine to a halt after wages were reduced . . . by 1884 there were at Kimberley no fewer than four different Non-European Benefit Societies, predecessors of a trade union movement."

It was about this time that

the first signs of an armed struggle emerged.

It was noted that not all workers came to Kimberley to work because of starvation.

Some came from far in the interior with the sole purpose of securing guns to resist colonial forces — in defence of land, cattle and independence.

They would stay no longer than was necessary to get guns.

Among grievances that fired African nationalism were tax and pass laws which brought labour to the mines . . . and controlled it once there.

The pass laws were introduced under direct pressure from the Chamber of Mines in 1896. They stipulated, among other things, that African miners must wear a metal plate or "badge" on the arm.

These were used to control their movements, and where they could live and work. Later, documents were introduced.

The Glen Grey Act was another instrument in this process of enslavement.

It introduced a tax which, in the words of Mr Cecil Rhodes, "removed Natives from the life of sloth and laziness, teaching them the dignity of labour, and

made them contribute to the prosperity of the state . . ."

As the mining industry grew, safety and conditions for black miners worsened — but with proletarianisation came another process: the articulation of the aspirations of Africans by non-working-class forces.

It was during the Anglo-Boer War and after the Peace of Vereeniging that concrete steps were taken by Africans to form a movement which would devise a method of presenting grievances and complaints to the government.

The new political awareness was reflected in the speeches and writings of black intellectuals studying abroad.

Lusaka to draw plans for exiles' return

LUSAKA — Top-level ANC discussions to formulate plans for the movement's members to return to SA begin in the Zambian capital today.

The national executive committee is also expected to make preparations for Nelson Mandela's imminent arrival in Lusaka.

"How the ANC will stage its return is the challenge the SA regime has thrown at it," one diplomatic source said.

President F W de Klerk had not yet granted a blanket amnesty to political exiles, so the 3 000 or more living in Lusaka could face stiff prison sentences for trea-

Own Correspondent

son or sabotage if they returned home now, the source added. *Bidant*

14/2/90
"But some exiles must return very soon to legitimise the movement in the eyes of the international community," said a Western diplomat. *(350) (11A)*

The source said indications from executive committee members were that they were unlikely to agree to negotiations with the SA government until the ANC was in a position of strength. — Daily Telegraph.

ANC linked to move to shorten rebel cricket tour

The Star Wednesday February 14 1990

By Michael Shafto

The African National Congress has been positively identified as the mysterious "third party" in the shock curtailment of the Mike Gatting English cricket tour.

The move, revealed the same well-informed source, was directly linked to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The South African Cricket Union stunned sports lovers and the public yesterday with an announcement that the tour had been shortened by four matches. There will be no demonstrations at the remaining matches.

Axed from the itinerary were the second test due to start at Newlands on Friday and three one-day matches.

CANCELLED

The one-day matches that were cancelled were due to be held at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town against the Springboks and in Johannesburg against Transvaal.

Earlier editions of The Star today suggested that, although the decision itself was taken by SACU, it might have been Government-influenced.

This in fact was not so, and was specifically denied by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at a press conference yesterday. He said: "The SA Government has not and is not exerting any pressure on SACU regarding decisions about the tour. We are serious about our commitment to depoliticise sport."

A high-ranking ANC official contacted both parties in the dispute over the tour last Saturday morning, the third day of the first test at the Wanderers, and, expecting Mr Mandela's early release, urged SACU and the National Sports Council "not to rock the boat" at this delicate time, said the source.

ANNOUNCED

That afternoon State President Mr F W de Klerk announced Mr Mandela would be released from the Victor Verster Prison the following day.

Addressing a press conference at the Wanderers yesterday, SACU managing director Dr Ali Bacher revealed that a "third party" had influenced the decision.

"An undisclosed third party — whose name I am not going to reveal — approached us on Saturday to find some compromise solution to ensure other problems in the country would not be affected."

Dr Bacher made it clear that the third party was anxious that the tour should not exacerbate the atmosphere of tension and excitement which would surround the release of Mr Mandela.

Dr Bacher reiterated that at no time had the Government directly intervened or told SACU what to do: "It was our show to do with as we thought best."

Dr Bacher revealed he had sought the counsel of a senior Cabinet Minister (now generally known to have been Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen) last November as to the advisability, from the Government's point of view, of calling off the tour. "I received an unequivocal no."

He was told important events pertaining to new developments in the country would be taking place at the time of the tour, but that the SACU was to go ahead and do as it thought fit.

"Now we have had to take the wider implications into account," Dr Bacher said. "It was a time for compromise, a time for reconciliation."

"For the NSC publicly to agree to call upon its supporters not to demonstrate at the remaining matches was a major concession."

WILLINGNESS

"We both made concessions."

He believed that, with both sides showing a willingness to compromise, there were hopeful signs that SACU and the NSC would sit down and talk to normalise the sport.

The English captain, Mike Gatting, said that from his point of view this spirit of compromise "hopefully will take both parties a long way down the road towards complete understanding".

The SACU chief emphasised a number of times that "it goes beyond cricket".

The safety of the players also came into it. "I would never have been able to forgive myself if something had happened to any of them."

Dr Bacher was confident, in the present situation in which the SACU found itself, that financial support would be forthcoming from commercial institutions.

He stressed once more that the Government had in no way been involved with funding the tour.

Decision to cut tour criticised

From Page 1

Spectators intending to watch the test who have already bought tickets will be refunded by Compicket, but they will have to send self-addressed envelopes to the booking company.

Criticism of the decision to curtail the itinerary has come from a police spokesman in Pretoria. The decision was described as "totally unnecessary". The SAP was of the opinion that the situation was "uncontrollable".

In Cape Town a rumpus has erupted within the non-racial sports movement over reports that the NSC chief, Mr Krish Naidoo, "struck a deal" with the SACU over the curtailed tour.

Mr Abe Adams, president of the Sacos-affiliated Western Province Cricket Board and spokesman for the Anti-Tour Forum, said Mr Naidoo had acted without a mandate and "embarrassed the whole movement towards a non-racial democracy".

HAILED AS VICTORY

Chris Whitfield, of The Star Bureau in London, reports that anti-apartheid campaigners have hailed the decision to cut short the tour as a victory.

But the news was greeted with some dismay in other quarters, where it was charged that "political bully-boys" had ruined a chance for bridge-building.

Sanroc's Mr Sam Ramsamy said: "This is a vindication of all the protests organised in South Africa. We salute our fellow-South Africans who braved all kinds of provocation to display their disapproval of the tour."

Peter Hain described the decision as a "magnificent tribute to the thousands of black South Africans who demonstrated against the tour".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's Mr Mike Terry hit out at Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

ATTACKED PROTESTERS

"Her refusal to intervene, her silence when the police brutally attacked peaceful protesters and her claim that the tour did not violate the Gleneagles Agreement, all served to encourage Gatting to proceed with the disastrous tour."

Conservative Party MP Mr John Carlisle said: "It is a tragedy for cricket and for sport that political influence has cut short what was a very useful tour."

"The political bully-boys have taken over," Mr Carlisle added.

A party colleague Mr Terry Dicks said: "I think it is a great shame."

The recently formed Freedom in Sport pro-cricket tour organisation has decided to withdraw its support for the tour.

Its founder, Mr Peter Celliers, said the step was taken because the SACU had given no assurance it would not "bow to further threats".

Review of banned publications

SCAP

Pretoria Correspondent

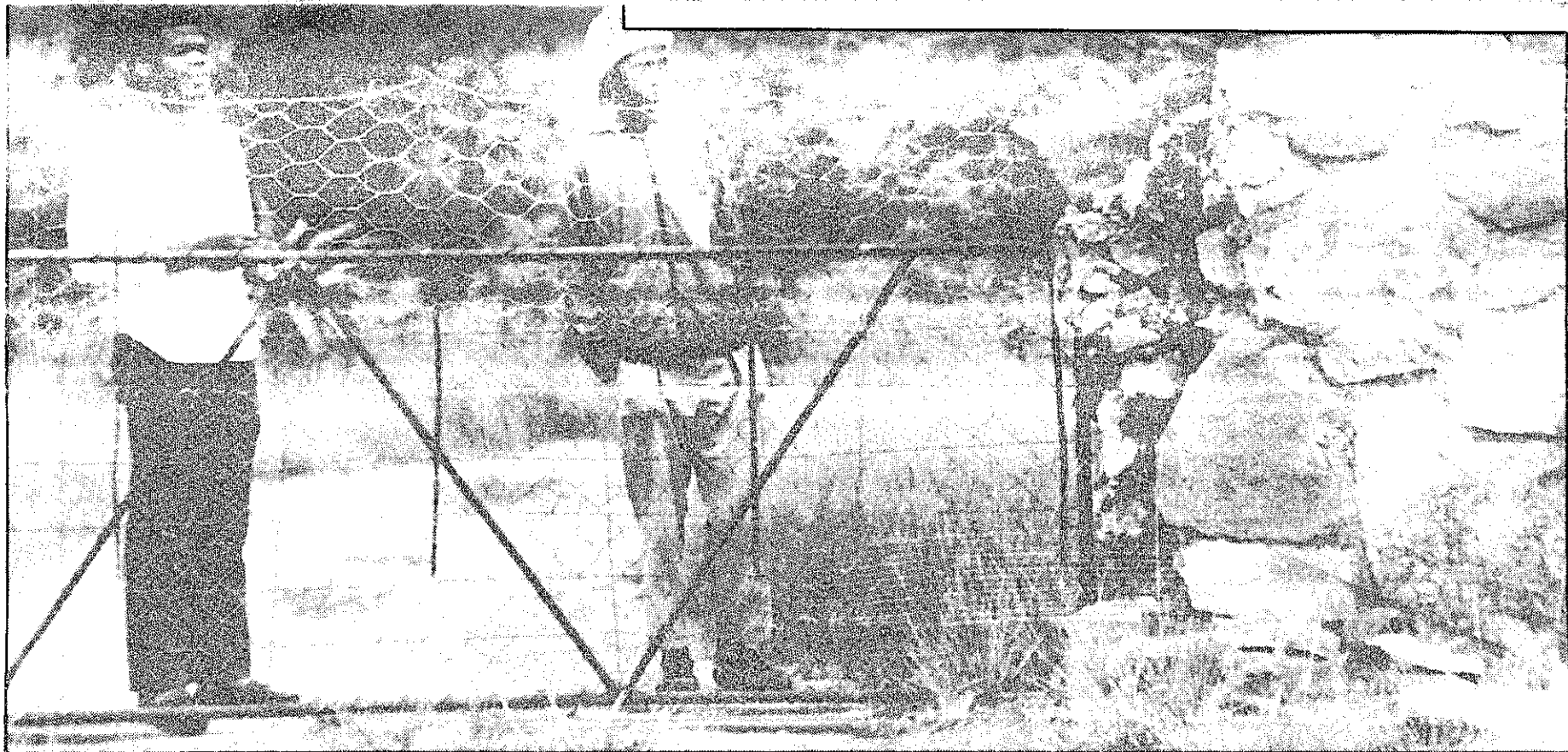
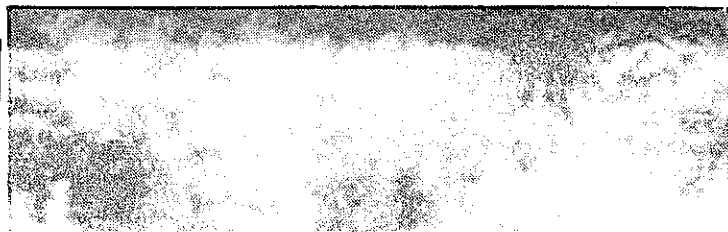
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The Publication Directorate is to review its policy on the banning of publications of the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party and subsidiary organisations.

The police will review the restriction placed on "Cry Freedom", the film on the life of Steve Biko and his death in detention, following the relaxation of the media regulations.

Dr A Coetzee, director of the Publications Directorate, said publications would be reviewed "immediately".

"I foresee the lifting of the Section 9.1 banning on these publications, which would bring it into line with the same regulations used on normal newspapers and magazines," he said.



Two guards stand behind the gate to 253 Honeydew Road, the North Riding house (inset) where Mr Nelson Mandela spent the night after flying to Johannesburg on Monday. © Pictures by David Sandison.

apartheid continues.

Our armed combatants act under the political leadership of the ANC. Cadres of our People's Army are skilled, not only in military affairs, but act as the political commissars of our movement.

We are therefore disturbed that there are certain elements among those who claim to support the liberation struggle who use violence against our people.

The hijacking and setting alight of vehicles, and the harassment of innocent people are criminal acts that have no place in our struggle. We condemn that.

Our major weapon of struggle against apartheid oppression and exploitation is our people, organised into mass formations of the democratic movement.

This is achieved by politically organising our people; not through the use of violence against our people.

I call, in the strongest possible way, for us to act with the dignity and discipline that our just struggle for freedom deserves.

Our victories must be celebrated in peace and joy. In particular, I call on our people in Natal to unite against the perpetrators of violence.

I call on the leadership of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha to take decisive steps to revive the peace initiative and end the scourge on our proud history. Let us act with political foresight and develop bold steps to end this mindless violence.

Joint initiatives at local, regional and national levels be-

tween the parties concerned must call for restraint.

The security forces must be compelled to act with absolute impartiality and to arrest those offenders who continue with violence.

We are disturbed that attempts are being made to disrupt the unity of the oppressed by stirring tensions between African and Indian communities of Natal. Let us build on the proud tradition of unity in action, as embodied in the Dadoo/Xuma/Naicker Pact, which was fully endorsed by our great hero, Chief Luthuli.

Peaceful marches

I am also concerned by the ongoing violence perpetrated by certain sections of the security forces against our peaceful marches and demonstrations. We condemn this.

I understand that implementing apartheid laws has made it extremely difficult for many honest policemen to fulfil their role as servants of the public. You are seen in the eyes of many of our people as an instrument of repression and injustice.

We call on the police to abandon apartheid and to serve the interests of the people. Join our march to a new South Africa, where you also have a place.

We note with appreciation that there are certain areas where policemen are acting with restraint and fulfilling the real role of protecting all our people, irrespective of their race.

Much debate has been sparked off by the ANC policies on the economy relating to na-

tionalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of oppressed black people are condemned to poverty.

South Africa is a wealthy country. It is the labour of black workers that has built the cities, roads and factories we see. They cannot be excluded from sharing this wealth.

The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as the present employers claim to be. Yet we are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address the inequalities caused by apartheid.

Our people need proper housing, not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage, and the right to join unions of their own choice, and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives.

Our history has shown that apartheid has stifled growth, created mass unemployment and led to spiralling inflation that has undermined the standards of living of the majority of our people, both black and white.

Only a participatory democracy involving our people in the structures of decision-making at all levels of society can ensure that this is corrected. We will certainly introduce policies that address the economic problems that we face.

We call on employers to recognise the fundamental rights of workers in our country. We are marching to a new future

based on strong foundations of respect for each other, achieved through bona fide negotiations.

In particular, we call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act and mechanisms to resolve conflict. Employers can play their role in shaping the new South Africa by acknowledging these rights.

We call on workers, black and white, to join industrial trade unions organised under the banner of our non-racial progressive federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which has played an indispensable role in our struggle against apartheid.

A number of obstacles to the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa remain and need to be tackled. The fears of whites about their rights and place in a South Africa they do not control exclusively are an obstacle we must understand and address.

I stated in 1964 that I and the ANC are as opposed to black domination, as we are to white domination. We must accept, however, that our statements and declarations alone will not be sufficient to allay the fears of white South Africans.

We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots and convince them by our conduct and arguments that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better home for all.

A new South Africa has to eliminate the racial hatred and suspicion caused by apartheid and offer guarantees to all its citizens of peace, security and prosperity.

We call on those, who out of ignorance, have collaborated with apartheid in the past, to join our liberation struggle. No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-racial united and democratic South Africa based on one person one vote on a common voters roll.

Our primary task remains to unite our people across the length and breadth of our country. Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in all our sectors. Democratic political practice and accountable leadership must be strengthened on all fronts.

Our struggle against apartheid, though seemingly uncertain, must be intensified on all fronts. Let each one of you, and all of our people, give the enemies of peace and liberty no space to take us back to the dark hell of apartheid. It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek.

Go back to your schools, factories, mines and communities. Build on the massive energies that recent events in our country have unleashed by strengthening disciplined mass organisations.

We are going forward. The march towards freedom and justice is irreversible. I have spoken about freedom in my lifetime. Your struggles, your commitment and your discipline have released me to stand here before you today.

These basic principles will propel us to a free non-racial democratic united South Africa that we have struggled and died for.

'Heroic struggle' in search of freedom

STAR 14/2/90 (11A)

Comrades, friends and the people of Soweto at large, I greet you in the name of the heroic struggle of our people to establish justice and freedom for all in our country.

I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for his leadership of the ANC that has put our organisation and the hopes of the people it represents on the political centre-stage in South Africa.

I salute our rank-and-file members, and combatants of the ANC, who have sacrificed all for the love of their country and their people.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its consistent and determined contribution to the struggle for a democratic government in South Africa. Our alliance is built on the unshakeable foundation of our united struggle for a nonracial democracy.

I salute the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Education Crisis Committee, and many other formations of the MDM.

The work of the UDF has ensured that none of the reformist strategies of the Government have succeeded.

Organised strength

I salute the working class of our country. Our movement would not be where it is without your organised strength. You are an indispensable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression in South Africa.

We salute the victory of Swapo, with whom we shared trenches of battle against colonialism and apartheid.

You have established your right to self-determination, and your victory is our victory.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities and religious leaders who carried the struggle for justice forward and held our banner high during the most brutal periods of repression against our people.

I salute the courage and the heroism of the youth of South Africa, organised under the South African Youth Congress.

At this point I wish to pay tribute to Comrade Hector Peterson, who together with hundreds of young activists were mowed down by apartheid bullets in 1976. We gained inspiration by your courage and conviction during our lonely years on the island.

Today, my return to Soweto fills my heart with joy. At the same time, I also return with a deep sense of sadness. Sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system: the housing shortage, the schools crisis, unemployment and the crime rate still remain.

I am even more proud to be a member of this community because of the pioneering role it has played in the struggle for the democratisation of local government.

You have built democratic structures of local government in Soweto, such as street committees and civic organisations, that give practical import to our desire to let the people govern.

I fully support the call made by our people for democratic systems of local government that will have a single tax base. In this regard, I believe that the campaigns for open cities must receive our active support.

As proud as I am to be part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly disturbed by the statistics of crime that I have read in the newspapers. Although I understand the deprivations our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is unhealthy and must be eliminated as a matter of urgency.

It is through the creation of democratic and accountable structures that we can achieve this. I salute the anti-crime campaigns conducted by our organisations.

The crisis in education that exists in South Africa demands special attention. The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis.

This is the text of the speech by Mr Nelson Mandela at his rally at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

our people have no vote, and therefore cannot make the government of the day responsive to their needs.

Apartheid education is inferior and a crime against humanity.

Education is an area that needs the attention of all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers, and other organised sectors of our community.

Let us build disciplined structures, SRCs, a... teachers' organisation, parent structures and parent-teacher-student associations, and the National Education Crisis Committee.

It has been the policy of the ANC that though the school and the entire education system is a site of struggle, the actual process of learning must take place in the schools.

Achieve goals

I want to add my voice, therefore, to the call made at the beginning of the year that all students must return to school and learn. We must continue our struggle for people's education within the school system, and utilise its resources to achieve our goals.

I call on the Government to build more schools, to train and employ more teachers, and to abandon its policy of forcing our children out of the schools system by use of various measures such as the age restrictions and refusal to admit those who fail their classes.

We have consistently called for a unitary non-racial education system that develops the potential of all our youth.

As I said when I stood on the dock in the Rivonia Trial 27 years ago, and said on the day of my release in Cape Town, the ANC will pursue the armed struggle against the Govern-



Standing room only . . . a part of the huge crowd at yesterday's "Welcome home" rally for Nelson Mandela. More than 100 000 people packed into the First National Bank Stadium to hear him speak.

● Picture by Sean Woods.

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Back to 'matchbox' after 27 years in jail

By Stan Hlophe

Freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela returned in grand style to his "matchbox" Soweto house last night after 27 years of separation from his family.

He was chauffeur-driven in a chocolate-coloured BMW owned by businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who had visited him at Victor Verster Prison.

An 800-strong crowd waited for him at his old Orlando West home.

A large ANC flag and banners were draped in front of the house and there was a huge sign on the green, black and gold garage door: "Amandla Awethu", "We celebrate your release", "Welcome home Dr Mandela" and "You are a genuine people's leader".

Five helicopters circled overhead as Mr Mandela stood on the lawn and addressed the crowd.

The foreign television crew which had camped opposite Mr Mandela's home for the past two weeks joined the crowd perched on top of neighbouring roofs and trees. Vilakazi Street, which teemed with young and old wearing

ANC colours, was cordoned off. Marshals kept journalists at a distance.

Flanked by colleagues and members of his family, Mr Mandela urged the youth to return to school today to show responsibility as future leaders.

He said education was the weapon used world-wide and urged the pupils to study hard in spite of the difficulties they encountered.

"I know the quality of education is inferior and teachers who want to improve their qualifications like their white counterparts have no facilities to do so.

"I want to make it clear to you that you should go back to school as the best way of welcoming me."

The organisers appealed to the crowd to disperse in an orderly fashion and avoid Monday's chaos in which several children went missing. They also urged youths to refrain from hijacking vehicles.

It was not until Mr Mandela had addressed the people for the second time that the crowd finally dispersed.

NECC march: 'Talks over'

Political Staff

THE police had stopped negotiating with the organisers of the National Education Crisis Committee protest march on January 23 in Cape Town when a 10-minute warning to disperse was given, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

The District Commissioner of Cape Town initially negotiated with the organisers for about 45 minutes, he said in reply to a question which had been tabled in Parliament by Mr Jan Van Eck (DP, Claremont).

The negotiations had ended and an order was given to disperse. Mr Van Eck then asked whether the Commissioner had not said to the march organisers "give me a minute" rather than end the negotiations, but Mr Vlok repeated that the negotiations were over and the officer had been instructed to issue the warning.

Mr Van Eck then interjected: "That is an untruth."

Parade unrest 'not planned'

THE disruptions at Sunday's welcome-home rally for Mr Nelson Mandela on the Parade appeared to flow from difficulties in crowd control rather than planned violence, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

However, the bomb planted at the Newlands cricket ground afterwards raised "a real problem" regarding the ANC attitude towards violence, Dr Viljoen told a press conference yesterday.

ANC policy needs revision — Viljoen

Enough common ground for peace

CAP Treats 14/2/90 (11A) (3/2/90)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SUFFICIENT common ground existed between the ANC and the government for the two parties to reach a peaceful settlement, the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

However, the ANC's "naivete and irresponsibility" of advocating for a new South Africa economic and political ideologies that had proved "utter failures" elsewhere in the world had to be clearly exposed, he said.

Speaking at a press conference, Dr Viljoen welcomed what he called "positive points" and "important issues of agreement" in Mr Nelson Mandela's remarks — but emphasized that the government found his views on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle "unacceptable."

Dr Viljoen said that Mr Mandela's speech on the day of his release and his subsequent statements were clearly made "within the confines and discipline of existing ANC policy".

Much of this policy dated from "a few decades ago" and stood in need of "urgent revision" in the light of recent developments in the country and the government was still awaiting "a considered reaction" from the ANC



OFFICIAL REACTION... Chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen gave an official response yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela's recent statements.

executive on Mr F W de Klerk's announcements.

Dr Viljoen said he welcomed four "important positive points" made by Mr Mandela:

- The affirmation that Mr De Klerk was "a man of integrity". The clear way Mr Mandela expressed an assessment of the State President "as a likely future partner in the negotiating

process is very encouraging".

- The ANC leader's hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created so that there would no longer be the need for the "so-called armed struggle".

- The rejection of white domination as well as black domination. Mr Mandela's favouring structural guar-

antees to prevent this was "most encouraging".

- The statement that the ANC was concerned to address the problem of white concerns with regard to a one person, one vote system and finding a solution that would suit both blacks and whites.

Dr Viljoen said the government was in agreement with Mr Mandela on two important issues:

- That the remains of apartheid must be removed.

- Universal suffrage in a united, democratic South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said he did not believe there would be another general election in which blacks would be excluded.

It was unlikely that the National Party would be in control of government in the new constitutional dispensation but he believed that the NP would still be playing a meaningful role.

Dr Viljoen said the government "specifically finds unacceptable" Mr Mandela's view on sanctions, nationalisation and the armed struggle.

Mr De Klerk had taken a number of major steps towards creating a climate for negotiations which called for a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of the whole situation by all potential participants in negotiations.

"It has become incumbent on all of them to reconsider and adjust their own position."

Hero's welcome from jubilant crowd

Staff Reporters: (A.A.)
Mr Nelson Mandela made a triumphant return to Soweto yesterday when about 130 000 people gave him a hero's welcome at the First National Bank stadium.

The crowd surged into a jam-packed stadium determined to hear the freed ANC leader speak in his home town for the first time in 27 years.

Minutes before Mr Mandela walked on to the podium, the exuberant crowd became frenzied as thousands outside the stadium bulldozed marshals, scaled gates, smashed a wooden door and climbed on to roofs, demanding they be allowed into VIP boxes.

The stadium was not big enough for the thousands wanting to catch a glimpse of Mr Mandela and there were moments of near chaos when people were injured at the stadium entrance.

In an effort to get into the already crammed media rooms, crowds banged at the doors. Journalists barricaded themselves in to avoid being crushed. A baby had to be lifted over the heads of the heaving mass to safety.

Every one of the 80 000 seats was taken and crowds filled the aisles, stood on walls and climbed up the 10-storey-high scaffolding supporting spotlights.

UNISON

In spite of repeated calls for the audience to remain calm and disperse in an orderly fashion, scores of people were injured in a stampede at one exit.

As Mr Mandela stood to speak, a roar went up and the crowd rose in unison, raising clenched fists.

Mr Daniel Magubane (25), one of 130 diamond miners who came by bus from Kimberley, said: "This

is a great day for South Africans. I would have walked across Africa to see this man."

People started making their way towards the FNB stadium hours before Mr Mandela was due to speak. Wave upon wave of dancing groups took over the Soweto highway. Human traffic stretching several kilometres virtually closed the road.

An hour before Mr Mandela was due to arrive the stadium was packed.

As Mr Walter Sisulu appealed for the crowd to listen to what Mr Mandela had to say, a huge balloon, which read "Welcome Mandela", hovered above.

When Mr Mandela stood up to speak, the pushing outside the stadium intensified, while silence fell over the crowd inside. The moment they had been waiting for for years had finally arrived.

Scores hurt as fence collapses in stampede

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia
and Montshiwa Moroke

Scores of people were hurt, 34 of them seriously, when a security fence collapsed from crowd pressure as thousands of people poured out of the Soccer City stadium in Soweto yesterday.

A number of the more seriously injured were children. A dozen ambulances were summoned to take the injured to Baragwanath Hospital, while Red Cross and SA Health Workers Congress (Sahwco) assistants treated the injured.

"Many people were treated for minor injuries and sent home. Most of the 34 injured sustained fractures and bruises and had to be taken to hospital," a Sahwco spokesman said.

The incident, at Gate B, occurred when scores of people rushed out of the stadium after Mr Nelson Mandela's speech. An eyewitness, Mr Siphon Ndlovu, of Soweto, described the scene as "horrific".

"A large crowd rushed out and the gates were too small. People just pushed and shoved and one of the fences gave in. People were screaming as some got entangled in the fence and others fell and were trampled by the crowd," he said.

The area resembled a battleground as the injured lay sprawled all over the place, writhing in pain.

A child screamed in agony as ambulance attendants tried to lift him into the vehicle.

A Red Cross worker said 20 people were treated for minor injuries in a separate incident during the rally, one youth was treated for body injuries after he fell out of a moving taxi on his way to the stadium and a person was treated for cuts after he had scaled a high security fence.

A National Reception Committee (NRC) spokesman said: "The NRC is concerned about the number of people injured in the stampede and other incidents. It's unfortunate that this had to occur during such an occasion. We sympathise with all those injured and their families."

He said steps would be taken to ensure that there were proper facilities to cater for such large crowds in future.

"There will be other Mandela rallies and the NRC hopes to have learnt from this tragic experience to avoid such accidents," he added.

● Those injured and taken to hospital were:

Ms Sisi Zwane, Diepkloof; Mr Simon Zwane, Mofolo; Ms Cynthia White; Mr Moses Lamola, Mofolo; Ms Portia Mlangeni, Emdeni; Ms Claudia Mashini, Katlehong; Mr David Mahlahloba, Evaton; Mr Patrick Dlamini, Meadowlands; Mr Bernard Monakoa, White City Jabavu; Ms Ida Mdimande, Evaton; Mr Steven Ramahloko, Diepkloof; Ms Salome Sekhaolele, Jabulani; Ms Lucy Masekwameng, Diepkloof; Mr Bennett Mnokwe, White City Jabavu; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Joseph Serero, Orlando East; Mr Mjedi Kau, Vergenoeg (Brakpan); Mr Johannes Oganne, Stillfontein; Ms Ellen Shabangu, Dube; Ms Seipati Motaung, Naledi; Ms Cynthia Genge, Zola 2; Ms Busisiwe Dlamini, Meadowlands; Ms Elisa Morake, Meadowlands; Ms Agnes Tsekelo, Molapo; Ms Nonhlanhla Nkosi, Merdoun; Mr Ephraim Mabuya, Mofolo; Ms Maria Mlangeni, Dlamini; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Hannes Mashilo, Potgietersrus; and four men, known only as Goodwin, Mardi and Dumisana — all from Meadowlands and Peter from Chiawelo, and a woman known as Mama of Medunsa.

11A

Quiet end to enormous Soccer City gathering

ADELE BALET, Sapa
and NEM MATH

MORE than 100 000 people dispersed quickly and peacefully at the end of Nelson Mandela's welcome home rally at Soccer City in Soweto yesterday.

There was no violence as the jubilant crowd streamed towards buses, taxis and cars.

Several vehicles with occupants hanging out of windows and standing on the roofs waited for more than 45 minutes in long traffic queues. Earlier, UDF general secretary Popo Molefe asked people with trucks and vans to go into Soweto to bring "thousands" of people to the stadium.

Before Mandela arrived a UDF official informed the crowd the National Reception Committee (NRC) was concerned that people were hijacking buses in Soweto in an attempt to get to the stadium. He asked anyone who had information about these incidents to inform the marshalls.

The Star reporter Montshiwa Moroke and a driver were stopped in Diepkloof Extension by six men. They were told to drive to Orlando where one of the men produced a firearm and ordered them to get out. The Star team was left at the side of the road.

The crowd — which sang and danced for several hours before Mandela arrived — roared with joy as Mandela, dressed in a grey suit, and his wife Winnie and entourage entered the stadium.

Shortly after Mandela walked onto the podium, two of the Rivonia trial defence team advocates, Arthur Chaskalson SC and George Bizos SC, were called onto the stage where Mandela embraced them. Other Rivonia trialists were also greeted.

Prior to Mandela's arrival marshalls closed the gates to prevent people outside as the stadium was at capacity.

SA Health Minister M. D. M. M. M. said they had no complaints of exhaustion or illness among the people.

During Mandela's arrival buses and taxis continued to arrive at the stadium in spite of radio warnings to get back as Soccer City was at capacity.

Eventually about 20 people were killed about outside the stadium.

After Mandela had arrived his wife were taken to the airport by helicopter and returned to Mandela's Orlando home. The flight was a tumultuous one with reports of cheering, which were reported by Sapa.

Mandela told the crowd and fellow former prisoners that they had given the support and inspiration to the people, which had resulted in his freedom from prison.

"The support showed the oppressed people of this country have reached the goal of liberation."

Mandela praised the government which he said was even openly recognizing the government after the rally in Soccer City last year to release the released prisoners.

"I request you to disperse in peace and I have confidence in you," Mandela concluded. — Sapa.



Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie, top, relax at their Orlando West home last night after the rally held in his honour at Soccer City, where ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu flanked Mandela on the podium.

Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA and BRIAN HENDLER



ANC sees our differences, but stresses unity

APP Truf
14/2/90
111

THE ANC has developed a style of its own, a way of doing things and of expressing itself, a specific ANC personality.

And what a rich mix it is... African tradition, church tradition, Gandhian tradition, revolutionary socialist tradition, liberal tradition, all the languages and ways and styles of all the many communities in our country; we have black consciousness, and elements of red consciousness, even green consciousness.

Now with the dispersal of our members throughout the world, we also bring in aspects of the cultures of all humanity. Our comrades speak Swahili and Arabic and Spanish and Portuguese and Russian and Swedish and French and German and Chinese, not because of Bantu Education, but through ANC education. We are even learning Japanese. The ANC culture is not a picturesque collection of separate ethnic and political cultures lined up side by side, or mixed in certain proportions. It has a real

South Africans of diverse origin are comfortable in the ranks of the ANC, according to former Cape Town advocate ALBIE SACHS, now a London-based member of the legal and constitutional department of the organisation. He makes the point in this, the second of three extracts from an in-house ANC paper called "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom". The final extract will be published tomorrow.



lines, see what implications they have for culture, and then say whether we agree and make whatever suggestions we have for their improvement. In part, we can say that the method is the message; the open debate the NEC wants on the guidelines corresponds to the open society the guidelines speak about.

Apartheid has closed our society, stifled its voice, prevented the people from speaking, and it is the historic mission of our organisation to be the harbingers of freedom of conscience, debate and opinion.

There are three aspects of the guidelines that bear directly on culture.

The first is the emphasis put on building national unity and encouraging the development of a common patriotism, while fully recognising the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country. Once the question of basic political rights is resolved in a democratic way, the cultural and linguistic rights of our diverse communities can be attended to. In other words, language, religion and so-called ways of life cease to be confused with race and sever their bondage to apartheid, becoming part of the positive cultural values of the society.

We are strongly for national unity, for seeing our country as a whole, not just in its geographic extension but in its human extension. We want full equal rights for every South African, without reference to race, language, ethnic origin or creed. We believe in a single South Africa with a single set of governmental institutions, and we work towards a common loyalty and patriotism. Yet this is not to call for a homogenised South Africa made up of identikit citizens: South Africa is now said to be a bilingual country; we envisage it as a multilingual country. The objective is not to create a model culture into which everyone has to assimilate, but to acknowledge and take pride in the cultural variety of our people.

Humanity

In the past, attempts were made to force

character and dynamic of its own.

When we sing our anthem, a religious invocation, with our clenched fists upraised, it is not a question of fifty-fifty, but an expression of an evolving and integrative interaction, an affirmation that we sing when we struggle and we struggle when we sing.

Comfortable

This must be one of the greatest cultural achievements of the ANC, that it has made South Africans of the most diverse origins feel comfortable in its ranks. To say this is not to deny that cultural tensions and dilemmas automatically cease once one joins the organisation: on the contrary, we bring in with us all our complexes and ways of seeing the world, our jealousies and preconceptions.

Culture

What matters, however, is that we have created a context of struggle, of goals and comradeship within which these tensions can be dealt with. One can recall debates over such diverse questions as to whether non-Africans should be allowed on to the National Executive Committee, whether corporal punishment should be applied at SOMAPCO, or whether married women should do high kicks on the stage. Indeed, the whole issue of women's liberation is finally forcing itself on to the agenda of action and thought, a profound question of cultural transformation.

is central to our identity as a movement: if culture were merely an instrument to be hauled on to the stage on ceremonial or fund-raising occasions, or to liven up a meeting, we would ourselves be empty of personality in the interval. Happily, this is not the case — culture is us, and we are people, not things waiting to be put into motion from time to time.

This brings me to another challenging proposition, namely, that the ANC's constitutional guidelines should not be applied to the sphere of culture.

It should be the other way round. Culture must make its input to the guidelines. The whole point of the massive consultations taking place around the guidelines is that the people at large should engage in constructive and concrete debate about the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Mission

The guidelines are more than a work-in-progress document; they set out well deliberated views of the NEC as enriched by an in-house seminar, but they are not presented as a final, cut-and-dried product, certainly not as a blueprint to be learnt off by heart and defended to the last misprint. Thus, the reasoning should not be: the guidelines lay down the following for culture, therefore we must line up behind the guidelines and become a transmission belt for their implementation.

What we need to do is

NOT CONSISTENT AND FOR PEACE ONLY FOR SELF



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thought, a profound transmission of
question of cultural their implementation.
The cultural question to analyse the guide-

In the past, attempts were made to force everyone into the mould of the English gentleman, projected as the epitome of civilisation, so that it was even an honour to be oppressed by the English.

Apartheid philosophy, on the other hand, denied any common humanity, and insisted that people be compartmentalised into groups forcibly kept apart. In rejecting apartheid, we do not envisage a return to a modified form of the British imperialist notion, nor we do plan to build a non-racial yuppiedom which people may enter only by shedding and suppressing the cultural heritage of their specific community.

We will have Zulu South Africans, and Afrikaner South Africans and Indian South Africans and Jewish South Africans and Venda South Africans and Cape Moslem South Africans.

Each cultural tributary contributes towards and increases the majesty of the river of South African-ness. While each one of us has a particular intimate relationship with one or other cultural matrix, this does not mean we are locked into a series of cultural "own affairs" ghettos.

The grandchildren of white immigrants can join the toyi toyi or recite the poems of Wally Serote, just as the grandchildren of Dini-zulu can read with pride the writings of Olive Schreiner. The dance, the cuisine, the poetry, the dress, the songs and riddles and folk-tales, belong to each group, but also belong to all of us.

point

on last Friday watched on TV 'ik Botha, ANC ki and Inkatha Buthelezi talk ica, City Press

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r ways and turn amentations 3:40)

LETTERS Box 11-CAPE TOWN 8000

From PETER HAMMOND (Newlands):

FOR decades we have witnessed countless attacks undermining Biblical standards, family values and Christian morals by liberalism, higher critics and liberation theology. Along with this erosion of the church and the family we have been subjected to a tidal wave of humanism and permissiveness.

The few who raised their voices in warning against the consequences of breaking God's moral law were shouted down with abuse and ridicule. Now we see the inevitable results of the hundreds of books, films, videos, records and magazines which have so vigorously promoted their alternative lifestyles: Murder, rape, incest, perversion, child abuse.

These moral outrages are the vomit of a people who have rejected God. Perversion, rape and child abuse flow out of the thought patterns and attitudes developed by years of playing with horror-toys, watching occult and

'Now we reap as we have sown'

immoral videos, reading scandal-rags and pornographic magazines.

How did we ever think we could escape these awful consequences while we tolerate the filth and rubbish sold on so many magazine racks, in so many toy shops and rented from most video shops?

We need to repent of our sin and return to the Bible's standards. God give us the courage to stand up and speak out and clean up our country — before more little girls get abducted.

Police measures criticised

From D CLEMINSHAW and A JACKSON, Free the Children Alliance (Mowbray):

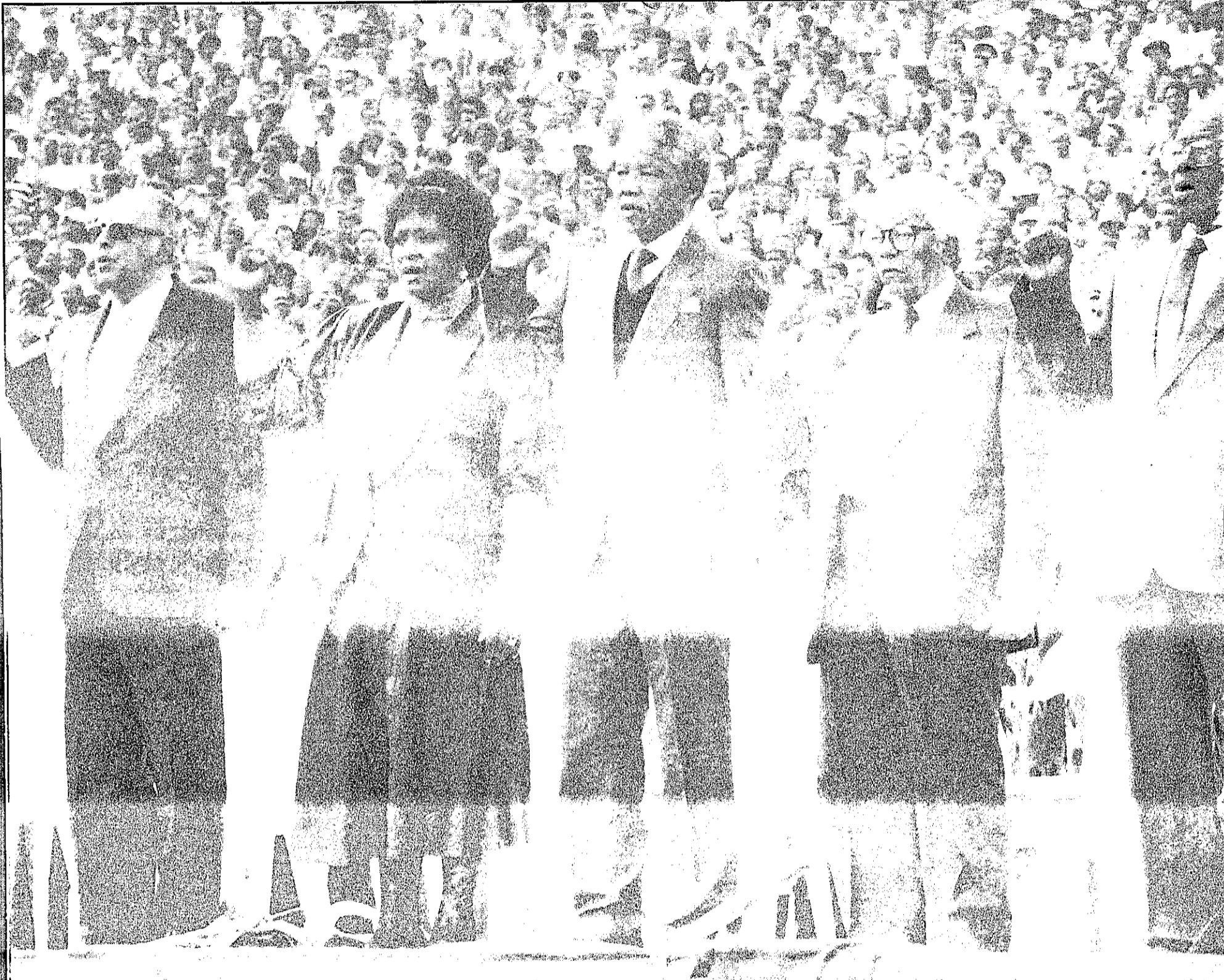
IN REPLY to Mrs Gwen Downing, Onrus (Letters, February 7), the Free the Children Alliance did not "condemn our police" but did protest against excessive measures taken by the police on January 23.

That these methods were unnecessary was proved by the march on January 31, after which the police liaison officer expressed gratitude that there were no serious incidents.

Mrs Downing's suggestion that students be encouraged to stay away from protest marches and get on with their studies illustrates how sanguine the view from Onrus to township schools must be.

The organising of peaceful assemblies and marches is a democratic right, subject only to traffic clearance etc.

If all adults enjoyed equal rights and responsibility for electing a democratic non-racial government there would be less recourse to mass demonstrations.



ABOVE: While tens of thousands of people sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika at yesterday's Soccer City rally, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela (third from right) is flanked by close friends. From the left are Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Andrew Mlangeni. Mr Sisulu, Mr Kathrada and Mr Mlangeni, all of whom were imprisoned with Mr Mandela, were freed last year in what was seen to be a 'test of the water' before the release on Sunday of Mr Mandela himself.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

NP's plan to manage the transition

B/D ay 14/2/90

MICHAEL ACOTT

RISK management is how National Party politicians refer to their calculated political gamble. They are challenging the nation to embark on an uncertain future in search of the peace and security apartheid could not bring.

The risks are becoming apparent. How they are managed, by both government and the ANC, will determine whether the hopes so suddenly aroused will continue as a political settlement is negotiated, or be dashed in anarchy and repression.

The ANC has yet to take any risks; until Nelson Mandela and the ANC executive meet in Lusaka — and possibly not even then — there will be no indication of a policy shift, let alone a readiness to face the hard constitutional bargaining and the compromise it implies.

Confessing

It is the NP which has so far taken the risks, confessing openly to having changed course and relieved at shedding "the albatross of fear". Freedom for Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, startling as they were for NP supporters and infuriating for the far right, are only a start.

President de Klerk promised a new SA. In Parliament last week, and in briefings and interviews, Cabinet ministers have been lifting the veil on the SA they envisage and how they hope to get there.

They will not get everything they want and the process is not one they can totally control. But they start

from the premise that the new SA is needed because the old one is untenable.

The attitude is that everything is negotiable, including the way some sort of security is to be afforded to whites, now simply referred to as a minority group.

The extent of the changes envisaged has tended to be swamped by the unbanning of the ANC and the publicity surrounding Mandela's release. But put the statements and hints together and policy shift verges on a reversal.

□ The last vestiges of apartheid are to go, from the petty apartheid of group areas to the grand apartheid of encouraging homeland independence. The objective, according to Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, is "one nation in an undivided SA".

□ The Population Registration Act, which classifies every South African according to race and without which there can be no statutory apartheid, will be repealed by the end of the five-year life of the tricameral Parliament.

□ Group areas remain for the while, but the problem is likely to be fudged by the rapid expansion of free settlement areas in which homes and schools are open to all races.

□ The tricameral Parliament itself is to go, and there will not be another election from which blacks are excluded. The constitution will be replaced by a negotiated one embracing

ing, and endorsed by, all South Africans.

□ As well as a "full and equal" parliamentary vote, black people have been promised equal rights and equal citizenship. President de Klerk told Parliament the NP's aims included a new, democratic constitution with universal franchise; he subsequently added there would be "full, class A citizenship" for all.

The NP is no longer clinging to power; it sees itself as managing the transition from the SA it has tried unsuccessfully to fashion to a transformed SA in which it holds, at best, some sort of minority power-sharing position. Viljoen sees this as happening within 10 years; some of his colleagues think it may come sooner.

While blacks are still denied a parliamentary vote and the white NP wields all effective power, the ANC has partial grounds for claiming there has been little change. But not on the basis of the firm commitments made by De Klerk and his ministers.

For there is no going back. The NP has committed itself and its followers to the radical course of negotiating themselves out of exclusive power but not, they hope, out of all decision-making. If the risk fails, the NP fails; De Klerk will be swept aside and power will be taken by the ANC or Andries Treurnicht's CP in renewed violence.

De Klerk has made the final irrevocable break with the CP after repeated overtures for them to rejoin the NP. The right wing now de-

scribes the NP as *hensoppers* and itself as the *bittereinders* fighting for white survival.

That leaves the NP with three constituencies from which to seek support, or at least a lack of hindrance. The first is its own members, brought up from birth on the belief that white survival could only be ensured by white power. Ministers freely admit the problem they face in reeducating their followers; they have also been encouraged by messages of support from areas where they least expected it, such as blue-collar workers.

Exploring

The second, less problematical constituency is that of the Democratic Party, which has called for years for the policies now being promised and has pledged support while pointing out the shortcomings it sees.

The third is the black community, and not least the ANC which the new policy is designed to draw into negotiation. The ANC is still exploring its new political freedom, but the lawlessness following Mandela's release will pose a political problem for the NP if it is not stopped.

And the ANC has yet to accept its share of the political risk in seeking reconciliation.

The longer the ANC adopts an all or nothing attitude, the greater the risk for the NP and the more difficulty it will have managing it. More than the NP's future is at stake.

US papers question Mandela's views

STAR 1572190

(11A)

The African National Congress's embrace of communism, nationalisation and the continued armed struggle is making heavy weather in the US, where there is some consternation among even the movement's friends as to why outdated policies are being proposed for post-apartheid South Africa.

The *Washington Post* said in its top editorial on Tuesday that South African supporters of the ANC and its friends elsewhere would want to know that the destiny of the South African freedom movement, an inspiration to people all over the world, was not to create another of the cruel, undemocratic and inefficient state-centred regimes that were collapsing in other parts of the world.

And the *Wall Street Journal*

broke new ground this week by questioning Mr Mandela's leadership.

It noted that Mr Mandela in his Grand Parade speech lavishly praised the South African Communist Party and that more communist flags were displayed at the rally than those of the ANC.

"When he said he still favours a nationalisation policy, it drove down the rand and South African stocks. Whites aren't the only ones with something to lose from a South Africa in economic ruin. Instead, a fragile consensus exists that there is now something to build on in South Africa."

The newspaper concluded: "The ANC has always acted as if negotiations would be conducted around a square table with two chairs, one for the ANC and one for the whites."

Realise

The sooner both sides realise a round table with chairs representing many interests will be needed, the more smoothly a transition to a post-apartheid South Africa is likely to go.

ANC representatives in the US and the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, who is visiting the US, have been repeatedly questioned in the media and at meetings as to the meaning of the ANC's policies on nationalisation, the armed struggle and endorsement of the SA Communist Party.

President Bush was also questioned at length earlier this week as to what he thought about Mr Nelson

DAVID BRAUN and RAMSAY MILNE of The Star's Foreign Service in the United States report on American doubts on the tone of Mr Nelson Mandela's first utterances since being freed.

Mandela's "effusive embrace of the SA Communist Party" in his Cape Town speech and the ANC leader's support for nationalisation of South African industries.

Mr Bush made it clear he would not endorse every position of the ANC. Communist parties were going downhill in most parts of the world, he said, while nationalisation and state control of industries was a policy being rejected in favour of Western free enterprise.

The *Washington Post* said: "We think we were not the only listeners who found it passing uncomfortable to hear Nelson Mandela, in his first public words upon release from prison, salute the SA Communist Party "for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy", and go on to hail some of the party faithful by name, including a current general secretary Joe Slovo and suggest the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa continued to have a strong working bond."

"No one wishes to be or even to appear anything less than fully committed to black aspirations at this sunny moment. But how can a party that now stands revealed almost everywhere else in the world as repressive, corrupt and bankrupt win top billing at one of the cen-



UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota . . . questioned at length by the US media on ANC policy.

tury's great celebrations of freedom?

"The short answer is that Nelson Mandela is caught in something of a time warp on this. At the time he was sent away 27 years ago, the help of the South African communists, the concept of revolution and the fact of Soviet military aid and encouragement to guerilla action had won the party a following in the anti-apartheid movement.

"It could claim to be indigenous, not created and imposed by Moscow, and not much other support was coming from Western sources or other political entities in South Africa. Mr Mandela could be

understood on Sunday as paying old debts.

"But of course that does not entirely explain why Communist Party members still dominate the executive council of the until-now externally based ANC and why they evidently also have a strong position in the ANC-oriented internal Mass Democratic Movement.

"Nor does it explain why the ANC's lumpily Marxist formulation of 1955, known as the Freedom Charter, remains the organisation's ideological beacon."

Confirmed

The *Post* said the threshold effort of whoever is confirmed at the helm of the ANC must be to ensure that the black leadership of the country is not captured or influenced by a party that was a relic of the conspiratorial past.

Mr Lekota told a television interviewer some sectors of the South African economy had to be nationalised so that the black people could feel the benefits of freedom.

He stressed "vast sectors" of the economy would remain in the hands of free enterprise and said the one advantage of South Africa getting its freedom so late was that it could learn from the experience of the rest of Africa.

Mr Lekota has also stressed the peaceful nature of the ANC and the intention of the organisation to operate peacefully. The armed struggle would remain ANC policy until such time as the Government released all political prisoners and rescinded the state of emergency.

Govt is ready to talk to the ANC now, says FW

01/04/15/2/90

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[Handwritten scribble]

MANDY JEAN WOODS

GOVERNMENT was ready to begin talks with the ANC immediately, President F W de Klerk said during an interview with ABC's Nightline anchor Ted Koppel on Tuesday.

De Klerk said he hoped "they would come and talk" as soon as the excitement of recent weeks wore down.

He would also be willing to talk to ANC representatives about what was needed to end the state of emergency. "They must walk across the threshold and start talking. I have an open-door policy and I will talk to anyone who is interested in bringing the situation — which is the foundation for the state of emergency — to an end. It doesn't matter who they are or where they are," he said.

Asked specifically whether this invitation included ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki and SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, De Klerk said: "In their case further discussion might be necessary."

He went on: "I have declared myself willing to discuss how to handle the return of people outside SA who may be guilty in terms of the law because there is fear among some of them that they might be arrested on their return."

"We want to solve that. One will have to work out structures as to how

people can clear their positions. One will have to decide exactly what will be pardoned and what can't be pardoned. It is a question for negotiation.

"Everything in SA is crying out for people to drop their pretences, to stop making excuses and to start talking to us," De Klerk said.

He said the state of emergency could be lifted "within days, within weeks" if there was stability.

Powers

"We are monitoring each and every corner of SA. We know what happens. We know how many unrest situations occur. We know how many stone-throwing incidents occur. We know how many houses have been set on fire.

"An improvement in the position in Natal and a few other selected areas would really bring us to the point where we can lift the state of emergency. I don't want a crime-free SA before that is done. It is there to give special powers so as to enable security forces to move quickly to quell unrest and to prevent loss of life and damage to property," he said.

Speaking on economic matters, De

Klerk said government had committed itself to dynamic programmes to improve the quality of life for all South Africans, especially those who were not as privileged as others.

"But it takes money, which is why socialist policies don't make sense for SA. Nationalisation of mines and other industries doesn't make sense. That would kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. We have to have growth to create money to finance it (development). This is the one point where sanctions have hit us."

De Klerk said South Africans were overtaxed and people were leaving because of it.

"The real solution lies in bringing down taxes, in giving incentives to the private sector to invest, in creating a stable climate within which they can invest."

To this end, it was important that negotiations began, he said.

"We sincerely believe that all parties must be free to put their proposals on the table."

"We must work for consensus on a model which is acceptable to all participants or at least to the majority of all participants."

In this constitutional model everyone would have to have an equal vote and white domination would have to cease.

Share prices rally in nervous trading on JSE

By TOM HOOD, Business Editor

SHARE prices rallied on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange today after an avalanche of overseas selling yesterday wiped more than R16 billion off share prices.

Modest buying pushed up the overall share index by 22 points after plunging 123 to 3214 yesterday.

But the market remained jittery as investors waited for the next moves by the African National Congress and the South African government, said stockbrokers.

Most early gains were in gold mine and mining-related shares.

The total market value of shares on the JSE has dropped by about R34 billion to R430 billion since Monday.

The panic sell-off yesterday was due to fears of widespread nationalisation of State and private sector assets by an ANC government taking hold in London and New York.

"SELL-OFF OVERDONE"

Market analysts believe the sell-off has been overdone — just as euphoria after President De Klerk's reform speech sent share prices into the stratosphere and added R27 billion to share prices in a few days last week.

"For years overseas investors have been pressuring the government to release Mr Mandela. Now that he's released, they're getting rid of our shares at any price," said James Cross of broking firm Fergusson Bros, Hall Steward and Co.

Most stockbrokers' analysts agreed that Mr Mandela's statements on nationalisation should not be taken literally, saying they were bound to be part of the ANC's strategy in the run-up to negotiations.

Mr Roy Klipin said overseas investors were clamouring last week to buy a stake in SA Inc at any cost — "this week they are sellers of SA Inc on a huge scale".

"This reaction indicates an enormous amount of naivety on the part of overseas brokers. They are focusing on the negative statements made by Nelson Mandela and are totally ignoring the conciliatory noises he is making."



SACHED TRUST
incorporating
Turret Correspondence
College

11A
Soul
15/2-21/2/90

**WELCOME HOME
COMRADE
MANDELA**

**THE 27 YEARS
OF YOUR
INCARCERATION HAS
NOT BEEN IN VAIN**

**THE STRUGGLE
CONTINUES**

ANC Mats 15/2/90
ANC office
119
now at Stanger

DURBAN. — Former Robben Island detainee Mr Justice Mpanza, 52, has opened what he believes is the first local ANC office — at Stanger on the Natal north coast.

Mr Mpanza, sent to Robben Island in 1973 and held there for 15 years until his release in June 1988, is "now awaiting telephones and membership application forms."

"I believe there is going to be a rush for membership," he said. — Sapa



FREE . . . The six prisoners who were released from Robben Island yesterday are (from left) Mr Bushy Maape, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Nelson Qobeka and Mr Norman Yengeni.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

ANC: Talks with govt have begun

11A 15/2/90 C. Times

LUSAKA. — Negotiations between the government and the ANC had started, a senior ANC official said in Lusaka yesterday.

As the organisation's National Executive Committee (NEC) met to formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's initiatives, ANC international affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said the organisation's top decision-making body will discuss "everything that has happened since De Klerk spoke on February 2".

The talks are the first gathering of the NEC since the ANC was legalised and endorsement of negotiations with the government is expected.

Speaking before the meeting began, senior committee member Mr Joe Slovo said it was agreed internal leaders would consult among themselves and the NEC was to "co-ordinate thinking".

He said there were no differences over whether the ANC guerilla campaign should continue in the light of reforms.

Mr Slovo said Mr Nelson Mandela's leading role in the ANC was undisputed but did not indicate what his future position might be.

Officials also made it clear that it was expected Mr Mandela would take his orders from the NEC.

One matter that would not be discussed was the possible integration of the ANC and the MDM structures.

"The general feeling here is that Cosatu and the UDF should continue to operate as they do now at least until we are ready to start negotiations," Mr Tom Sebina, ANC spokesman said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

Mandela lauds Gorbachev

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela praised Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday as "a man of courage", and said the West had no right to rejoice at the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe.

"The jubilation in the West over what is happening in the East is misconceived," he said in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

Mr Mandela, freed on Sunday after 27 years in prison for trying to overthrow white rule, said the move to

democracy in Eastern Europe had been started by Mr Gorbachev, not by Western governments.

"He (Gorbachev) is the only statesman I know who has had the courage to confess that there were deficiencies in the system to which he committed his life," he said.

"As far as the West is concerned, I have never heard a single one saying: 'We were wrong in introducing colonialism'," Mr Mandela added. — Sapa-Reuter

AKBUS 15/2 190 (110) 20

'Window dressing', say six released islanders

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

SIX political prisoners have been released from Robben Island after serving terms ranging from three to 10 years for African National Congress activities.

They said after their release yesterday they were the first political prisoners to be released from the island since President De Klerk's announcement a week ago.

The six, some of whose relatives were in Cape Town to visit them not knowing that they would be released, are: Mr Norman Yengeni of Cape Town, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi, Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg and Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman.

Mr Yengeni, Mr Bundu and Mr Khumalo served 10 years of a 12-year term. Mr Qobeka completed his three-year term last Tuesday and Mr Mmoledi and Mr Maape's four-year terms would have expired next year.

The men addressed a Press conference at Cowley House, Woodstock and said they had "mixed feelings" about 347 other political prisoners they left behind. They called for their immediate release.

Mr Mmoledi said they were unrepentant and they would continue with the armed struggle "just as comrade Madiba (Mr Mandela) had spelt out as none of the conditions set out by the ANC in the Harare Declaration have been met".

Their release was due to

pressure exerted by the masses and the international community and "mere window dressing" because they were about to be released anyway.

They were "bitter" that they had been told only at 10am yesterday that they were to be freed and "were not even afforded the courtesy of bidding our co-accused good-bye," said Mr Mmoledi.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) has described as "ridiculous" the manner in which the government is releasing political prisoners.

In a statement today, Mr Dullah Omar, regional leader of Nadel, called on the State to free all political prisoners immediately.

SOUTH

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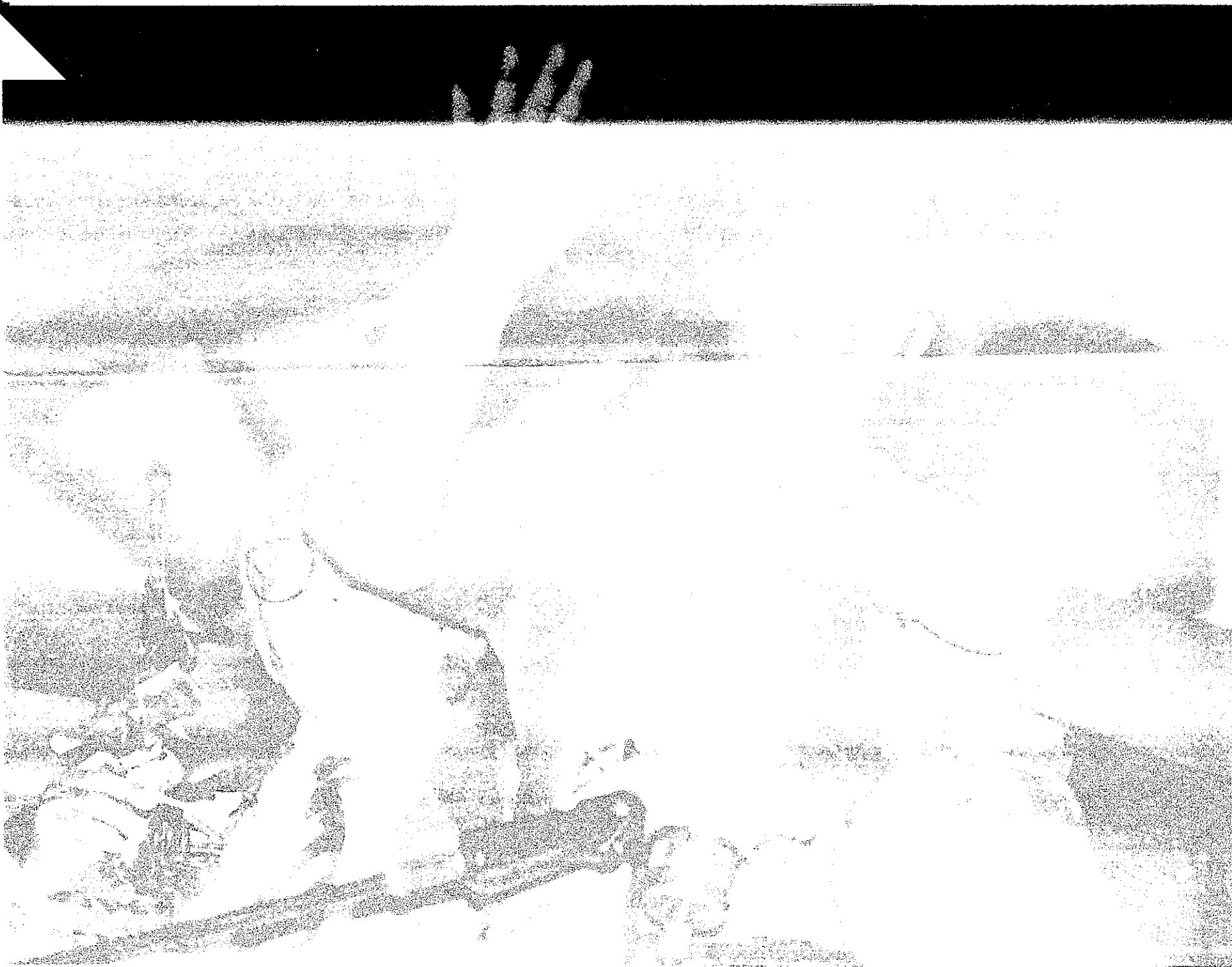
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Mandela - man with a mission

As a tribute to a great leader, SOUTH publishes a special supplement on the extraordinary life of Nelson Mandela — in his own words. Plus there's a pull-out colour poster. ● From page 15

Grand welcome!

South 15/2 - 21/2/90 11A



PEOPLE'S HERO: Nelson Mandela delivers his first address in 27 years to a huge crowd, estimated at 100 000, who gathered at the Grand Parade, Cape

Town, to hear and see the world's most talked-about political prisoner. With Mandela are his wife, Winnie and longtime comrade, Walter Sisulu.

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Out of Africa's pots and pans

Exotic, mouthwatering recipes from the heart of Africa.

● See page 27.

Man dies after hospital 'snub'

And boy drowns at mental hospital

● See Page 3

No soft option for 'ball official'

National softball chief axed over NSC link.

● See page 48.

WESTERN PROVINCE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

**WELCOMES HOME
ROLIHLAHLA NELSON MANDELA**

The W.P.C.C. adds its voice to the millions nationally and internationally, welcoming our tried and tested leader, who after almost three decades walked out of the Apartheid jails a free man.

We salute Nelson Mandela, a gift from God to the people of our land who places the suffering masses before himself, who puts his remaining years (at the age of 72) in the hands of the people of South Africa.

Such humbleness and servitude characterize biblical imperatives, which the Christian Church teaches unceasingly, is bestowed on a man with such an international stature.

Your all embracing address on 11 February 1990 has entrenched our belief in a new South Africa, and in the struggle for peace, democracy and freedom for all.

We, together with you say, we "carry the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which we hope to live for and achieve."

We salute you.

**Ciskei
frees
ANC
cadres**

South
15/2-21/2/90

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

— The Ciskei homeland this week freed seven political prisoners — as a spin-off to the political changes in South Africa.

One of the seven is the brother of the recently-released former secretary general of the Border region of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Rev Arnold Stofile.

Announcing the releases, the Ciskei authorities said it strongly recognised that "genuine changes in South Africa as announced by FW de Klerk required corresponding changes within Ciskei".

"It is the honest opinion of Ciskei that

these measures should be taken in order to facilitate a conducive climate for negotiations," the Ciskei government said in a statement.

Among those released were four trained members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

They are Mzwakhe Nelson Ndlela of Ilitha township, Botwe Sivuyile Qeqe of Zwelitsha, Mzimasi Isaac Gwulu of the Tyutyu location near King William's Town, and Xolile Matebesi of Transkei. Another was a PAC cadre, Msokoli Eric Mgbasi of Sadu near Whittlesea.

The other two released political prisoners are Linda Stofile and Mvelo Gqibithole, both of Alice.

Ciskei Chief Justice Benjamin Pickard sentenced Ndlela, Stofile and Gqibithole to long terms of imprisonment in 1987. — VERITAS



THE NORWEGIAN COUNCIL FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa salutes comrade Nelson Mandela, the leader to the African National Congress after his release from more than 27 years in prison.

The release of the true leader of the South African people's struggle for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We demand that the white minority regime immediately:

- * release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally
- * end the state of emergency
- * remove all troops from the townships
- * lift all regulations on the media
- * remove the internal security act

**ONE PERSON - ONE VOTE -
ONE NATION!
A LUTA CONTINUA!**

Sjurad Tveit
Chairperson

**Omar takes up
UWC law post**

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

UNITED Democratic Front vice-chairperson Advocate Dullah Omar has been appointed Director of the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape.

The Centre aims to monitor, research and publish on human rights issues, support people and agencies involved in these issues, conduct limited litigation in human rights matters of public interest and run community education programmes.

Omar, a leading human rights lawyer who qualified at the University of Cape Town in 1957, was an attorney for the Pan-Africanist Congress in the early 1960s.

Sabotage

He later became the legal representative for the Coloured People's Congress and members of the African National Congress.

He represented traitors in the first sabotage trial in South Africa



Dullah Omar

which followed the Paarl uprising in 1962.

During the 1970s he acted for the Black People's Convention and Black Community Programme until both were

banned by the government.

Omar has since defended many activists and is a familiar face at terrorism and other political trials.

FROM PAGE 13

are men who have served the community in one way or the other. Nothing would please us more than that they should join us."
— *Bishops court, February 12*

On the PAC and Inkatha:

"No single person can undertake such an enormous task. It is the duty of the political organisations, in particular the ANC, to determine in what way we can increase the momentum of unity among black organisations and then give instructions."

"We have differences with Dr Buthelezi. Firstly, on the question of violence, secondly on the attitude towards government structures and thirdly on questions of sanctions."

"These are fundamental differences, but nevertheless he is a figure with a following. It may not be as big and may not command as much resources as we command, but he has a following and it seems to me correct to try and settle problems in which he is involved amicably."

"I wrote to him because I did not think it was correct that Africans, the blacks, should be killing one another, and that situation we must try and solve." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On sanctions:

"Everything that we set out to achieve through sanctions is still the same. Nothing has changed. You must remember that the demand in this country is for a non-racial society. We are very far from that, and it is too early for anybody to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions."

"But having said that, I would like to add that there is nothing that worries us as the ANC more than the fact that we should be involved in politics of confrontation. We will seize the earliest opportunity of settling our problems through peaceful means." — *Bishops court, February 12*

Mandela speaks

On other African countries:

"South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution, South Africa will play a major role in promoting developments in various fields, which today require immediate attention in the sense that some of the problems are beyond the resources of the African states around South Africa."

"Therefore, if an internal settlement is reached, I would urge that the relations between our country and Africa should be improved and I would encourage such meetings." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On accepting invitations from foreign countries:

"If I had to decide the matter I probably would feel that those countries which have supported us very strongly, like India, should get first preference. You must remember that India was the very first country at the United Nations to call for action against South Africa because of its racial policies. That would be my preference."

"But all these things are in the hands of the ANC. They will plan whatever trips I propose to take as a result of these invitations, but I have no doubt that they will consider India as one of the very first countries which I should visit." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On returning to the Transkei:

"My home is in Johannesburg, but I was born in the Transkei and it is



Mandela: "SA an important country"

proper for me to visit the area of my birth and there are certain rites which I have to perform and for that reason I will go down.

"I also long to see the little stones

on which I played as a child, the little rivers where I swam and I will go down, but my home — I am stationed in Johannesburg." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On imprisonment:

"I have lost a great deal over these 27 years. My wife has been under all sorts of pressure and it is not a nice feeling for a man to see his family struggling, without security, without the dignity of the head of the family around."

"But despite the hard times that we had in prison, we have also had the opportunity to think about programmes and it is an opportunity

which is also very rewarding in that regard."

"You learn to get used to your circumstances, and in prison there have been men who are very good in the sense that they understand our point of view and they do everything to try and make you as happy as possible. That has wiped out any bitterness which a man could have." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On his first moments of freedom:

"I must confess that I am unable to describe my emotions. I was completely overwhelmed by the enthusiasm. It is something I did not expect. I would be merely rationalising if I told you that I am able to describe my own feelings. It was breathtaking, that's all I can say."

"It's a totally different South Africa. Along the route I was surprised to see the number of whites who seemed to identify themselves with what is happening in the country today amongst blacks. I was absolutely surprised. I was expecting that response from blacks, but the number of whites who seemed to feel that a change is absolutely imperative, surprised me." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On the chaos at the Grand Parade:

"Given the circumstances under which that meeting was held, our people controlled the crowds very well. You must remember we just had one day to organise that meeting. There would have been trouble, no matter who had organised that."

"The point is that the people are disciplined. The protest marches that have taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere, have shown that we can control crowds." — *Bishops court, February 12*

On demonstrations:

"I think these developments are breathtaking and they are very inspiring. It is clear now that the masses of the people who want to free themselves are no longer prepared to wait for the government to free them. That is a clear lesson that emerges from the demonstrations that have taken place." — *Bishops court, February 12*

A message from the people who work at Mobil



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

We are a local company in every way with a very real stake in South Africa's future. We are truly committed to this country. As in any large group of South Africans we come from different backgrounds, religions and languages. And, of course, we have different political views.

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

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

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

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

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

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



11A

peace

FROM PAGE 12

racial, united democratic South Africa based on one-person, one vote on a common voters roll."

"Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in all sectors. Our struggle against apartheid must be consolidated on all fronts." - Soccer City, February 13.

On nationalisation and the economy:

"There are three important aspects we must consider when we are discussing the economy of a country. The question of full employment, the question of productivity and the question of social responsibility. Once we can guarantee that there is progress in these three aspects, then the economy of the country is performing very well.

"But it is my impression that it is not performing well in the sense of these aspects which I've mentioned and that is why I say that it is ruins."

"My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC, and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it." — Bishops court, February 12

"Black workers have built the cities, roads and factories. They cannot be excluded from enjoying this wealth.

"We are committed to ensuring that a democratic government is elected to end the inequalities of apartheid.

"Our people need proper housing, not ghettos like Soweto.

"Workers need a living wage, and the right to join unions of their own choice and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives.

"Our history shows that apartheid has stifled growth and has led to inflation that undermines the financial power of both black and white.

"Only a participatory democracy will suffice.

"We call on employers to recognise the inalienable rights of workers in our country.

"We are marching to a new future based on a sound basis of respect.

"We call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act." - Soccer City, February 13.

On the Bantustans:

"The ANC has called upon them to join the struggle and I think that is the correct policy. You must remember that some of them, although disagreeing with their politics, some of them are quite innocent and they

TO PAGE 14



Nelson Mandela addresses the large crowd at Cape Town's Grand Parade which welcomed him "home"

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

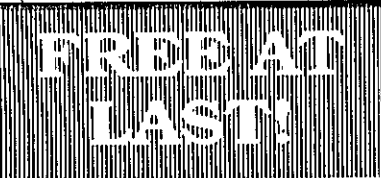
"The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands; The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; Adult literacy shall be ended by a mass state education plan." — Freedom Charter.

WELCOME BACK NELSON MANDELA!

The University of the Western Cape welcomes the release of Nelson Mandela. Through your efforts — and the efforts of others like you — the ideals of the Freedom Charter will be realised in our lifetime.



UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



(3049)
**IDASA REJOICES THAT
 NELSON MANDELA
 IS FINALLY FREE
 TO PLAY HIS LEADING
 ROLE IN BUILDING
 DEMOCRACY IN OUR
 COUNTRY**

(Issued by the Institute for a Democratic
 Alternative for South Africa,
 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700)

**SACOS
 WELCOMES THE
 RELEASE OF
 COMRADE
 NELSON
 MANDELA.**

**WE CALL FOR
 THE RELEASE OF
 ALL OTHER
 POLITICAL
 DETAINEES.**



**WESTERN CAPE
 TRADERS ASSOCIATION
 (WCTA)**

**WELCOME HOME
 NELSON
 MANDELA!**

**WE SALUTE YOU FOR
 YOUR COURAGE,
 INTEGRITY AND
 STRENGTH DURING 27
 YEARS OF
 INCARCERATION**



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NAVRAE/ENQUIRIES

12 February 1990

11A

Comrade Nelson Mandela:

Dear Madiba

In welcoming and greeting you on Sunday
 we were struck by particularly three
 aspects:

- How steadfast you have remained over
 all the years in your commitment to
 and passion for a superior society
 founded upon respect for the dignity of
 people;
- How much you symbolise those sup-
 erior values in your personal demeanour
 and your humble and respectful way
 with people;
- Your courage and capacity to leave
 people with a sense of upliftment
 and encouragement to break down
 injustice and wrongs, but more
 especially to create a new society by
 strengthening the higher values of
 respect and unselfishness which
 apartheid has mutilated.

We respect and thank you for your
 example and pray that God will bless you.

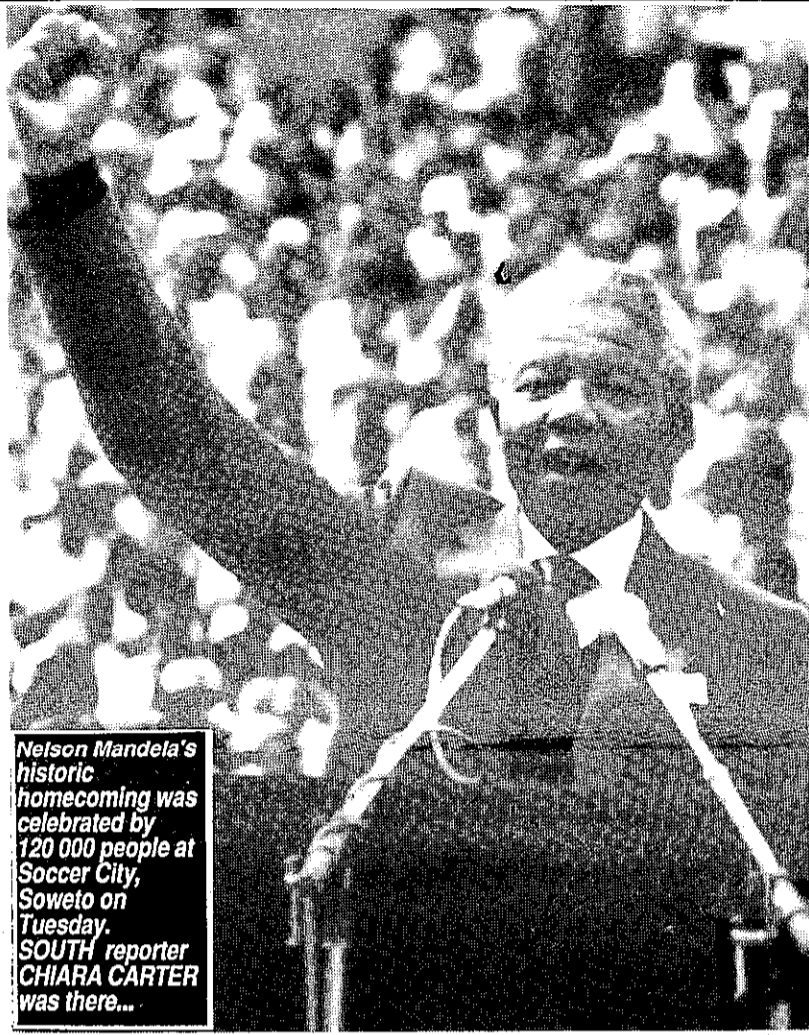
Yours sincerely
 Franklin Dorn Rector

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

**LAWYERS FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS**
NATIONAL DIRECTORATE

**The release of Nelson
Mandela symbolizes
the beginning of the end
of violence,
oppression, exploitation,
racism and injustice in
South Africa.**

**It is a victory for
human rights.
We rejoice.**



Nelson Mandela's historic homecoming was celebrated by 120 000 people at Soccer City, Soweto on Tuesday. SOUTH reporter CHIARA CARTER was there...

11A

15/2 - 21/2/90

Jubilation!

WHEN Nhlaniha Nkosi was born, Nelson Mandela had already been in jail for 13 years.

But to the Meadowlands teenager, Mandela is her leader and she was determined to hear him speak.

"Ever since the announcement on Saturday, we have been dancing in the streets waiting for Madiba to come home," Nkosi said.

On Tuesday she got her wish.

She was among an estimated 120 000 people who packed the Soccer City stadium in Crown Mines for a "Welcome Home" rally for Nelson Mandela.

Crowds began pouring into the stadium from as early as 8am, and throughout the morning the roads from Soweto were full of chanting youths making their way to the rally.

By noon, the stands were packed to capacity.

The colours of the African National Congress were displayed on countless umbrellas, T-shirts, posters and banners.

As the sun broke through the clouds, a spirit of jubilation gripped the stands, with uniformed schoolchildren and youths joining in song and dance.

Thousands of leaflets issued by the South African Youth Congress were dropped into the crowd.

The atmosphere became increasingly festive as cultural items were performed on stage.

As the time for Mandela to arrive grew closer, there was a buzz of anticipation in the stadium and every helicopter hovering overhead was greeted with deafening cheers from those who thought their leader was inside.

By 1pm the enthusiasm was so great that Albertina Sisulu had to abandon attempts to speak because her voice was drowned by the roars of the crowd.

Meanwhile, still more people were streaming into the jam-packed stadium.

They swarmed over every available corner of the massive stands. The more enterprising climbed the giant light towers for a birds-eye view of the proceedings. Others sat two and three to a seat.

The organisers locked the gates to prevent people being crushed by the sheer force of the sea of

humanity and about 30 000 people had to be satisfied with hearing the speeches broadcast outside the gate.

The crowd leapt to its feet when a convoy of 16 cars carrying Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela and other leaders arrived.

Surrounded by about 50 bodyguards, Mandela climbed out of the maroon BMW driven by millionaire Mr Richard Maponya.

As the 71-year-old leader entered the stadium, a deafening roar resounded and the crowd leapt to its feet to salute him.

Mandela was introduced by a stern Walter Sisulu who said Mandela had dedicated his whole life to the liberation of his people.

"You should remember that you are members of a glorious movement and therefore expected to behave as exemplary members of society," Sisulu told the crowd.

A balloon in ANC colours with Welcome Home written on its side was released and fluttered over the field while Mandela spoke.

As Mandela delivered his historic speech, the first in his home city since the Rivonia trial, the stadium was charged with an atmosphere of pomp and dignity which underscored the tone and content of his speech.

The packed stadium emptied rapidly after the end of the speech, with a section of the security fence toppling in the rush, injuring several children.

As Mandela and his entourage boarded the two helicopters which whisked them away from the rally, the surrounding streets were packed with toyi-toying crowds. Rush-hour traffic was brought to a halt on roads leading to Soweto.

In the city centre, taxis filled with ANC supporters hooted madly as they wove through home-bound commuters.

THE FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

WELCOME BACK NELSON MANDELA!!!

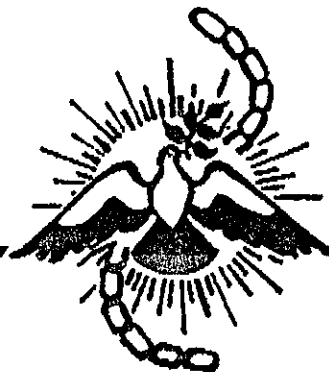
YOUR RELEASE IS A MASSIVE VICTORY FOR THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED IN THIS DIVIDED COUNTRY AND FOR THE WORLD WHO FOR SO MANY YEARS HAVE VIGOROUSLY COMPAIGNED FOR THIS GREAT MOMENT.

WE WELCOME THE FACT THAT YOU ARE NOW ABLE TO TAKE YOUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN OUR COUNTRY.

HOWEVER WE REMAIN MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT THOUGH YOU ARE OUT OF PRISON YOU ARE NOT FREE, SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT FREE.

THE PILLARS OF APARTHEID CONTINUE TO REMAIN INTACT AND THEREFORE THE STRUGGLE FOR A FREE, NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA NEED TO BE INTENSIFIED.

ALUTA CONTINUA!



Committed to

On the Press:

"I'm (also) excited to have the opportunity of addressing you, because throughout these difficult years in prison the press — both locally and foreign — have been a brick to us.

"I think it was originally the intention of the government that we should be forgotten and that their leaders, leaders of the homelands, bantustans and all those who worked within government structures, should be built up and that we should be forgotten.

"It was the press that kept the memory of those who had been in prison for offences which they committed in the course of their political activity. It was the press who never forgot us." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On his role as a leader:

"No person has the right in our organisations to determine what his role is in the course of the struggle. We are loyal and disciplined members of the organisation. It is the organisation that will determine what role we should play.

"It is my intention to go to Lusaka at my earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role I should play." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

"It is our task as leaders to place our view before our organisation and to allow the democratic structures to decide the way forward. On the question of democratic practice, I feel duty-bound to make the point

NELSON MANDELA, for the first time in 27 years, was this week able to speak for himself on a broad range of issues.

Here follow his views on varying issues drawn from his Grand Parade and Soccer City speeches and an interview at Bishopscourt:

that a leader of the movement is a person who has been democratically elected at a national conference. This is a principle that must be upheld without exception." — *Grand Parade, February 11*

On the armed struggle:

"I have committed myself to the promotion of peace in the country, but I have done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been launched by the ANC. There is no conflict whatsoever.

"There is not a single political organisation in this country inside and outside parliament which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peace. The armed struggle is merely defensive. It's an act against the violence of apartheid, but we remain committed to peace.

"If the government gives us the opportunity, if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful settlement of the problems of this country." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On the ANC's unbanning:

"The ANC was never caught off-guard. I have been giving regular reports to them, and they have been

responding to me. They have actually been instructing me what to do, what views to put forward. They have been getting feedbacks from me. They were never caught unaware.

"You must remember that the government and the NP had been discussing specific moves that they should take for some time. We had no such an opportunity because we were banned, but the ANC — given the circumstances under which they operated — had a positive response and a well-considered response." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On the SA

Communist Party:

"I have explained my relationship with the Communist Party. I have been working with them. Their immediate objective is similar and it is natural for us to work closely together. What my personal stand on this is, is of no importance.

Let me make it clear: I do not belong to any party apart from the ANC." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On factors affecting his release:

"The release is the result of the ac-

cumulative effect of many factors. There is the question of the internal mass struggle which has reached a new level of intensity. There is the pressure which comes externally.

"Then, of course, even amongst the government it is an experience that we've had as early as the 1960s — they are not themselves unanimous in some of these things. There have been many who have been insisting that change is absolutely necessary. I think that their numbers within the government, the NP, are increasing and I think all these factors have contributed to my release." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On white fears:

"The ANC is very much concerned to address the question of the concern of whites over the demand of one person, one vote. They insist on structural guarantees, that is the whites, to ensure that the realisation of this demand does not result in the domination of whites by blacks.

"We understand those feelings and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

"Whites are fellow South Africans

and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country."

— *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On guarantees for whites:

"I have said that I would not like to go into any specifics at this time. This is, however, a matter which is regarded as extremely important by the ANC. When we decide the actual structure of the guarantees, that might be developed at the time when we are addressing this question." — *Bishopscourt, February 12*

On negotiations and his talks with the government:

"I have been having discussions with the government over the last three years on two separately related questions. The first one in which I had been negotiating with the government was the release of my comrades, Mr Sisulu and others. As far as that is concerned, I have been negotiating.

"But the second issue has been one of the meeting between the ANC and the government. There I have been acting merely as a facilitator to bring the two major political organisations to the negotiating table. In the course of my attempt to secure results, I met a number of cabinet ministers.

"No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-

TO PAGE 13



WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
WESKUS RAAD VAN KERKE South 15/2-21/2/90
IQUMRU LEENKONZO ZONXWEME LENTSHONA

11A

The West Coast Council of Churches share Comrade Mandelas' vision for a non-racial democratic South Africa. We deeply respect his courage, dedication and true statemanship.

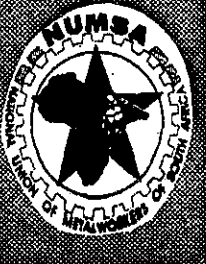
His release is proof of the fact that the South African government cannot silence the quest for a just and democratic South Africa.

His release also serves to motivate us to double our efforts to eradicate the apartheid system.

Comrade Mandela, on behalf of the people of the West Coast, Swartland, Sandveld - please accept our warmest welcome!

South 15/2 - 21/2/90 (11A)

NUMSA



NUMSA WELCOMES THE HEROIC AND DECISIVE COMEBACK HOME VICTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE'S LEADER, THE FATHER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE; COMRADE NELSON MANDELA.

COMRADE MANDELA, YOUR GALLANT BATTLES OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS HAVE BEEN AN INSPIRATION, INCENTIVE AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO OUR PERPETUAL STRUGGLES TO GET RID OF APARTHEID, OPPRESSION AND CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION.

YOUR COME-BACK IS A DECISIVE VICTORY FOR THE TOILING MASSES, AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME AND THE IMPERIALIST YOKE OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION.

WE VIEW THE RELEASE AS A VICTORY FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE AND ONE OF THE STEPS TOWARDS THE LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE AND COUNTRY, TOWARDS ONE-PERSON-ONE-VOTE IN A UNITARY, DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA AND EXPLOITATION. TOWARDS SHARING THE WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY FAIRLY, TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF METALWORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

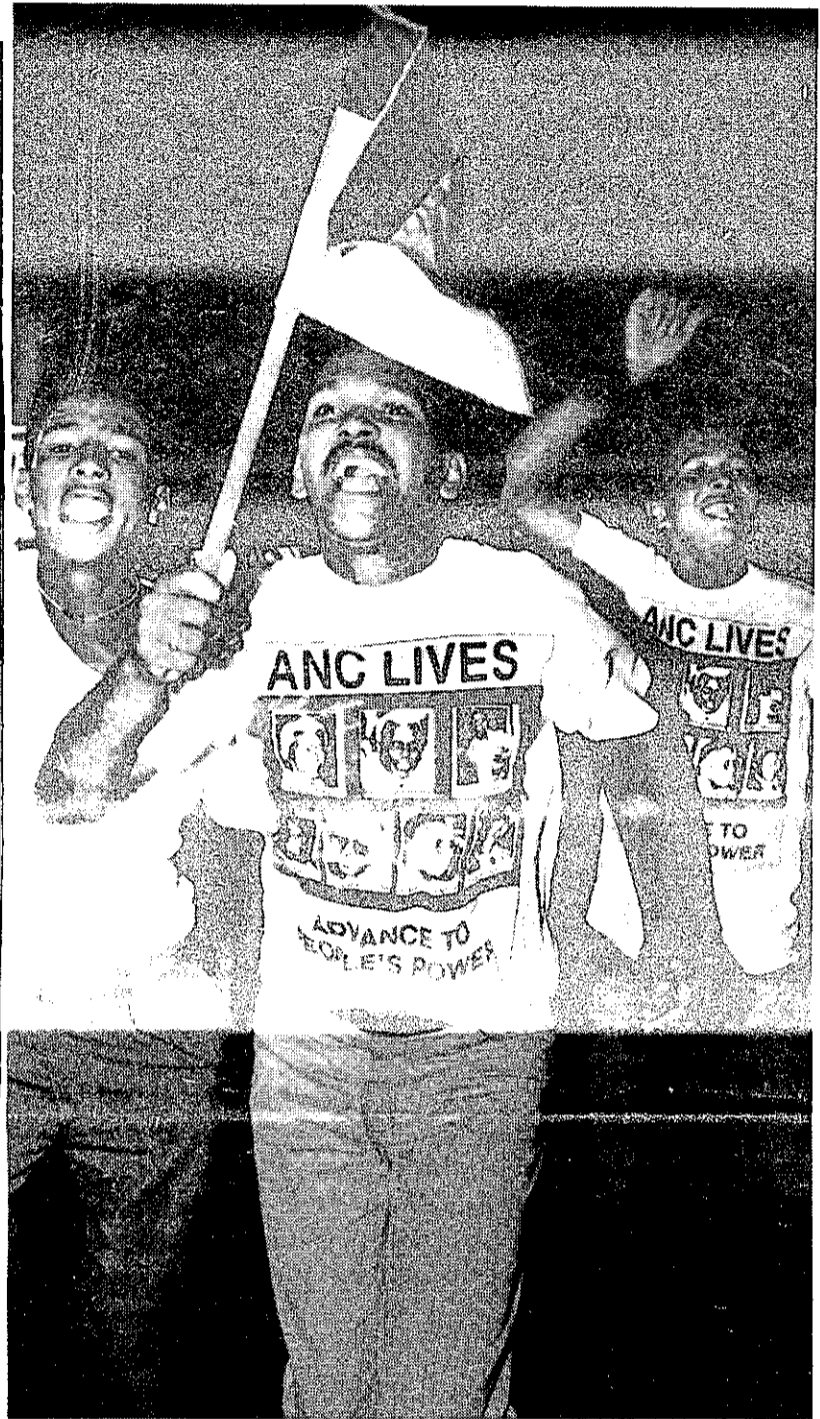
**TOGETHER
WITH ALL COUNTRIES
& PEOPLES WE HAIL
THE RELEASE
OF NELSON MANDELA**

ISSUED BY:
LUXURAMA THEATRE
SPACE ODYSSEY DISCOTEQUE

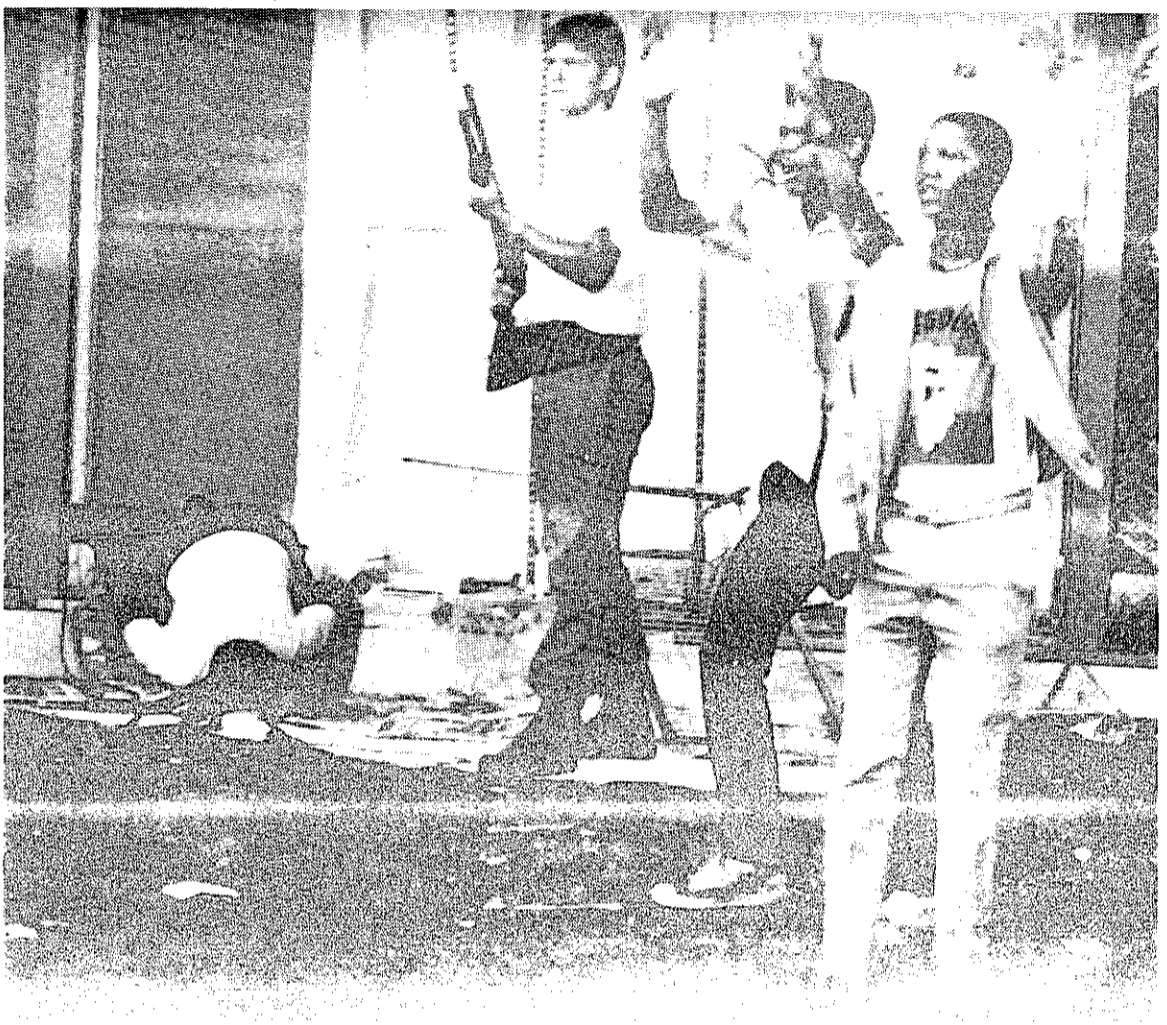
South 1512 - 21/2/90

11A

Ecstasy and agony!



ECSTASY: Mitchells Plain students celebrate the news of Mandela's release



AGONY: A UDF marshall appeals to people to stop throwing bottles at police, standing over the body of a victim of Sunday's chaos in the centre of Cape Town

IT was a day the world had long been waiting for. The release of Nelson Mandela. And nowhere was the fervour greater than in Cape Town, where 100 000 people swelled the city's Grand Parade on Sunday January 11 to hear Mandela speak. But the excitement also drew troublemakers who resorted to looting and bottle-throwing as the long, hot afternoon wore on — without Mandela. By the time the ANC leader finally appeared on the balcony of the City Hall, it was dusk — and much of the day's magic had been trampled underfoot. What began as a day of celebration ended in tragedy with the death of a youngster. SOUTH photographer YUNUS MOHAMED captures the drama:



COLLEAGUES: Suspended rebel policemen Lieutenant Gregory Rockman negotiates with police in Cape Town on Sunday



WELCOME: No doubt about his message



PRIME PARKING: These two men got themselves a spot above the rest to catch a glimpse of Mandela

WELCOME

BACK

NELSON

MANDELA!

Cape Teachers' Professional Association

Welcome back our comrade and leader. Apartheid tried and failed to kill your passion for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Your release is marred by the fact that apartheid continues to place prison walls around you and all our people reminding us that the struggle is not yet completely won.

We dedicate ourselves to continue the battle with renewed vigour and dignity for the ideals you so clearly enunciated in your speech at the dock in 1964 and once again on the Grand Parade on 11 February 1990.

Union of Teachers' Association of South Africa

Afrikaner leaders must stay - MDM

Sowetan Foreign
Service

WASHINGTON - The Mass Democratic Movement will keep the present Afrikaner leaders in place as it is possible for them to become partners in solving the problems of South Africa.

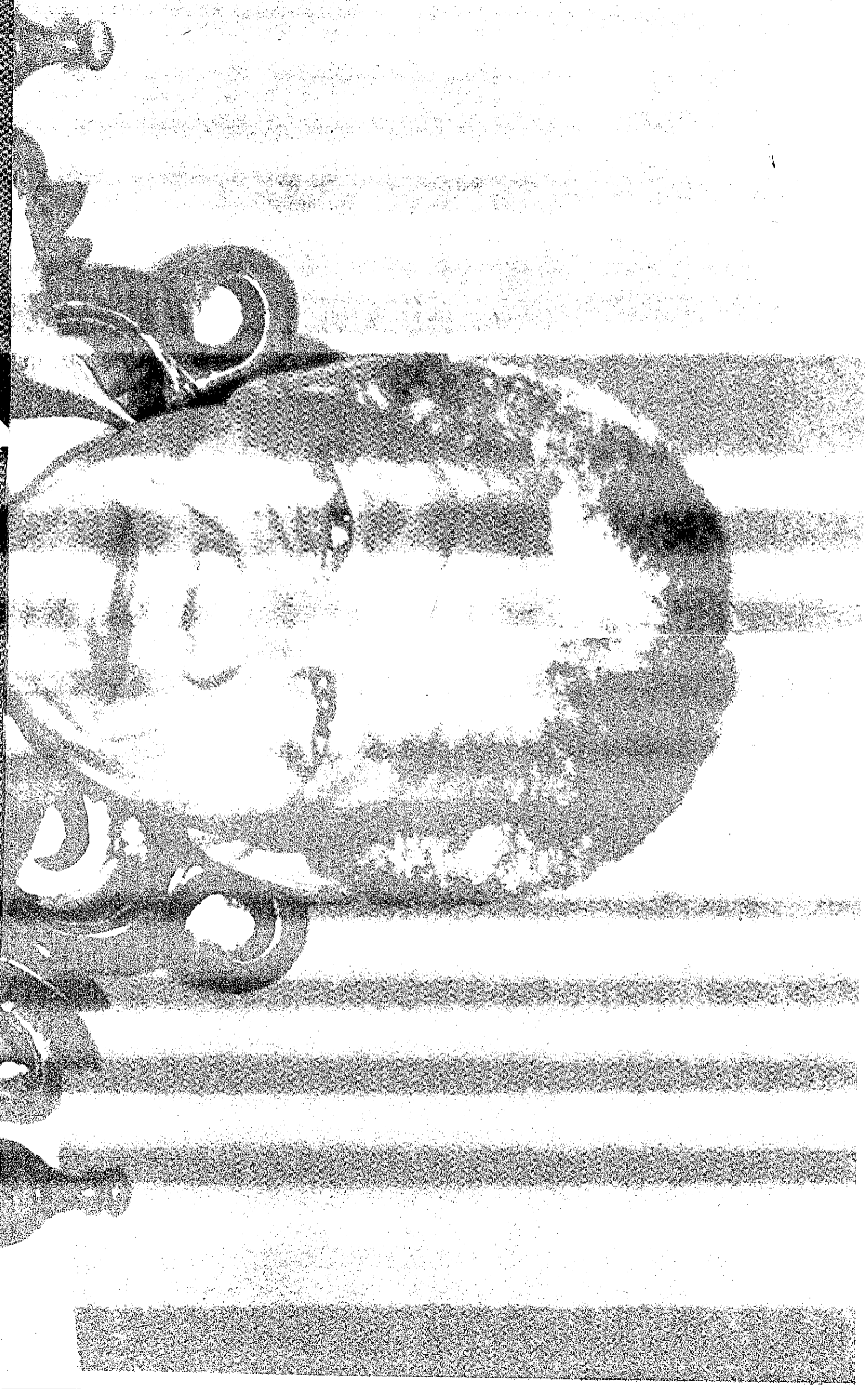
This was said by United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington on his visit there. *Sowetan 15/2/90*

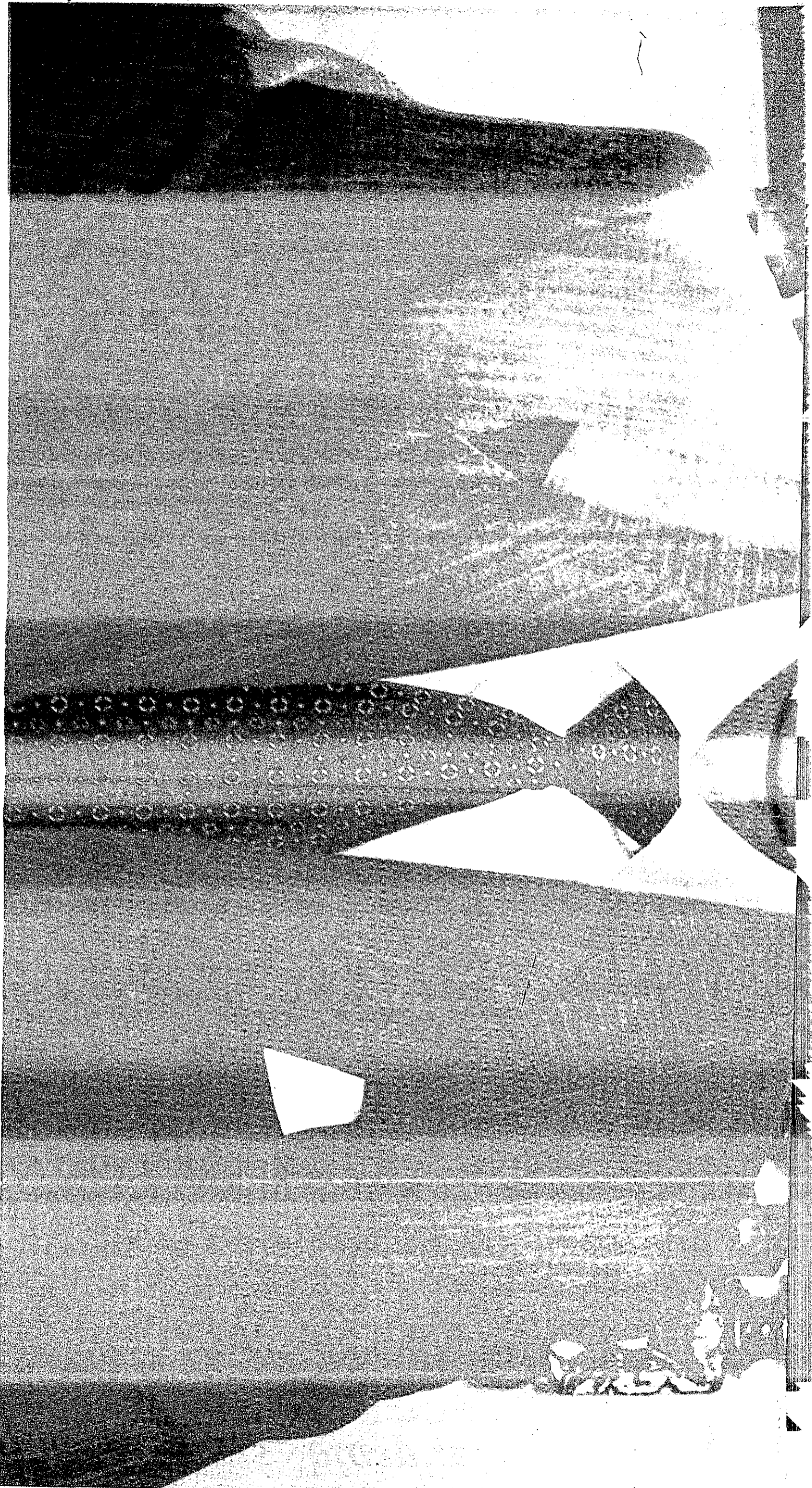
Lekota said many of the current rulers had been "educated in different circumstances" and they had a "kind of sensitivity which made it possible for the democratic movement to exert pressure on them and get a response". (11A)

Lekota said the movement did not want to fight for the sake of fighting. It valued the lives of the South African people. "As soon as certain things are done, we will stop it immediately," he said.

11A

TRIBUNE





PG: YUNUS MOHAMED

**'Your freedom and mine cannot
be separated. I will return.'**

— Nelson Mandela, in a message from prison in 1984

11A

State's 'Christian' claims 'blasphemous'

THE time for a momentous choice has come for the government - and for the hierarchy of the NG Kerk, de facto state church of South Africa.

It can no longer be tolerated that the members of a morally illegitimate, cruelly repressive and malevolently devious regime dishonour the name of Christ by presenting it as a "Christian" government, without being called to account by every Christian in our country.

Nor can it be tolerated that the NGK continues to lend credibility to this claim by harbouring the majority of these "rulers" of South Africa as respected members, against whose most outrageous acts hardly ever more than a whisper of protest is raised, without the NGK being challenged to furnish proof of its integrity as a Christian church.

If the government and the NGK hierarchy at this fateful moment in our history persist in refusing to unequivocally denounce apartheid and to boldly dismantle it - they were eager and effective partners in constructing this monstrous evil - they must of necessity forfeit any claim to be Christian.

The suffering and humiliation of millions of black people is *not* the will of God, and those responsible for it or who condone it (even by their silence) may *not* call themselves Christian. To do so would be blasphemy.

If the government persists in refusing to renounce the violence to which it has become addicted and to its harsh enforcement of immoral laws, and if the NGK

hierarchy does not use its formidable, in fact awesome, influence to put an end to this villainous abuse of power, they dare not continue to pretend to be Christian.

The well-known terrors of the state of emergency, the recent allegations of "hit squads" and their hideous activities, and a wide range of callous methods to piously "maintain law and order" (sic) culminated two weeks ago in the inhuman use of razor-edged wire against which children were driven by the vicious force of a water cannon in the centre of Cape Town - at the very doors of the Groote Kerk, the "mother" church of the NGK.

If the government persists in wearing a mask of smiling sincerity, while dealing in deception and machiavellian machinations of every conceivable kind, and if the NGK hierarchy does not rip off that mask in prophetic protest, neither the government nor the NGK can expect its Christian credentials to be accepted.

The "clever" use of words and concepts such as "peace", "reconciliation", "negotiations" and "democracy" have made them meaningless - coming from a government and a church which are seen to practise and condone the very opposite. Whoever is guilty of this may not call himself a Christian. To do so would be blasphemy.

**HERBERT BRAND,
MINISTER NGK,
TAMBOERSKLOOF**

LETTERS

Address all letters to The Editor,
P O Box 13094, 7900 Sir Lowry Road

No 'reforms', thank you!

I GREET all South Africans and readers of SOUTH in the name of Comrade Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party, and say "Amandla!"

It is heartbreaking to hear some presidents congratulating De Klerk for his reforms in South Africa. Which reforms? Don't say opening beaches for all races is a reform. The people had opened the beaches for themselves.

We don't want "reforms" but the destruction of apartheid, which cannot be reformed.

People musn't think De Klerk is moving away from apartheid; he is now digging away to its core.

It's not a reform to release our comrades in custody, such as the recently-released ANC leaders. De Klerk was forced locally and internationally to release them. If it was not for apartheid, our comrades would never have been in custody.

The only solution to destroying all South Africa's problems is to destroy apartheid. The perfect way to do so is to tear down the present constitution and commence campaigning for the people's interests and demands; to release all

our comrades in custody because of apartheid, end restrictions on our comrades and organisations, end the state of emergency which has become martial law, stop hanging our comrades and let the exiles return home.

I would like to call on every South African to start consolidating and strengthening our resistance to apartheid. We must not think we have arrived at freedom yet. Sacrifice, honesty, determination and accountability will lead us to a non-racial, democratic and free South Africa.

This is the new page of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

All of us - workers, students, youth, priests and professionals - must work together to destroy every pillar of apartheid and set up people's organs, from schools to locations. We must set up street committees, zone committees and regional committees so that we can govern our own things.

God cannot come down to earth to help us destroy apartheid, but he gave each of us brains to think, and arms and legs to use.

Lastly, we cannot rely on the international world alone to see

apartheid destroyed. The international opposition cannot assist us if we do not take initiatives ourselves to destroy apartheid.

Long live the African National Congress and its alliance with the South African Communist Party!
Viva SOUTH!

**DAVID MOTLOHI,
RAMAHUTSI**

Newlands ban shocks

IT shocked me to read in your February 1 edition about children being barred from watching cricket at Newlands.

I grew up with the parents of the children who were barred and with officials of Primrose Cricket Club - and we all learnt our cricket at Newlands.

The people who should be barred are those cricketers who drink alcohol and smoke dagga during breaks, sometimes in front of children. This practice has become a sickness among our present-day sportspersons.

Lastly, those people who spotted the youngsters on the TV set were themselves also in spirit at Newlands. So why bar those youngsters?

Let us remember the game is more important than the individual.

**HEKKIE WILLIAMS,
RETREAT**

Nelson Mandela

The University of Cape Town extends its good wishes to Mr Nelson Mandela on the occasion of his release from prison. The University of Cape Town is proud that Mr Mandela is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from this university during 1990.

Mr Mandela is a living legend in the struggle against apartheid and injustice in South Africa and is recognised as a major political figure by a great many South Africans and by prominent individuals, organisations and governments around the world. Most (including, it seems, the present government of South Africa) recognise that a permanent solution to South Africa's problems is impossible without Nelson Mandela, and that his release will facilitate the process of negotiation towards that solution. His vision is of a non-racial, just and democratic South Africa.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

HOT SPICE

THE SPICE SPECIALISTS

Cnr REEN AND CARRICK AVE, ATHLONE IND. PH: 638-3132

HASAN AL-BANNA'S ADVICE TO THE MUJAHIDEEN OF THE IKHWAN-UL-MUSLIMEEN

I would like to avow to you frankly that your message is yet unknown to many people, and that when they know it and recognise its purpose, they will meet it with the severest opposition and the cruelest enmity.

You will then be obliged to face numerous hardships and obstructions. Only then will you have begun to march on the road of the bearers of missions. ... The common people's ignorance of the reality of Islam will stand in your way.

You will discover that the people of religion and the official "uluma" will consider your understanding of Islam a strange thing and deny your struggle on its behalf.

Your chiefs and leaders, as well as people of rank and title, will envy you. Our government after another will obstruct you, and block your progress.

All the oppressors will exert every effort to restrain you and to extinguish the light of your message.

All these will excite suspicion and inspire unjust accusations regarding your message, and they will attempt to give the people an ugly and imperfect picture of it...

This will lead you to the stage of trial, wherein your special activities stopped. Indeed your period of trial may last long ... But God has promised that he will assist those who struggle and do good. Are you resolved to be defenders of God?

My Brothers, you are not a benevolent society, nor a political party, nor a local organisation having limited purposes.

What you are!

Rather, you are a new soul in the heart of this nation to give it life by means of the Qur'an.

You are the new light which shines to destroy the darkness of materialism through knowing God.

You are the strong voice which rises to recall the message of the Prophet.

You should feel yourselves the bearers of the burden which all others have refused. When asked what it is for which you call, reply that it is Islam, the message of Muhammad, the religion that contains within it self-government, and has one of its obligations as freedom.

If you are told that you are political, answer that Islam admits no such distinction. If you are accused of being revolutionaries, say "We are voices for right and for peace in which we dearly believe, and of which we are proud."

If your rise against us or stand in the path of our message, then we are permitted by God to defend ourselves against your injustice.

If they insist on pursuing their oppression, say to them, "Peace be upon you, we will ignore the ignorant."

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

**THE STARS
WILL SHINE
BRIGHTER
TONIGHT . . .**

**TOMORROW,
A BRILLIANT
FUTURE
BECKONS.**



ANC plan for Mandela to visit Sweden

11A

Sowetan 15/2/90



NELSON MANDELA

STOCKHOLM- The African National Congress chief representative in Sweden says Mr Nelson Mandela will travel to Sweden after visiting ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC representative Mr Billy Modise said on Swedish television on Tuesday night: "It is very important that Mr Mandela comes to Sweden as a matter of priority as this country has been the prime supporter of our struggle for three decades and our president Mr Oliver Tambo is here.

"Mr Tambo was extremely happy with Mr Mandela's performance on his return to Soweto."

Tambo and Mandela spoke by telephone soon after Mandela's release on Sunday.

The ANC president is said to be recovering steadily after his stroke last August.

Sweden last week hosted an historic meeting of the ANC leadership and gives the organisation about R28 million annually.

Accord

in 5 yrs

Mandela: Peaceful settlement possible

Crit. Tents 15/2/90 11A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the ANC was sensitive to white fears and in his view a peaceful settlement in South Africa was possible within five years.

In important statements to the BBC and the Associated Press, he indicated a new flexibility on the part of the ANC on the issue of one-person-one-vote.

"We are ready for honourable compromises without surrendering our principles," he told reporters.

Mr Mandela spoke as the national executive of the African National Congress gathered in Lusaka for a crucial two-day meeting at which the 32 members hope to determine Mr Mandela's future role and formulate a response to President F W de Klerk's recent moves.

In an interview with BBC television in the backyard of his Soweto home, Mr Mandela described President De Klerk as a "flexible man of integrity".

Mr De Klerk's attitude, he said, made a peaceful settlement possible — even though the ANC demand of one-person-one-vote was a basic principle.

Mr Mandela made it clear that conflict over simple majority rule should not obstruct the complex path to negotiation between blacks and whites.

"Their concept of group rights means that they are not ready to accept the principle of one person-one-vote."

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

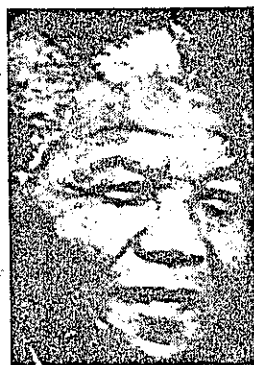
Asked how he would answer white fears that they would be swallowed up by majority rule, Mr Mandela replied: "That is what we want to address. We won't go into specifics just now, except to assure you that we realise how important it is, in order to reach a settlement."

Asked what the ANC would do if Mr De Klerk refused to concede one-person-one-vote in negotiations, Mr Mandela said: "We should not prejudice issues. I have found him to be a flexible man and a man of integrity, as I have said before."

"And, the advantage of dealing with a man who is flexible, and who knows what is going on, is the fact that the possibility of a settlement is always there."

Asked if a settlement was possible by the time Pretoria had to call a general election in just over four years' time, he said: "I think that it is possible

INSIDE:



**ANC:
TALKS
WITH GOVT
HAVE
BEGUN**

See PAGE 2



**MANDELA
'MUST
STOP
WAR
TALK'**

See PAGE 5

Benz yes on Mandela car

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) has asked Mercedes-Benz South Africa (MBSA) here to build a luxury car to give as a gift to Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Numsa organiser here, Mr Msiteli Nonyukela, said the company had agreed to build the car for Mr Mandela.

An MBSA spokesman in Pretoria, Mrs Wendy Hoffmann, said she would issue a press statement when the company was ready to, because it was "still busy talking about the implications of Mr Mandela's release on the employees and other things".

to reach a settlement within that time. "They themselves, I think, are keen that a settlement should be reached before the end of their term."

The 71-year-old leader was also asked by AP if the ANC was willing to ease its demand for a one-person-one-vote system which would lead to black majority rule.

"Compromises must be made in respect to every issue, as long as that compromise is in the interest not only of one population group but for the country as whole."

"That is the nature of compromises." The ANC has repeatedly rejected any system falling short of one-person-one-vote.

"We are aware of the fears of the whites in the country, of being dominated by blacks and we are addressing that very seriously and very earnestly," he said.

"I am convinced that in discussions between the ANC and the government, we will be able to find a

to page 2

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Mandela,
FW 'lay
groundwork
for hope'

By PAT CANDIDO

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The recent speeches of President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have laid the groundwork for hope.

This was said today by Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, and president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association.

Mr Sonn was speaking on "The Community and the Public Sector" at the University of Port Elizabeth's Prestige symposium.

He said: "For once the schism between white as represented by Mr De Klerk and black as represented by Mr Mandela, does not appear so wide.

"We have a basis from which to work for peace and we must all grasp this opportunity.

"For once there appears to be a degree of similarity between what black and white South Africans desire for the future.

"We are living in an age where nation after nation has come to the realisation that democracy, deficient as it sometimes appears to be, is the only mechanism whereby people can protect themselves and on the basis of which understanding and co-operation can be built.

"A tampering with democracy and its basic tenets is equal to fiddling with the very defences or protections people require," he said.

One person one vote 'will not be a precondition to talks'

From CHRIS WHITFIELD
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has told British TV viewers that one person, one vote will not be a precondition to talks with the South African government.

In interviews with both the BBC and ITN yesterday he made it clear that the issue would be up for discussion in talks and he was confident the ANC and the government would be able to find a solution.

He also said he believed it was possible to reach a settlement within four years.

First interview

Mr Mandela, in what was billed as his first TV interview, was asked by ITN's reporter if the ANC could settle for anything less than one person, one vote.

"That is a question to be discussed between the ANC and the government," he said. "Our demand is a clear one, but as I have said on previous occasions, we are quite aware of the fears of the whites in the country of the domination of blacks and we are addressing that seriously and earnestly.

"I am convinced that in discussions between the ANC and the government we will be able to find a solution."

On BBC TV's lunchtime news yesterday he was asked if he thought the South African government would accept one person, one vote. He replied: "Their concept of group rights means they are not ready to

accept (that) principle, but we are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand.

"But at the same time we are consciously aware of the concerns of whites over this demand and we are prepared to address it."

Mr Mandela was warm in his assessment of President De Klerk. He told ITN that he had studied Mr De Klerk's speeches carefully since he took over the leadership of the National Party "and I was convinced we had a new leader who was not only making promises, but who was determined to honour them".

He added that he had now met Mr De Klerk twice "and I am convinced he intends to honour what he has declared".

But he added that "the only difference, and an important one which guides us as an organisation, is that he represents the National Party which is responsible for the suffering which our people have experienced. There has been no change yet in the policy of that party".

● Mr Mandela yesterday met Mr Prakash Shah, ambassador of the government of India — the first country to break international relations with South Africa and to impose sanctions against the country.

● Copies of *Mandela — The Road to Freedom*, the exclusive four-part special section on Mr Nelson Mandela published last week, can be bought at the counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, at 60c per special section.



HELPING HAND: A TV assistant attaches a microphone to the lapel of Mr Nelson Mandela in preparation for an interview with CBS anchorman Dan Rather, right.

You'll be proud of us, Lekota tells US

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — If the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front produced a government that practised the excesses of the National Party, it would fail its people, its international supporters and all of humanity, UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota has said.

He spoke last night at a reception in his honour given by the International Centre for Development Policy.

The democratic movement wanted a system all its international friends would be proud of. Nationalisation was necessary to raise capital for black education, he said.



The six ANC prisoners released from Robben Island yesterday after spending between three and 10 years are, from left, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Nelson Qobeka, Mr Mahau Mmoledi, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Bushy Maape and Mr Norman Yengeni (far right). Second from right is Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the National Reception Committee.

FW's moves meaningless, say freed Island men

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN -- Six people were released this week from Robben Island after serving terms ranging from three to 10 years for ANC activities.

They said they were the first batch of political prisoners to be released from the island since the State President announced the release of certain political prisoners a week ago.

The six, some of whose relatives were in Cape Town to visit them, not knowing that they would be released, are: Mr Norman Yengeni of Cape Town, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mahau Mmoledi, Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg and Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman.

The men stressed that President De Klerk's "so-called negotiations meant nothing" as long as he did not accede to ANC demands.

Mssrs Yengeni, Bundu and Khumalo had served 10 years of a 12-year term for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC. Their release was due in September next year.

Mr Qobeka completed his three-year term last Tuesday and Mr Mahau and Mr Maape's four-year terms would also expire next year.

The men were released from jail on Tuesday.

Mr Maape said they had "mixed feelings" about 347 other political prisoners they left behind and called for their immediate release.

He said they were unrepentant and they would continue with the armed struggle "just as comrade Madiba (Mr Mandela) had spelt out, because none of the conditions as set out by our organisation in the Harare Declaration have been met."

A member of the National Reception Committee said the way prisoners were being released showed that "De Klerk has no respect for our comrades".

Dutton trial told of R55-m duplicate deal

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

An auditor told a Germiston magistrate yesterday that Interboard Limited made a duplicate payment of R55 million to an overseas company via the International Bank of Johannesburg.

Mr Casper Venter, a chartered accountant from the firm Ernest & Young, was giving evidence in a bail application by Mr Edward Isaac Dutton (34), former managing director of Interboard.

Mr Venter said Ligneus, a Guernsey-based company, bought a plant from Spano, a reputable Belgian company for DM 2.5 million (about R3.9 million). The same plant was sold by Partic (a Jersey registered company) to Ed Dutton Holdings for R62 million.

Mr Venter said the payments made to Partic by Ed Dutton Holdings, Interboard and a firm referred to as IBMM totalled about R61.9 million.

The money was remitted via First National Bank in South Africa to Partic between June 1987 and December 1988. The court heard that no payment was made by Partic to the suppliers.

Under cross-examination Mr Venter admitted he had not been able to scrutinise Partic's books.

He said when he went to Britain to continue his investigation he discovered that both Partic and Ligneus had been liquidated. The hearing continues.

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SHAMPOO
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AT ONE level Afrikaans culture was the popular Creole language of the Western Cape, referred to in a derogatory way as kitchen Dutch, spoken by slaves and indigenous peoples who taught it to their masters and mistresses.

Later it was the language of resistance to British imperialism. The best MK (*armed struggle*) — Ed: Cape Times) story to appear in South Africa to date was written (in English) by a Boer — *On Com-mando*, by Denys Reitz, a beautiful account of his three years as a guerrilla involved in actions of armed propaganda against the British occupying army.

Afrikaans literature evolved around suffering and patriotism. Many of the early books, written to find a space in nature to make up for lack of social space, have since become classics of world ecological literature.

At another level, the language has been hijacked by proponents of racial domination to support systems of white supremacy, and as such been projected as the language of the baas.

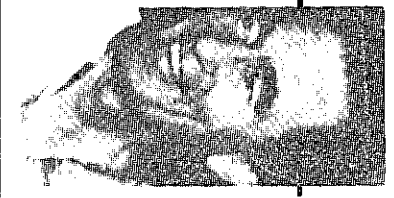
In principle, there is no reason at all why Afrikaans should not once more become the language of liberty, but this time liberty for all, not just liberty for a few coupled with the right to oppress the majority.

Ordinary country

At this point I would like to make a statement that I am sure will jolt the reader or listener: white is beautiful. In case anyone feels that the bomb has affected my head, I will repeat

Reclaim Afrikaans as language of liberty for all

The ANC will not be the only Africa in post-apartheid South Africa, says former Cape Town advocate ALBIE SACHS, a London-based member of the legal and constitutional department of the organisation. This is the third and final extract from an in-house ANC paper "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom".



the affirmation, surely the first time it has been made at an ANC conference: white is beautiful. Allow me to explain. I first heard this formulation from a Mozambican poet and former guerilla, whose grandmother was African and grandfather Portuguese. Asked to explain Frelimo's view on the slogan: Black is beautiful, he replied — Black is beautiful, Brown is beautiful, White is beautiful. I think that affirmation is beautiful. One may add that when white started saying black was ugly it made itself ugly. Shorn of its arrogance, the cultural input from the white communities can be rich and valuable. This is not to say that we need a white consciousness movement in South Africa — in the context of colonial domination, white consciousness means oppression,

successful struggle without a sense of pride and self-affirmation.

South Africa today is characterised by the state of emergency, banning orders, censorship and massive state-organised disinformation.

Subject only to restrictions on racist propaganda and on ethnic exclusiveness such as are to be found in the laws of most countries in the world, the people in the South Africa envisaged by the ANC Guidelines will be free to set up such organisations as they please, to vote for whom they please, and to say what they want.

whereas black consciousness means resistance to oppression. But it does establish the basis on which whites participate in the struggle to eradicate apartheid. Whites are not in the struggle to help the blacks win their rights, they (we) are fighting for their own rights, the right to be free citizens of a free country, and to enjoy and take pride in the culture of the whole country. They are neither liberators of others, nor can their goal be to end up as a despised and despising protected minority.

They seek to be ordinary citizens of an ordinary country, proud to be part of South Africa, proud to be part of Africa, proud to be part of the world. Only in certain monastic orders is self-flagellation, the means to achieve liberation. For the rest of humankind, there is no

or that it will be the only voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

We want to give leadership to the people, not exercise control over them. This has significant implications for our cultural work not just in the future, but now. We think we are the best (and we are), that is why we are in the ANC. We work hard to persuade the people of our country that we are the best (and we are successful in doing so). But this does not require us to force our views down the throats of others.

On the contrary, we exercise true leadership by being non-hegemonic, by selflessly trying to create the widest unity of the oppressed and to encourage all forces for change, by showing the people that we are fighting not to impose a view upon them but to give them the right to choose the kind of society they want and the kind of government they want. We are not afraid of the ballot box, of open debate, of opposition. One fine day we will even have our Ian Smith equivalents protesting and grumbling about every change being made and looking back with nostalgia to the good old days of apartheid, but we will take them on at the hustings. In conditions of free-

dom, we have no doubt who will win, and if we should forfeit the trust of the people, then we deserve to lose.

Special status

All this has obvious implications for the way in which we conduct ourselves in the sphere of culture. We should lead by example, by the manifest correctness of our policies, and not rely on our prestige or numbers to push our positions through. We need to accept broad parameters rather than narrow ones: the criterion being pro- or anti-apartheid. In my opinion, we should be big enough to encompass the view that the anti-apartheid forces and individuals come in every

shape and size, especially if they belong to the artistic community. This is not to give a special status to artists, but to recognise that they have certain special characteristics and traditions. Certainly, it ill behoves us to set ourselves up as the new censors of art and literature, or to impose our internal states of emergency in areas where we are well-organised.

Rather, let us write better poems and make better films and compose better music, and let us get the voluntary adherence of the people to our banner ("it is not enough that our cause be pure and just; justice and purity must exist inside ourselves" — war poem

Architect

This highlights a distinction that sometimes gets forgotten, namely the difference between leadership and control. We are for ANC leadership; our organisation's central position in South Africa has been hard won and the dream of the founders of the organisation is slowly being realised.

Without doubt, the ANC will continue to be the principal architect of national unity after the foundations of apartheid have been destroyed and the foundations of democracy laid. Yet this does not mean that the ANC is the only voice in the anti-apartheid struggle.

From Mozambique) Finally, the ANC Constitutional Guidelines couple the guarantees of individual rights with the necessity to embark upon programmes of affirmative action. This too has clear implications for the sphere of culture. The South Africa in which individuals and groups can operate freely, will be a South Africa, in the process of transformation. A constitutional duty will be imposed upon the state, local authorities and public and private institutions to take active steps to remove the massive inequalities created by centuries of colonial and racist domination.

This gives concrete meaning to the statement that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened. We can envisage massive programmes of adult education and literacy, and extensive use of the media to facilitate access by all to the cultural riches of our country and of the world. The challenge to our cultural workers is obvious.

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Toyitoying around with Strugglespeak

By ANTHONY DOMAN
Staff Reporter

WHEN Nelson Mandela stepped on to the City Hall balcony on Sunday evening he greeted the welcoming masses in a manner commonplace from Cape Town to Kwamashu and beyond.

"Amandla," he roared.

And the thousands below responded: "Ngawethu."

Even those newly arrived to The Struggle will know that he was saying "Power" and his audience was replying "... is ours".

In these multilingual times a working knowledge of Struggletalk is easy to acquire. After a rally or two, most

enthusiasts should have a smattering, if not a working knowledge, of Struggle Vocabulary.

"Amandla ngawethu," is, of course, an essential. The call and response are usually uttered with the right fist clenched and right arm raised confidently in the classic salute. For additional style, or possibly to indicate non-violence, the thumb may be tucked inside the fist.

More reserved folk employ the "limp-wristed" or "half-cocked" Amandla. This is accompanied by sidelong glances to ensure that colleagues can see them.

Other often-used greetings include *Mayibuye iAfrika* (return Africa to the Africans).

However, English also has exerted an influence on the Struggle lexicon. One of its most useful contributions provides a solution for those who have agonised over whether somebody was a Mrs, a Miss, a Ms (or, indeed, a Mr).

In The Struggle, everybody is plain old comrade, or "com" for short. One prominent local activist, faced with the uncomfortable situation of having to talk to somebody whose face she knew but whose name she had forgotten, simply referred to the person throughout as "com".

In certain other circles, comrade may be alternated with the Xhosa *amaqabane*, meaning comrades or friends.

Less friendly connotations are attached to the ubiquitous "Boere". It is hard to believe that what is simply the Afrikaans plural for farmer has come to be local (derogatory) slang for police.

One popular expression still very much alive is "toyitoyi", the shuffling victory dance. Strangely, even an expert like Professor Sizwe Satyo, head of the department of African languages at the University of Cape Town, couldn't trace its origins.

"It appears to be a slang word, an invention. No such word exists in Xhosa," he said.

"I suppose it must be a kind of utterance that goes with the dance."

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Govt installations are still ^{STRK 15/2/90 (11A)}legitimate targets - Mandela

Government installations were legitimate targets for the armed struggle, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Asked by the BBC whether the ANC's military wing would include targets such as shopping centres, Mr Mandela said: "We are concerned with Government installations."

White civilians would not be deliberately attacked but could be caught in crossfire.

Mr Mandela's statement contrasts with President de Klerk's appeal to the ANC to discontinue its talk of violence.

'STOP WAR TALK'

In an interview with ABC News "Nightline" anchorman Ted Koppel earlier this week, Mr de Klerk said the organisation's original justification for violence had fallen away.

"I say there is no longer a justification and the ANC and Mr Mandela must now stop war talk.

"They must realise that an essential change is now to take place within their own ranks; a change from being also a military organisation to becoming a real political party."

Asked about the deaths of white civilians in ANC attacks, Mr Mandela told the BBC: "Just as many

whites have killed many blacks. You can't avoid people being caught up in crossfire when two groups are shooting at each other."

Mr Mandela said in Cape Town on Monday that the ANC had no option but to continue its armed struggle while the violence of apartheid continued.

Mr Mandela said white fears of black majority rule were taken very seriously by ANC leaders.

"Their (whites) concept of group rights means they are not ready to accept the principle of one-man, one-vote. But we are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand."

Mr Mandela yesterday indicated that one-man one-vote would not be a precondition to talks.

He made it clear that the issue would be up for discussion in talks, and he was confident the ANC and the Government would be able to find a solution.

Mr Mandela yesterday told Britain's ITN he had studied the President's speeches "and I was convinced we had a new leader who was not only making promises but was determined to honour them." - Sapa-Reuter and The Star's London Bureau.

● See Pages 2, 11, 13, 16 and 17.

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'Govt can play role in talks'

Current rulers ^{STAR (11A)} needed — UDF

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Mass Democratic Movement was aware of its responsibility of keeping the present Afrikaner leaders in place, a United Democratic Front official has said in the United States.

Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington that the first generation of Afrikaner leaders totally unconnected with 1948 had come to power. Many of the current rulers had a kind of sensitivity that made it possible for the democratic movement to exert pressure on them and get a response.

"We are aware we have a responsibility ... They must stay in place because there is a potential of getting them as partners in solving the problems of the country," he said.

"We are not making unreasonable reckless demands. We are very sensi-

tive to the responsibilities we carry."

Mr Lekota said the movement did not want to fight for the sake of fighting. It valued the lives of the South African people.

Mr Lekota referred to certain obstacles to peace, such as the release of all political prisoners, including those jailed for common crimes committed with political motives.

He said Mr Nelson Mandela could not possibly come to the negotiating table while about 400 men and women sat in prison for what they had done in the name of the struggle. Exiles had to be allowed to return home.

"We want a fresh beginning ... South Africa belongs to all of us, black and white, so some kind of constitutional settlement will be found which will accommodate all of us," he said.

Mr Lekota said the democratic movement felt sanctions should stay in place until a new constitution had been negotiated.



The ANC opened its first office in the Natal north coast town of Stanger on Monday, with former Robben Island detainee Mr Justice Mpanza (above) as its head. The Stanger branch is operating from the offices of Mr Abdul Mangera in Jackson Street. Mr Mangera, who said the opening had been widely welcomed by locals, runs an export business from the same premises.

COMPUTYPE

Star 15/490 (11A)

Man in ANC T-shirt barred from Robben Island

CAPE TOWN — A Port Elizabeth man who wanted to visit a political prisoner on Robben Island was prevented from travelling on the ferry to the island on Tuesday because he wore an African National Congress T-shirt.

Mr Zolandile Ntlokwana wanted to visit a friend, Mr H Hlopo who is serving a sentence on the island on terrorism charges, but a prison warden refused to let him go through the gates to board the ferry because he wore a T-shirt with the words: "ANC lives, ANC reigns".

UNBANNED

Mr Ntlokwana said he told the warden that the State President had unbanned the ANC but was told the ANC was still banned on the island.

Mr Ntlokwana then borrowed a jacket and covered his T-shirt but the warden turned him away and said he was a "terrorist and terrorists can't visit other terrorists".

● The SA Prison Services confirmed the incident and said it was an "unfortunate error of judgment on the part of the warden". The inconvenience was regretted.

Arrangements were made for the visit to take place yesterday, the Prison Services said. — Sapa

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ZAZZ
(PARKING IN 2ND AVE), TEL: (011) 472
VANDERBIJLPARK CHECKERS HYPER
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Soccer City's VIP boxes are 'nationalised'

WHILE Nelson Mandela was telling the huge crowd at Soccer City that nationalisation could be part of a post-apartheid society, some supporters took it upon themselves to "nationalise" the stadium's plush executive boxes.

As the stadium began to overflow, some in the crowd began eyeing the empty luxury suites, which have been hired by big business.

When the crush became unbearable, people broke into the spacious rooms normally frequented by VIPs.

Soccer City MD Aziz Loonat said about 200 000 people passed through the stadium

ANDREW GILL

BIDM 18/2/90
gates at Tuesday's welcome home rally for the ANC leader. The ground's normal capacity is 85 000.

"Damage caused to the boxes was minimal," he said. "Nothing more than broken doors and seats."

Times Media Limited GM operations for Transvaal Neil Jacobsohn said the company's box — ironically named The People's Box by TML — had been trashed and was unusable.

Loonat said: "Fences around the stadium

11A
um were also damaged, but that was fortunate. If they hadn't collapsed we would have had another Hillsborough on our hands."

Cost of the damages could not be assessed yesterday. In terms of the contract between Soccer City and the National Reception Committee (NRC), the onus is on the NRC to foot the bill.

"Damages were expected with such a large crowd. Obviously the number of youngsters present was a contributing factor," Loonat said.

"Although some of the people were overzealous, none was malicious."

EC is asked not to lift sanctions

192/90 *smc*

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Anti-apartheid Movement branches across Europe will launch a campaign today to stop a bid by Britain to get the European Community to relax sanctions against South Africa.

The movement in Western Europe will present an open letter today to Foreign Ministers, calling for the maintenance of sanctions. This will be followed by demonstrations outside British-embassies on the eve of the EC Foreign Ministers' meeting in Dublin.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has decided to lift a ban on new investment as a result of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Following the unbanning of the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups, Mrs Thatcher announced she would no longer discourage cultural and scientific links with SA.

The British government indicated today it would unilaterally relax economic pressure on South Africa if its position was rejected at Dublin.

In a statement, the AAM said it was "concerned that any move by (the EC) to relax sanctions will undermine the prospect of genuine negotiations leading to the ending of apartheid".

11A

Mandela planning trip to Lusaka

AR 6/13
15/2/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN **11A**
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela plans to go to Lusaka "as soon as possible" and has had discussions with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said from her Soweto home today that her husband had spoken to Mr Coetsee last night.

"We are leaving for Lusaka as soon as the paper work has been done."

Asked if Mr Mandela had applied for a passport, she said: "He discussed it with Mr Coetsee last night."

She said Mr Mandela's old friend, Dr Ntatho Motlana, and Dr Mamphle Ramphele had been appointed as her hus-

band's physicians "as from today".

Mrs Mandela dismissed speculation that Mr Mandela has a heart problem.

Dr Motlana checks Mr Mandela's blood pressure daily.

"Yesterday's reading was as normal as that of a young man. Even Dr Motlana was surprised by it."

● Sapa reports that the African National Congress is so committed to the pardon of political offenders and to the abolition of the death sentence that it is prepared to see mass killer Barend Strydom go free.

This emerged today from lobby discussions with officials attending the three-day meeting of the organisation's supreme decision-making body, the National Executive Committee.

The NEC is meeting to formulate a response to President De Klerk's negotiation initiatives, and decide on the ANC's strategy now that it is unbanned, and Mr Nelson Mandela is free.

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

It appeared that no matter how painful, the principle would apply also to the mass murderer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom.

● Mandela interview, page 3.

ANC 'should review policy'

STAR

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(11A)

PORT ELIZABETH — The ANC's current economic views were hardly a recipe for survival in a highly competitive world, according to Mr Raymond Parsons, director-general of the SA Chamber of Business.

Speaking at a symposium at the University of Port Elizabeth yesterday, he said these policies would have to be reviewed.

Mr Parsons told delegates that SA needed to remain internationally competitive in a world which was now run large-

ly on market economy principles.

He said proponents of nationalisation would need convincing that not only had socialism failed in Eastern Europe, but that it would also fail in SA.

To face the economic challenges business needed to give blacks a bigger stake in the private enterprise system. He also said the misconception among many blacks that capitalism and apartheid were identical should be rectified. — Sapa.

(11A)

THE MANDELA STORY

'You come face to face with time and there is nothing more terrifying than to be alone with sheer time. Then the ghosts come crowding in...'



Thank you

This special supplement has been made possible by the kind permission of Mr Nelson Mandela and Professor Fatima Meer, author of "Higher Than Hope".

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L.A. CLOTHING DEPOT



Foundation for Peace and Justice

These are the words of Nelson Mandela as he tells about his life in jail.

In exclusive extracts from the authorised biography HIGHER THAN HOPE by his close friend, FATIMA MEER, Mandela's story is told for the first time.

Also in this special supplement, read the never-before-told story of his Mission To Africa for the ANC and the capture of the "Black Pimpernel" at a roadblock at Howick in Natal.

Mission to

NELSON, dressed in a khaki uniform that had replaced his tailor-made suit, slipped across the border into Bechuanaland (later Botswana) without a passport in January 1962.

His brief, among other assignments, was to lead the ANC delegation to the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) Conference in Addis Ababa.

Before leaving Johannesburg, he had waited at an address in Doornfontein for Duma Nokwe and Walter Sisulu to bring the official letter appointing him leader of the ANC delegation. But both Duma and Walter were arrested on the way, so he went on without it.

He felt a sense of ease and belonging in liberated Africa that he had never experienced in his own country. It was a homecoming away from home.

Africa, beyond the southernmost corner which was his, invaded his consciousness. He flew through her air-space and bumped over her corrugated roads; the hot dust clogged his nostrils, and the boiling heat of the sandy wastes dried out his skin. He was overawed by the vastness of the continent, the variations in its style and tribal cults and stimulated by the initiatives towards industrialisation.

He found a traditionalism that was more intense than anything he had known at home and far more extreme poverty.

THE MANDELA STORY

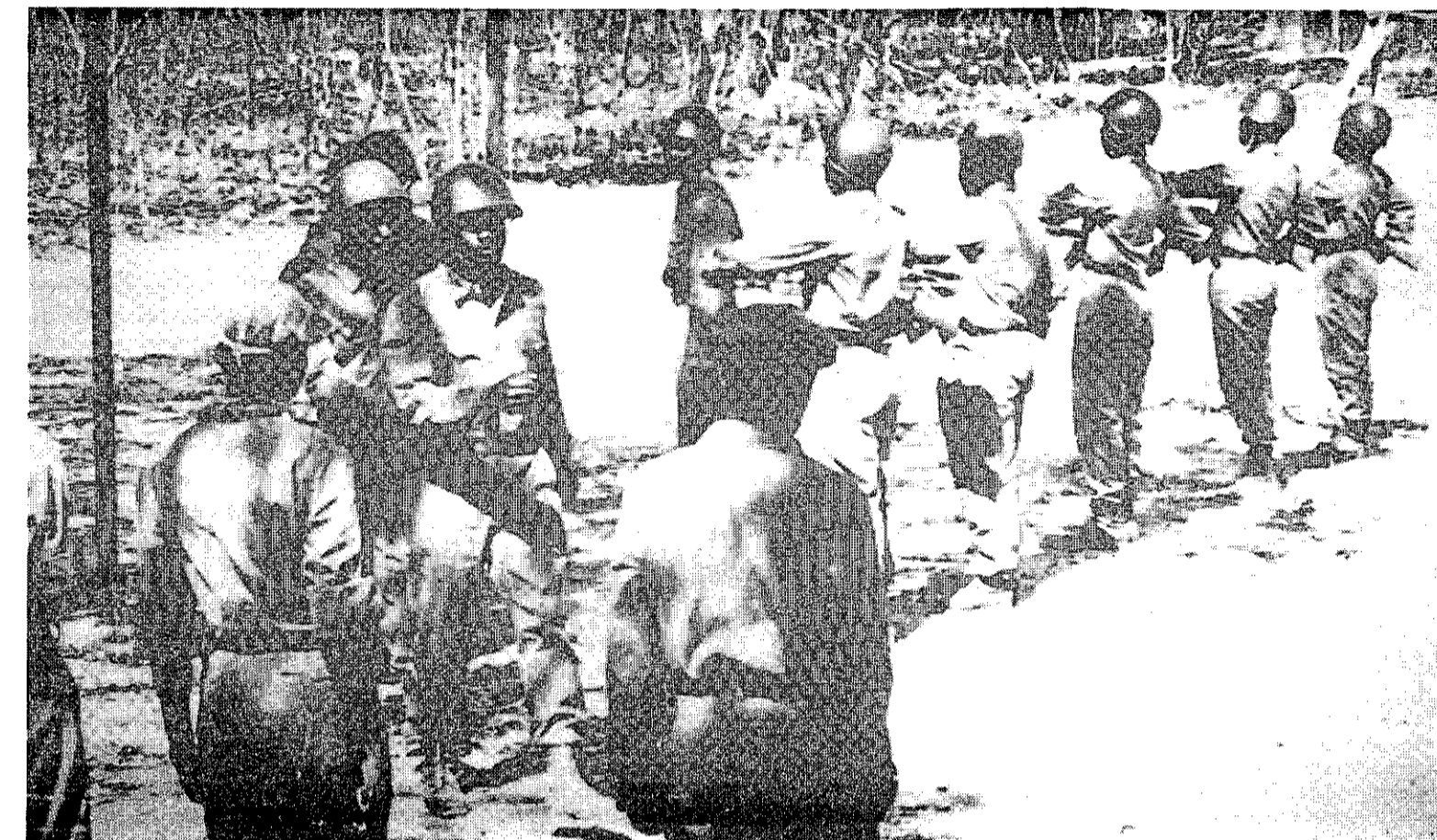
He marvelled at Africa's capacity for religion and was surprised to discover that Christianity was older in Africa than in Europe. He was even more surprised to see how Africa had digested Islam; the mosques were unadorned stucco in Mali and Guinea; in Morocco, Tunis and Egypt they were fat domes and tall minarets.

He was moved above all by the vigour with which the continent, once carved and parcelled into European commodities, was returning to itself, discovering its history, realising its personality; how the cry of *huru* was being transformed into the reality of nation states. The more he saw, the more passionately he yearned for the liberation of South Africa, not only for herself, but for the continent.

Lobatsi, in Bechuanaland, was his first stop, and he waited to travel to Maseru to see Seretse Khama. He knew Seretse from college as a man of wit and charm, something of a playboy, but astute in student politics. He had told Nelson once that all he wanted of life was to be a magistrate, but that was behind him now, and he was on the eve of leading his country into independence.

Umkhonto needed Khama's cooperation to facilitate the movement of recruits through the narrow Zambazanga strip across the Zambezi training bases in liberated Africa.

But he never saw Khama on that trip. The South African police were too active in the region; they had just produced an ANC colleague, Anderson Ganyile and Nelson was urged to



A training camp of Mkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing

move northwards, to Tanganyika, where Oliver awaited him. He arrived in Dar es Salaam, only to find that Oliver had moved on, leaving instructions with Frene Ginwala to meet him. Nelson knew Frene as a beautiful Parsee woman who had become a prohibited person in South Africa because of her political profile. She was close to Julius Nyerere, editing his paper. Frene arranged for Nelson to stay with a close friend who was also a Cabinet Minister. He was joined there by Joe Matthews.

Nelson found the land of Kilimajaro and Lake Nyasa poor in resources, but rich in spirit and ideas. Julius Nyerere had stepped down as Prime Minister and was preparing for elections. They met him informally in his home, a modest bungalow occupied once by a British *bwana*, and he gave them all the attention they required.

Nelson compared him with the homeland leaders in South Africa, some of whom earned salaries higher than that of the British Prime Minister and were chauffeur-driven in expensive limousines. He observed Nyerere arrive at a mass rally, driving his own small car, unattended by guards and without any fanfare.

It was the people who announced him as they relayed, "There is Nyerere!" Nyerere was one African leader who understood the poverty of his people and reflected it in his lifestyle.

They spent hours discussing the reconstruction of African society and were thrilled to see how closely their perceptions of African forms matched each other's.

As far back as 1946, the Youth League had declared that Africans were naturally socialistic — as illustrated in their social practices and customs — and that the achievement of national liberation in South Africa would usher in the era of African socialism.

Nyerere identified that socialism as *ujamaa*.

"Class," Nyerere asserted, "is alien to Africa; socialism and democracy, indigenous."

Nelson recognised this in the remnants of the traditional social order that survived in South Africa. He recalled how chiefs and elders spent inordinate hours to reach consensus over small issues. It also explained

his own inability to find the class divisions among his people that European academics told him were there.

They discussed the division between the ANC and the PAC. Nelson pointed out that moral and pragmatic considerations demanded a multiracial democracy in South Africa, and there was no justification for excluding a particular group or person from the liberation struggle on account of his or her colour.

Nyerere had no difficulty in appreciating this since Tanganyikan society was also multicultural, but he emphasised the need to retain the hegemony of the African spirit in Africa.

Where else could such a spirit be retained, he argued, as did other African leaders whom Nelson later met.

Nyerere urged that the ANC and PAC should unite; that unity was of the utmost importance. He advised the ANC leadership to wait until Sobukwe was released and for the two groups to pool their resources, and in unity renew their attack on the white regime.

THE MANDELA STORY

Nelson briefed Nyerere on the military initiative planned by Umkhonto. Though emotionally opposed to violence, Nyerere conceded that the South African situation, like the Algerian, left no other option. Tanganyika, he said, would help Umkhonto in every way it could.

But, he pointed out, the Tanganyikan force was led by British officers. Not only would these officers be reluctant teachers, but they could be expected also to blow the secrecy. He advised Nelson to raise the issue with Emperor Haile Selassie at the PAFMECA Conference in Addis Ababa and undertook to send a special attaché to brief him so that he would give the South African issue the attention it deserved.

While Tanganyika was calm at this time, the little island of Zanzibar, just off the mainland and destined to unite with her as Tanzania, was riddled with conflict.

Only the year before, in 1961, the island had been torn by riots. Babu Mohamed, leader of the Zanzibar National Party, a graduate of the London School of Economics and a confirmed Marxist, filled them in on the details.⁷⁸

Nelson and Joe Matthews flew to Lagos, and there was a joyous reunion with Oliver, Mzwau Piliso and Robert Tesha. They attended the Conference of the Morrovia group of African states; Nelson incognito, since it was planned that his presence outside South Africa would only be made public at the PAFMECA Conference.

Nelson was impressed with Haile Selassie's ability to stand above political divisions. Where others saw themselves as Casablancans and Morrovians, he firmly declared himself African.

Nelson was struck by the Islamicity of Nigeria. There were mosques and muezzins everywhere. It seemed to him that praying was the most important single activity.

The nation paused and turned to Allah several times a day. It was quite usual to see groups of white-robed, white-hatted men in prayer on little mats on the streets and in the odd corners of the hotels, their sandals placed neatly beside them. He learnt that there were more Muslims in Nigeria than in any Arab state in the world.

They were due to be flown to the residence of the Governor General, Dr Azikiwe, who lived outside Lagos, but trouble broke out in the east and practically all members of the Government were rushed out there.

Nigeria, smaller in area than South Africa, had twice her population classified into 250 ethnic groups; problems were inevitable, despite the Islamic bond. The British had added to these problems by breaking up the traditional kingdoms into small emirates.

The ANC and PAC delegates arrived in Addis Ababa for the PAFMECA Conference from 2 to 10 February 1962. The capital put out its red carpet and Ethiopian dignitaries welcomed the delegations.

Nelson was charmed by the people. Aquiline-nosed, large-eyed, ebony-skinned. Ethiopia had a deep meaning for South Africa. It was the only state that had resisted colonialism, and as

such reassured Africans of their innate capacity for self-reliance and independence.

It had also contributed a distinctly African Ethiopian Christian movement which was very visible in South Africa.

Nelson was charged with the history of the country; he recalled the valour of Yohannes Menelik, who had vanquished the Italians in the last century; the perfidy of the League of Nations that had abandoned its members to the Fascists in 1936 and forced the Emperor into exile because, as Professor Javabu put it at the time in his address to the emergency meeting of the AAC, it was only "Black Abyssinians".

THE MANDELA STORY

The professor had gone on to refer to the outrage as the "rape of Italy" which had scratched "this European veneer and revealed the White savage hidden beneath ..."

The Italians had poured into the country and set up their own separatist structures. When, at the end of the war, the Emperor had moved to return to his country, the British had tried to block him, fearing that he might wreak revenge on the occupying Italians.

European blood was thick indeed and the European was to be supported above all, regardless of whether he was Fascist, Nazi or enemy, if the ally was Non-European.

The Emperor had defied the British, and to the joyous acclaim of his people had returned to lead his country.

Nelson and his comrades met this defiant and proud man, Emperor Tafari Makonnen, Haile Selassie, a slightly built yet majestic figure, who took little convincing that he was the 225th descendant of the Lion of Judah, of King Solomon and Queen Sheba.

Haile Selassie did not like white South Africans. A South African battalion had recaptured Addis Ababa after it had been occupied by the

TO PAGE 17

Africa



Outside Westminster Abbey, London, 1962



At an Algerian military camp, 1962

FROM PAGE 16

Fascists and, like the Fascists, had attempted to impose a colour bar. Ethiopians could see no difference between the foreign occupiers and the foreign "liberators". Haile Selassie's sympathies were for the South African liberation struggle and he pledged his wholehearted support.

Nelson was in his stride at the conference. It was the sort of atmosphere he thrived on, the stream of ideas, the cut and thrust of argument, the to and fro of thought.

There was lobbying outside the conference chamber. Foreign ambassadors were very interested in the ANC, and in particular, in Mandela, on account of the wide publicity given to the latest events in South Africa. Nelson met Joe Slovo who set up a meeting with Tass. The Tass correspondent wanted the ANC to align itself with Russia in the Cold War. Nelson adroitly avoided committing his organisation to any superpower, pointing out that he had no mandate to do so.

Conference assembled and the public gallery was packed. The Reverend Michael Scott was among the observers. Nelson was fond of Scott although he had taken up the PAC cause. It seemed to Nelson that he considered it his duty to support the weaker, minority group.

But his PAC proteges shunned him, as if ashamed he was white. This embarrassed and pained Nelson and he took special care of Scott.

The Credentials Committee objected to the presence of a contingent from North Africa, led by A Dialo, the Secretary General of the All Africa People's Conference. Nelson was shocked to hear a member of the Zanzibar Afro-Shirazi Party say: "The trouble is that there are some Africans here who are not Africans."

He could not see any legitimacy for the exclusion of the North Africans. To say the least, it contradicted the unity they sought from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea.

THE MANDELA STORY

He spoke up for the admission of North Africa, arguing that while PAFMECA was presently focused on Central- and East-African freedom, it was about to include the Southern African region, so why should the north be excluded — par-

ticularly in the face of the fierce war the Algerians were waging against the French.

Besides, he emphasised, PAFMECA was an affiliate of the All African People's Congress (AAPC) and it was absurd to exclude fellow members of the parent body.

Nelson's arguments found wide support, but an element of resistance persisted. There was a proposal that the North Africans be allowed to attend, but not to speak.

A delegate said to all-round laughter, "Mr Dialo was ill during the last conference and his speech lasted three hours. He is well today, he will speak for three days."

A delegate said to all-round laughter: "Mr Dialo was ill during the last conference and his speech lasted three hours. He is well today, he will speak for three days."

Nelson rejoined that it was unreasonable not to allow them a voice. Oliver, who had been following Nelson's vigorous championing of the North African cause with some apprehension, passed him a laconic note, "Shut up!" Nelson complied.

But Nelson won the day for the North Africans, and the ANC gained firm friends in Dr Gallal, Vice-President of the United Arab National Assembly, and Captain Abdul Aziz of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, who was also an officer in the Algerian Army.

The Emperor opened the proceedings. His address was distinguished by his concern for continental unity, and by his deprecation of those European powers that continued to dominate Africa. He outlined the economic problems that faced the continent, warned against the dangers of neo-colonialism and called for active support of the South Africa freedom movement.

Speeches from others: heads of states and potential heads, representatives of leading liberation movements followed. The target of attack was European colonialism. There was an impatience for action, and while the Conference was a conference of words, there was constant urging that the words be translated into deeds.

K Mpho, Secretary General of the Bechuanaland People's Party, accused: "The French are murdering our brothers and sisters in Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola, the Belgians in the Congo, the Boers in the Republic of Verwoerd, last but not least, the English in the Rhodesias." Sheik Mohamed Farah of Somalia

declared: "Although the Somali Republic is free from colonial rule, I personally will not feel that we have achieved complete independence until every part of Africa is liberated. How can I feel free and my conscience be at peace so long as millions of my brothers are in bondage?"

Nelson was appalled by the Portuguese oppression in Mozambique, which struck him as worse than that of the Afrikaners in South Africa. They heard that the "msumbiji" did not even have access to the law courts, that any policeman or agricultural official could sentence people and there was no appeal against such sentences.

Kenneth Kaunda of emergent Zambia explained: "The question of ideology is not an issue with us now — the issue of today is one of freedom. We shall consider them friends those who behave as such and we shall consider them enemies those who behave like enemies. When we are free, we definitely still want to learn from both the West and the East."

Peter Molotsi of the PAC waxed poetic. He regretted that "with the war clouds on the horizon, with the war drums taking on a shriller note every day and every hour ... we cannot pause long enough here in this beautiful city to try and recapture the glory that was Africa."

THE MANDELA STORY

He hoped that they would have time for this on another occasion when they would excavate the secrets of the African past and find pathways that would take them back into antiquity "and throw light on the Azanian civilisation which flourished in the territories that are now Tanganyika and Kenya and whose traces extend as far south as Rhodesia, Mozambique and the Transvaal."

Nelson got up to deliver his address and, for the first time since leaving South Africa, dropped the pseudonym of David Motsomai and publicly announced himself. South Africa immediately knew the whereabouts of the Black Pimpernel. He was speaking on behalf of the ANC and his speech, written in Dar es Salaam, had been carefully scrutinised, amended and added to by Tennyson Makiwane, Oliver Tambo, Joe Matthews, Robert Resha and Mzwai Piliso. It was thus, as Nelson

saw it, a group effort, in the best tradition of the ANC.

Nelson began by thanking PAFMECA for extending its area of concern to Southern Africa, "in the heart and core of imperialist reaction", and by paying tribute to His Imperial majesty, a "rich and unending fountain of wisdom" and "foremost in promoting the cause of unity, independence and progress in Africa". He thanked those African states that had supported the call for sanctions against South Africa and referred, in particular, to Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Tanganyika.

He also thanked those African states that had "given asylum and assistance to South African refugees of all shades of political opinion and beliefs".

He said "the warm affection with which all South African freedom fighters are received by democratic countries all over the world, and the hospitality so frequently showered upon us by governments and political organisations, has made it possible for some of our people to escape persecution by the South African government, to travel freely from country to country, and from continent to continent to canvass our point of view and to rally support for our cause."

He identified the main objective of PAFMECA to be the liberation of territories still under imperial domination, and emphasised that in South Africa they faced "formidable difficulties and the struggle was likely to be long, complicated, hard and bitter". He described South Africa as "torn from top to bottom by fierce racial strife" and enumerated some of the more brutal incidences of massacre perpetrated by the government.

"Almost every African household in South Africa knows about the massacre of our people at Bulhoek in the Queenstown district when detachments of the army and police, armed with artillery machine-guns and rifles, opened fire on unarmed Africans, killing 163 persons, wounding 129, during which 95 people were arrested simply because they refused to move from a piece of land on which they lived.

"Almost every African family remembers a similar massacre of our African brothers in South West Africa when the South African Government assembled aeroplanes, heavy machine-guns, artillery and

rifles, killing 100 people and mutilating scores of others, merely because people concerned refused to pay dog tax."

"On 1 May 1950, 18 Africans were shot dead by the police in Johannesburg whilst striking peacefully for higher wages. Naked force and violence is the weapon openly used by the South African Government to beat down the struggles of the African people and to suppress their aspirations."

He referred to the 1956 Treason Trial as "unprecedented in the history of the country, both in its magnitude and duration. It dragged on for over four years and drained our resource to the limit."

THE MANDELA STORY

He pointed to the "murderous killing" in Sharpeville in 1960 and to the state of emergency and detention of close on 20 000 people without trial. The 2 500 000 people of the Transkei, he told Conference were under martial law. He went on say:

"The Government stubbornly refuse to publish the names and number of persons detained. But it is estimated that close on 1 000 Africans are presently languishing in jail in this area alone.

"Among these are to be found teachers, lawyers, doctors, clerks workers from the towns, peasants from the country and other freedom-fighters.

"In this same area and during the last six months more than 30 Africans have been sentenced to death by White judicial officers, hostile to our aspirations, for offences arising out of political aspirations."

He told the Conference of the revolts against the pass laws, the poll tax and against the government-appointed tribal authorities in Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland.

"Instead of meeting the legitimate political demands of the masses of the people and redressing their grievances," he said, "the Government reacted by banning the ANC in all these districts. In April 1960, the Government went further and completely outlawed both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress."

FROM PAGE 17

The cream of Africa

le told the Conference of the "formidable force" the state had assembled when the ANC had called a general strike in May of the year before.

Special bills had to be rushed through parliament to round up and detain political opponents, meetings had been banned, political workers vilified and hounded by the members of the security branch, and helicopters had hovered over African residential areas and searchlights shined on houses and yards.

Despite this," he emphasised, "thousands of workers had stayed away from work and industry and commerce had been seriously damaged."

The celebrations which had been planned by the Government to mark the inauguration of the Republic were not only completely boycotted by the Africans, but were held in an atmosphere of tensions and crisis in which the whole country looked like a military camp in a state of unrest and uncertainty.

This panic-stricken show of force was a measure of the power of the liberation movement and yet it failed to stem the rising tide of popular discontent."

He stressed that while international pressure was crucial to liberation in South Africa, it was ultimately the efforts of the South African people themselves that would liberate the country.

THE MANDELA STORY

The centre and cornerstone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself. Apart from those required for essential work outside the country, freedom-fighters are in great demand to work inside the country.

We owe it as a duty to ourselves and to freedom-loving peoples of the world to build and maintain in South Africa itself a powerful solid movement, capable of surviving any attack by the Government and sufficiently militant to fight back with the determination that comes from the knowledge and conviction that it is led and foremost by our own struggle and sacrifice inside South Africa itself that victory over White domination and apartheid can be won."

When he turned to the crucial point of his speech, namely that it was no longer possible to achieve liberation in South Africa through non-violence.

During the last ten years the African people in South Africa have fought many freedom battles, involving civil disobedience, strikes, protest marches, boycotts and demonstration of all kinds. In all these campaigns we repeatedly emphasised the importance of discipline, peaceful and non-violent struggle.

We did so, firstly because we felt there were still opportunities for peaceful struggle and we sincerely worked for peaceful changes. Secondly, we did not want to expose our people to situations where they might become easy targets for the trigger-happy police of South Africa. But the situation has now radically altered."

South Africa is now a land ruled by the gun. The Government is increasing the size of its army, of the navy, of its air force and the police. All boxes and road blocks are being built up all over the country. Armament factories are being set up in Johannesburg and other cities. Officers of the South African army have visited Algeria and Angola where they were briefed exclusively on methods of suppressing popular struggles. All opportunities for peaceful agitation and struggle have been closed.

Africans no longer have the freedom even to stay peacefully in their homes in protest against the oppressive politics of the government. During the last strike in May last year the police actually went from house to house, beating up Africans and driving them to work."

"Hence it is understandable why today many of our people are turning their faces away from the path of peace and non-violence. They feel that peace in our country must be considered already broken when a minority government maintains its authority over the majority by force and violence.

"A crisis is developing in earnest in South Africa. However, no high command ever announces beforehand what its strategy and tactics will be to meet a situation. Certainly, the day of civil disobedience, of strikes and mass demonstrations are not over and we will resort to them over and over again. But a leadership commits a crime against its own people if it hesitates to sharpen its political weapons where they have become less effective.

"Regarding the actual situation pertaining today in South Africa, I should mention that I have just come out of South Africa. For the last ten months I have lived in my own country as an outlaw, away from family and friends. When I was compelled to lead this sort of life, I made a public statement in which I announced that I would not leave the country but would continue working underground. I meant it and I have honoured that undertaking. But when my organisation received the invitation to the Conference it was decided that I should attempt to come out and attend the Conference in order to furnish the various African leaders, leading sons of our continent, with the most up-to-date information about the situation.

"During the past ten months I moved up and down my country and spoke to peasants in the countryside, to workers in the cities, to students and professional people. It dawned on me quite clearly that the situation had become explosive. It was not surprising therefore when one morning in October last year, we woke up to read the press reports of widespread sabotage involving the cutting of telephone wires and the blowing up of power pylons. The government remained unshaken and white South Africa tried to dismiss it as the work of criminals. Then on the night of December 16 last year the whole of South Africa vibrated under the heavy blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The government buildings were blasted with explosives in Johannesburg, the industrial heart of South Africa, in Port Elizabeth and in Durban. It was now clear that this was a political demonstration of a formidable kind, and the press announced the beginning of planned acts of sabotage in the country. It was still a small beginning because a government as strong and as aggressive as that of South Africa can never be induced to part with political power by bomb explosions in one night and in three cities only.

"But in a country where freedom fighters frequently pay with their very lives, and at a time when the most elaborate military preparations are being made to crush the people's struggle, planned acts of sabotage against government installations introduce a new phase in the political situation and are a demonstration of the people's unshakeable determination to win their freedom whatever the cost may be. The government is preparing to strike viciously at political leaders and freedom fighters; but the people will not take these blows sitting down."

He sat down to sustained applause. It was a seminal speech as it altered the African reluctance to support violence as a strategy for change. In 1958 the All African People's Conference in Accra had conceded support for the Algerian struggle but had reaffirmed its commitment to non-violence. The reason was easy to see. Except in Algeria and in Southern Africa, colonised Africans did not have to contend with stubborn settler communities, but Mandela's "call to arms" at PAFMECA in 1962 dispelled this reluctance.

Julius Nyerere reflected the new mood when he stated: "Our prefer-

ence and that of every true African patriot, has always been for peaceful methods of struggle. But when the door of peaceful progress is slammed shut and bolted, then the struggle must take other forms; we cannot surrender."

At the end of the conference PAFMECA became PAFMESCA, as the Southern African region was incorporated into its zone of concern.

Elated by their impact at PAFMESCA, Oliver, Resha, Matthews and Nelson flew to Cairo where the vice-president of the United Arab National Assembly, Dr Gallal, placed himself at their service. The few days in Cairo apart from meeting government officials and successfully canvassing military and financial assistance, were spent sightseeing.

Dr Gallal invited them to his home and Nelson was introduced to new tastes. He loved the spicy tea brewed in ginger; took his first and only puff on a communal hookah at a wayside tea stall; stared at the Sphinx; marvelled at the size of the pyramids and agonised at the thought of the thousands of slaves who had sweated and died to build them.

In the Egyptian Museum, he was dazzled by the beauty of an unbanded, partially restored, mummy of a young woman, thousands of years old, Negro-featured, lovely in death, and coming on to him from an incomprehensible length of time.

The mysteries of the continent overawed him.

Evidence showed that it was in Africa that man had stood up on his two feet and conceptualised his universe. It was in Egypt that he had first committed those concepts to writing and had created the breathtaking civilisation reflected in the ceremonial burial of the Pharaohs: the golden mask of the young King Tutankhamun, his golden chariot, the chips of blue glass and grains of wheat all carefully entombed to recreate a mortal life in eternity; and it was in Egypt that Moses had liberated man from the tyranny of man and inspired a saga of freedom that Nelson made his own.

THE MANDELA STORY

The delegates walked on the banks of the ancient Nile and saw biblical maidens in blue robes carrying waterpots. On the evening they relaxed on an Egyptian barge, relishing spiced foods as peasant men fiddled and made Arab music.

Their business with the Egyptian government done, their support secured, they flew to the crest of Africa: to Libya, Tunisia and Morocco. They stood on the banks of the Mediterranean and marvelled that they were a stone's throw from Europe. Not so long ago, they had scanned the oceans on the southernmost foot of the continent, at Cape Point in Cape Town, searching for the dividing-line between the Indian and Atlantic.

President Bourguiba embraced Nelson and said how it felt when African blood from the North merged into blood of the South. They settled down to talk. Nelson outlined the position of the ANC and the formation of Umkhonto.

He dwelt on the splintering of the PAC from the ANC, and on Sobukwe's imprisonment.

The President leaned forward and, with urgency in his voice, said: "What are you doing here? When Robert Sobukwe comes out of prison, he will replace you."

Resha gave Nelson an "I told you so" look. It had been his opinion that they should negate the PAC case when presenting their own.

Olivier and Nelson had insisted on explaining it. Nelson assured the President that he would be returning to South Africa as soon as he had



Kaunda: "The question of ideology is not an issue with us now"

completed his mission in independent Africa.

The President was impressed by their sincerity and asked: "How can we help? We are ready to do so." They told him they needed 5 000 pounds and training facilities for their men. Bourguiba arranged for the money to be deposited in their bank account and told them to meet Dr Mostefai in Rabat who would advise them on military training as the Algerians had a training base there.

Nelson and Robert Resha parted company with their colleagues in Tunisia and went on to Morocco. They found Rabat to be the meeting place of practically every guerilla group in Africa: the Algerians, Mozambicans, Angolans, Goans and Cape Verdians were all there.

They met Jacques Verges, head of the African division in Algeria, who would later defend the abducted Nazi, Klaus Barbie. A resident of Reunion, and therefore a French national, Verges had been declared a prohibited inhabitant in his own country.

Dr L Khatib, a Marxist intellectual, became particularly friendly with Nelson and Resha and introduced them to Marcellino de Santos of Mozambique and Mario Andrade, the Secretary General of the MPLA. Discussions were intense; there was canvassing of support for each other's causes.

The ANC delegates weighed issues carefully and avoided making commitments, particularly when it involved supporting one radical group against another. This brought home to them why the African states had to remain neutral when it came to the ANC and PAC.

Nelson and Resha placed themselves under the tutelage of Dr Mostefai for a week. They learnt about Algerian resistance to French oppression and were encouraged in their own pursuit of guerilla warfare. The Algerian situation came closest to the South African one. They were both confronted with large, white settler communities, intent on domination. But as Algeria was a colony of France, their prospect of independence was less complicated.

Dr Mostefai told them how the Algerians had begun their attacks with a few poorly armed men in 1954, how the guerilla attacks had breathed new life into the liberation struggle, how the resistance army had grown to 120 000 within three years, and how that army was fighting a French force of 450 000.

Mostefai instructed them in the theory of guerilla warfare, drawing heavily from the Algerian experience and they made mental notes of the parallels.

Dr Mostefai stressed the importance

of coordinating the political with the military, of always bearing in mind that the object of the warfare was to take over the Government. In Algeria the FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) coordinated the two sectors.

Mostefai warned that the enemy exploited regional and ethnic differences to weaken the freedom struggle and that they had to be on the alert against that tactic.

Everything, he counselled, ultimately depended on establishing bases for training and for retreat. In Algeria the liberation force had retreated into the mountains and had been supported by the Berbers. They had set up training bases in liberated Morocco, and both Morocco and Tunisia had provided refuge for fleeing Algerian civilians when government torture became excessive.

Mostefai advised them to read extensively on guerilla warfare, to understand the tactics used by other liberation forces, but to apply these critically to fit their own objectives and their terrain, the psychology of their people and their enemy.

Guerilla warfare, he emphasised, rarely resulted in a military victory but it unleashed political and economic forces that brought down the enemy. It attracted international support and bankrupted the oppressor.

The Algerian war had cost the French an estimated F200m a day, 24 000 lives and the humiliation of being compared with the Nazis in their torture. He warned that the struggle would be hard and long, but that they should never despair for time was on their side and would exhaust the enemy and give them victory.

Nelson and Resha waited to see the king, Hassan, son of Mohamed Ibn Yusuf, who had led the rebellion against the French in Morocco. They were told that if the object of the meeting was to present their case that had already been done and the king had instructed that they be given 5 000 pounds. The money was handed to them in cash, together with a generous grant for personal expenditure.

Resha left for London with the money, Nelson spent some time visiting the ancient Roman ruins in Nabuel, which inspired in him a life-long interest in archaeology. He then set off for West Africa. He flew across the desert, across vast reaches of rippling sand, arid, dry with no trace of life.

Later when he was imprisoned and seized with intense homesickness, missing the love that had filled his life, he would describe his condition as dry and arid as the Saharan sands.

Mali, landlocked and desert dry, appeared to be living on the pride of independence. Nelson was introduced to several people, all by the name of Keita, and finally to the President, Modibo Keita, and the Minister of Defence, Madiere Keita. He recalled the latter name in Ruth First's Fighting Talk; Madiere had contributed several essays to it.

THE MANDELA STORY

They sat down with the Minister of Defence and Nelson began to elaborate on the ANC programme. He had spoken for less than five minutes when he had the distinct impression that his listener had fallen asleep.

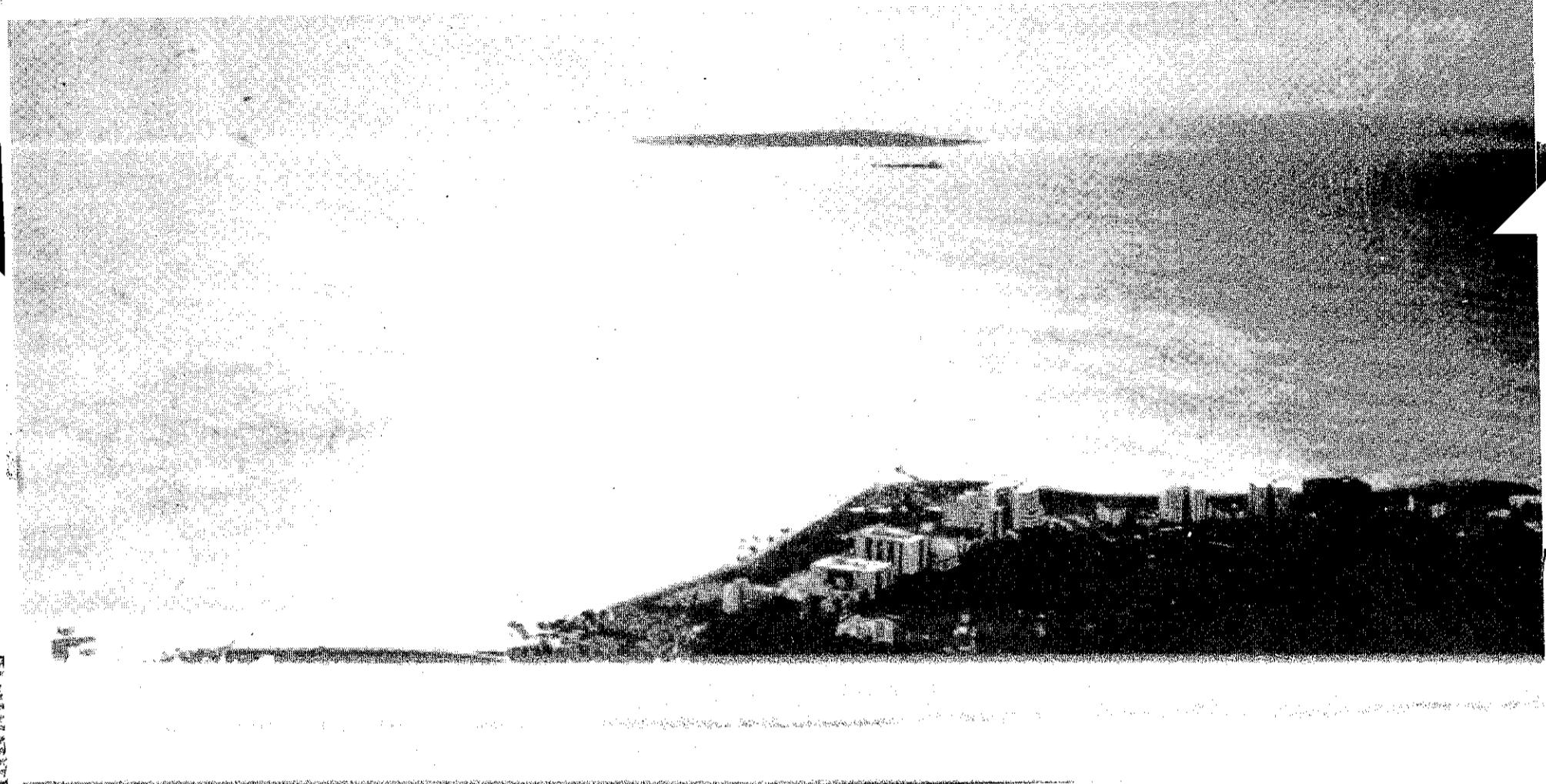
Nelson was alarmed and embarrassed but pursued doggedly, determined to penetrate Madiere Keita's mind, through its subconsciousness if necessary.

There was a long pause when he finished. Nelson's first thought was that he hadn't heard a word of what he had said.

But the Minister's eyes opened. "Your undertaking is very serious,"

TO PAGE 19

prisoners



Robben Island off Cape Town's Atlantic seaboard

FROM PAGE 30

course. But inevitably, the political prisoners succeeded in breaking in the warders or somewhat humanising them. The authorities took precautions against familiarisation between prisoners and warders by continuously changing warders.

Nelson remembers Warrant Officer Van Rensburg as one of the more vicious warders. He was brought to the Island from Brandvlei, which had the reputation of being a veritable Hades among prisons.

"He would lean against our food table and think nothing of urinating right there if the urge took him. He could stand alongside his puddle and be totally unaffected by its stench and pollution. Each day he would choose his victim for persecution. One day Fikile Bam and I became the targets."

"I want to see you," he announced at the end of the day and took us to the lieutenant and charged us for lazing on the job. 'Te lui om te werk' was the official classification in Afrikaans. We defended ourselves and invited the lieutenant to come and examine the pile of stone that testified our work.

"They are small piles," Van Rensburg countered. The lieutenant said he would see for himself and we had an inspection in loco. Van Rensburg was shocked to see our large piles of broken rock. "That's a whole week's work," he protested, but his lie was obvious and the disgusted lieutenant did what a superior prison officer rarely does, chastised his subordinate in the presence of prisoners. "You are telling lies," he said. It was a vindication that heartened all of us."

There were other instances of fair play: "In 1972 we were plagued by Colonel Badenhorst who had been brought out of retirement. He was rude beyond words, and lazy.

"When three judges, Steyn, Corbett and Theron visited us, I complained on behalf of the prisoners. Badenhorst threatened me in their presence. 'You are going to get into

trouble,' he said. I pointed out to the judges that that was a typical example of what was going on on Robben Island. Badenhorst was transferred."

"Our strategy of not arguing with the prison warders when accused of misdemeanours, but waiting for them to initiate charges against us worked. We defended ourselves before the higher ups and won practically every time and this toned down the warders' aggression against us.

"The warders also learnt that surliness on their part resulted in a go-slow on ours, that if they wanted our cooperation they had to approach us in a civil manner. Sargeant Opperman wanted more lime from the quarry.

"Gentlemen," he addressed us, 'the heavy rain yesterday washed away the markings on the roads. There is an urgent need for lime. Can you help?' We did.

"Food was always a problem, bad in itself and bad in quality and discriminatory by race (Indians and coloureds got better food than Africans), it disappeared almost altogether at times; warders stole and sold it. Coffee was crushed mealies in the early period of imprisonment; at one point we were deprived of our daily allotment of a teaspoon of sugar per day, the servings of porridge grew smaller on our plates, and we began to fear that one morning we would wake up to find nothing at all.

"We didn't relish the porridge but we lived on it. When General Steyn took over it was as if a great burden was lifted from our shoulders. He was outraged when he heard our complaints. The food returned, sadistic warders were replaced, regulations were strictly adhered to, letters that had been suppressed from arbitrary vindictiveness, materialised.

"I had complained to Zami during a visit: 'Why aren't you writing to me?' She had protested, 'I have been writing to you every month.' I took up the matter with the commanding of-

ficer. The following day I received six of my letters."

Nelson wrote an autobiography in the late 1970's. Ahmed Kathrada recalls that both he and Walter went through it. It was then copied in the finest of handwriting, (Nelson was considered unqualified for this task), and smuggled out of prison.

The original manuscript, in Nelson's hand, was stored in several cocoa tins and buried in the prison yard. But when the authorities began building a wall across the centre of the yard, and they realised that the autobiography would be on the other side of the wall, not only inaccessible, but in danger of falling into hostile hands, they dug out the tins and fearful of discovery and punishment, they destroyed the manuscript.

Nelson experienced the prison above all as punitive.

THE MANDELA STORY

"It operates to break the human spirit, to exploit human weakness, undermine human strength, destroy initiative, individuality, negate intelligence and process an amorphous, robot-like mass.

"The great challenge is how to resist, how not to adjust, to keep intact the knowledge of the society outside and how to live by its rules, for that is the only way to maintain the human and the social within you.

"Our survival as ourselves depended on us understanding this and sharing it with each other. We were not all alike, our responses to the hardships differed. We were all living under stress, but some of us were more capable of handling that stress than others. The worst part of imprisonment is being locked up by yourself. You come face to face with time and there is nothing more terri-

fyng than to be alone with sheer time.

"The ghosts come crowding in. They can be very sinister, very mischievous, raising a thousand doubts in your mind about the people outside, their loyalty, was your sacrifice worth the trouble? What would your life have been like if you hadn't got involved?

"Ultimately, it is only you who can save yourself and a latent talent brought to the fore helps. Everyone has some talent. Often the prisoner does not even know that he has that talent; there is so much to do in the life outside that it may remain buried. In prison, that talent can become your lifeline. It can be a wonderful therapy that redeems you and helps to redeem your comrades.

"There were men on Robben Island who were good with their hands and men good with their minds, and men who excelled at both. Jeff Masemola, a PAC man, taught me maths and he made a master key that could open any prison door. They took him away from the general section. He was too ingenious and therefore too dangerous.

"Mac Maharaj, Laloo Chiba and Henry Fazzie made their own tools with pieces of zinc and whatever they found. They brought back what appeared to be debris from the work place, wood and stone, and during lock-up time fashioned these into exquisite pieces of sculpture or furniture.

"There were among us men who were prepared to make every sacrifice for their fellows and no political grouping held a monopoly over this, and there were men who degraded humanity. The latter became our problems. In the course of time, we established our committees; disciplinary, educational, political, recreational, literary, and these helped to ensure that we shared the meagre facilities available to us equitably.

The authorities came to recognise, unofficially of course, that in the final analysis, order in the prison was

preserved not by the warders but by ourselves.

"We had to build our own social life and we modelled it in terms of the life we had lived and would live outside the prison walls. We encouraged, above all, study. We helped each other with the knowledge of our own disciplines and expertise. In that constricted, deprived environment, we placed the highest value on sharing, sharing everything, every resource, material and intellectual, and on the whole we succeeded.

THE MANDELA STORY

"Kathy was the youngest of the Rivonia group, in his early thirties, but from the outset, he pursued two causes in prison, unity and discipline. He was mainly responsible for developing channels of communication between the Rivonia group and other political prisoners and the system he developed survived. Walter was the beloved father. Prisoners found him compassionate and always helpful."

They were separated from the non-political prisoners but there was always contact. Nelson recalls one particular incident:

"I was going about my usual business in our section. The sun was high and I had on my broad-brimmed cardboard hat, ingeniously crafted by Jeff Masemola. A group of prisoners were working on a higher level and so could see me in my yard. 'Amigos!' they called. I ignored them, knowing that the warden overseeing me would get into trouble. The prisoners were angry. 'Mdala!' (old man) they retorted in contempt. Later they came to know my identity and when they saw me again they renewed their attempts to

FROM PAGE 31

engage me, this time resorting to a strategy bound to succeed.

"We are also your children,' they said. 'Why do you only talk to the Xhosas? Why do you discriminate against us? (Most prisoners in the Western Cape are coloured and most Africans Xhosa). The accusation stung. 'How can you say that?' I asked. 'You have not seen me talk to Xhosas. You can't accuse me of discrimination. No! No! No! We are one. But can't you see there will be trouble if I talk to you?' They were satisfied I had talked to them."

"They were like our fathers: Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela (said one comrade). Mandela helps everyone. He does not discriminate against a man because he is PAC or BC. You have a problem, you go and talk to him, personal, any kind of problem. Family problems, above all, can depress you. If someone dies and, worse, if your wife or girlfriend goes off with another man. It can be killing."

"On one occasion, there was a deadlock between ourselves and the warders. Nelson persuaded the authorities to hold a discussion about the problems. Each cell was asked to send representatives. We were conducted to the small office. There weren't enough chairs, so some of us were standing, others sitting two to a chair. The officials were seated comfortably.

Nelson was about the last to join us. He cast one look and said, "We can't hold a discussion under these conditions. We must be properly seated." They brought in more chairs and the discussions were conducted in a more appropriate environment."

Strini Moodly was one of the nine members of the South African Student Organisation (Saso), convicted in 1976 for terrorism by thought. They had not exploded a single bomb, but the court found their poetry, drama and political speeches, terroristic. They were young men under 30 and they brought fresh revolutionary energy to that grim Island.

Strini recounts:

THE MANDELA STORY

"We arrived on Robben Island on 22 December 1976. We looked forward to meeting our leaders who were our legendary heroes. That was the one bonus of our long-term sentences. But we didn't see them, not immediately. We were put in "C" Section and locked up in single cells. Our only view of the Rivonia men was the dim figures we made out as we looked from our high cell windows, across the passage, and through the high cell windows of the opposite cells, into their yard in "B" Section. We could not distinguish anyone."

"Our section had not been used for a while and was referred to as the observation or punishment section. It was so damp that the paintwork kept peeling off and if one kept one's foot on the cement floor for 10 or 15 minutes, and lifted it, one found a puddle of water beneath. There was a passage down the centre of the block; the cells were on either side. The warder's office was at the one end of the passage and beyond that was a narrow walled-in yard with six showers and a couple of toilet pans. There was no hot water, only cold sea water."

"Our cells were small, about three paces each way. There were two high windows and from one, the third glass pane was removed so that the warders could look in. The windows were barred from the inside. All I could see from my back window was the concrete walls of other cell blocks. We were locked up with a sanitary bucket, a bottle, a towel, a face cloth, three sleeping mats (one grass and two felt), and four blankets. That meagre space and those few belongings constituted our world for six weeks. We were let out of it for an hour each day, in the morning to shower and use the toilets, and in the afternoon to breathe fresh air and

Island of Hardship



The prison yard, Robben Island. The prisoners on the right are sewing mailbags

stretch our limbs."

"Once in the yard, we deliberately defied the warders. We shouted 'Amandla!' as loud as we could so that the other prisoners could hear us. Failing to restrain us, they built a high wall so that the others could not see us."

"On the day before Christmas, Kathy (Ahmed Kathrada) and Frank Anthony of the Non-European Unity Movement visited us. They brought us sweets and tobacco from their committee, Ulundi. We were very excited to see Kathy. He asked for me by name; he told me that he knew my father. He was quite emotional and wouldn't leave me and asked me endless questions about people in Durban we both knew.

"We discussed how we could maintain communication with them. We discovered that there was a gap in the iron gate between our yards and we could leave messages there. We told Kathy we wanted to see Nelson and suggested that he should stand in their yard at a certain spot at a certain time when we were outside in our yard, so we could identify

him. At the time of his arrest, most of us had been toddlers and some not born, but he was part of our psyche and our political culture and we were most anxious to see him. He did as we requested and we saw him standing tall, slim, very regal. We did not speak, and we made no signs, we looked in wonder at the man, and later, we talked about him with excitement."

THE MANDELA STORY

"We were later moved to Section "D", which was a communal block, and which, like all the communal blocks, had a number of advantages. The toilets and showers were built inside the block so that we had continuous access to them and more important, we had each other's company. At night we discussed, planned activities or attended to our reading

and our studies when these were allowed to us."

"Non-political prisoners were housed about two to three kilometres away from us. We saw them when they came to clean the ground near our compound or worked near us in gangs. They worked on the runway and generally kept the island clean.

"There were two forms of hard labour that were particularly grim on Robben Island, collecting bird droppings and lime quarrying. The bird droppings made us so dirty and stinky that we could hardly accept our own bodies at the end of the day."

"At the quarries, the sun shone on the white lime and blinded our eyes. We could barely see, and we feared that we would strike into each other in error. We were expected to pick, shovel and load without a break and we feared that we would pick into each other. We asked that there should be breaks between the tasks, but the warders refused. We had an argument. We struck work. There were about 150 in our gang. A reinforcement of warders arrived. We

were ordered to return to work. We refused. We were conducted to our cells. That evening, just as we began to eat our supper, we were told we had to stop. We protested. We had only just begun. They set the dogs on us. Canine teeth sunk into our flesh. Made wild by the dogs, we picked up our picks and spades and lashed out at them. There was a reinforcement of warders. They baton-charged and overpowered us and we were locked up in Section "C", 77 of us.

"There was outrage among the prisoners. Nelson and his colleagues slipped us notes of encouragement and support. We went on a hunger strike, they joined in. Eventually the Red Cross intervened and the hunger strike was called off.

"Our case went on trial. A magistrate was brought in from the mainland because we had insisted on the refusal of the Officer in Command, Richardson, who was a real fascist. Eight of us went on trial and the charge against us was withdrawn.

TO PAGE 33

Impressed by Nkrumah

"Your Government will where you have been. You must exercise the utmost caution. We are very far from you, but if your people come to Dar es Salaam, we will train them."

He took Nelson to the President, who told him that they had an agreement with Guinea and Ghana and that they would place the matter on the agenda at the next meeting. They put their heads together to see what further assistance they could give the ANC.

Lamine Keita took charge of Nelson's social needs. He was a rare academic who had graduated from Lincoln, Moscow and Cairo universities.

Lamine told Nelson that the Government would meet all his expenditure in Mali and he instructed the manager of Nelson's hotel accordingly. But the President's secretary apparently had a score to settle with Lamine and decided to settle it at Nelson's expense. She countermanded Lamine's instruction and the nervous hotel manager, thinking that he had a bilking on his hand, almost threatened to throw out Nelson.

"Since when did I come here on your government's strength and when did I say that I was not responsible for my own bills?" Nelson asked angrily.

THE MANDELA STORY

He then marched the manager to his room, where he showed him the bank notes in his suitcase, "I have enough here to pay you for a year!"

The manager apologised. Lamine Keita was outraged when he heard of the incident. It now became a matter of his personal honour that the Government met Nelson's expenses, and it did.

The flight to Guinea had a distinct African flavour. Nelson was relaxed eyes half closed, when a soft voice asked, "What will you drink?". The air hostess was not beautiful, but she had great charm. "Tea," he answered. She smiled approval for they were flying over Muslim territory and they did not like alcohol.

The plane descended between Bamako and Conakry, the new passengers boarded with chickens and groundnuts. The woman who sank into the seat next to Nelson's was so heavily pregnant that she could not fasten her seat-belt. She beckoned to Nelson for help. He obliged but not without some embarrassment at the unexpected familiarity with an expectant mother.

At Conakry Airport, the Guinean officials became suspicious of Nelson's passport. Oliver had arranged an Ethiopian passport for David Matsomai. Nelson was asked to step aside for questioning. They eventually released him, but retained his passport. By then, all the transport to the city had stopped. They gave him a lift to the nearest garage from where he got directions to a cheap hotel.

In the morning he set out on foot for the Foreign Office. He had the distinct feeling of being followed. Turning around he found a group of young boys tracking his footsteps.

He stopped, curious about their business, but it was they who questioned him. They asked for his passport and when he told them it was at the airport, they became suspicious and ordered him to go to the police station.

Nelson managed to evade them and reached the Foreign Office. He found the boys there ahead of him. "Who are they?" he asked, after he had been officially welcomed. "Volunteer reservists!" he was told.

Guinea contrasted against Mali: the vegetation was lush and the country appeared to be thriving. Sekou Toure had enormous popularity. He and his party had put the economy back on its feet after the French had practically bankrupted it. Nelson heard how the departing colonialists out of sheer pique had left the state coffers dry and gone off with the maps of crucial public works, caus-

ing unnecessary trouble for the new administration.

He did not meet the President as he was occupied with the American Foreign Secretary. But when Nelson reached Lagos he found a communication asking him to return to see Sekou Toure, which he did with Oliver. Sekou Toure told them that the Democratic Party of Guinea supported their struggle and gave them 5 000 pounds in Guinean currency, worthless outside the country. The Czechoslovakian Embassy obliged and exchanged the money.

From Conakry, Nelson flew to Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone. The flight was a short fifteen minutes, but it took him over an hour by bus to the city for they had to be ferried across a channel to reach it.

He discovered that parliament was in session and decided that that would be the best place of first call, everyone would be there. He went up to a Cabinet Minister and introduced himself as Chief Luthuli's representative. Luthuli had just been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and was a well-known and honoured African.

"I was given a very prominent seat in the House, right in line with the Speaker, and wondered to what I owed such honour. So too did the Speaker who came up to inquire who I was. I whispered, 'Chief Luthuli's representative'. He bowed and said that not even their most distinguished visitors were conducted to that particular seat, but my case was exceptional. I wondered what made it exceptional."

"The House adjourned for tea. The Cabinet Minister who had conducted me to the special seat now conducted me to the President, Sir Milton Margai, and bowing deeply, said, 'Sir Milton, I present to you our most distinguished visitor, Chief Albert Luthuli.'"

"I am David Matsomai, I corrected, but he waived my correction aside. 'No! No! You'll do.' He then repeated, 'Chief Albert Luthuli.'"

Nelson realised it was useless to protest. They were intent on having the Nobel Peace Prize winner and intent on passing him off as Luthuli. Later they accepted the reality, gave Umkhonto their support and put him up in a government guest-house.

He had been asked by Mzwai Piliso, the ANC representative in Cairo, to look up his sister, who was going through a bad patch following the breakdown of her marriage. Lindi Piliso was a "home girl" and a medical practitioner who had qualified at Wentworth, Durban, and had married a businessman from Sierre Leone.

Nelson had never met her. He introduced himself as David Matsomai from South Africa. The name meant nothing to Lindi, but she was pleased to see him. He accompanied her on her medical rounds and was amused by her mastery of the pidgin English used by the locals.

On leaving he asked if it had not bothered her that though he had given her a Sotho name, he had spoken to her in Xhosa. She said it had. Then he told her who he was. She embraced him, welcomed him anew and begged him to stay with her longer. But he had to go on, to Liberia, and so took his leave.

Nelson's first contact in Liberia was a Mr Eastman, who subsequently became head of the Foreign Affairs division. Eastman checked him out in Ronald Segal's Who's Who of South Africa, and introduced him to the Foreign Secretary, Mr Grimes, who phoned the President in Las Palmas (a local holiday resort). The Foreign Secretary cut short his holiday there and returned to the capital to meet his distinguished guest.

Nelson waited for the President with several ambassadors in the ante chamber of the stateroom of the Palace. The first name to be announced was that of "Mr David Matsomai". It caused a stir and the dignitaries looked around to see who had been given priority over them.

President Tubman welcomed Nelson genially and told him that he did not have to explain anything to him. He was fully behind the struggle against the racist regime in South Africa and ready to help.

Nelson was given the 5 000 pounds he requested for the ANC and was asked about his personal expenses. He told the President that he had been given allowances in Morocco and Mali. The President whispered something to his secretary, who left the room and returned with a personal envelope for Nelson. It contained 300 American dollars.

The Liberians did not like his hotel and suggested he move to the Duke: "It is more in keeping with your status and we will pay the expenses."

Nelson declined. He thought of the poverty of his people back home and preferred to remain in his third-class hotel which was more in keeping with his standards at home. He was invited to a state banquet that evening but also declined that. He knew it was a formal affair and he neither had nor was prepared to wear a dress-suit at that point in his life.

President Tubman placed a car with telephone and chauffeur at his disposal. He was asked to see the Commander of the Harbour, Colonel Ware.

En route he discovered a surprising patriotism in the chauffeur. "What river is this?", Nelson asked. "The river Po," the chauffeur replied. He drew up to the side of the road and pointed to an island.

"You see that island there? That is where our forefathers began this country. God save Liberia! They had been taken as slaves to America. They returned when they had been freed, but they were no longer used to this climate. They found the conditions very rough, only half of them survived and they are our founding fathers. That was in the last century."

Nelson was deeply moved. He showed the chauffeur the letter to Colonel Ware, thinking he would be pleased to see it. To his consternation, the chauffeur snatched the letter from his hand and tore it up.

"They are just showing off," he said. "You are the guest of the people of Liberia. The people will show you around. I will take you to Colonel Ware." And so assuming the role of "the people", the chauffeur presented him to the Colonel.

THE MANDELA STORY

In Accra Nelson directed the taxi to the only hotel he knew. It had been recommended by the Ghanaian ambassador in Liberia. He saw himself reflected ten or more times in the mirror lining the foyer. He decided he would change hotels the next day and telephoned Peter Raboroko.

They had worked together during the Youth League days, but now Peter was the PAC representative in Ghana and the assistant editor of *The Voice*, a publication put out by the Ghanaian Bureau of African Affairs. Peter came to see him immediately and invited him over to the PAC office.

The PAC had established itself ahead of the ANC in Ghana. Peter was bent on impressing this on Nelson and gave a demonstration of their tough performance and extensive reach when he visited their office the next day.

Peter ostentatiously handed a pile of envelopes to an attendant.

"Post these and be very careful about it. They are going to all the leaders in Africa. Register them and bring back the slips."

Peter was curious to know exactly why Nelson was in Accra and he was convinced there was a hidden agenda. He discussed this with Mlaheni Njesane, a sociologist who had resigned his post at the Univer-



Yusuf Dadoo

sity of Natal and joined the PAC.

But Njesane was having second thoughts about the PAC. Besides he was Nelson's kinsman, being Winnie's maternal uncle, so he reported the discussion to him, much to Nelson's amusement.

Nelson found Nkrumah's dream of a united federal state of Africa compelling, but the more he travelled in Africa and the more he came to understand the continent, the more he realised that the dream would remain a dream.

There were too many differences and the underdeveloped nature of the continent made access and unity almost impossible. There were politicians who disputed that the North Africans were African at all, since they were not Negroid in appearance, and tribal ethnic consciousness challenged national integration, let alone Pan-Africanism.

Ghana had a relatively small population of seven million but the people spoke 72 different languages and dialects, and there were signs of tension between the southerners who were relatively westernised and had a higher literacy rate than the northerners, who remained traditional.

But Kwame Nkrumah was a binding force and enormously popular. Nelson was impressed with the steps he was taking to rekindle national pride by relating the people to their pre-colonial civilisation through stamps, postcards and easily readable books, and to lead them to a prosperous, modern society. High on his list of priorities was the damming of the waters of the Volta to build the Akosombo Dam that would irrigate, electrify and industrialise Ghana and the surrounding states.

Oliver joined Nelson in Accra and they flew to Dakar in Senegal. The city was a cosmopolitan mixture of African and Arab with a sprinkling of French. Nelson admired the ladies of high society, richly perfumed, gliding in flowing floral silks and georgettes, with turbanned heads; their male companions in gold-embroidered white robes.

He visited the bustling marketplace dominated by the large, Moorish mosque, enjoyed the cool sherbets, the Afro-Arab meat and fish dishes and the music. Most of all, he loved watching the boats as they came in at dawn, silhouetted against the pink sky, graceful, small, pencil-slim vessels, with the fishermen at one end rowing upright. Their fish spilled and shimmered on the beach sand, still alive, and the town's folk flocked to barter and buy.

Nelson and Oliver had an appointment with President Senghor and as they approached the presidential building Oliver was seized by an attack of asthma, brought on by the heat and humidity in Dakar. He was

in such a state of collapse that Nelson had to carry him on his back up the stairs.

The President was alarmed at Oliver's condition and immediately summoned his physician. Medication brought relief and Oliver recovered sufficiently to join in discussion. But he was bedridden for the next few days.

Their cheap hotel proved a liability for it did not serve meals, and bringing in appropriate food for Oliver was a problem. Nelson also had to pursue the rest of their work in Ghana on his own. He sensed that while President Senghor was highly respected, his penchant for his former colonisers and their French culture evoked open criticism. Nelson had a taste of it within Senghor's bureaucracy.

The President gave him an aide, a beautiful young French woman. They arrived at the office of the Minister of Justice, Mr Dabussiere. His secretary, a young black woman, asked the aide her business with the Minister. "I have been sent by the President to interpret for Mr Matsomai," she answered. "So?" demanded the black secretary. "So, may we go in?" she impressed.

"Minister Dabussiere speaks English fluently. You are not needed here. Go back!". The black secretary was openly hostile. Nelson's French companion protested but the secretary held her own and debarred the former "coloniser" from seeing her boss.

Nelson and Oliver left the continent of Africa at Dakar for London. As the sun rose the plane descended and revealed the city Nelson knew through colonial literature. He saw the great metropolis through the smog in Lilliputian proportions, serene and harmless, and he thought of how almost three quarters of the world had been invaded and occupied by it.

London was exciting: the Thames, Westminster Abbey, the Houses of Parliament, Big Ben; his responses were mixed. So much of his education was related to British history and symbols that he experienced a spontaneous identity, but there was a simultaneous recoil against the imperialism that had arrogantly stalked the colonies and had demeaned and brutalised people. He saw a reaffirmation of that imperialism and its inherent racism in the statue of General Smuts prestigiously appointed near Westminster Abbey. But as the Empire dimmed and disappeared, so his rancour slackened and Nelson was ready to forgive and to embrace London as part of his international heritage.

They met leaders of the British Labour and Liberal parties and gave Dr Dadoo a report of their African trip. They emphasised the Africanist ethos that pervaded the continent. They told him that African leaders found it difficult to accommodate an ANC that gave such prominence to other racial groups within its structure and that they saw the PAC as articulating African Nationalism.

THE MANDELA STORY

To them the ANC appeared to represent an amorphous group that could not quite be identified as African. They suggested some reformulation of the ANC image to achieve unquestioned support.

Yusuf Dadoo tensed at the suggestion. As Nelson recalls:

"He kept asking, 'What about policy?' We tried to reassure him that we were not suggesting any changes in policy; we were concerned about the image we projected. We felt at the time that Dadoo was falling short in appreciating the problem from our

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OM PAGE 19 (11A)

spective. However, when on my return to South Africa, I reported on the Africanist demand of the African National Congress to Chief Luthuli, he retorted, 'at right have they to dictate to me?' I explained that they were not dictating, that I was reporting to him. President General how Africanists saw the ANC. Dr Naicker, on the other hand, readily grasped the dilemma that beset us."

ter, at the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela summarise his African son as follows:

My tour was successful beyond all hopes. Wherever I went, I met sympathy for our cause and promises of help. All Africa was united in the stand of White South Africa, and even in London I was received with great sympathy by political leaders such as the late Mr Hugh Gaitskell and Mr Grimond. In Africa I was promised support by such men as Julius Nyerere, now President of Tanganyika, Mr Nkomo, then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, General Aboud, President of the Sudan, Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, Ben Bella, now President of Algeria, Modiera Keita, President of Mali, Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal, Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, President Tubman of Liberia, Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, and Kenneth Kaunda, now Prime Minister of Zambia.

It was Ben Bella who invited me to visit Oujda, the headquarters of the Algerian Army of National Liberation, the visit which is described in my diary, one of the exhibits.

I had already started to make a study of the art of war and revolution whilst abroad underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them. Notes of lectures I received in Ethiopia and Algeria are retained in exhibits produced in evidence. Summaries of books on guerilla warfare and military strategy have also been produced. I have already admitted that these documents are in my writing, and I acknowledge that I made these studies to equip myself for the role which I might have to play if the struggle turned into guerilla warfare.

THE MANDELA STORY

I approached this question as every African Nationalist should do. I was completely objective. The Court will find that I attempted to examine all sources of authority on the subject, from the East and from the West. Going back to the classic works of Clausewitz, and covering such a variety as Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on the one hand, and the writings of the Anglo Boer War on the other, of course, these notes, my lord, are merely summaries of the books I read and do not contain my personal views.

I also made arrangements for our recruits to undergo military training. At home, my lord, it was impossible to organise any scheme without the operation of the ANC offices in Africa. I consequently obtained the permission of the ANC in South Africa to do this to this extent that there was a departure from the original decision of the ANC that it would not take part in violent methods of struggle, but it applied outside South Africa only. The first batch of recruits actually arrived in Tanganyika when I was passing through that country on my way back to South Africa.

"I returned to South Africa and reported to my colleagues on the results of my trip. On my return I found that there had been little alteration in the political scene, save that the threat of a death penalty for sabotage had now become a fact. The attitude of my colleagues in Umkhonto was much the same as it had been before I left."

The capture of Black Pimpernel

NELSON returned to South Africa in July 1962, crossing the border, as before, at an unchecked point. Joe Modise, now commander of Umkhonto, awaited him with a car and they sped to Johannesburg. He meticulously avoided making contact with Winnie.

He disappeared into the Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia, where his comrades had established an underground base to pursue the new phase in the liberation struggle: sabotage.

He met Moses Kotane, Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe, JB Marks, Govan Mbeki, Dan Tloome and other friends. He had brought new expertise into the struggle and glowed with a remarkable energy that infected his colleagues.

In June 1962 the newspapers headlined "The Return of the Black Pimpernel" and the police went on alert. In the Mandela home they became a regular establishment.

Winnie told a reporter of the Sunday Times on June 24 1962: "The police have been making visits and searches at my house every night for almost three weeks. Whenever my children and I are about to sleep, security branch police arrive.

"They ask me where my husband is and sometimes search the house. Sometimes they joke and at other times they are aggressive which frightens the children.

IN HIS OWN

"There are rumours that Nelson is back, but I have not seen or heard from him."

On Wednesday, June 20, the police arrived at 10pm and became vicious when they did not find Winnie at home. Her sister, living with her at the time, barred their way and demanded a warrant. They pushed her aside and ransacked the house.

The neighbours gathered outside, angry at the intrusion but helpless against it. Some youths, not sharing their helplessness, and tantalised by the parked motorbike, set it alight. The bike exploded just as Winnie arrived. The police rushed outside, revolvers in hand, ready to fire. The crowd melted away. They confronted Winnie and questioned her about the explosion. She scoffed haughtily,

"Don't ask me to do your dirty work."

Nobody was going to identify anyone for the police and the government was not yet empowered to take the sort of arbitrary actions against citizens that they would in the near future.

Nelson found Lilliesleaf, the sprawling farm in Rivonia, officially occupied by Arthur and Hazel Goldreich, a convenient base. When it seemed safe, elaborate arrangements were made for his family to be brought to see him there.

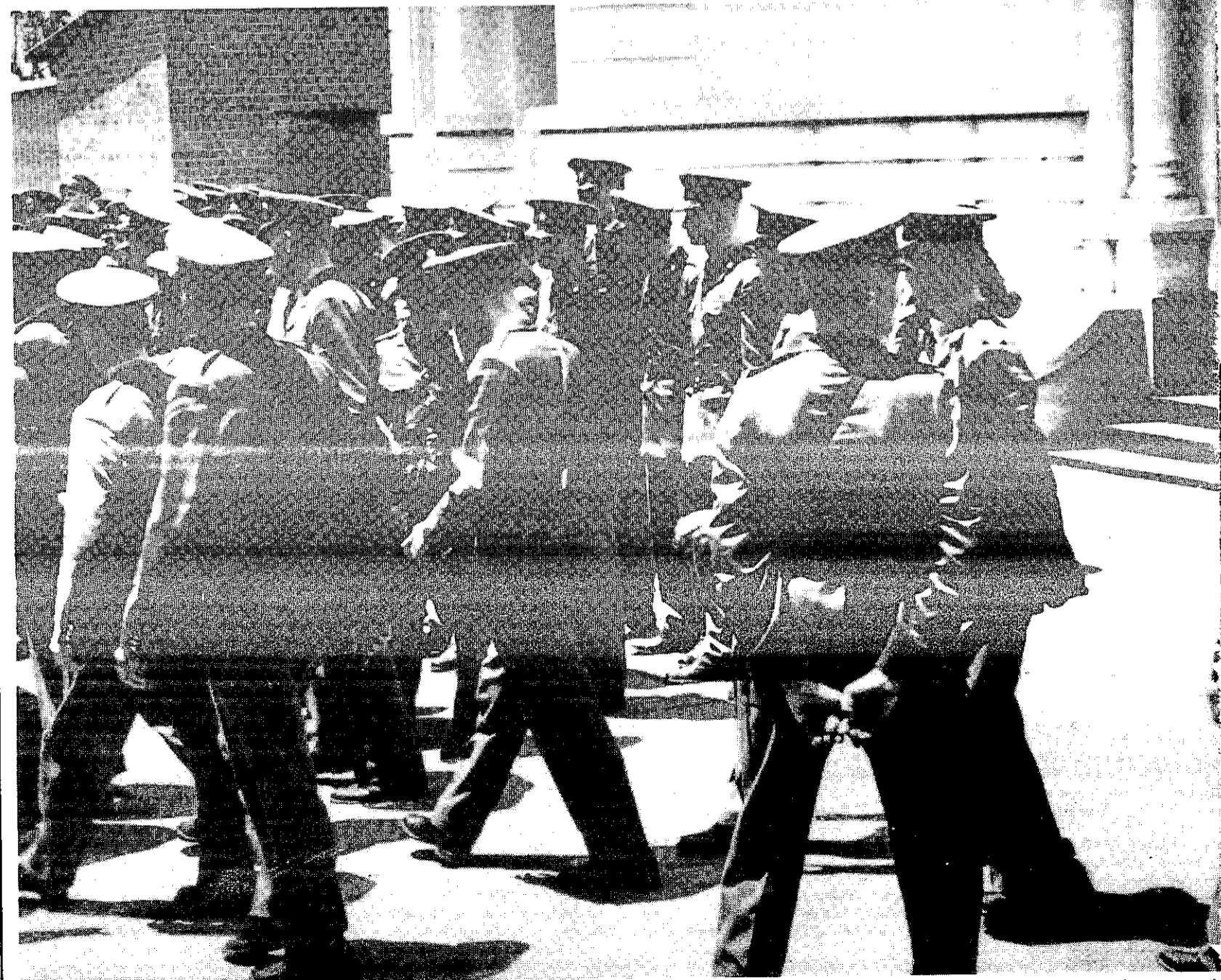
Makgatho recalls: "We knew Tata was in hiding. I can't say how I felt about it. It made me afraid. I couldn't say then why, but now I know I was afraid because I thought we could lose him. I was excited and

happy when I saw him. "We saw him at different places. Mum Winnie took us to see him. One time I went to stay with him at Lillies farm.

"There was a big house which was the main house and there were outbuildings. Tata was staying in one of the outbuildings. The white people were staying in the big house. Mum Winnie stayed one night and left. I stayed for a week, or it may have been two weeks.

"Tata and I swam in the pool and we went for long walks. He taught me to shoot with a rifle and bought me a pellet gun. He used to cook for me. Thambi was not with us. I don't know why he was not there. I didn't think about it at the time.

"I saw a lot of Tata because I was



Winnie Mandela leaving court amid a strong police presence during her husband's trial. Soon she would have to face nearly

of the impernel

WORDS

close to Mum Winnie then.

"I was very sad to leave Tata but he told me I shouldn't worry, that we would go to school in Swaziland and we would have no problems."

In August Nelson said goodbye to Winnie. Her eyes had brimmed with tears, and that is how he remembered them. The next day he left for Durban to consult with Chief Luthuli, Monty Naicker, MB Yengwa and others, to check on work and to renew contact with friends.

He was disguised as a chauffeur, carried a pass that gave his name as David Motsamai, and drove the Austin of his wealthy white boss, actually the theatre director, Cecil Williams.

On Sunday, August 5, a number of his friends, among them the Meers,

the Singhs, Dr Naicker and MB Yengwa, gathered at the home of the Post photo-journalist, GR Naidoo. Nelson cut a large military figure on khaki, his laugh booming the familiar welcome as he embraced each friend. They drank and ate and discussed politics.

They laughed a lot, excited by their intrigue. The police were looking for Nelson and here they were partying with him, virtually under their noses. If Nelson had any apprehensions he did not show them.

The "chauffeur" and his "boss" drove out of Durban on the warm Natal Sunday enjoying each other's company and strangely at peace with the world, the "boss" driving and the "chauffeur" relaxing beside him.

They had been travelling for about an hour and a half and had reached Cedara when they were alerted by a police car, catching up with them. Nelson's mind raced fast:

"I considered the possibilities. There was a steep bank on the side of the road. I could make a dash, scale it and disappear into the bush or trees."

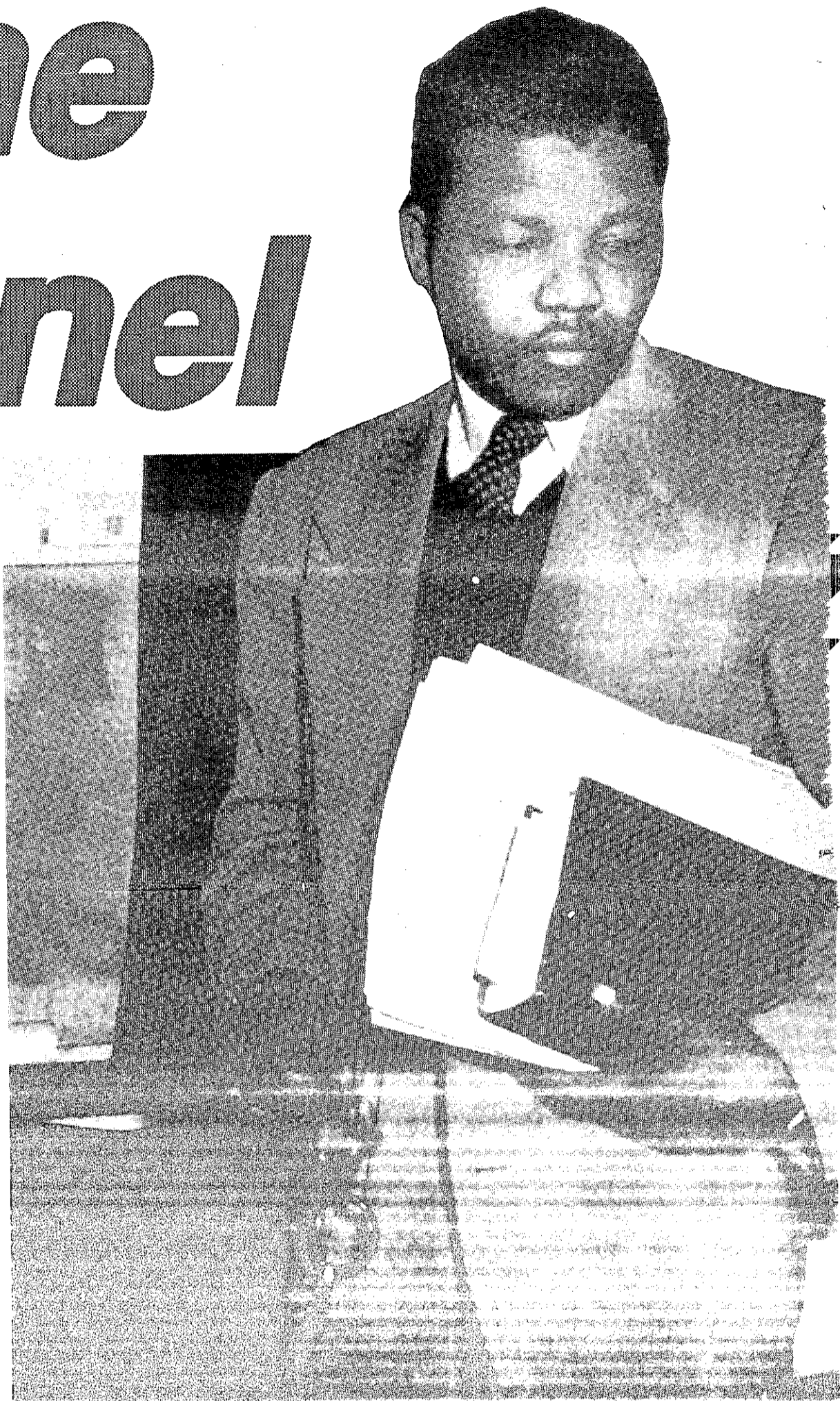
"I was well trained in such manoeuvres, but my look in the rear view mirror warned me that I would take the chance at the risk of my life. There were two more police cars immediately behind us. I thought of the possibility of a car chase with the

THE MANDELA STORY

"I do not know to this day what eventually happened to them. Perhaps Cecil Williams found them. Perhaps they accompanied the car as it changed hands, ultimately to be lost to posterity when the old Austin was finally abandoned and left to rot in the sun."

"We were flagged down. The police officer came directly to the passenger's side where I was seated and introduced himself as Sergeant Foster and asked me my name. I said I was David Motsamai. He said he knew I was Nelson Mandela and he had a warrant for my arrest."

"He was joined by his superior, a major, who occupied the back seat. We drove in silence, my mind wrestling with the thought of escape. The continuing embankment on the side was tantalising, but I was not sufficiently familiar with the terrain to take a chance. The debate never



Mandela in the legal office he shared with Oliver Tambo. His life was always full of activity

ceased in my mind, and stopped only when we reached the police station and the prospect of escape ceased."

"They questioned me. I declined to make a statement and requested to see a lawyer. I was told, in good time, and locked up in the police cell for the night. I wondered how they had tracked me down and realised that given the number of people I had been seeing, the risk had always been there."

"I heard later that there was suspicion against GR Naidoo, my host at my last party, but I was convinced GR would not do such a thing. Later I wrote and told him so."

"Warrant Officer Truter arrived the next morning to identify me. I knew Truter. He greeted me genially: 'Hullo, Mr Mandela,' and added, 'Why do you keep up this farce?' I replied coolly: 'I have given you a name and you must be satisfied with it.' I was returned to my cell."

On the third day Nelson was brought before a magistrate in the

Pietermaritzburg court and not allowed to see a lawyer. He refused to make any admissions. The court ordered his transfer to Johannesburg.

Nelson was driven to Johannesburg under close police guard. He resigned himself to rustication for several years, cut off from Umkhonto activity during its most sensitive, formative period.

He suffered a bout of recriminations that he should have been more careful. After all, he was the only member of the planning committee with military know-how but there no time for depression.

He settled down to polite talk with the police, who were being friendly. They stopped twice on the way, at Ladysmith and at Volksrust; both times at police stations.

He declined the food they offered. As they approached Johannesburg, the police tensed and their attitude towards him changed. They became officious, handcuffed him and announced his arrival by radio to their

superiors. At Marshall Square he was locked up in a cell.

That night he kept hearing a familiar cough; suddenly he knew whose it was and called out to Walter. It was the first both men knew of each other's arrest.

The newspaper headlined the capture of the Black Pimpernel. Winnie was at work where somebody showed her the paper.

She read the headlines: *Police Swoop Ends Two Years on the Run,* and, under that, *"Nelson Mandela is under arrest"*.

She swayed, but the friend caught hold of her and she steadied herself. She asked for early leave and went home.

"What now?" she wondered. She did not realise that she had effectively lost her husband, that her daughters would grow into women and bear their own children, and Nelson would still remain in prison.



three decades of separation

11A

NELSON and his comrades were taken to Pretoria Central prison, where all except Nelson, who was already a prisoner, went through the usual admission procedure, the tripping, the searching of naked bodies, and the changing into prison uniforms of coarse shirts and shorts.

They spent the early night in single cells, then at about midnight Colonel Aucamp told Nelson that they were being transported to Robben Island.

At the crack of dawn they were loaded into closed trucks and driven to the military airport. Manacled together in pairs, they fell against each other as they struggled to get on to the aircraft.

After several hours, the familiar landmark of the Cape mountains came into view. They landed on the military strip, were driven to the docks and ferried across to Robben Island.

The first man to be imprisoned on Robben Island was one of the Khoi-choi, men of men, Auhsumao, who had swum out to Jan van Riebeeck's ship in 1652 as the contingent of three vessels had dropped anchor in the Cape Bay.

Autshumao, whom van Riebeeck called Herrie (Harry), had offered his services as interpreter and guide to the first Dutch East India commander at the Cape, but he and his people soon realised that the white people sought to dispossess them of their cattle and their land, and to bribe their labour. So he fought a relentless guerilla war with the Dutch. Van Riebeeck had imprisoned him on Robben Island, but he had managed to escape in a little boat left carelessly by an official.

Over 300 years later, the Island prison had a reputation of being so heavily fortified that few prisons in the world could match its security.

Neither Nelson nor his colleagues believed that they were in prison for their lives — perhaps the Prime Minister's life, but certainly not theirs.

THE MANDELA STORY

They had been spared death and their lives were their own, for all the controls imposed on them. In time the Government would realise this, and find their incarceration an embarrassment and a problem.

The Rivonia Trial was not the only landmark trial that had engaged the world's attention in 1963. In Pieteritzburg Ebrahim Ismail, Girja Singh, Natvarlal Bebebenia, Billy Brinsford, Kisten Moonsamy, George Jicker, Kisten Doorsamy, Riot Mhwanazi, Alfred Duma, Msizeni Mdrack Maphumulo, Mfanyana Marnard Nkosi, Zakela Mdhloose, Mthethwa Meyiwa, Joshua Themakosi Zulu, Mdingeni David Mhize, David Ndwande and Sivalala were also on trial for sabotage.

Neither was MK the only sabotage group on trial. The National Liberation Committee was also on trial in Cape Town, and the accused were Neville Alexander, Don Davis, the three Solomons and the three van Heydens, (Elizabeth, Doris and Mieke), Fikile Bam, Lionel Davis, Dorothy Alexander, Dulcie September and Gordon Hendricks.

Nelson knew some of them personally, but most were strangers to him. On the island they became a community against apartheid.

Nelson was particularly attracted to Fikile Bam and Neville Alexander whose intellects he admired. They worked during work and held discussions whenever they could, always repetitiously and at risk.



Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada

Robben Island was an old stone building with 11 cells. As political prisoners came flooding in, a corrugated iron block, the zinc jail, was added, and during 1963-64, the main blocks accommodating political prisoners: blocks A, B, C and D were built.

The daily routine during Nelson's first decade of imprisonment was rigorous. The morning bell rang at 5.30am. The prisoners rushed through their ablutions, folded their bedding, lined it against the wall and queued up in double file at the centre of the cell. The loud jangling of keys heralded the opening of doors and the entry of warders.

From that point onwards, they were not allowed to talk to each other except during the lunch-break. The warders went up and down the line counting the prisoners and then marched them out of the cells down the passage to the kitchen where they queued for breakfast.

They ate in silence, seated in twos in double rows, on the ground, in the open space next to the kitchen. The sick parade followed breakfast. Prisoners reporting illness were sent off to the hospital. The rest were marched in double file, closely guarded by armed warders, past the guardpost to the stands where they were again counted and then marched off to work in groups of fifty or so.

They worked until the lunch-break when they were allowed to talk to each other.

Lunch over, the prisoners were again stood in double file and counted. Work stopped at 4.30 pm when the prisoners were marched back to the compound, stripped naked, searched, marched to the kitchen to collect their supper and then marched back to their cells, re-counted and locked up for the night. The cell lights remained on throughout the night.

It was during this period that the prisoners entered into discussions and planned strategies.

Nelson and the other political prisoners settled into their prison routine. While imprisonment is inhuman, dreadful beyond words, its dread and horror are not experienced as one continuous, unremitting ordeal.

The prison is, after all, a social institution and, as such, constitutes its own society even if its inmates are coerced into membership. Most important of all, human nature is malleable and inventive and so it adjusts to whatever situation it finds itself in.

The redeeming feature about the

Robben Island prison was its political prisoners. There was a concentration of courage, intellect and integrity, probably not be found easily in any other part of South Africa.

The men of Robben Island, the saboteurs of 1964, came from diverse ideological foundations. Yet they had all come to the same conclusion, sabotage as the revolutionary strategy, faced the same judges and suffered similar sentences.

These crucial common experiences were, in themselves, a strong binding force. They made the ideological differences, which had been seemingly irreconcilable outside prison, reconcilable inside it. The prison became a university. The political prisoners talked out their differences, learnt from them and learnt to cope with them.

They talked as they laboured relentlessly in the lime pit, as they waded in the water collecting seaweed, and they sat and ate their frugal meals, at first uneatable, but later becoming more palatable.

Nonetheless there were the frustrations: the minutes, the hours, when they could not tolerate each other and felt trapped in each other's company.

They discussed their approach to the prison authorities, rules and regulations. There were disagree-



PAC's Jeff Masemola

ments and arguments, but they built a fraternity in that completely closed, strongly guarded, highly restricted society.

Time passed, but through it all survival triumphed, to the chagrin of the state, and the often unintelligent, dull wonder of the warders, condemned to the sadistic orders they perpetrated on their prisoners.

Their relatives met each other at the Cape Town docks, in the hold of the ferry that brought them to the Island and they, too, developed a sense of fraternity.

THE MANDELA STORY

In his cell each Robben Islander notched up the years. All except the Rivonia group, Wilton Mkwayi, Jeff Masemola and a few other PAC members, knew when they would be released. The destiny of the Rivonia group depended on the changing political climate.

"A child, and children's voices, that is what I missed most," said Neville Alexander.

Ahmed Kathrada described gobbling up the contents of letters from home, wanting more, like Oliver

Twist; he yearned for personal communication, and hungered for little tidbits about births and marriages, schools, games, picnics, film shows, theatre, books, flowers, travels, rain, new inventions, social problems, changing attitudes.

In the shrunken prison world these seemingly little things become immensely important, Ahmed Kathrada wrote on 9 September 1982:

"I think it was in 1971 or thereabouts that you, Shamim and Rashid came to Cape Town with your mummy. She wrote and told me how you all went up to Table Mountain and looked at Robben Island through the telescope. And how 'their little hearts went out to you', she said. At that time we were not allowed to get any news, and the letter must have had something that was considered 'undesirable', so I only got a portion of the letter. And we spent a lot of time speculating what information could have been cut out."

"Let me tell you of a book I read many years ago. I think it was called Mistress of Kafka. Somewhere the author describes her prison experience, and says that in jail it is the minutes and the hours that are the most difficult to get through. The years go by with relative ease. How true!"

The hard labour continued. The most difficult job of all was quarrying the lime. As Nelson recalls: *"You begin the task briskly, full of zest, song and swing, but soon the hard rock takes it all away. The lime is soft, but it is embedded in almost impregnable layers of very hard rock. You strike and it remains impenetrable. The singing changes to swearing and there are altercations with the warders."*

Verwoerd's assassination in 1966 reflected on the political prisoners. The movement had no hand in his death. The assassin, Tsafendas, was a white man whom they put away as a demented soul, but the burden of the anger of the white prison staff fell on the prisoners.

In January 1967 Nelson, Eddie Daniels, Dr Neville Alexander and Laloo Chiba became involved in an altercation with the warders in the quarry. The prisoners were charged with being "idle, careless and negligent". This incident brought them closer and they bonded together in defence, engaging lawyers to represent them. The charge was dropped.

The attitude of the prison staff never remained constant. New staff came; a new round of abuse took its



Lionel Davis



Mandela and Sisulu in the prison yard, Robben Island, 1966

The leaders

FROM PAGE 32

We received constant support and advice from the Rivonia men and especially from Nelson.

"Later, Saths, Aubrey and I were moved in the "B" Section and I got to know Nelson at close range. He came up to all my expectations. He stood head and shoulders above the others. Everyone looked up to him and respected him. When he spoke, we listened. He was patient, tolerant and I never saw him lose his temper.

"Nelson was very eager to understand our political approach and arranged for us to present papers, so that they could catch up with the post-Sharpeville political activity and understand the Black Consciousness movement first-hand.

"I felt that he had no problems identifying with our position, but was, at the same time, constructively critical. He said we were somewhat rash. I suggested that what he really meant was that we were just a little more radical. I told him my father used to say I was rash, but finally conceded that I was more radical than he was. Nelson did not argue against that.

"His tolerance of the range of attitudes that prevailed among us was remarkable. I found him more tolerant of differing points of view than most of the others. I remember a film that was shown to us, deliberately chosen, I suspect, to impress on us the righteousness of authority. It showed two groups of men: a group of bikers, Hell's Angels, and an army contingent. The army went about its war business and there were shots of action in Vietnam, quite brutal, but all according to rules; the Hell's Angels broke the law outrageously and eventually horrifically molested and raped some girls. The army caught up with them, and the film ended with Hell's Angels being marched off by the army. There was unanimous agreement at the end of the film that the Hell's Angels had richly deserved their punishment. I disagreed and said that we should

look at the symbolism of the movie, the Hell's Angels really symbolised the revolutionary youth of the 70s, Conn-Bendit and his generation, and that the film condoned institutionalised violence, but condemned anti-system violence. There was a furore against me. I was accused of supporting a bunch of rapists and of downright unmitigated evil.

"My talk of symbolism, I was told, was just so much hogwash. Nelson alone remained aloof from the attack and brought calm when he said, 'No, Strini may well have a point. Let's try and understand it. We have missed out on these trends.'

"He suggested I should be asked to prepare a paper on the subject. I prepared the paper and there was great interest and unemotional intellectual discussion, in which Nelson played a key part.

THE MANDELA STORY

"I also found Nelson to be a great social companion. He loved playing chess and dominoes. He was never patronising to us because we were of a younger generation. When we sat together and joked, as men joke, the jokes getting a bit risqué at times, he didn't withdraw. He remained with us.

"One particular incident stands out in my mind: We had grouped ourselves into sports teams in our section to introduce some healthy competition. We would choose a commentator from among us to round up the day's happenings. On this particular occasion, I was the commentator and I had to report on a volleyball match in which one team had made a blue and everyone had laughed. Nelson had retained a subdued decorum during the match. Now I related the incident, exaggerating the

event to make it humourous. Nelson threw back his head and slapped his thighs and guffawed in abandoned enjoyment. My cell was opposite his so I could see him through the grille."

George Sithole gives an account of life on Robben Island in the 80s. By then physical conditions had improved considerably. He reports:

"The Robben Island prison is a walled-in compound, about the size of four football fields. There are ten, large, sprawling buildings on it, seven of which are cells and the rest, the administration block, the recreation-hall-cum-library and the hospital.

"When I got to the Island, Mandela, Sisulu and Kathrada had already been removed to Pollsmoor. Motsoaledi, Mhlaba and Mbeki were still there. But it was as if the other Rivonia men had never left.

"We constantly heard stories about them, about Mandela and Sisulu and Kathy. John Ganya, a PAC man, said that one of the first things Mandela did when he arrived on Robben Island was to help a group of PAC men. Nelson was convinced that they were wrongly sentenced and he prepared their appeals and succeeded.

"Ganya had declined to be represented, holding the view that he did not want favours from a white court, but he regretted his attitude when the others were released.

"The Rivonia men exerted great influence and it is as a result of the rules they laid down that political prisoners concentrate on studying, and writing and passing exams.

"The prison authorities respected the Rivonia men because they feared them. They also respected the authority of other leaders, but not the way they did that of the ANC leaders. The ANC leaders could disrupt the prison if they wanted to, and they knew this. The ANC authority worked because it was democratic, and it was in the main the Rivonia men who had laid the foundation of that democracy."



But, says Sithole, they also feared the leadership and therefore separated it from the rest of the prisoners in Block "B":

"The administration buildings overlook Block 'B' and it is under constant surveillance. You step down to a lower level to reach the cells. They are cold and dismal and they get the sun for only a few hours of the day. The Rivonia men spent most of their prison lives there. It has its own library and tennis court, so that the leaders and men of influence remain among themselves.

"The prison today has a capacity for approximately 700 prisoners. When I was there during 1983-88, about 600 were ANC comrades, 50 Azapo, 30 PAC and about 20 Namibians.

"We got on well with each other and to some extent learnt to be more tolerant of our ideological differences. The ANC people were at times accused of arrogance and they tried to bring us down a peg or two by insinuating that if there were so many of us in prison, it was because we had made so many slips. We, of course, pointed out that we were so many in prison because we were so many outside prison.

"Each political organisation had its

Conditions improve

FROM PAGE 33

own approach to the prison authorities. The Namibians saw themselves as in a foreign country, the PAC and BC adopted a policy of non-cooperation when they could; the ANC approach was to observe regulations, utilise the amenities and concentrate on strengthening our unity.

"This was the policy laid down by the Rivonia trialists and particularly by Mandela. I found it to be a very positive approach. It strengthened our commitment to the ANC. It also resulted in winning us recruits from the PAC and BC.

"Life inside the prison is highly organised and the organisation is on three levels. Firstly, there is the official bureaucracy, then there are the general committees set up by the prisoners to utilise the sports and library facilities, and then there are the cell committees of the political organisations to maintain organisational discipline, to share the monies that came from outside and to decide how these should be spent.

"Prison discipline depends on the last committee, and the prison authorities know this. I learnt more in prison than in all my years outside.

"If we had problems among each other that we could not resolve, we took them to the 'B' Section, a commission went into the dispute, its findings were discussed in each cell, and that way we tried to reach a consensus.

THE MANDELA STORY

"Conditions have improved considerably on Robben Island, specially since the mid-1980s. Prisoners get up to piped music today, have running water and showers in the cells, have access to radio and TV, and many subscribe to newspapers and periodicals. Prisoners are also caught a trade. None of these amenities were available in the 1960s and 1970s. It was only in 1984 that beds were provided in common cells and a year or earlier in the single cells. Television was allowed in 1986 and the radio about five years earlier.

"When the Rivonia trialists were imprisoned, conditions were very primitive. They slept on jute mats on the floor, their uniforms were indecent and they were not given pyjamas. They were locked into their cells with sanitary buckets and a jottle of water. They had no access to reading material, or the radio, or any media. They could not study. They fought for improved conditions and succeeded.

"When I was on Robben Island, prisoners who had completed a year were given the option to learn a trade, tailoring, upholstery and brick-laying. Hard labour involves going out to the 'span' (workplace).

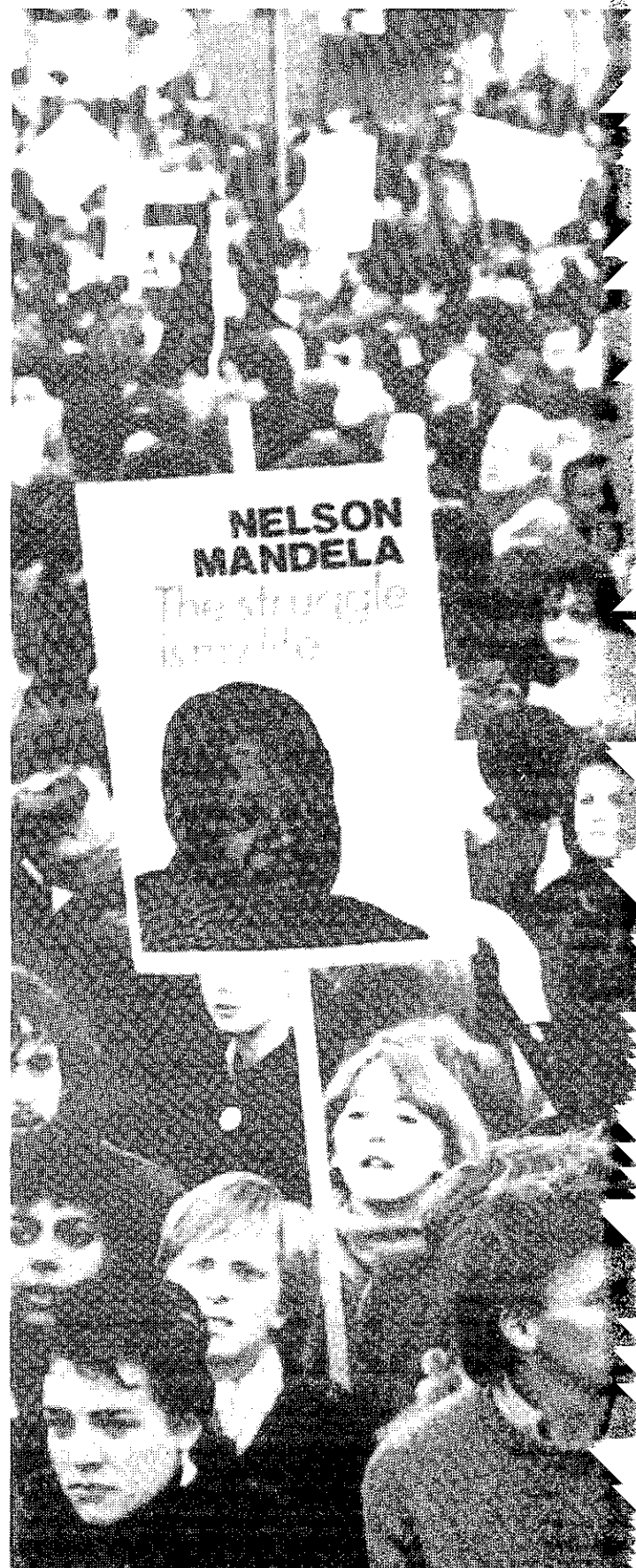
Prisoners, of course, are graded from A to D.

"Newcomers have practically no privileges. It could take a prisoner more than a decade to be promoted to the A grade, which allows you to buy sugar, tea and sweets, and technically to have 40 visits a year.

"In fact, the prison bureaucracy cannot handle that many visits per person, and prisoners' families cannot afford the visits because of the long distances they have to travel, and the cost. The International Red Cross gives each family 12 tickets a year."

But as Nelson says today: "It was a hard and bitter struggle to humanise the prison and improve conditions so that political prisoners could live with some resemblance of dignity."

Penal reform is today high on the



People all over the world demanded Mandela's release

list of priorities that Nelson would like to get down to, if given the opportunity".

In June 1967 Nelson had his third visit from Winnie. They met for half an hour. She brought him news of Thembi, whom she had just seen, and Nelson was delighted to hear that there had been a pleasant reunion. Nelson was allowed four visits a year at the time, restricted to next of kin. It was not always easy for the "next of kin" to take those visits because of the long distances and the expense of travel.

Nelson concentrated on his studies and tried to put meaning into the hard labour allocated to him. He saw it as an opportunity to breathe fresh air, see the sea and bird life.

They worked in the lime quarry, digging and then loading trucks. He became interested in rock formations and in archaeology. He read whatever he could find on the subject in the sparse prison library. The privilege to study, to enrol on a correspondence college, to order and receive books, write assignment and receive them marked, to notch up grades,

courses, degrees, to share each other's academic achievements — these became the sustainers.

In 1978 Nelson wrote to Zindzi: "On some days the weather on the island is quite beautiful, in fact, beyond words, as Aunt Fatima would put it. Early one morning, I looked out through the window and the eye could see eastwards as far as the distant horizon. The power of imagination created the illusion that my vision went much further than the naked eye could actually see. I could survey vast regions behind the long

mountain ranges where I have never been.

"Later, I walked out into the courtyard and the few living things there the seagulls, wagtails, the plants, small trees and even grass blades, were gay and full of smiles. Everything was caught up in the beauty of the day. I looked into the vast dome of blue emptiness that stretched out above me in all directions and the illusions was still there, the size and speed and what information they were sending to mother earth." — March 1978.

304A

South 15/2-21/2/90

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and see realised ..."

Nelson Mandela 1963

We see change taking place now.

But we need to move quickly on:

- The Group Areas Act
- The Population Registration Act
- The Land Acts

To ensure an open and free society for all South Africans.

BPSA 1990.

Working today. For all our tomorrows.



From herdboy

by DOUGIE OAKES

On a summer's day in 1930, a barefooted boy dressed in shabby khaki came strolling down the dusty gravel main road of the tiny Transkeian village of Mqekezweni. His name was Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela, he was 10 years old and he was miserable . . .

His father, a minor Tembu chief named Henry Gaba Mandela, had recently died — and his uncle Jongintaba, the paramount chief of the Tembu, had summoned him to the royal homestead.

Unbeknown to the youngster, an arrangement between father and uncle had been concluded shortly after his birth on July 18, 1918.

In terms of the agreement, Jongintaba would take responsibility for young Nelson's education.

Naturally, Mandela did not want to leave his mother and sisters — but his fears he may have had about being taken away from them were forgotten within days of his arrival at Mqekezweni: welcomed almost like another son by Jongintaba's right-hand wife, Makhulu, he had few problems in acclimatising to an entirely new routine.

At Mqekezweni, most children attended school up to Std 5 — but chief Jongintaba did not consider his sufficient for Mandela and his son, Justice. Thus, soon after they had completed their schooling, the chief loaded them into his Ford V8 and drove them to Qolweni, where he enrolled them at a higher primary school.

Although mightily proud when they passed Std 6, Jongintaba was determined they should go to an even higher standard — and so, shortly before the start of the new school term, he bought them uniforms and new shoes, told them to pack their books, loaded them into the V8 and drove them to Butterworth, where he put them on a train to Healdtown, his new high school.

He organised an even bigger celebration when the boys passed matric and were accepted at Fort Hare University. But later, after Mandela and his cousin had been expelled for participating in a strike, Jongintaba became very upset with them when they refused to apologise and return their studies.

In many ways, however, Mandela's initial political perceptions were shaped by another type of education — an education that children of the village received by simply sitting and listening to their elders discussing the "old days". Mandela, quite clearly, was intensely interested in hearing the stories about the Tembu kings who had brought glory to their people as well as about those who had sold out to the British.

JOHANNESBURG

One evening, towards the end of 1940, a worried-looking cattle-herder arrived at Jongintaba's homestead with the disturbing news that two of his royal oxen had disappeared.

As undulating a countryside as Transkei, "lost" animals are a frequent occurrence. But on this occasion the man who came to report the matter to his chief was adamant that he had searched everywhere for the missing animals. The oxen had not simply wandered off into one of the many hidden valleys — they had been stolen, he claimed.

Jongintaba was not one for making rash judgments — but on this occasion he found himself in complete



The house at the great place where Mandela lived from the late 1920s to 1939

agreement with his herder — so much so that by the time he thanked the man for bringing the matter to his attention, he had already devised a plan to locate the missing cattle and identify the thieves. It involved the dispatch of a group of helpers to the home of Mqekezweni's resident white trader.

Jongintaba did not have long to wait for his suspicions to be confirmed: when his men returned, it was with the two animals in tow and a string of profuse apologies from the trader.

While readily admitting to having purchased the animals, the man defended himself by claiming that because the livestock had been offered to him by Mandela and Justice, he had no reason to believe that the animals had been stolen.

Jongintaba readily accepted the trader's assurances — but later, when he turned his attention to the matter of his errant (and nowhere-to-be-found) charges, his mood became noticeably less charitable . . .

THE LURE OF "EGOLI"

At a loose end since their expulsion from Fort Hare University, it was, perhaps, inevitable that Mandela and his cousin would be caught up in the "eGoli" ("city of gold") fever that swept through rural South Africa with ever-greater intensity in the early 1940s.

And yet, because of their relatively privileged upbringing, their reasons for wanting to join the great rural exodus differed appreciably from those of thousands of their countrymen: while their motives were shaped around a mixture of naivety and romance, the overwhelming majority of their rural compatriots had been forced to trek to Johannesburg — to have stayed would have meant almost certain death from starvation . . .

As far back as 1930, an investigation into conditions in the reserves by well-known historian, WM MacMillan, had revealed that rural Africans were "dragging along at the very lowest level of bare subsistence"; they lived in "poverty, congestion and chaos"; they were "blighted by ill-health and starvation, endemic typhus and almost chronic scurvy"; and they lived in "heavily over-populated" and "grossly neglected" areas where they were "utterly dependent on wage-earning outside" to receive "a dead level of poverty" inside.

In 1932, a government-appointed Native Economic Commission confirmed MacMillan's findings — and yet, by the end of the decade condi-

tions had deteriorated even further — to such an extent, in fact, that thousands of Africans were left with the stark choice of either trekking or starving to death . . .

URBAN POVERTY

In many ways, life in the belt of urban ghettos that sprang up from east to west across central Johannesburg, was as tough — and degrading — as it had been in the reserves.

For, in addition to the ever-present poverty, squalor and an infant mortality rate between five and 10 times higher than that for whites, prostitution and (especially) alcohol addiction placed enormous strains on family unity.

With only 750 new houses being built in the whole of 1941 and 1942, overcrowding (and all the health hazards that accompanied it) became a major problem. In 1944, Pinville (now a suburb of Soweto) had 63 outside taps that served a population of 15 000. Other townships were only slightly better.

This was the Johannesburg that greeted Mandela and Justice early in 1941. And yet, in many ways, they were more fortunate than most . . .

TRACKED DOWN

Although neither of them carried a pass, they had no problem finding accommodation or, for that matter, jobs in Johannesburg — for they carried with them a precious piece of information: the address of a former headman of Jongintaba.

The man, an overseer at Crown Mines, welcomed them with open arms and showered them with hospitality. However, shortly after their arrival in the city, they were tracked down by representatives of Jongintaba.

Reminded that his status as the right-hand son of the Tembu paramount chief carried with it certain obligations, Justice reluctantly agreed to return to Mqekezweni. Surprisingly Jongintaba accepted Mandela's argument that, because he wanted to become a lawyer, it would be best for him to study in Johannesburg.

CITY BOY

Enjoying his new-found independence, Mandela took lodgings with a family in Alexandra Township — and quickly discovered that his life was not about to become a bed of roses.

Like many of the new arrivals in the city, his chief problem was a shortage of cash. It quickly became apparent that his plan to finance his

part-time studies with money put aside each week would not succeed. A monthly wage of just two pounds (about R4) — out of which he had to pay the monthly rent of 13/4d and busfare of 40d a week — left him with a little more than 10s a month to cover additional expenses. Saving, quite clearly, was going to be impossible.

Despite his financial problems, Mandela loved his early days in Johannesburg — even though a young student nurse who lived just a few doors away from him in Alexandra suspected that he was probably not all that happy.

Deciding that he seemed too nice a young man to be lost in the squalor of a sprawling township, she spoke about him to a colleague, Albertina Totiwe, who, in turn, mentioned him to her fiancée, a resourceful young man named Walter Sisulu.

Few people knew Johannesburg as well as Sisulu — and few families were better known than the Sisulus. A native of Transkei, Walter's mother — a strong, caring woman — had come to Johannesburg many years earlier — after suffering a devastating disappointment: although none of her friends mentioned him by name, all of them knew of the white road-builder who had come to the Transkeian village of Engcobo, had fallen in love with the young Sisulu girl and had then abandoned her and their two young children. A shattered MaSisulu never looked at another man after that.

Throwing all her energies into the upkeep of her children, she came to Johannesburg, found lodgings in Alexandra and worked as a washerwoman to put them through high school.

In 1941, she was one of the few fortunate families with a house in Orlando — a house whose door was always open to friends and relatives in need.

Walter and Nelson became friends as soon as they met — and when Walter invited him to stay at MaSisulu's house, Nelson immediately accepted the invitation.

As their friendship blossomed, Walter organised a part-time job for Nelson, helped him to enrol as a law student at the University of Witwatersrand and contributed towards his fees.

FALLING IN LOVE

It was Sisulu, too, who drew the young Mandela into politics . . . and marriage to his cousin, Eveline.

Born in Engcobo, Transkei, Eveline had come to live with her broth-

er in Johannesburg after her mother had died. It was during one of her regular visits to the Sisulu house that she met Mandela.

It was love at first sight.

Within days of their first meeting, they were going steady and within months he proposed. They were married in 1944.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Prompted by Sisulu, Mandela was drawn more and more into the world of Johannesburg protest politics. As a member of a think-tank consisting of Sisulu, Anton Lembede, Peter Mda and Oliver Tambo, he spent many hours discussing how to advance the cause of the African masses.

And yet, despite his commitment to African nationalism, he made numerous friends at the University of the Witwatersrand, from all sections of society.

Although many of them were not classified African, they too were oppressed. But although drawn to them intellectually, he kept them at arm's length politically. At that stage he was not sure how they could be fitted into an African future.

Mandela spent many hours discussing matters such as these with people such as Mda, Lembede and Tambo — and although they did not know all the answers either, they were convinced of one thing: the African National Congress, of whom they were all members, lacked the capacity to confront the problems posed by racist white rule.

Since its formation in 1912, the majority of the ANC's leadership corps had stuck doggedly to a policy aimed primarily at winning the acceptance of South Africa's ruling white minority. This, in effect, meant having to distance themselves from the struggles of the majority of their countrymen.

Any attempts to mobilise the masses would not only antagonise the government, ANC leaders argued, but would also lead to panic among the white public.

It was hardly surprising, therefore, that despite the election of reformist Alfred Xuma to the ANC presidency in 1940, plans were already afoot to stage a takeover of the organisation.

Even though Xuma was no radical, he readily acknowledged the need for a drastic revamp — and some of the changes he managed to push through were, in fact, quite far-reaching: these included centralising control of the ANC in the presidency and an executive of five, of whom all had to live within 80km of the president; abolishing the house of chiefs; giving equal rights to women; and creating a firm financial base by establishing a system of paid-up membership. But all this paled into insignificance when measured against Xuma's decision to support the establishment of an ANC youth wing. For not only did this cost him his presidency — it also led to the ANC being pushed into a far more radical direction.

Led by Sisulu, Mda, Jordan Ngubane, William Nkomo, Lembede and Mandela himself, the Congress Youth League (CYL) was soon at loggerheads with the ANC's "Old Guard" leadership.

Early in 1944, Xuma and the CYL clashed for the first time when the CYL announced its intention to criticise the passivity of the ANC leadership whenever it believed it necessary. In the angry exchanges that followed, Xuma argued the ANC was not yet sufficiently well organised for mass action. Unimpressed, the Young Turks published a manifesto in March 1944, in which they lashed out at the ANC for its

to ANC leader



HOMETOWN: Qunu, the small Transkei village where Nelson Mandela was born

FROM PAGE 36

"elitism" and "for giving way in the face of oppression".

In April of that year, the CYL held its inaugural conference and elected Anton Lembede as its first president. With membership open to all Africans between the ages of 12 and 40, and with all members over the age of 17 automatically becoming members of the ANC, the CYL was in a strong position to take over the ANC.

Lembede's death in 1947 opened the way for a significant CYL policy change — from a position of seeking cooperation with only Africans to examining possible alliances with other groups. By the time Mda was elected president, members were already looking towards the Indian and coloured communities in a bid to expand their power base. At the same time CYL branches were formed in Natal, Eastern Cape and the Orange Free State.

In 1948, the year that the National Party was voted into power, Mandela became Secretary-General of the CYL and Mda circulated a document entitled "A Programme Of Action" to the ANC's annual conference. Far reaching, it proposed the use of boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience as a means of "destroying" all differential institutions.

The "Old Guard" objected vehemently to the proposals. For a year the ANC was virtually paralysed by the bitter infighting between the two wings of the organisation.

In December 1949, shortly before the elections of new officials were due to be held in Bloemfontein, Oliver Tambo approached Xuma with an offer: the CYL would vote for him, if he, in turn, would agree to persuade the ANC to support the CYL's Programme of Action.

Accusing Tambo of blackmail, Xuma thundered that he would not allow himself to be dictated to. With the majority of CYL members reluctant to vote for the only other viable candidate, the communist JB Marks, Xuma still appeared to be the best candidate.

However, shortly before the elections, a third candidate, Dr James Moroka, declared his support for the Programme Of Action and CYL members threw their weight behind him. Moroka won easily, as did CYL member Walter Sisulu, who became the secretary of the ANC.

DEFIANCE

Mandela, after initially adopting a low public profile, began to take on more and more organisational re-

sponsibilities as the ANC began implementing its new programme of action.

In June 1951, new president Moroka chaired the first meeting of a Joint Planning Committee (made up of representatives of all the main anti-apartheid groups), which later formed a Joint Planning Council. Two months later, the Council delivered a report on what was to become known as the Defiance Campaign.

The main recommendation of the report was the delivery of an ultimatum to the government, calling for the scrapping of all unjust laws by February 1952. Failure to comply would result in a "Defiance Campaign", set for April 6 (a date deliberately chosen to coincide with the 300th anniversary celebrations of Jan van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape).

This would be followed by a series of countrywide strikes on June 26. Volunteers would be called for to contravene selected laws and regulations around the country.

When the big day dawned, police began arresting protesters by the hundreds. By the end of October almost 6 000 people had been detained. At the same time, however, paid-up membership of the ANC had increased from 7 000 to 100 000.

As the Defiance Campaign expanded, Mandela was everywhere — driving to Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and the Transkei to canvass for volunteers.

The government grew desperate. An ANC prayer meeting in East London was stormed by soldiers, who shot and killed eight people and wounded dozens more. Following this, practically every organiser of the campaign, including Mandela, was banned — and new laws were passed, which made even passive resistance illegal.

By now it had become clear to Mandela that continuous police harassment would prevent the ANC from surviving in its existing form. With this in mind, he proposed a new structure — one that would intensify participation at grassroots level but which at the same time would transform itself into an underground structure if and when it became necessary.

Mandela's banning order forced him to adopt an increasingly low profile — and between 1952 and 1962, he made just one public appearance. But although banned, he nevertheless witnessed the acceptance of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People at Kliptown on 26 June 1955.

TREASON AND MARRIAGE

A few weeks before Christmas 1956, Mandela was arrested in a pre-dawn swoop on his house. He discovered later that he was one of 156 people — all organisers of the Congress of the People — who had been picked up.

The so-called "Treason Trial" opened in 1957 in the Johannesburg Drill Hall, and dragged on until 1961. Most of the accused were freed without going to trial, while the remaining 30 were acquitted in March 1961.

In 1958, Mandela married Nomzamo Zaniwe Winnifred Madikizela.

In many ways, it was a trying year for the new family. With the treason trial showing no signs of ending, the routine of the Mandelas hardly changed: bus trips to Pretoria and Johannesburg — and long, dreary hours of court submissions. At the same time, little money was coming in and the legal practice he had set up with Oliver Tambo was beginning to crumble.

SHARPEVILLE

On March 21 1960 a Pan-Africanist Congress pass-burning campaign ended in a massacre at Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, when police opened fire on a crowd of 20 000 people, killing 69 and wounding 180.

Mandela was devastated. What could he do? What could they do? He walked around as if all of the dead were close friends or relatives. And in a sense, they were. They were his people, his flesh and blood, fellow South Africans murdered in innocence.

ANC president Albert Luthuli, in announcing a day of mourning for March 28, called on the people to stay at home and burn their passes.

On the evening of March 28, Mandela and Luthuli, watched by a crowd of several hundred, burnt their passes.

On March 30, the government declared a state of emergency. That same evening Mandela was detained.

On April 8 1960, the ANC and the PAC were banned. In August, when the emergency was lifted, he was released (though still banned).

THE BLACK PIMPERNEL

For 28 months after the Sharpeville massacre, Mandela cut a dashing resistance figure. Dubbed the "Black Pimpernel" by newspapers, he led the government's security forces a merry dance.

In January 1962, shortly after persuading the national executive of the ANC to accept the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he slipped out of South Africa to raise financial support for an armed struggle against the white government. He also attended a course in guerilla warfare in Algeria.

He returned in June 1962 and managed to keep one step ahead of the police until 5 August, when he was arrested shortly after leaving the Durban home of Post photo-journalist GR Naidoo.

Charged with organising protests against the conversion of South Africa into a republic, of printing and distributing inflammatory leaflets, of inciting workers to strike and of leaving the country without proper documents, he was found guilty and sentenced to a total of five years' imprisonment.

RIVONIA

On the night of 11 June 1963, a squad of policemen armed with guns and dogs arrived at and surrounded a house in the elegant northern Johannesburg suburb of Rivonia.

Shortly afterwards they arrested the entire executive committee of Umkhonto we Sizwe, including Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Lionel Bernstein, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba and BA Hepple.

The next day the police announced they had seized many documents, a radio receiver and other evidence. "We have broken the back of Umkhonto we Sizwe," they claimed, adding that more arrests were imminent.

Shortly afterwards, Mandela was arrested in his prison cell.

The trial, titled "The State versus the National High Command and others", and also "Nelson Mandela and nine others" opened in the Palace of Justice in Pretoria on 9 October 1963.

In his opening address, state prosecutor Percy Yutar claimed that "the accused had deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country . . . against the offices and homes of state and municipal officials, as well as against all lines and manner of communications.

"The planned purpose thereof was to bring in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil, which would be aggravated, according to their plan, by the operation of thousands of trained guerilla warfare units . . . throughout the country."

In a wide-ranging statement from the dock, Mandela traced the history of the struggle of South Africa's oppressed people, saying: "I have done whatever I did because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly-felt African background."

"Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love for violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by whites."

He pointed out how the ANC's commitment to non-violence had been rebuffed by a succession of white governments and he argued: "We embarked on violent forms of political struggle because the government had left us with no choice."

Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said, was formed to perform sabotage. "On no account were members to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations".

He ended his speech by saying: "We want a just share in the whole of South Africa; we want security and a stake in society. Above all, my Lord, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans.

"This makes the white man fear for democracy. But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. Political division based on colour is entirely artificial, and when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs, as it certainly must, it will not change its policy.

"During my lifetime I have dedicated my life to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to see realised. But my lord, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mandela and his fellow accused were all sentenced to life imprisonment.

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MANDELA FREED!!

**Another step towards
a free and democratic
South Africa.**

**We are committed to the
well-being of all South
Africans through our
continued support for
peace, justice and equal
rights for all.**

**WAMKELEKILE
NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA**

February 15 1990

(11A) () ~~11A~~ 15/2/90

SOWETO — Mr Nelson Mandela says he earned the respect of his jailers by fighting back during his 27 years in prison, but he prefers not to remember bitter experiences now that he is free.

"Enemies appreciate a man who fights for his ideas," Mr Mandela said, sitting in his garden giving interviews to TV stations from around the world.

"If a man fights back, he is likely to get more respect than he would if he capitulated," said the 71-year-old lawyer who was told he would be in prison for the rest of his life when he landed on Robben Island in 1964.

I earned respect by fighting back — Mandela

"We have had very harsh experiences; some of them could have broken many good men," he said. "But we were fortunate in that we went (into) the prison feeling that we had achieved a great deal."

Mr Mandela told US television network CBS News he had read novels and biographies and had later been allowed to see films. "I did not concentrate on commercial pictures. I was more interested to see educational pictures."

But, he recalled: "When I was a young man I became very fond of actors such as Tyrone Power, Cesar Romero, Don Ameche, Carmen Miranda. Those were my heroes."

Talking about the Rivonia trial, he said: "We had adopted an aggressive approach in the course of our trial and, although we were sentenced and convicted, we felt that ... our cause was supported not only locally but by practically everybody."

"We received messages of

support from heads of government, from governments, Prime Ministers, influential organisations ... and these messages of support and inspiration continued to reach us in prison and therefore we never felt despair," he said.

The lounge of his red-brick, tin-roofed, four-roomed home was filled with telegrams of congratulations.

By 1966, a picture taken by a visitor showed that Mr Mandela, who had gone to prison robust

and dark-haired, was already heavily grey, and thinner.

He was ordered to break rocks and gather seaweed. Like other black prisoners, he was denied meat for many years, and was forced to wear summer clothing through most of the cold, windy winter. He contracted tuberculosis in late 1988.

Mr Mandela said he had not been beaten in prison.

"I have not concentrated on the harsh experiences which we had. I have concentrated more

on those things which were constructive, positive," he said. "When you are in that frame of mind, you forget the past."

In spite of the harshness of the experience, Mr Mandela said he and his colleagues valued the time to think, review strategy and examine policies.

When study and reading privileges were finally extended, Mr Mandela said he read a lot of novels and biographies, especially of freedom fighters. He said he found biographies of Martin Luther King jun and Mahatma Gandhi "very rewarding". — AP.

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ernight.

added that the SAP and
lu Police had shot dead a
er of people and wounded
il in attempts to restore
d order.

wnship violence was
ing in Natal, Mr Ainslie

re had been increasing re-
of fighting from Port
one and Hibberdene, as
s from some north coast

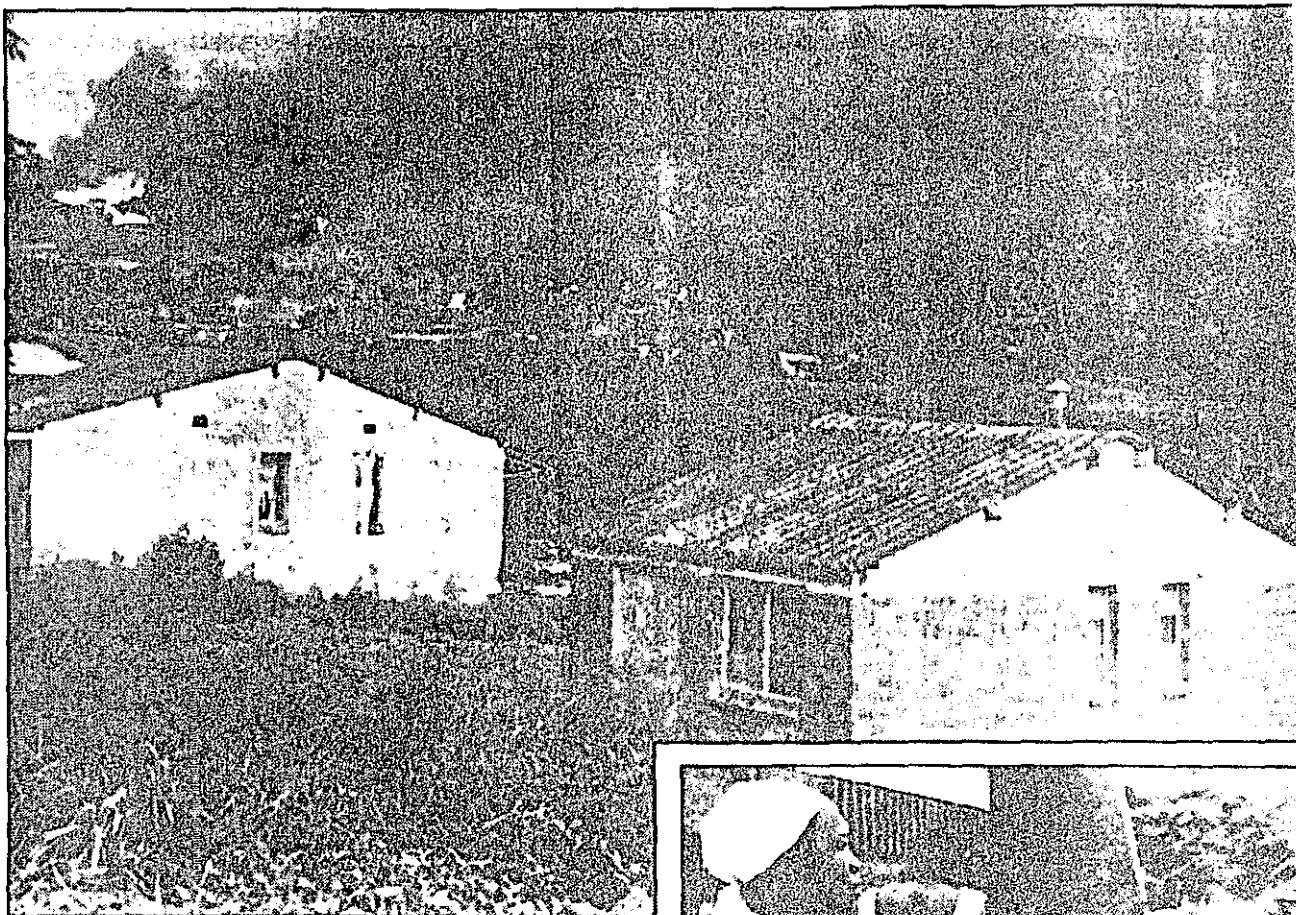
official reports were that
st 50 people had died vio-
since Saturday — though
inslie said yesterday that
40 deaths had occurred
the beginning of the

t of the dead were from
alanga, followed by kwa-
Umlazi, Lamontville and

Ainslie said he was con-
d about the spreading of
ce into Indian areas near
n, particularly Phoenix
ippingingo, where "an anti-
flavour has shown itself
ne past four days".

nings had been prevalent
n these areas.

Ainslie yesterday made it
that his organisation was
y a monitoring one, not
at apportioned blame for
destruction or damage.



A pall of smoke hangs over some of the blazing shacks at a township in strife-torn Natal where police say "all hell has broken loose" in faction fighting.

Relief plans for Natal refugees

SM 14/490 (276)

By Craig Kotze

Operation Hunger hopes to
a massive relief opera-
r refugees who have fled
tal township anarchy.

ence continued yesterday
lice said another three
including a policeman,
murdered during the day
several houses were set

policeman was hacked to
by a mob in Plessislaer
Maritzburg when he tried
ent a robbery.

Operation Hunger in Natal
pealed to the public to
orward and make dona-
particularly clothing, for
who have lost all their
sions in the intensive

Operation Hunger orga-
nizers Dot Collins, told The
yesterday "that probably
ds of people were desti-
d living alongside roads
their houses had been

burnt down.

"We hope to supply them with
plastic sheeting so that they can
at least have some shelter. But
what we need is clothing and
blankets to give these poor peo-
ple some warmth. They've lost
everything," Mrs Collins said.

She said she had received re-
ports of spreading violence,
even in areas where no unrest
had been reported before.

ESCALATING VIOLENCE

Police said hundreds of homes
had been burnt down in escalat-
ing violence between Cosatu and
UDF supporters and members
of Inkatha.

The kwaZulu police Commis-
sioner, Brigadier Jac Buchner,
said yesterday that the murder
of two Inkatha members by a
UDF mob had sparked the vio-
lence on Saturday.

Police also said that Mr Man-
dela's release had "raised the
political temperature in the
area".

Brigadier Buchner said kwa-
Zulu police had placed special
units on duty to cope with the
crisis, although he added that
most of kwaZulu was quiet.

The majority of the violence
is concentrated around Maritz-
burg and Durban.

Another police spokesman
said police were overwhelmed
with reports of incidents of vio-
lence, murder and arson across
the province. Police have also
been attacked several times.

Thousands of refugees are
streaming from townships such
as strife-torn Mpumalanga near
Maritzburg.

Police said two men were
shot dead and a policeman was
wounded in Nxamalala after a
clash between two opposing
groups. The policeman was shot
when he tried to separate the
groups.

Police retaliated and two men
were shot dead and three
women were injured.



Victims of the Natal violence take refuge at a school in the area.

15/2/90

CAPE TIMES

2 Cape Times, Thursday, February 15, 1990

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Namibian invitation for Nelson

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has received an invitation to attend the independence celebrations in Namibia in March.

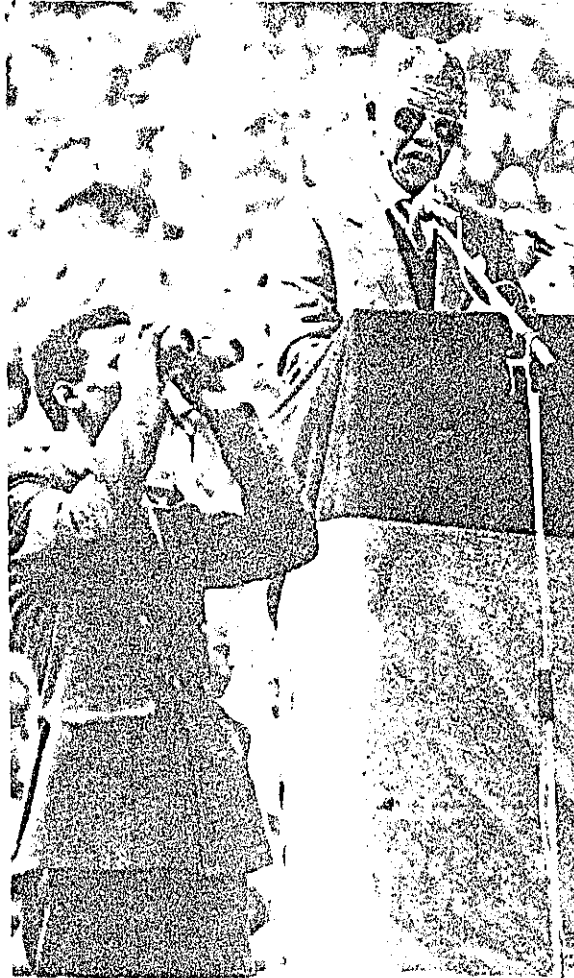
A source close to Mr Mandela yesterday confirmed this and added that all invitations to Mr Mandela were subject to discussions between him and the National Reception Committee (NRC).

Sapa's Windhoek office reported two weeks ago that both Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk were on Swapo's invitation list for the celebrations.

Earlier yesterday, a Swapo representative, Mr Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, was seen to visit the Mandela home in Orlando West.

Meanwhile efforts by the West German government to convey their invitation for Mr Mandela to hold talks with West German chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl have not yet been successful.

● President Hosni Mubarak yesterday invited Mr Mandela to Cairo. — Sapa-AP



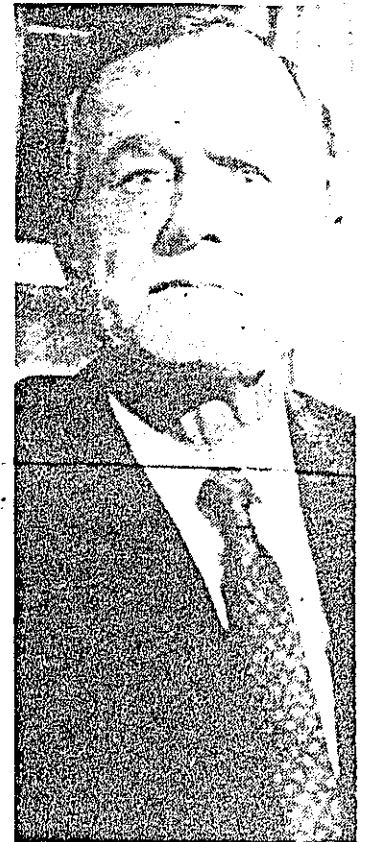
SAFETY ... During Mr Nelson Mandela's address to more than 120 000 people at the Soweto welcome home rally this week, one of his security squad surveys the stands with binoculars.

'Commie threat' causes waves in the US

Sowetan
15/2/90



Terror Lekota ... vast sectors of economy will stay capitalist



President George Bush ... concerned about state control and nationalisation

By DAVID BRAUN
Sowetan Foreign Service

FOCUS

WASHINGTON - The African National Congress' embrace of communism, nationalisation and the continued armed struggle is making heavy weather in the US.

There is some consternation, even among the movement's friends, about why outdated policies are being proposed for post-apartheid South Africa.

The *Washington Post* said in its top editorial on Tuesday that South African supporters of the ANC and its friends elsewhere would want to know that the destiny of the South African freedom movement, an inspiration to people all over the world, was not to create another of the cruel, undemocratic and inefficient state-centred regimes that were collapsing in other parts of the world.

Nationalisation

ANC representatives in the US and the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, who is visiting the US, have been repeatedly questioned in the media and at meetings as to the meaning of the ANC's policies on nationalisation, the armed struggle and endorsement of the SA Communist Party.

President Bush was also ques-

tioned at length earlier this week as to what he thought about Mr Nelson Mandela's "effusive embrace of the SA Communist Party" in his Cape Town speech and the ANC leader's support for nationalisation of South African industries.

Indigenous

Bush made it clear he would not endorse every position of the ANC. Communist parties were in most parts of the world going downhill, he said, while nationalisation and state control of industries was a policy being rejected in favour of Western free enterprise.

The *Washington Post* said: "We think we were not the only listeners who found it uncomfortable to hear Nelson Mandela, in his first public words upon release from prison, salute the SA Communist Party 'for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy', and go on to hail some of the party faithfuls by name, and suggest that the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa continued to have a strong working bond.

"No one wishes to be or even to appear anything less than fully committed to black aspirations at this sunny moment. But how can a party that now stands revealed almost everywhere else in the world as repressive, corrupt and bankrupt, win top billing at one of the century's great celebrations of freedom?"

"The short answer is that Nelson Mandela is caught in something of a time warp on this. At the time he was sent away 27 years ago, the help of the South African communists, the concept of revolution and the fact of Soviet military aid and encouragement to guerrilla action, had won the party a following in the anti-apartheid movement.

Paying debts?

"It could claim to be indigenous, not created and imposed by Moscow, and not much other support was coming from Western sources or other political entities in South Africa. Mr Mandela could be understood on Sunday as paying old debts.

"But of course that does not entirely explain why Communist Party members still dominate the executive council of the until-now externally-based ANC and why they evidently also have a strong position in the ANC-oriented internal Mass Democratic Movement.

"Nor does it explain why the ANC's clumsy Marxist formulation of 1955, known as the Freedom Charter, remains the organisation's ideological beacon."

The *Post* said the threshold effort of whoever is confirmed at the helm of the ANC must be to ensure that the black leadership of the country is not captured or influenced by a party that was a relic of the conspiratorial past.

Free enterprise

Lekota told a television interviewer some sectors of the South African economy had to be nationalised so that the black people could feel the benefits of freedom.

He stressed that "vast sectors" of the economy would remain in the hands of free enterprise and he said the one advantage of South Africa getting its freedom so late was that it could learn from the mistakes that had been made with economies elsewhere on the continent.

Lekota has also stressed the peaceful nature of the ANC and the intention of the organisation to operate peacefully. The armed struggle would remain ANC policy until such time as the Government released all political prisoners and rescinded the state of emergency, he said.

6 Robben Island prisoners go free

Staff Reporter

SIX political prisoners, some of whom had served nine years on Robben Island, were released yesterday afternoon following a Prisons Service indication that 77 political prisoners would benefit from President F W De Klerk's announcement on February 2.

They are Capetonian Mr Norman Yengeni — brother of Mr Tony Yengeni who is currently on trial in the Supreme Court, Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi and Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg.

Soon after their release from Robben Island the men arrived at Cowley House in Cape Town and were greeted by about 30 dancing and singing women.

At a press conference, Mr Maape read out a statement saying they were the first of 350 prisoners on Robben Island to be released. They had been informed of their release only yesterday morning. He said they were "happy and sad. We have left 347 behind, but we are happy to return to our friends".

He described their release as a "window-dressing as we were going to be released anyway. We call for the release of all political prisoners".

Time to set aside those rose-tinted spectacles

STAR 15/2/90 (11A)

White South Africans who were expecting rather more for their comfort from Nelson Mandela's statements since his release on Sunday need to put aside their rose-tinted spectacles and accept the reality of the probable movement to a new order in this country.

To begin with, they should remember that Mr Mandela is a member of a fundamentalist organisation fighting for radical reforms such as full franchise for all citizens of South Africa in a unitary system.

And, as Mr Mandela himself has been careful to point out, he is at present only an ordinary member of the African National Congress. Despite his past credentials and a reverence that will probably make him the ANC's supreme leader very soon, Mr Mandela holds no formal office now.

So, while his unofficial authority within the organisation is not doubted, he can issue statements only as one part of a collective leadership.

Conciliatory

At the same time, there was a good deal that seemed conciliatory about the tone of Mr Mandela's speeches at the Grand Parade on Sunday and in Soweto on Tuesday. He called the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, "a man of integrity who had gone further than any of his predecessors to try to normalise the situation in South Africa".

He expressed the hope that there would soon be a climate conducive to a settlement.

And at his press conference on Monday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was concerned about white fears of black domination in any future political system and would seek a solution that would suit both blacks and whites.

But he spoke, too, of the need to redistribute wealth and nationalise certain sectors of the economy.

He also called for an intensification of the ANC's struggle on all fronts — including the military one — and an increase of international

Many people, particularly whites, have been disappointed by some of Nelson Mandela's uncompromising comments since his release. JOHN RYAN of The Star's Africa News Service explains why the ANC leader is bound to follow his party's line.



Since Nelson Mandela is at present just an ordinary member of the ANC, his headline stance on the armed struggle and sanctions is governed by the organisation's national executive.

sanctions against South Africa.

These last sentiments are straight down the party line. They have been stressed by various officials in the ANC hierarchy since the first of their leaders were released from jail in October.

In Lusaka last month, acting president Mr Alfred Nzo said frankly he doubted that the ANC had the capacity to intensify the armed struggle within the country. But there could be no question, he added later, that there was an urgent need to try.

The organisation's corporate attitude is that there cannot be a unilateral ceasefire. It claims apartheid is

the real source of the violence in South Africa and so violence must be suspended on both sides.

On the question of sanctions, the ANC leaders fear the initiatives now being taken by Mr de Klerk may persuade the international community to release the economic noose prematurely, before the process of reform has run what they believe to be its proper course.

They feel this could be happening already, which is why they stress at every opportunity that a fistful of conditions contained in last August's Harare Declaration remain to be settled.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of

all political prisoners and detainees, the abolition of all political trials and executions, the scrapping of the Internal Security Act and all laws inhibiting free political activity, and the removal of the troops from the townships.

Even then, the ANC leadership insists, the meeting of these conditions would not automatically create the right climate for negotiations.

The director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said in a recent interview: "It is sometimes suggested these are preconditions for negotiations."

"We don't think they are preconditions for negotiations. These are things that need to be done to create equal opportunities for all the political forces which are to participate in the process of negotiations."

Equal terms

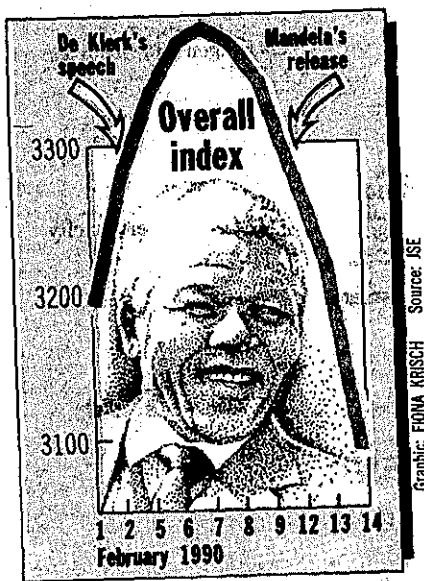
"It cannot be that it's okay for the National Party, with all its leadership out of prison and capable of holding any meeting, to consult its own constituency without fear of its meetings being banned under the state of emergency, while the ANC must continue to have some of its leaders in prison, some of its meetings threatened."

Before negotiations could start, Mr Mbeki said, all political forces should have an equal opportunity to take part, on equal terms.

Parties about to enter a bargaining situation are always likely to exaggerate their expectations, and the ANC may yet agree to go to the negotiating table before its full package of demands has been met as long as it is reasonably satisfied that they eventually will be.

Mr Mandela suggested this at the press conference when he said he was confident the negotiating mechanism would get under way soon.

Meanwhile, the man who could wield the most influence in those talks is bound to follow the consensus of the ANC's national executive and play the bullish game.



Settlement possible by 1994 — Mandela

810cy
15/2/90 IAN HOBBS (11A)
LONDON — Nelson Mandela said yesterday a peaceful settlement was possible within five years — as long as black rights were assured.

In his first major face-to-face interview, he told BBC television news reporter James Robbins the ANC was sensitive to white fears, however irrational, and prepared to compromise with government on the key issue of one man, one vote.

The attitude of President F W de Klerk, a "flexible man of integrity", made a peaceful settlement possible.

However, he also said the ANC considered government installations legitimate targets for the armed struggle against apartheid, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Asked if guerrillas would include targets like shopping centres in the ANC campaign against white rule, he told Robbins: "We are concerned with government installations."

White civilians would not be deliberately attacked but could be caught in cross-fire.

Mandela said that if whites wanted the armed struggle to end, they should support government's efforts to negotiate a settlement with black leaders.

He said the ANC had a matchless record among political organisations of commitment to peace.

In what was clearly a signal to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that

To Page 2

Settlement ^{810cy} _{15/2/90}

his intentions were as pragmatic and flexible as De Klerk's, he made it clear he would not allow conflict over simple majority rule to obstruct the complex path to negotiation.

He said: "Their concept of group rights means that they are not ready to accept the principle of one person, one vote."

"We are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand, but at the same time we are consciously aware of the concern of whites over this demand. And we are prepared to address it... in order to reach a settlement."

Asked what the ANC would do if De Klerk refused to concede one man, one vote in negotiations, Mandela said: "We should not pre-judge issues. I have found

(11A) From Page 1
him to be a flexible man and a man of integrity, as I have said before.

"And, the advantage of dealing with a man who is flexible, and who knows what is going on, is the fact that the possibility of a settlement is always there."

Asked if a settlement was possible by the time government had to call a general election in just over four years' time, he said: "I think that it is possible to reach a settlement within that time. They themselves, I think, are keen that a settlement should be reached before the end of their term."

He refused to say if he would accept Thatcher's invitation for him to meet her in London. He said that would be decided by the ANC.

Lusaka talks ^{11A} get under way

9/11/1990 DALAN FINE

LUSAKA — The question of talks about talks and the future role of Nelson Mandela and other recently freed ANC leaders were two key items on the agenda of the ANC official national executive committee (NEC) meeting which began here yesterday morning.

ANC information head Tom Sebina said it was crucial for the NEC to examine how the ANC should tackle issues raised by the government since February 2.

Twenty-eight of the 34 NEC members are at the meeting.

Sebina repeated that the ANC welcomed the measures announced at the opening of Parliament and the subsequent release of Mandela but it still required clarity on other issues such as the remaining emergency regulations and troops in the townships.

Sebina said the ANC was aware government wished to discuss these issues directly with the organisation's leadership, and the appropriateness of such a step would be one item on the agenda.