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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.

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 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.

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.
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 Albertine 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 South African 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 of the ANC, 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.
President P 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 unwilling to commit an official or an informal response. However, sources said De Klerk was prepared to address the issue as a matter of principle.

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, the source said yesterday.

Tambo, recovering in a Stockholm clinic 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.

EDITH BULBING

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 is due to "the need to have a fresh start. I believe the move will be good for my business." He said he had decided to leave following the death of his wife, who was the business's founder. He said the move would be a "great opportunity" for his family.

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 wife and three children wanted to remain in SA.

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 Fibelbaum said today he was sad to see Cohen leave. He had not yet reached a decision on his replacement.
A bill of rights for South Africa is not— as one position taken by the ANC— 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 the whole population, including the black majority, effectively realizes 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, thereby promoting greater equality, greater social justice and the full realization of human dignity.

The bill of rights must not be seen as a positive, creative mechanism that can introduce progressive and rapid change in the direction of a new society.

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

Either right, such as the right to public development and the right to environment, must also be addressed.

This might open lawyers to allowing a duly constituted legal commission, who argues that such concepts are political, not legal, and that they have no place within a bill of rights.

Sweeping

Any serious look at the need for 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.

In this context, a fundamental feature of a meaningful bill of rights is that it recognizes and honors the contributions of the majority to the transformation and improves the quality of their lives, but also black communities— especially those whose lives have been socially and economically denuded by the apartheid system.

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

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 NIORDAN reports:

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

In 1996, the national government announced that it planned to establish an independent bill of rights, which would replace the so-called South African Human Rights Commission, which provided a working paper on 'Group and Human Rights' for the government in 1999.

The commission is now preparing a report which is expected to have ready by the end of 1998. It will be the report of the government, who may or may not use it recommendations.

What is this working paper for democracy in South Africa?

The commission's report has been described as the most important document to emanate from material body in the past 40 years.

In October, 1994, the commission announced that it would consider the bill of rights in the context of the ANC's views, a race classified in terms of the constitution before the ANC's first meetings. Thereafter, the ANC's constitution will be on the agenda for the ANC's meetings. The commission will consider the constitution will be on the agenda for the ANC's meetings. The commission will consider the constitution will be on the agenda for the ANC's meetings.

Race will enter the constitution as an equal right, and the ANC has indicated that the commission will be on the agenda for the ANC's meetings.

The anti-racist character will be specifically: to end racial discrimination; to prevent the discrimination of racial ideas and the organization of racial hatred; to ensure that measures are taken to combat the effects of past racial discrimination.

Persecuted

What guarantee would exist in a constitutional order based on majority rule against government action secured by the majority? It may be argued that, while recognizing the existence of the majority, it is possible to infer on future generations the forms that the majority will assume, which those who have been and are Indians to for a change.

At the pragmatic, it may be contended that one might seek to persuade a democratic society that it has been made by the South African people and to ensure that in the future the society of society as a whole. This is the guarantee of equal rights for all national communities.

Isolation

The increasing precariousness of the apartheid regime inside South Africa, its position internationally will continue to be at stake. In the case of a democratic society, the Lancaster House agreement in this regard.

Negotiations for a transitional agreement could not in fact pass the point of no return for apartheid in its own terms. The goal of a racist self-definition has been recognized and there was a sense of relief that it was being accepted without consultation with the ANC. The goal of the ANC, however, has also been to end racial discrimination.

The ANC is not the only state to be concerned about the South African government, despite the ANC's proposal in 1996. There are reports of police violence, which has led to a protest in the country.

The ANC has, however, been careful to emphasize the importance of the question of human rights.

The ANC, however, has also been careful to emphasize the importance of the question of human rights.
Incisive look at distortions in SA

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

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

Johnstone creates a haunting landscape that rolls under a "moon / Draped in blood" — one that is witness to poverty, unembattled 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 need meaning against the backdrop 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 recognize 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, suffering from war, revolution, detention and homelessness to love, culture, labour and the treatment of women.

What is undoubtedly the most striking feature of Johnstone's poetry is its brevity and simplicity with which these aspects are covered.

The poem "Focus" seems to offer some insight into the logic of the genre in 'Congo' and Ford Calista', a poem about two community leaders mysteriously killed near Cradock.

We are told the time, the place (Nape Dodu / Roadblock), 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 this frustration on the reader's part that is most enjoyable; the genre is deceptive as the poems are short, yet disturbing.

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 tantamount to messages that leave the dismall 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 incorruption and ambiguity, a feature that Johnstone uses to the hilt — we are told of "cesspools of glue", "wingless butterflies" and of hunger that "hangs limp from a woman's breast."

But all is not imagery and style. This poem 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 poet, "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 — "Fieled."

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

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.

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 36 opposition organisations.

An announcement on the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act is also possible.
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's rejection of 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".

PAC's Mothopeng

Nelson Mandela

ANC's Oliver Tambo

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, the release of Mandela may pave the way for the two liberation movements to reunite 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 stalwarts, Mr Jafsa 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 centrist 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 shuns off the threat of self-imposed marginalism and generalising through reluctance to cooperate 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".

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 BRUYN:

1/11
Song and dance at Jan Smuts

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 minutes before Mandells freedom ticked by.

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

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 4.30 pm, a loudhailer 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.
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 escaping.

“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 staff, 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 Coetze.

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

Mr Coetze 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 Heman, 39, would be presented to the press today at the same time as Mr Coetze.

Doubts have been cast about the mental state of Mr Heman, 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 F W 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 Dollincheek, 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 Mkonto 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.
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 an 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.
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.

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 sets pace with 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 representative 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.

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

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

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus, Foreign Service
WASHINGTON — More than a dozen US organizations joined the African National Congress this week to form an American National Nelson Mandela Reception Committee.

The latest reception committee is the 31st to be created worldwide to coordinate celebrations for Mr. Mandela’s release, a spokesman for the ANC in Washington said in an interview.

The American committee is being organized by the ANC’s New York and Washington offices.

LOBBY GROUP
Among the organizations which are taking part are TransAfrica, a lobby group which spearheaded the campaign to force Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1985, the Mozambique Support Network, the Southern Africa Support Project, the Lutheran Task Force, the Socialist Workers’ Party and the office of Congressman Mr. Walter Fauntroy, a prominent US 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 his associates. They will demand the immediate release of the ANC leader and others.

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

When Mr. Mandela did eventually step to freedom, he said the committee would coordinate celebrations across America. These could include street parties in the major cities, the formation 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.
PROTESTERS’ CALL: A poster calling for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela reflects the mood of the moment.

President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to meet today amid fever-pitch expectations about the release of the jailed African National Congress leader.

The meeting, at an unknown venue, is aimed at resolving differences between them on the eve of the President’s crucial address to parliament on the opening of parliament. The meeting may affect the release of Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk is keen to continue creating a climate for the start of negotiations on constitutional reform to provide for black political rights and some agreement with Mr Mandela would be a step in this direction.

This follows announcements by Mr De Klerk yesterday of two key judicial commissions of inquiry — one into the death of Mr Clayton Sishi, a close friend of Mr Mandela’s daughter, Zindzi, and the father of her child, and a second one into alleged political killings.

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.

Confirming that there were plans for a meeting, a senior government source said it could have an impact on Mr De Klerk’s speech tomorrow. So far

LATEST

- About 4am today a luxury car was seen to enter Victor Verster Prison. After about an hour the car was seen driving away at a high speed. — Sapa.

The impression in political circles has been that the President may not make a firm statement on the release of Mr Mandela but if the two men can come to some agreement today this may change.

The meeting will try to remove obstacles, said to be the security situation and also preconditions set by Mr Mandela.

These include the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of political movements including the ANC and lifting the state of emergency.

One of the issues which has been raised at the meeting is whether the ANC should be unbanned.

Nationalist politicians said this should be when Mr Mandela is freed as he could not be released into a political vacuum where he would be a prominent member of a banned organisation.

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.

A Nationalist politician said today that the government was not unduly concerned about the security situation.

- Staff Reporter Dennis Cruywagen writes that a warder from Victor Verster prison yesterday telephoned Dr Allan Boesak, who was to see Mr Mandela today, to tell him that the visit had been cancelled.

A warder, who identified himself as Gregory, said my visit would not take place. I asked him if the visit had been cancelled. He said ‘no’ and added it had been postponed to Tuesday,” Dr Boesak said today.

“When I asked why, he said: ‘Something has cropped up’. He declined to say more. Now it appears that it is a meeting with Mr De Klerk.”

It was ironic that his visit had been postponed for the De Klerk meeting, Dr Boesak said.

However, he advised Mr De Klerk, if he had any sense of drama, “to walk out of prison with Mr Mandela today.”

TOMORROW

The Argus will publish full details of President De Klerk’s crucial speech at the opening of Parliament in all editions tomorrow.

“I do not know if he’ll surprise me and free Mr Mandela now so that I can see him at home and not at Victor Verster prison next Tuesday.”

Tomorrow’s planned Mass Democratic March to parliament was still on, he said.

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.
Last-minute meeting for FW, Nelson

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. 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 today.

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 "unrealistic 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 13.

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 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 meeting, it is unlikely to take place at Tuyshaya 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.

MERYN 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 rand 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 rand 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

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 6,000 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 Mavinga, 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 MiGs 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 accused 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

STOCKHOLM. — High above the harbour here, where gargantuan ferries 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. 

Journalists were told a top-level ANC decision had been taken not to allow any Press access to Coetzee until today.

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 Heine Humaa, 38, would be presented to the Press today at the same time as Coetzee.

Doubts have been cast about the mental state of Humaa, 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.

Sources here say today's ANC Press conference, timed to overshadow President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament in the eyes of the international news media, might also be attended by “Spyker” Tshikhulane and Martin Dollincheck, both former SA security officials.

The ANC has compiled a detailed dossier on South African “hit squad” operations with the help of Coetzee, Tshikhulane and Dollincheck, as well as 12 former recruits to the “Askari” programme, an exercise to turn one-time ANC terrorists 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...

Hit squad study

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 Tshikhulane.

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.

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He continued to examine what Mr De Klerk had been saying about reform in South Africa and criticized 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

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

CHARLENE SMITH 1 June 1990

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 on 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 restrictions have declined by a fifth, to 534. However, listings — a more severe form of restriction against individuals — have, in terms of the Internal Security Act, risen from 103 to 378.

P 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 or 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 fulfill a Harare Declaration prerequisite.

"Certainly Section 39, 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 1998.

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 Khunjosong, 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.
EY opens doors to freedom

Political prisoners are halted

All executions set free soon

Mandela to be released

ANC, PAC and SACP unembarked
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.
The indictment said the two men assaulted Mr Pokota Magalemele on August 29 at Goliath Dam and that they were trying to bring US $150,000 (R635,000) into South Africa illegally to evade taxation.

Mr Magalemele had been granted bail of R1,000 in terms of a bail application on February 5. Mr David Johnson de Beer of Kruger Avenue, Vereeniging, was also granted bail of R1,000.

Whether to prosecute the Utaq members as only certain members enjoy diplomatic immunity under the agreement with the UN.

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By John Ryan

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE - Self-confessed "hit squad" leader Mr Dirk Coetsee 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.

When asked why he had felt it necessary to join the ANC - whether it was an act 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 Coetsee admitted a police departmental conviction in 1984 for trying to bring US $150,000 (R635,000) into South Africa illegally to evade taxation.

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

The departmental inquiry had also found Mr Coetsee 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 Coetsee 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 Coetsee 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 Coetsee 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 Coetsee 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 Harmes 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 were 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 Radio702 Newstalk last night. The names of high-ranking state officials he mentioned were "bleeped out."

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Hit squad probe 'could take years'

The newly appointed commission of inquiry into political murders has been criticised for its 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 PW de Klerk was to be congratulated for taking a "courageous step toward reconciliation, despite the potential damage of the findings to his government".

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

The figure could increase to thousands if unrest victims of necklacing, tirebombs, 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 Adrian 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.
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 Mobuto Sese Seko yesterday.

Buthelezi, also Inkatha president, stated the impossibility in a memorandum on discussions with former Zairian foreign minister Dula Nyati Mandungu, who is now special advisor to Mobuto.

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 legislate 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/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

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 businessman, 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 release. 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 centralize 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.

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Tug-of-war for control of Mandela media

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 Antun 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 politbureauc 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 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 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-ideological" 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
ANC press conference cancelled

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 Mongeni, are known to have had a lengthy meeting with Dr Shamuyarira, who is also secretary for information in President Robert Mugabe's policymaking 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 is set aside

UMTATA — Two ANC members who allegedly placed a limpet mine in the toilets at the Mzamba Wild Coast Hotel on the night of April 18, 1985 — which claimed two lives — had their double death sentence set aside by the Appellate Division in a judgment handed down in Umtata yesterday.

The appellants were Ntibulele Ndzamela and Phumzile Myap.

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

The trial court judge had sentenced each of them to 18 years' imprisonment. — EPA.
A White House 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 "there are indications" Mandela will be released today. "We don't know for sure. We will certainly support his release. We're hopeful he will be," Fitzwater said.

— Sapa 2/12/90 — 8/12/90
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. [11 A]

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.

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.

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.

It certainly is.

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.
SECURITY AND REFORM  F/M 2/2/90

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 noted that the protest at the Bloemfontein match was peaceful; a moment before, the same station's newscaster 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 rustly 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 F W 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 January 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 effect that policemen 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 is inevitable. The MDM no doubt needed to test the limits of police 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 battles against new-found tolerance by 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 delayed 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 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.

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Who can we believe?

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 commissioners. 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 deregulation.

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

Not quite soaring

Annual SAA profits and revenues

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Fiscal year ends March 31

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 2 1990
NELSON MANDELA

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.

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 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 new-found 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.

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 2 1990
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

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 we should see it 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 is politically correct. The more fusts and spars and gags, the better. The range of themes is narrowed down so much that all that is funny or curious or generally tragic is left in the world is extruded. Ambiguity and contradiction are completely shut out, and the only flirt 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 Tuyela, 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 Dostoevsky, resisting change, yet feeling oppression, throws that way and that by conflicting emotions, and through his or her struggles and torments and moments of joy, the reader would be thrust into the whole drama of the struggle and 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 bant.

In the case of a real instrument of struggle, there is no room for ambiguity: 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 want to 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 talk every page and hauet every picture; everything is obeyed by it, they are prolific 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 Gwaza, 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 makes itself... It bypasses, overthrows, 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 angh and break free from the solemn formulae of commitment that people (like myself) have tried too many years to impose upon them.

Our culture, the ANC culture, is not a picture 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 the South African who at his origins feels comfortable in his ranks. To say this not to deny that cultural tensions and dilemmas remain, but if we can show that the organisations: on the contrary, bring us in ways of understanding the world, our jealousies and preconceptions. What matters, however, is that we have created a context of struggle, of goals and commitment within which these tensions can be dealt with.

The (ANC's August 1989 Constitutional) Guidelines are more than a work-in-progress, they set out well-deliberated views of the National Executive Committee as enriched by in-house seminars, 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 minut. 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 on 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, tribe, colour, language. 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 identical citizens. South Africa is now seen as a multi-racial country; we envisage it as a multi-lingual country. It will be multi-ethnic 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 imperial notion, we do not plan to build a non-racial people-domin which people may enter only by shedding and suppressing the cultural heritage of one's apartheid South Africa.

While each one of us has a particularly intimate relationship with one or other cultural manifestation, we are all locked into a series of cultural "own affairs" ghettoes. On the contrary, the grandchildren of white immi-

dents and of the toyi-toyis --- even if slightly out of step --- or recite the poems of Wally Serote, just as the grandchildren of Diatza 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- or anti-apartheid... Certainly, it still behoves us to set ourselves up as the new censors of art and literature, or to impose our own internal State of Emergency in areas where we are well or organised. Rather, let us write better poems and make better films and music, and better art.

The South Africa in which individuals and groups can operate freely, will be a South Af-

can country 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 racial domination. We state in conclusion that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened.
Warm ANC reunion in snowy Stockholm

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 Mkwanyi, 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.

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 Erstagard 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 come together for the evening, and to come to Nelson Mandela Place outside the consulate from 5pm for a mass celebration," said Mr Brian Haggart, 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.

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 Terror Lekota

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 Hendriks, 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."
ANC leader’s role seen as a co-ordinator

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.

ANC leader’s role seen as a co-ordinator

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D-Day for 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 spokesman for President FW de Klerk said, "This is pure speculation.

Meanwhile, in a day of drama in Cape Town yesterday, the media clamoured 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 among in large numbers 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 ensuring 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", as the start of negotiations to provide for black political rights and a new democratic system.

To page 2

Confidential' permit for Cape march

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Cape Town's Chief Magistrate gave the nod to today's march on Parliament after a "mystryous" source applied to him for permission.

The Chief Magistrate, Mr W P Thesen, yesterday refused to reveal the name of the applicant saying it was confidential.

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

A spokesman for the MD in Cape Town said the march, which began at 8am in the city centre, goes on as planned. He said the mysterious granting of permission was a ploy to deflate the intensity of a march.

Meanwhile, it is believed that Nationalist 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 magistrates' office.

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

To page 2
Life as usual in Soweto as F W speaks

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.

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

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, vowed that if the AWB were to be banned it would defend its people and property “with violence” to 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 Schabort, leader of the new 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.

Boeresta Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said if he thought it was wise to ban 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”. 

COMMERICAL & INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

A SPECIAL SURVEY ON THIS TOPIC WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE STAR ON WEDNESDAY 20th MARCH 1989
Dancing in the streets

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA and CORRESPONDENTS

IT WAS a far cry from Trafalgar Square on V.E. 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 Nkosi, general secretary of Actstop, said he was disappointed the State President had not included the 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 Rakaau, regional secretary of SAMRU 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 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 Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson welcomed President de Klerk’s announcement.

Mr Andersson said the international economic 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.”
Govt shifts focus to crucial future summit with ANC

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 Steffel van der Merwe and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr 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 Fallo Jordan, the director of information, senior NEC member Mr John Nkadimeng, 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.
JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress President Mr Sephe 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
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

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 event, recently released Delmas triallist Mr Pops 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 1899 by Mahendras Gandhi. The ANC was founded in Bloemfontein in 1912.

— Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa
ANC wants sanctions to remain

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 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 Fallo Jordan, said the organisation would continue "guerrilla operations until 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 Sems
In 1990, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) announced plans for the Space Station Freedom (SSF), a large, modular space station designed to support long-duration crewed research and development in orbit. The SSF was envisioned as a collaborative effort among NASA, the Department of Defense (DOD), and commercial partners.

Public and private interest in space exploration and research activities increased significantly in the 1990s. As a result, interest in the development of the Space Station Freedom (SSF) grew, particularly among the defense community. The SSF was designed to be a multi-purpose facility for a variety of uses, including medical experiments and technology development.

The SSF was planned to be an international collaborative project, with contributions from multiple nations. However, disagreements over the project's goals and funding led to its cancellation in 1993. The decision to terminate the SSF project was controversial and led to a number of legal challenges and debates over the project's fate.

In the wake of the cancellation, the defense community sought alternative ways to support space-based research and development. The Office of Naval Research (ONR) began exploring the possibility of partnering with the Department of Defense (DOD) to develop a successor project to the SSF, with a focus on defense and national security applications.

In 1995, the Office of Naval Research (ONR) and the Department of Defense (DOD) launched the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) to explore new concepts and technologies for space-based research and development. The DARPA program was designed to foster innovation and collaboration among government, industry, and academia.

In 1996, the Office of Naval Research (ONR) and the Department of Defense (DOD) established the Space-Based and Undersea Systems Program (SBUSP) to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies. The SBUSP program was designed to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies, including space-based surveillance, reconnaissance, and communications systems.

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In 2012, the Office of Naval Research (ONR) and the Department of Defense (DOD) established the Space-Based and Undersea Systems Program (SBUSP) to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies. The SBUSP program was designed to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies, including space-based surveillance, reconnaissance, and communications systems.

In 2014, the Office of Naval Research (ONR) and the Department of Defense (DOD) launched the Space-Based and Undersea Systems Program (SBUSP) to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies. The SBUSP program was designed to support the development of new space-based systems and technologies, including space-based surveillance, reconnaissance, and communications systems.

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Unbanning of ANC takes old foes back to parting of the ways

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 SAPC by PW du Plessis Government indicates that the Government has changed its tactics and will not be repeating the mistakes of the 1960s 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, thousands of 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 banning, the ANC and PAC attempted to construct underground organisations. Representatives from a broad range of black groups met in December 1966 and again in March 1967.

These conferences saw the launch of a campaign for a national convention - the first phase was to begin with a three-day move 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 credited to mass support by members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

The State responded with nightly township searches by police and over 10,000 people were arrested. Armoured vehicles began patrolling towns.

Control of the State, the ANC leaders joined members of the SACP in plans for a guerrilla war.

Mr Mandela left the country in 1962 to gain external support. He returned in July after training in Europe.

December 16 heralded the start of the guerrilla warfare. Exploitation fuelled by the arrest of the ANC and the SACP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, rocked South Africa from its foundations.

At the same time Pogo - a movement loyal to the PAC said to be more militant than the Umkhonto - led a revolt in the Kruger Park.

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.

In 1962, the movement was represented by Mr JT Gumede and Mr JA la Gama at the World Congress against Imperialism, which was organised by the Communist International in Brussels.

The ANC was banned in 1963. In 1964, the ANC called for the formation of the South African Congress of Progressive People, which was the first political party in South Africa.

In 1965, the ANC held its first national conference, which was attended by members from all over the country. The conference adopted a policy of armed struggle.

In 1966, the ANC launched a guerrilla war in South Africa, which was supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. The war continued until 1989, when the ANC agreed to a ceasefire.

In 1989, the ANC signed a peace agreement with the South African government, which ended the war and set the stage for a democratic election in 1994.

The election was won by the ANC, which has been in power ever since. The country has seen significant progress in terms of reconciliation and economic development.
to the future

Thirty years old foes back to parting of the ways in 1912

The ANC national executive:
President General — Oliver Tambo,
Secretary General — Alfred Nzo,
Treasurer General — Thomas Nkobi,
President of Congress of South African Trade Unions —
Steve Dhlimini,
Chief of Staff Mkhonto we Sizwe — Chris Hani,
ANC Regional Department — Pollo Jordan,
— Mac Maharaj,
— Simon Mekana,
Head of International Department — Position vacant,
Director of Education — Henry Motsothi,
Publicity Secretary — Thabo Mbeki,
External Information Director: Editor of Sowetan — Francis Mole,
Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe — Joe Madisa,
Chairman of Political Committee and General Secretary of SACTU — John Nkodimeng,
Secretary of the ANC — Mzwakhe Pihwe,
Head of Women Section — Getrude Slope,
General Secretary of the SA Communist Party — Joe Slovo,
Chairman of the SACP, Deputy Treasurer General, and Deputy Secretary General (Treasurer General) — Biko.

International representatives:
German Democratic Republic — Anthony Mangala,
United Kingdom — Sally Smith,
Sweden — Lindiwe Mabuza,
Zimbabwe — Reddy Mazinisa,
Tanzania — Stanley Mazimba.

granting administrative, executive or legislative powers to blacks over whites or within the white community.

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 1948 the “Congress” of the Democrats was held in Kipho, Johannesburg, where the Freedom Charter was adopted. In 1958 a rift between those supporting the Freedom Charter and the government resulted in a split. The government broke away to form the Pan African Congress (PAC).

Both the PAC and ANC were banned on April 9, 1950 after the Sharpeville massacre which left 67 people dead and many injured.

The ban has ended years of peaceful struggle against oppression and in the second half of 1948 Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed. A recent London-based journalist claims the ANC has 10,000 guerillas.

On July 11, 1963, security police fired live ammunition into a bakery in Liliwe, near Vosman, killing 13 people. This was Vosman.

They found nine people in the house and then drew up a battle plan, ‘Operation Mayibuye’, a blueprint for guerrilla warfare in South Africa. It was drawn up by Mr Arthur Goldreich, formerly a commander in the Israeli guerilla Army.

On October 9, 1963, one of the most monumental trials ever to take place in South African history began in 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 bloody revolution and the overthrow of the Government. It was here that Mr Mandela, the president of the ANC’s Transvaal division and a member of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe established himself as South Africa’s most famous political leader.

Eight men, including Mr Mandela, were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. Six of those found guilty were arrested at Rivonia.

...and the others. Mr Arthur Goldreich and Mr Harold Wolpe were also arrested but escaped from the Johannesburg Fort after being given a wardsman. With 400, Mr Bob Hepple turned state witness, but was released on bail and told the country.

Mr Denis Goldberg was convicted of treason in 1984, 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 Harry Nkabinde, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were unconditionally released from prison. Leaving Mr Mandela as the only accused from the Rivonia 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 SAP are still illegal activities, Professor Deon Fourie, a strategist at the University of South Africa.

There would still be a need for intelligence gathering and for security to maintain tight control of possible illegal activities such as 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 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 more closely. Previously they were underground. Now that they are legal it will be easier to keep tabs on them, said Professor Fourie.

The SAP 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.

"I would say 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 SAP were the enemy, would probably be "confused" about the new policy, but the security forces would remain loyal to the Government, Professor Fourie said.
ANC's terrorist status to stay

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 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, President 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 doing so," said Mogoba in a statement.

Cosatu said De Klerk's announcements fell short of the expectations of the majority of South Africans and the world.

Though it welcomed the changes as "far-reaching and courageous", Cosatu emphasised that the cornerstone 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".

"If 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.

Acetop 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 point security 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 Currim praised De Klerk for "his brave and far-reaching initiative".

"We hope the unconditional unbanning 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," Currim 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 (Naaceo) said the stand taken by De Klerk was bold in courage and vision.
Bishop drops anti-sanctions stand

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 investment, 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 general 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 benefited 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

Scores of non-persons "came to life" yesterday when they were officially unbanned.

For some, like long-timer SA Communist Party chief Bram Fischer, it came 25 years too late.

He died in 1965, but may now be freely quoted in SA - a privilege denied him for decades in terms of strict Government censorship.

Government Gazette No 4447, Vol 128, No 12977 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

By DRIES van HEERDEN

its most prominent present and past members.

The bleed, 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

The words, thoughts and ideas of men like Mr Oliver Tambo, the movement's president, its chief diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and its spokesmen, Mr Tom Selima, were kept from public scrutiny.

"The most stringent" ban was imposed on Selima, the official mouthpiece of the ANC, and Umshenbez, the SACP's newsletter. Possession of such material meant strong action and severe punishment.

"Yesterday" the scene changed dramatically. The bans were "not only" lifted - they were "completely" scrapped.

"In the cases of persons "listed" as communists in terms of the Internal Security Act, they were now officially delisted."

They included some of the most prominent activists who dominated protest politics.

Non-persons come back to life

AE From Page 1

In the last half-century - 110 in all - the 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;

Escaped

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;

Abbe Sachs, who lost an arm in a car-bomb explosion in Maputo in 1987;


Also now legitimate are a further 60 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 minister Thabo Mbeki, information chief Phili Jordan, intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, and NEC members Dan Tlamme, sergeant NW Nkosi and Steve Tshwete.

Axed

The top leadership of Umshenbez, the ANC's military wing, including Umshenbez secretary, Joe Modise, and his deputy, Chris Hani.

Long-time activists like Mandela Bruce, former newspaper editor, Donald Woods;

Journalists Mole Mothotla and Con Thamela (deceased) and acclaimed poet Lewis Nkosi;

PAC chairman Johannes Mamo, in exile in Tanzania.

Yesterday's Government Gazette cut like a sharp axe through the forest of Government regulations issued over the past 40 years to sustain Government action and stuff out opposition.

Most of the state of emergency, reimposed on June 8 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 choosing;

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 detaineers.

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 1932.

The majority of these are of a technical nature, designed to close small loopholes discovered in Acts of Parliament.
**Jubilant exiles rejoice at prospect of coming home**

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, Dar es Salaam, has 9,000 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," one said.

Officially, the ANC immediately raised a stumbling 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 get 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 Futad said: "For the first time in 30 years I'm legal again."

"Now we will have to consider the timing. Maybe we will continue the struggle at home."

Walter Steulé, who speaks in Stockholm, Sweden, after the unbanning of the ANC
EMERGENCY DECLARED IN SIMMERING CISKEI

By BILL KRIGE

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 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 President Lenaix 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 PW de Klerk that independent Ciskei would go it alone and not hold a referendum on a possible return to SA.

But 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

FW SWINGS INTO ACTION

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 pressure on Mr De Klerk to broaden the base of his initiative.

A top-ranking Government team has been instructed to pull up itsspears for an intensive programme of contact with 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, plans are in place to ensure that the ANC, and not the President, is identified as the "negotiator.

In Lombard St the ANC's information desk is manned by Mr Malek Mehl, who was the ANC's spokesman in Pimville, and a Friday night, that Mr De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Friday "opened a new chapter in our relationship with the white opposition". We will have to take decisions soon.

The ANC's full National Executive was expected to meet today and make changes to the party's programme. A more problematic issue was the "returns of the white"

Blonde Jane takes over on TV quiz

By Carol Kerrigan

ABC's "the look of love" and "the voice" of the TV quiz show. "The look of love" and "the voice" of the TV quiz show. "The look of love" and "the voice" of the TV quiz show.

The competition begins in the Sunday Times magazine on February 25.

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FW swings into his reform action

Gaps in his reform action

SECRET

Forward

Opened
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 cheers 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 organizers 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 go to Lusaka to consult the ANC’s external leadership.

Thereafter, he would fly to Sweden to meet all 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,” he said.

“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:

1. Security forces should act with absolute impartiality in strife-torn Natal and arrest people who continued with violence.
2. The Government should “respond constructively” to demands that all political prisoners be freed, and
3. 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 blacks’ fear could not be excised 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.

“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 F.W. 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 a 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.

"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.

"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

From Page 1

Struggle continues

prisoners would apply for exiles.

Viljoen's announcement has been greeted with joy by families and friends of thousands of people who left the country because of the banning of the organisations in 1960. Many also left after the 1976 school risings.

Thousands of exiles are scattered across the country, Ntsoa. Sozana, Zimba, Angola and the number is in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC's headquarters.

The Africa News Organisation reports that the ANC said development of the country was "quite promising", 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 the process of negotiations was attained.

He said the situation also called for the greatest unity of all forces within South Africa that were committed to a united, democratic, and non-racial South Africa.

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 banning of the organisation this week.

The tough stance contrasted with an ANC statement on Friday welcoming the new legal status and calling President PW 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 officials 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 Felix Kanyane said in Lusaka yesterday: "We have always said the notion of simply abandoning armed struggle is out of the question."

"Any cessation of hostilities will have to be negotiated and will be part of a mutually-beneficial process."

The ANC's secretary-general of the South African Communist Party arrived in Stockholm on Friday for strategic talks with the ANC.

"We have been in negotiations for 40 years," said Sisulu, who with ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo visited ANC president Oliver Tambo. Walter Sisulu has already seen Tambo.

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 Sehoma, Donald Woods, Helen Joseph, Martin Schon, Afie Sibika, Archie Sibeka, the late JB Marks, Harry Gwala, Godfrey Mkhlari and Rowley Amosela.

Justice Minister Robbie Coetzee published notices regarding the prohibition of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the PAC, Pogo, and the South African Communist Party, Sapa reports.
Hit squad probe hailed as tribute to Abraham Tiro

By SANDILE MÉMELA

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 Koos 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.

His body was found at the house where he was living at St Joseph’s Roman Catholic church at Khale, 11 km south of Gaborone.

Tiro’s attack on Bantu Education at the University of the North’s graduation ceremony in 1972 continues to haunt black education.

Meanwhile, more than 150 members of the Black Consciousness Movement in Grahamstown met on Thursday evening to commemorate Tiro’s death.

Former Azapo vice-president for the Cape Province Mqyiseli Mahlati said what happened to Tiro did not frighten people away from their movement.

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 Bani, said the BCM in Grahamstown, which had been very strong in the early 1980s had died down, but had been revived since last year.
No more to be hanged until policy made

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 the broadening of 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.

-Nelson Mandela...his release is expected in a few days and he will play a vital future role.

'Time for violence to end, reconciliation to begin'

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 ready 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 cooperative 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 Kaunda.'

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 Socialist 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
Crowds sing freedom songs in city streets

By SOPHIE TEMBA 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 Apartheid,” they shouted.

Sandra Twala, 32, from Soweto stood for almost 30 minutes at the corner of Elgin and Commissioner streets singing Siyabonga Baba, Siyabonga Jazi – “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 first 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, busa umshikwela – come back Madiba, come and set us free.” Mandela is Madiba’s clan name.

Easi Selomo said she was shocked when she suddenly saw a group of youths moving down Elgin Street carrying a Russian flag and singing freedom songs.

“I shared from other people what was going on and was told that the ANC and PAC had been unbanned,” she said.

“I thought that when I heard them wrong 1 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 make him his hand.”

Erna 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 Welwitsche Makoeza, 27, of Mayfair. “May the people of South Africa have a good weekend.”

Adding that the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and the PAC was long overdue, Makoeza said he hoped the next step would be to halt the bloody Natal violence.

Petrus Phulul, 22, of Thohlo, said: “February 2 will go down in history as 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 Mokololo, 30, of De Kloof, Zone 1.

“The release of our leaders is a great day for us. We will continue to press the government.”

“However, as long as the exiles are not allowed to return home, the black masses will continue to resist the government.”

“Despite the.free Blanche can’t see his heart out,” said motor mechanic Peter Mokololo, 28, of Central Western Joburg.

“His threats of carrying out violent acts against the black community will be met with resistance. Gone are the days when they (A.W.B.) used to push us around in our country.”

The ANC flag draped from a Hillbrow building.
Group rights under a new spotlight

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 president said. 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 fundamental 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.

Surplus predicted for govt budget spending

Government expenditure was now thoroughly under control and it appeared the year would close with a budget surplus.

Outlining the government’s economic plans, Mr 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 1990 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 had 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 curtailting 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

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 SAPC 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 as new South African opposition groups and youth results 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 SAPC are unbanned.

Others: The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SAPC.

On this page we carry excerpts from the speech.

[Image: A timeline showing key events in the ANC's history, from 1912 to 1990.]

[Image: The headline reads “Surplus predicted for govt budget spending.”]
Hit squad probe hailed as tribute to Abraham Tiro

By SANDILE MEBELA

THE appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into hit squad allegations is a tribute to Abraham Onkopotse Tiro on the 38th 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 squads 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.

His body was found at the house where he was living at St Joseph’s Roman Catholic church at Khale, 11km south of Gaborone.

Tiro’s attack on Bantu Education at the University of the North’s graduation ceremony in 1972 continues to haunt black education.

Yesterday the Azanian People’s Organization held a joint commemoration service for Tiro and Dr Abu-Asvat Baker at the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia.

It was attended by hundreds of Black Consciousness supporters who recognised the contribution of the two men to the country’s political development.

“Asvat is still fresh in the minds of the people after his brutal death, but Tiro can never be forgotten as his endeavours are still part of the struggle for a true free society today,” said Mabasa.

Dr Asvat, a well-known “people’s doctor” was killed in his Rockville, Soweto, surgery in January last year.

Meanwhile, more than 150 members of the Black Consciousness Movement in Grahamstown met on Thursday evening to commemorate Tiro’s death.

Former Azapo vice-president for the Cape Province Mouyseli Mahlati said what happened to Tiro did not frighten people away from their movement.

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, Mboneni Banini, said the BCM in Grahamstown, which had been very strong in the early 1980s had died down, but had been revived since last year.
Protest rally became a march of triumph

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 Leokota 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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However, he said it would be unreasonable if the people failed to acknowledge De Klerk's "bold and courageous concessions".

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.
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 pressed and excited about FW's announcement.
Were the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party really unbanned? Unbelievable, 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 underground - 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 ND 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 didn't think would ever come 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 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.
Protest rally became a march of triumph

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.

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-Sapa.
SACP recalls its founder members

Gladys Marks. John Marks.
By SOPHIE TEMA

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. APR 24 1990

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 moment 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.

She 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.
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.
What you couldn't read - but now can!

IT is now legal to possess ANC publications. 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.

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 BRUYNES

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 South African businessmen could play 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 opponent 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-Reuters.
Tutu to adopt lower profile

By Oly Jepsen

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 divestment in South Africa until the changes promised by President de Klerk become reality, reports Sape-AP.
SA envoy challenges ANC to talk

The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — South Africa's Ambassador to The Hague, Mr A B Ntlhagel, 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."

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."

"Preconditions"

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"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."
Exiles dance for joy at 4-hour rally

The Star's Foreign News Service

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
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 “combattants of the liberation movement” were 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”.

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 retain 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.
The left contemplates forming a united front

By ESMARNE VAN DER MERWE of the Political Staff

Several extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding and merging with the African National Congress in the wake of its unbanning last week.

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 organisations — 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 Molele said the UDF would take a decision on whether to join the ANC at a national council meeting from April 6 to 9.

Sasco general secretary, Mr Rapu Malekana, 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.
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," Mr. 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 guerrilla 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."
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 Thembu 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

By Craig Kotze

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 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.
Emergency and political prisoners stand in way

Snags still block Mandela's release

By Peter Fabriicus and
Esmare 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 of great importance.

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 meet Mr. de Klerk to deliver the response. Some said they believed it was more likely that Mr. Sisulu would meet 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 free.

Several extra-parliamentary organisations are considering disbanding to merge with the African National Congress in the wake of the stunning 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.

Many organisations which sprang up to take the place of others that had been restricted would either amalgamate with the ANC or join up as a separate wing within the organisation.
One of the oldest and most prominent organisations in the liberation movement that are considered key in the struggle are the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress. 

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) president, Mr. Cassim Sakojee, said it was "very likely" the organisation formed in the early 1970s and officially part of the Congress alliance of the early 1980s - would now disband.

Mr. de Klerk said on television last year that the Government was prepared to discuss all reasonable problems. He said the day was open for negotiations and that the ANC was not disadvantaged by the state of emergency as it applied to all parties.

The high court in the ANC's court and they were in the limes- light. They continued to call for sanctions and planned violence as they would have no moral ground and would be seen as enemies of peace.

The world would turn against them and they would also face a united front of South Africans. He 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 a stop to any open debate and he was not afraid to enter into debate with them. After the collapse of communism, the ANC would have to make difficult decisions on whether to renounce its failed ideology or to defend it.

There is some evidence that international pressure could start to exert on the ANC if it does not respond positively to Mr. de Klerk's speech.

De-censored

Police plea on ANC weapons

The Star is no longer operating under the media regulations.

We are able to report without having to request that the sources to get round the restrictions, though still having to watch carefully the security laws.

Photographs of demonstrators and police actions in "secret" are now published, but we shall continue to challenge the regulations and keep readers aware of events and informed of censorship.

Police plea on ANC weapons

By Craig Koeg 

Police have urged all members of the ANC's armed wing inside South Africa to hand over their weapons to police, or contact police accordingly and say where the weapons could be found.

"But we must stress that the SAP will not cease its vigilance in combating terror and other crimes. Everyone will have to accept that we will be conducting extensive searches for all perpetrators of violence and terrorism," Brigadier Motlale said.

Police would continue to investigate crimes; a warrant 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 week, but it is too late for listed Anne.

Mrs Heymann was listed as a former member of the SA Communist Party. On Friday President de Klerk announced the lifting of sanctions on listed persons.

Mrs Heymann, of Norwood, is supported by her husband, Mr. Isaac. It is not clear why Mrs Heymann's name has also been removed from the list.
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 this 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 being members of the ANC being couriers, arranging accommodation for members and recruiting members while others are charged with handling or storing weapons for alleged involvement in acts of violence.

The cross-examination of a security policeman, Detective-Sergeant Dirk Gerhardus Steenkamp, proceeded till the lunch adjournment.

Yengeni trialists demand freedom

difference between public violence and guerrilla 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 negotiation.

6 whites to be charged after attack on blacks

were not prepared to make statements and undertook to return the blacks to Jouberton.

The blacks were dropped off on the Ysterystad road, near Jouberton, and attacked with fists, feet and samboks. One was allegedly kicked to death. — Sapa
MANDELA

Starting in
The Argus
Argus Africa News Service

The PAC calls for 'intensification of struggle'

T"HE PAC has called for the 'intensification of struggle' against the South African government. In a statement issued in his behalf in the Transvaal provincial cabinet, Mr. Joe Slovo, said that the PAC had proposed that armed conflict would be doomed to have a dual purpose, to be used against the South African state and to be used against the apartheid regime. He said that the PAC had called for a national strike, a general strike, and a national demonstration, all to be held on the same day. He also called for a national boycott of all South African goods, and for a national strike. He said that the PAC would not accept any compromise with the South African government, and that the PAC would continue to fight for the liberation of South Africa.
New deal is ‘serious offer’ — FW

He had made the right decision in his Parlia
tory 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 in
terview on Sunday night.

"Mr De Klerk said: "I am thankful for the wide cover-
age. People should realize 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 restric-
tion of some certain organisations, violence will be checked on and not allowed in this country."

"But what went through my mind were the weighty mat-
ters and the certainty of hav-
ing 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 hap-
pened was partly "a shock in em-
phasis."

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 Af-
rica was going the same way as Mozambique, 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 modified in a just manner. But if we drag our heels we will run into a situa-
tion in which everything will "dink.""

On the banning of the
ANC, SAM and PAC, Mr De
Klerk said these organisa-
tions could no longer hide and
claim they were being extra-
cited. Dramatic events had
happened in Europe, and in
Mozambique the stance had
changed dramatically.

"As far as I know, the new face for South Africa, the State President said he had trust in the future."

"One big fact crystallised: 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."
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

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 positive step in the right direction," said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo in an exclusive interview with SOUTL.

"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 important 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 the 60s

says BCM

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.
Ecstacy and agony!

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:

ECSTACY: Mitchell's Plain students celebrate the news of Mandela's release

AGONY: A UDF marshal 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

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
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 (Umsese) 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: Charges to 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 Zarayah Ahass 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 Ndube 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 Tessa 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 Kelly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation.

"When the time comes, people say we are going to be reckless, you know, nationalise everything," Mr Nzo said.

'Still 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 Kelly owns an establishment that controls the economy of the country and he owns it alone and it exists only to feed Mr Gavin Kelly, 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-Reuters
Longing for home

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 "inouch" 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, because our lives and work have been South Africa," said Bunting.

Other exiles helped them "with accommodation, schools, setting 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 exile 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 Hamel, "Moses Kotane — South African Revolutionary by Brian Bunting, "South African Communist Speak" (a collection of historical Party documents), "Philosophy and Class Struggle" by Dialogo, 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 Hamel 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 prejudge 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.

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 Fascism."

"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 regular meetings 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 have made applications" said Bunting.

The calibre of people recruited 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 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 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) Buthelezi?"

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 unless the ruling class. The National Party can't preclude over serious changes in the country. Certainly, they won't experience 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 anything 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 good will. We don't want the enemy to choose when it packages issues it prefers.

"In the event of negotiations, our biggest drawcard is going to be the unity of the oppressed and the unity of all those 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 organized and systematic manner so that when those cadres go back, they are already deployed and have tasks from the 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 mobilizer and inspirer of the youth. It has given rise 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 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'

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 emphasise."

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."
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 organization banned in 1960. The giving up of caretaker roles filled by internal leaders, the onset of "young lions" who have emerged in the leadership, the probable return of these 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, 39, 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-rumoured 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 organization.

Internal leaders like Oscar Mphehla 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, international national department head Thabo Mbeki, (both 47), and information and publicity director Pello Jordaan. 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 Wisconsin.

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, who joins in the link with internal political organizations that now want to become redundant.

Church leaders like Allen 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 success during the period of ANC exile.

But, willingly or unwillingly, they seem already to have been surpassed by the released Rivonia trialists who have picked up the reins of the liberation movement with a minimum of fuss.

And over the past decade or so, struggles on the labour front and the ANC-UDF strategy of fighting on issues have spawned a large crop of internal leaders.

The UDF claim that for each leader hounded or detained a new one would rise. The ANC's new faces seem to have been more than just an accounting boast. Among the new faces nationally were Patrick "Terre" Lekota, Pepa Mbeki, Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mafunadi, Jay Naidoo and Trevor Manuel.

Lekota, the national publicity secretary of the UDF, has played a prominent role in various UDF campaign.

Along with the national general secretary of the UDF, Mbeki, and 20 others he was accused of high treason and appeared at the Delagoa Bay trial. Mbeki was sentenced in the 1976 uprising and held for seven months. A former member of the Azanian People's Organization (Apo), he joined the charismatix movement in 1981.

Mbeki spent three years on Robben Island and after his release in May 1982 he became active in the Congress of South African Students (Cosatu) and worked as an organizer 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. Mafunadi was elected general secretary of Gaws in 1982 and

SONAT
(SOCIETY OF NATAL TEACHERS)

salutes the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SAPC in South Africa.

Welcome home comrades

(Submitted by Sonat, PO Box 239, Durban,4000)
ANC’s vision of new SA

THE unbanning of the ANC is a challenge to mass orga-
nisations 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 constitu-
tional committee of the white parliament but to which all South
Africans may contribute.

The ANC — unlike the De Klerk government — has a de-
nitive vision for a new South Africa and a new constitu-
tion. 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 al-
lowed to practice apartheid — but that can hardly be said as an in-
fringement of a universally-recognized human right.

Soverignty will be in the hands of all South Africans, and carried out by
a central government.

The courts, police and army will exist, not as in present to uphold a
racist clique, but to represent every-
body.

• Franchise:

There will be universal suffrage
based on the principle of one person, one vote, and none will be able to
stand for parliament.

• National identity:

The state will promote the growth of a single national identity. Howev-
er, cultural and language differences will be recognized.

• Bill of Rights:

A new constitution will include a bill of rights based on the Freedom
Charter. The bill of rights will guar-
antee 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 realis-
ing the objectives of the Freedom
Charter in promoting social well-be-
ing.

Property for personal use and con-
sumption 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 discrimi-
nation and inequality will be elimi-
nated.

• The family:

The family, parenthood and children’s rights will be protected.

Under an ANC government, mi-
grant 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 dur-
ing the state of emergency.

• International:

The ANC’s guidelines for South
Africa to be a non-aligned state —
not taking orders from Moscow ....
but also not from Washington.

ANC strategist Zola Skwyeleya

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

Hamers Document

The Hamers 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
South Africa of the Organisation of

The main feature of the declaration re-
olved around the question of negotia-
tions. It says the government should
create a climate for negotiations by, "at
the very least":

• Releasing all political prisoners and
donors unconditionally (De Klerk has
promised to do this);

• Lifting all bans and restrictions on all
proscribed and restricted organisa-
tions and persons. (There are conflicting re-
ports, some saying the Internal Security
Act consolidated list has been removed,
others that the names of some ANC
members have not been removed from the
list);

• Removing all troops from the town-
ship. (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 cir-
cumscribe political activity. (This basic
condition has also not been fulfilled).

• Ceasing all political trials and politi-
cal executions. (This point is also not
clarified through De Klerk’s statements).

De Klerk in his speech to open parlia-
mament made much play of the fact that
through his concessions, the armed
struggle was no longer justified.

The Hamers Declaration, however,
states that only after these conditions to
create a climate for negotiations 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 cease-fire.

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.

Kobie Coetzee

572-419491

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adaptation, endurance

FROM PAGE 14 in the 1980s.

The other major developments within ANC politics in the fifties were, firstly, the move towards a "brave 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), which aimed at unifying the various struggles, and in alliances with other groupings, created tensions within the movement — and in 1958 an Africentric section within the ANC (opposed to the Freedom Charter's non-racialism and hostility to white supremacy 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 organized and relatively spontaneous forms of struggle. Speaking years later of ANC tasks with women's protests in Natal, the late Misses Melville 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 participation 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 "guerrilla war of liberation" at the grassroots level. Umkhonto was a term for smashing an armed struggle in the form of guerrilla war, being deployed by the underground leadership when the security forces were 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 been in the country before Sharpeville and, after Rivonia, the exiled leadership took over responsibility for military decisions and political leadership.

The first year of functioning in exile were difficult. Much time and energy were put into diplomatic and international activities; the guerrilla incursions in Zimbabwe in 1967/78 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 reaffirmed 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, if internationally, did win important material and moral support, and did take serious 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 government had altered dramatically with the victories of Fretilin and the MPLA and with the disastrous SADF invasion of Angola.

And resistance inside the country had also acquired a new 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-

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KLIPPTOWN: The adoption of the Freedom Charter

UMKHONTO: Members of the ANC's armed wing undergoing training

WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES WESKUS RAAD VAN KERKE

QUMRU LEENKONZO ZONKWEME LENTSHONA

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.
Of course, the path of ANC-Communist Party collaboration in the late 1970s was not always smooth. During the 1970s, the ANC and Communist Party leadership in the interned ANC ship ousted Gomcedle, 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 imprisoned, and the ANC was dismissed as a "petty bourgeois" movement.

Both the ANC and the Party suffered during this period, and the struggle against the internment was long and arduous. It was the emergence of a new generation of African nationalists who turned the tide. Moses Kotane, JB Marks and Edwin Mondlane 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 embittered the leadership.

Communists, said Kotane, should start with the realities of South African conditions and create liberation and trade union movements. Their message was to be imparted by charismatic leaders.

Party cadre went to work in the ANC's strictly controlled underground cells in the struggle for a mass movement and strengthening its base. They tried to counter the alienation and the democratic processes of the national movement often necessitated that communists should not act as a caucus or faction.

Thus it was that the likes of Kotane, Marks and Mondlane came to play leading roles in the 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 mass movement.

Between 1942 and 1945, thousands of workers streamed into the industrial centres to join the struggle for South Africa's post-industrial boom, in exchange for miserable wages and working in hazardous conditions. The workers went out to organise them into unions — the struggle to 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 Congress of South African Trade Unions, the forerunner of SACTU and later CTTU.

Two of today's Cosatu affiliates — Patrick Saloojee and JD Marks — date back to unions started by communists during the late 1930s and 1940s.

But the biggest impact was made among the mine workers, the most organised section of South Africa's urban workforce. The African Mineworkers Union (AMWU) led by JB Marks led 100 000 workers out on strike in 1946, marking the greatest

Nats' most hated enemy

Ray Alexander

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 recognized the work done by the communists among African workers, and began to cooperate closely in campaigns over race 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 ideologues, however, and the Youth Leagues 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 1954 that it would take a brave young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that communists are our enemies'.

Indeed, in the cauldron of internal fighting during the late 1940s, the South Leaguers and communists found themselves converging on the need for the ANC to adopt a militant programme of action.

In its "sprint towards" election campaign during the late 1940s, the ANC promised to do two things — put blacks in their "place", with apartheid, and outlaw the Communist Party.

The basis in which the ANC and Party consolidated their alliance were the twilight years of the communists' legality. In 1950, the

ANC and SACP took the decision to set up Umqombothi we Soweto in 1950.

In the decades which followed, communists played a leading role in building the ANC underground and its military wing. The Party also claimed that its members had played an important role in building up the trade union movement and the MDM.

To emphasis, however, that their cadre have absolute respect for democratic processes of these organisations. The Party insists that whatever leadership roles and influence their members achieve in these organisations is based not on ingenuity, 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 composed of the most disciplined and dedicated cadres of the ANC and the trade union movement.

Its membership is secret — only chairperson and 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, 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 it will change its constitution to accommodate the ANC, and its leadership.

The ANC's national uprising brought the Party back into the lime-light, 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 doubled since 1984. It gave its racial composition as 39 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 could only be paved through a broad-based national liberation struggle.

The SACP's agenda was to transform the ANC into a socialist movement. In the medium term it favours a mixed economy, and in

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo

the long term nationalised industry. It also favours a national democratic constitution that guarantees freedom and equality.

The ANC's approval of a mixed economy is not a counter-attack against the SACP's socialist sympathies but rather a recognition of the need to differentiate in the short term between what is necessary to the movement in the medium term and what it seeks to achieve in the long term.
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

By CHIARA CARTER and REHANA ROSSOUW
HOOTING cars, spontaneous toyi-toyi and impassioned freedom songs left no doubt about people’s responses 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.

As far as the thousands of MDM supporters who had gathered on the Grand Parade were quiet when Sayyid general secretary Kappa Mokhele 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 supporters shouted ANC slogans as they toyi-toyi-ed through the streets.

Police stood impassively while tenaciously danced around them, shouting “ANC ANC!”

One group marched from the city centre to the township of Gugulethu, where about 5,000 people danced and sang for hours.

Everywhere people produced flags and T-shirts in black, green and gold.

Late on Friday night, a 1,000-strong victory convoy wound its way, honking horns, from Mitchell’s 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 House of Parliament from Greenmarket Square.

Leaving 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 Leokoza, speaking through a loudhailer, told the people that parliament disbanded.

A youth climbed the statue of Jan Smuts outside Government Avenue and brandished a toy AK47 while others waved the ANC flag around the statue.

PAARL STUDIO reports that in Deben, outside of people gathered at the Exeuntional Centre to see De Klerk “cross the Rubicon”.

When news of the unwinnings was broadcast, people burst into song, sang and danced on the streets.

Among the delegations that led the march were Eastern Cape UDF regional president Edgar Ngxini and vice-president Henry Franses.

Residents lined the streets and cheered the marchers who who turned back from the PE Rivieren road.

On Saturday, the celebrations continued in Cape Town. Convoys of cars moved through the townships in the Cape Flats.

A new target of the euphoric crowd was police stations, where toyi-toyi-wielding ANC supporters chanted slogans against apartheid.

A group of about 200 toyi-toyi youths who left Khayelitsha early on Saturday morning, were still on the back of a moving car on its way to Khayelitsha.

Cars flung ANC flags from their grills and honked on others spread ANC slogans.

An ANC picnic at Sandile's round off the weekend celebrations in Cape Town.

In Grahamstown, celebrations lasted all day and groups of people stood on street corners discussing the news.

Celebrations also took place in Mdantsane in the Ciskei, although white East London looked almost deserted.

MONO BADELA reports that in Johannesburg about 20.000 people packed the Annette Stadium on Saturday afternoon for a rally which organisers claimed was the biggest in the country.

The position was strengthened when both colours of the ANC, the Alexandra Civic Association, Cosatu and the SACP.

Champagne

Later, a crowd which swelled to about 50,000 marched for the lambasts 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, who was dressed in the ANC colours, was mobbed by the crowd before entering the council chambers where she urged the mayor to be bold for the benefit 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.

Police were unceremoniously and about 400 people largely South Africans closed屏 the ban of the ANC and chanted “Viva ANC”.

The united figure of MP and veteran African National Congress chairman, Rob Hogh, and poet, Norman Williams, general secretary of the ANC, filled the streets.

And a toy boy.

Two weeks later, people demanded that police be stepped up on Pretoria.

“11:11:11:11 is vital that we maintain and intensify international pressure until apartheid is destroyed,” the AAM.

Although the mood was cautious, the spirit was exploratory.

Exiled ANC member Enoch Powan said: “We are more offensive because we have worked on and said that the walls of apartheid will come crumbling down like those of Berlin.”

Tragedy mars 'victory' celebrations

By LEHESA TSENOLI

A CELEBRATION toyi-toyi by Lomuntule youth following the announcement of the unbanning of the ANC ended in tragedy when a 14-year-old boy was shot dead by police.

Safe Malinga—a pupil who could not find a place in a local high school this year because of the ban on the ANC—was being chased by 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 meters from the police station.

Malinga was taken by ambulance to the King Edward Hospital where he died just over an hour later.

His brother, Jabal 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 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 next to Durban at 9:30am 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 four blacks.

“The driver returned the fire, wounding a youth. Two sites 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.

ABC of the ANC

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DLEE PRUDHOMME

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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 Antoine 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 Sisihle, 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 Adderley Street. "I've never seen so many smiling faces in Cape Town."

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 Bloemfontein felt that the unbanning of the South African Communist Party was a "bad move". "It will open the doors to 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."
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 undermining 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.

Foohardly

They fall far short of the vision of a future South Africa outlined by the ANC in its free, democratic and constitutional guidelines, the OAU’s declaration (now becoming an internationally accepted document) and the resolutions adopted recently at the Conferenc for a Democratic Future.

De Klerk must be interpreted as making a principled advance to real democracy in South Africa.

They are designed to slow or reverse the country’s economic, social and cultural dumping in the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority’s march towards freedom.

Under these conditions, it will be foolhardy to “relax the noose around apartheid’s neck”, as Tanzania’s foreign minister Benjamin Mkapa put it.

Anti-apartheid forces, however, are new 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 bastard communities.

Support for the ANC must not be co-opted. Now is the time for activism to shed the rhetoric and go to the people.

We need to catch up on a 30 year backlog!

— The Editor
WELCOME BACK COMRADES


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.
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 "pipe-dreams".

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 famous political prisoner.

As the talks developed, violence became a central issue.

According to the source, the government took seriously Mandela's determination 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 destined 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 "latter form of power-sharing" in a system of groups, cutting off the ANC outside the country and marginalising the SACP.

The meeting between the then President FW de Klerk met Mandela at Tuyuhuys 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 towns.

The Roman Catholic Church in Khayelitsha held a service on Saturday attended by about 600 jubilant ANC supporters while an estimated 2000 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 Sandleif 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 demonstration 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 stalked 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
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 welcomes govt’s ‘positive steps’

Mr. Pahad: Clearly I think the ANC and many other organisations in the country are satis-
fixed that the government has taken steps to try to find solutions to our prob-
lems. 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 a-
spects are being maintained — the state of
emergency has been totally lifted, not all
political prisoners are going to be released,
the Security Act is still on the agenda.
We hope that that would help create the cli-
mate, we hope that the regime will go further
and begin to deal with those very laws that we
think have been preventing the move for-
wards.

Announcer: Mr ambassador, why didn’t the South
African government meet all of the demands
of the ANC once the ANC had been recog-
ised?

Mr. Nothnagel: Well, in essence the government has met the most important demands
and in fact Mr De Klerk called the ANC at
this time in time still only interested in
being power. The ANC must realise that they
are 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 negotiations.

Mr. Pahad: Let me explain to the ambassador that
the ANC was banned in 1990. The ANC since
then has made constant efforts in order to find
solutions to the difficult problems of our coun-
try. It is the policy of the opposition African
National Congress governments that have placed the
people in South Africa to 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 Nothna-
gel. 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
from London to Cape Town, or Pretoria?

Mr. Pahad: Yes, we have said already our organi-
sation 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 order return of the
rest of our organisation is a process of discus-
sion 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 out-
standing 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 time in time,
to the very detriment of ordinary human beings?
Are you going on with these boycott actions
even if you do not.

Mr. Pahad: The suffering in our country has been
cause by apartheid, that even Mr F.W. De
Klerk has accepted that apartheid is a system
that has to end. So apartheid has been because
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 inter-
national 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 non-racial democ-
raty is irreversible. I mean, in a sense Mr Noth-
nagel, 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 problem.
The ANC executive is still divided on how to proceed. Mr. Frank Chikane, ANC deputy secretary general, said there would be no negotiations but the ANC would instead "be resolved to negotiate, not negociate". 

-An ANC statement

Chairperson of the ANC's Joint Commission on Reconciliation and Action, Thulisani Ngcuka, said the ANC was ready to negotiate with the government on the republic.

-African News Agency
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-Reuters

De Klerk

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 Lebanon'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.
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.

If 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 swarmed 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 Airport 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 offenses 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. Stoffel 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-Reuters-AP
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
Frail Tambo still has major role

From IAN HOBBS

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 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 key stone for constitutional negotiation.
'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 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 choose, 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 offered a vision 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 despairs 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 hanger."

"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."

"This would mean undermining the very strategy that brought the ANC to this position," he said.
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 P.W. de Klerk’s call to join him at the negotiating table.

On Friday PAC information director Mr Walter Tobati, 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 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 does one unite with people who are struggling on radios and newspapers in foreign capitals and yet command the 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 organisations 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 superpowers. 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 position of the oppressed to that which prevailed before the bombings 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 complicity and said developments around Friday’s historic announcements had the potential of “making our dispossession and impoverishment permanent.” — Sapa-Reuters

ANC military campaign to go on

CUSAKA. — 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 P.W. de Klerk on Friday.

ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan told reporters here: “We have always said that the notion of unilaterally abandoning a banned 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 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 guerrilla action. Last week Mr De Klerk did not refer to 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 guerrillas of the Umkhonto wing based in Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia. — Sapa-Reuters, Daily Telegraph

Exiles to face prosecution?

JOHANNESBURG. — Exiled members of banned organisations will have to consider for themselves whether they have 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 the ANC had changed its tactics and was not prepared to support the banned status of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations, which 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.
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 SAPC, together with its ally, the ANC.

Like the ANC, however, the SAPC 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 been 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 SAPC is the oldest communist party in Africa. It was founded in 1921, and affiliated to the Communist Party.

The party was formed by workers and intellectuals, and that remains its constituency to this day. These white workers brought to the party an enthusiasm for socialism with them from Europe, and set out to fight for a socialist future.

They believed that socialism recognised colour, and that black and white workers shared a common struggle against the bosses.

When white miners went on strike in 1922 calling for “a free South Africa”, the Party supported the challenge to management but insisted that white workers could not win without the support of black workers.

Reactive

Party members such as Jimmy la Guma and John Gomlais 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 1920s, however, this perspective had shifted. Contrary to the myth that the Communist Party was a “white party”, the majority of its members were Africans from 1927 onwards.

In 1919 the party recognised the national liberation struggle as its primary emphasis for the first time. While it was committed to socialism, it prioritised the struggle for a “Black Republic” (majority rule) as its 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-racism he found.

“The only friends of the oppressed people are the communists,” he told the movement on his return. “Division amongst our ranks is helping to maintain the present despicable conditions.”

Thus the origins of today’s ANC SAPC alliance...
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 retreat 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, but 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

FOCUS

By JOE THILOLOE, Deputy Editor of the Sowetan

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 of banned organisations, of furthering their aims and objectives and 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 steps on the road forward.

* 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.

This was decided at a meeting attended by about 2,500 people at the weekend. 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 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 apply 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 unbanned 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 Paul Jo- 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 Macandane, 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 Mathew 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 Beiter 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

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 redundant last Friday as President F W de Klerk completed his speech. 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.
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 "sensational 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 favored 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.
GOVERNMENT had captured the political high ground 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 vie 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 seek asylum in Transkei

Own Correspondent

UMTATI. — 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 E D Malan-
zima Airport that he decided to flee after his house was burned down on Thursday night. He blamed Inkatha and spe-
cial constables for the incident.

He said there had been a dispute between him and another chief over a certain piece of land which Chief Mapu-
mulo claimed belonged to his area. Since the dis-
pute became an issue he had lived under constant harassment.

"After I identified some of the people be-
hind the campaign I filed an urgent Supreme Court interdict asking the court to restrain these people from har-
assing me and my family," Chief Mapu-
mulo said.

He said the applica-
tion is due to be heard at 2.30pm on Friday in the Supreme Court, Maritz-
burg.

Chief Mapumulo is ex-
pected to meet the au-
thorities today.
Exiles hesitant to return

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," said 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 Baxter and David Bruce remain in jail and trials continue, we must assume the status quo remains for war resisters," he added.

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.
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.
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 enthusiasm 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 De 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

Several organisations are expected to disappear following the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP, reports SEFAKO NYAKA.

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 readjustment 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.
Mandela ‘ready to leave jail now’

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 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, by the end of the process of negotiations, the climate must be created," Mr Mbeki said. "He has not made the demand that he will only come out under those 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 ensure that leaders 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."
'Apartheid court' ignored

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

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 (46) 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

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

Soweto Correspondent

THE Government was yesterday 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. 

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 - 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.

Kicked to death

The men then took the police 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 Ysterdwy 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.
De Klerk is trying to disarm us - Molala

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. Nkosinathi Molala, black people should put 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:

The causes of war remain with the oppressed...

The most important thing to consider is that De Klerk has his SADEFSAF in his jails... in the end he still has the key to open the jails," he said.

He said the BCM had not injected negotiations, but the timing was crucial. "The time was not right," he said, adding:

Negotiations should take place at a time when opposing forces are of equal strength.

Charges withdrawn

By LEN MASEKO
THE former mayor of Diepsloot, Mr. Johannes Mathala (59), yesterday had charges of theft and fraud involving R250,000 withdrawn in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Mathala of 3913 Zone 3, Diepsloot, was arrested during a special Diepsloot Town Council meeting on September 25 last year.

He was released on R2 000 bail.

A lawyer representing the former mayor said no charges were put to him. He appeared before Mr JF Coetzee.
Viljoen urges ANC to take one small step

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 F.W. 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.

The ANC, he said, should relinquish violence and make its presence felt on the political terrain. Even then 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 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 Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, said 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 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 is finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain their vigilance. 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.
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.
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 hope 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 Reuven 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 the pressure of events prevents 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.
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 injustices 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 live 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
The people 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 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 industry 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-devised 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 preventive 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 ghettoes 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 reprep 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 our own 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-governance 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.
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 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 lead 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

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 to the ANC

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 issue 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 new clear evidence that Mr De Klerk's decision to unbann 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.
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

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

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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ANC has taken steps to keep order — Sisulu

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

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 urbanize the ANC and free its leader Nelson Mandela 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.

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 Thursday's 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 arrest from the dock and the judgment which sent him to prison, 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.
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. - Own Correspondent and Independent News Service
Problems are on point of solution, say Cabinet sources

By Peter Fabrics, 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 - a departure from the contrary hints he initially gave.

UP's leader Mr Allon Lousak said the problem was not now about casting any conditions on his release - though he then had 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 the ANC will not be granted significant leeway on the release of ordinary criminals — most notably the Black alcoholic drink — seems likely to be a major sticking point in any negotiations.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu returned to South Africa yesterday from the Stockholm ANC summit to say that the ANC would seek clarifications from the Defence Ministry on the return of exiles before deciding whether to enter negotiations.

Government sources have indicated that although the ministers have 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 and they believe they have Western support for this stand.

The ANC on the other hand believes crimes committed by their guerrillas 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 some 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.

Fewer cars are stolen but insurance premiums rise

By Craig Kastie

Vehicle insurance premiums are to rise again soon, despite a significant fall in car thefts, the chairman of the South African Insurance Association (SAIA), Mr Ron Carter, said today.

The reason was that replacement costs of vehicles and repairs had shot up.

Premiun, Mr Carter said, were due to go up anyway because they had not kept pace with inflation.

BURDEN

"The theft has been reduced nationally," said the chief of the way below rates in Britain and America, Mr Carter said.

SAIA has been the past year's rising car thefts, which reduced 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 the like, in Johannesburg, had dropped from up to 60 a year to an average of about 30 or 40.

But police also conceded that the emphasis has changed in obtaining "bikjack"
Speech heralds the start of even greater challenge

AFTER many years of observing laws that rendered violence to be treated as human beings provoked violent reaction from the authorities. To this day, that has not stopped. When 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 form of what some people called unrest, with its various phenomena, parish attacks and pre-emptive attacks into neighboring states. But all we have always been on the defensive. We only attached in retaliation.

PW has not scrapped the state of emergency in its entirety. It used the Natal violence as an excuse. It was a very flimsy excuse. One commentator said the Natal attack 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 bullet-line which they could be contacted any time in the event of trouble. 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 existence of the police and the killings that were going on every day.

Arms

But as a victim of apartheid, one cannot help being cynical about some aspects of the speech, I am not satisfied with it. It is a blow to the arm struggle to what PW has said. He said there was no longer any justification for the armed struggle to continue. I thought it was a lot of excuse to what he said and for that, he must be commended.

Adrian Vlok, a team player for the police on the tour to Natal and when he returned, he was picking fingers at the UDF and the ANC. De Klerk still feels he needs to use violence in dealing with his opponents. He has realised that the maximum period of detention will be six months. The period of detention is not the issue. Even if it were so in six hours only, it would still be immoral.

Dying

One cannot understand how on earth we can be expected to laying down arms when our people are still dying under mysterious circumstances in police custody.

Just the day before yesterday, peaceful demonstrators in Transvaal 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 laws in terms of which the two organisations were banned. This means that at any stage the Government deems it necessary to ban them or other organisations, they will do so.

Some of us have not forgotten that during the violence sparked off at the start of the anti-argat campaign of 1989, 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 very one as it removed the restrictions 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 the country. We should consolidate our programme, open more debates, adopt a solution-oriented approach, refrain from polluting fingers and bear ourselves for the type of future we must determine.

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Fight goes on - Sisulu

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 African Congress, the South African Communist Party and other organisations.

“The ANC leadership holds a plenary meeting in

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

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," he said.

"While De Klerk's was a step in the right direction, we find shortcomings," he added.

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 jail 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 Selina, 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.

Selina 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."
International boycotts to go on - MDM

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

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 absolotion 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, Invash (Port Elizabeth), Bloemfontein Arts Project, Galeshewe Cultural Group (Kimberley), Western Cape Cultural Workers Congress and Soweto Students Congress.
Visit to Mandela ‘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.
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
Political Correspondent

"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 conference, 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

TWENTY senior members of the United Democratic 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 discussion with Mandela would centre around State President FW de Klerk's speech to Parliament last Friday.

The UDF delegation would ask Mandela about recent talks he had held with Government officials. - Sapa
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 Lawellyn 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 SAPC's ideology was about. — Sapa.
FW had no mandate to unban ANC, says prof

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 week'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 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 Bubela

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) would not disband or merge with the ANC at this stage, said TIC president, Mr. C. C. 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.
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-
Jesse Jackson here ‘to unite all SA blacks’

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.
Three dead in shack attack, say Crossroads residents

By EDWARD MOKOEBANE
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 Ngobengwana, 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 5am yesterday at the Boys Town home of Mr William Si-tyodana, one of 14 headmen who broke away from Mr Ngobengwana.

Mr Kedamile Manisi, a neighbour whose shack was partly burnt, said he and Mr Si-tyodana were at another headman’s house about 900 metres away when they heard gunfire from the direction of their homes.

They had just returned from “patrolling” about 2.30am, he said.

“After some minutes, they returned to the place they had left,” he said. “They said they had shot a man and a woman dead. They said they had shot and killed them here.”

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 Msuong, whose shack had two pellet holes, said she and her family were awakened by gunfire.

“When I peeked through the window there were huge flames outside and I could not see which shack was burning,” she said. 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 15 and 17.

A youth, Zolisa Ngubane, 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

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. 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.

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.
Jackson arrives in SA for widespread talks

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 viable 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 Albertus Sisulu, SACC secretary general the Rev Frank Chikane and World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boeskul.

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.
ONLY R567,00 A MONTH FOR A CRESSIDA 2.4 GL MANUAL SOUNDS LIKE MARKET MAGIC.
Inkatha seeks ‘broad’ ANC links

LONDON — In a move which could help defuse the bloody feud between Inkatha and the UDF in Natal, KwaZulu 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, it was acknowledged that 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 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 secretaries-general Oscar Dihlomo 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.”

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.
French cheers for Nelson.

Sowetan Reporter

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."
Africanist Movement Manifesto

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 corruption-experience 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 recognize 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 domination or sovereignty over and ownership of 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 Africanist 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 African 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.
Africanist
Movement
Manifesto

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, thereby saving space for another topic.

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 markets, the partition of Africa went as far as 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 50,000 Europeans who up to the dawn of African liberation had constituted themselves a ruling class over the 23,000,000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

Established by the sword

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought 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 representaive of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to the phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilization" or "the extension of Christian trusteeship".

The undisguised truth is that White domination has grounded down the status of man and arrested 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 later part of it, have constituted a massive challenge to Herrenvolkism, a particular manifestation of imperialism and colonialism. All these events have been dramatically experienced by such countries as Indonesia, India, China, Burma, Malaya, Vietnam, etc. These are today being systematically resisted and forcibly caused to retreat in confusion.

The post-war world has witnessed the expulsion of 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 gottterdamming - 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. Tanganikka, 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 last 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 war 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 indefeasible 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 will the ranks of the liberation movement

Following the "capture" of a portion of the black leadership of South Africa by a section 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 African 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 dispossessionists and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robber and its indigenous victim. They regard the foreign master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited, the foreign oppressor and the indigenous oppressed. They regard as brethren 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 mulato, wants a dirty job done, he always get the Negro to do it."

Part 2 tomorrow.
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.

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

‘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

Use force if needed in SA
Natal violence could get worse — Buthelezi

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Chief Mangosuthu 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."
Manifesto

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, socialist 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 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.

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 for 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 blantly rejected an offer of the chairmanship of one standing committee made by Leader of the House of Assembly Danie 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 begin organisations but retain the laws that banned them. What would the position of ANC and SACP leaders be if they came back?" he said.

"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 pronouncements 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.

CHARLENE SMITH

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 Thinas 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.
3 killed in Crossroads

Staff Reporter

A WOMAN and a 15-year-old boy were burnt to death and a 68-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 Tichie 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.
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 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.

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.
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
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 the 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.
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.

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. Speech by.

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.
‘We’d be walking into a trap’

Exiled artists in the US were toying-toying between the skyscrapers last Friday, but most are bidding their time before deciding whether to come home, reports MARK GEVISSE in New York.

The exiled poet who wrote that “Wailings fill the chambers of my heart and my head behind my quiet eyes! hear the cries and siren’s!” is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still walls, he still hears the cries and sirens, for “apartheid still exists,” (State President FW du 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 perceptively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandpa-

ather 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 flock into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap.”

And so while some exiles were toying-toying between Manhattan’s skyscrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their way towards Botswana and Zimbabwe, most are bidding their time. “My first allegiance,” says poet and critic Cosmo Pieteerse, “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 Maziwi Kune. “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 Kune: “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, Kune says, “it will be based on our own assessments. I don’t want to legitimate De Klerk as someone who can tell me whether or not I can return.”

Duma Ndlou, the poet and playwright responsible 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.”

Ndlou feels the need to go back and work within the Black Consciousness Movement. Brutus and Pieteerse feel they can serve as educators.

And actor Sakes 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 dreamed 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 compadre Seth Shanda 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.

Artist fear a trap if they come back

From PAGE 21
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 consoli-date 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.
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.
The wonders of the ANC could provide the key to ending Natal's civil war, say researchers. By Thaneka Gobule

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.

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 out 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
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*
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.

"It 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 infrastructure 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 nonetheless 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 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, 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 hold 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.

As the PAC sees it, the new news is just the same old news.
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. Amused policemen looked on as the car drove off with the African National Congress flutters 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.

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 babbled. "They will be surprised to find how South African they both are. It's going to be neat!"

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 summer-time 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."
Are you ready? Well, the UDF isn't... yet

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 their organisation and the ANC.

After decades of bad news in government speeches, the UDF is still reeling from the surprise of unprecedented good news.

ANTON HARBER and THANDEKA GQUBULE report

the National Reception Committee, formed to provide an official 'welcome' for Nelson Mandela, is chaired by union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (center) and drawn in UDF, church and union leaders from around the country.

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.

The 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 67.

Further to 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 unbanning and "the role of the UDF in the light of the unbanning of these organisations".

The likely result of all of this is an internal debate - some exiles may return, others will remain in South Africa; some UDF structures will fold, others will continue their work; there will be a gradual merger of structures, rather than any dramatic changes.

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 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 has not recovered from almost four years of the state of emergency, which left it with very uneven organisation. The ANC 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 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.
Slovo: ANC will arrange security for its leader

IAN HOBBS (I/1)

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 SAPC 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 Adrian Viljoen'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.

Sowetan Mandela, her husband Prince Thombumuki 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 Netwerk programme.

Even out of jail Mandela will not be free (I/1)

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.

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-toyied 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 Chlalwelo 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."

Police checking spectators’ bags at the Wanderers yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOLTA
Slovo: ANC will arrange security for its leader

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Even out of jail, Mandela will not be free — Jackson

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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 Barzel, 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 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."

Barzel 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 Barzel's husband, Hynie, 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

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 bite marks less hearable.

"We shall only celebrate after Mandela is released," a spokesman, Essop Pahad, explained outside the South African Embassy where supporters had gathered, not to celebrate the untruths 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: Phakathi's brother, Aziz, on BBC News and the chief representative, Mendi Maimane, on Independent Television News. They refused to admit any euphoria on the first day of a new era in recent African politics.

Hamilton Goke of the Pan African Congress told me he was surprised by the blanket untruths and added that "all exiles must return as soon as they can to share their experiences with the people during what'll be prolonged 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 the ANC or was he already Switching 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 me 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, feel criminal persecution if they did fly home immediately.

"There's a lot to be clarified before anybody can talk about packing their bags," Maimane told me in the terraced house that is now, more than ever, the alternative South African House to the white fortress overlooking Trafalgar Square.

He has not been home since 1960 — the year of Sharpeville and the ban — when he abandonised his positions as an anti-apartheid lawyer to the law offices of Mandela and Tambo in Johannesburg. His children were born in exile and one died a tragic death in Lusaka 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 — I don't apologize," he smiled behind the parted 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

Wolfe Kodesh, a grizzled, 70-year-old veteran of the South Africa Communist Party who left on an exit permit in 1963, arrived with his face split by a wide grin: "I burst into tears when 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 Wellman," as Ahmed Kathrada called his letters from Robben Island and Pollsmoor, was nostalgic about his departure from Cape Town; he still remembers the name of the ship — The Transvaal — that brought him into exile.

Denise Goldberg is another exiled member of the SACP. He was sentenced to life with Nelson Mandela but released in 1983 when he pronounced violence — though I made it clear to them I still support the armed struggle," he told me. He works for the ANC and also wants to return. "For all this fun I had to have poaches bursting in my mouth again. But so far it's still only promises and words — with a commitment to group rights and a preservation of the apartheid laws."

Suspicion and caution are commonplace. Paul Joseph of the Indian Congress 'skipped the country' while he was burned and wonders what protection there would be from being burned 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 warder's house in Paarl.

Actor and film director Lionel Ngakaone left legally in 1950 to complete the film Cry The Beloved Country, but was only accorded legal exile because he took off from Jan Smuts Airport with passports in hand — without knowing there could be resentment when we land back there with our bags, perhaps from people who resent us for having returned from the struggle to an easy life in this hotbed 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 Maimane, 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 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 govt."

"But," he added, "we shall have to adjust to each other. There's bound to be a future shock after all these years."

Like so many, Maimane has spent half his life in exile. He is one of those who contributed what Act of Parliament termed 'mixed marriages' and among the questions facing him as he composes "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 white-only wound.

Only a fortnight ago one such home-grown couple was convicted under the Group Areas Act (which was not mentioned in De Klerk's speech) for living in a "white" suburb.

The UN Commissioner 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 counties 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 encountered the Mixed Marriages Act, but also to black children who do not speak the languages of a country called home, the natalistic dream of their parents.

And some of this "pure" generation, like my brother Sebastian, have not been in South Africa, have already married "outsiders" for whom apartheid is an ideological affair rather than a personal issue.

For the moment, the prevailing attitude of these homeland 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.
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 memberGovan Mbeki said he expected the party to have a strong legal component, but that it would be necessary for members to maintain the underground arm, at least until negotiations were concluded.

"Although the government has been quick to introduce the reform of the press law, it is uncertain whether this process will continue in the same vein," he said.

"The process will continue to be very uncertain, as we have to deal with the difficult negotiations."

The SACP has never been a mass party, but it is still a serious threat to the regime. Its members are well-organized and have a strong influence in the trade unions and other organizations.

Mbeki, who was an underground member in the 1970s, said he expected the party to continue operating as a mass party.

"We have to be ready for any eventuality," he said. "We need to be prepared to face the challenges that lie ahead."

NOMSA members welcome the unbanning of the SACP, ANC, PAC and other organizations.

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)

Learning to talk again — without whispering

FOR the first time since 1950, South African communists at home can speak openly about their allegations.

At least in the short term most South African groups are not expected to come out of the closet. A small group of leftists has set up a "Black Liberation Army" which has ordered its members to stop publishing leaflets. It has threatened to use violence to take over the government.

"We don't need to see the black yet, but it's just great," said Esther Bazu, who led the South African Communist Party in the late 1940s. "She has been jailed, banned and forced to go into exile.

"For me personally it means I can now organize political organizations again, and I can get a job. It's going to be very exciting to see old friends like Joe Slovo and also new friends like me.

"I was one of those who helped reform the old Communist Party of South Africa in 1953. I was a member of the party's underground Johannesburg area committee before being detained on 31 May 1963.

"In April 1965 she was sentenced to three years for the unauthorized circulation of Communist Arts. By 1966 she was being arrested for five years and then released on 6 October 1966.

"I don't support the Party. That hasn't changed," she said yesterday.

"But I am very glad that the active SACP members were either jailed or allowed to continue their work.

"Many of these who remained, were allowed to continue their work. They had been active since the days when the Party was legal. Over the past few years, they have made it clear that they want their members to be active and involved.

"My son, the late Bantu Holomisa, was a member of the SACP before he died in 1952."

And in the week of the SACP unbanning, Bantu Holomisa's son and ANC member, also died in 1952.

Four days earlier, Ann Heiman, who joined the SACP in the 1950s, died suddenly and unexpectedly.

After being released in 1970 he and his wife, also a member of the Communist Party, devoted their lives to the struggle against the racist South African government.

The SACP is one of the few remaining organizations that has not been repressed in the past few years.

But the party's leaders have made it clear that they want to continue the struggle against the regime.

"We are not disappointed at the unbanning," said an SACP member. "We are committed to the struggle for South African socialism, and we intend to continue our campaign for a better South Africa."

Meanwhile, the party has officially announced that it will continue to fight for the liberation of South Africa.

"We will continue to work for the establishment of a democratic South Africa, and we will not be deterred by the government's attempts to divide us," said the party's leader.

"We will continue to fight for the rights of all South Africans, and we will not accept any attempts to silence us.

"We are determined to continue our struggle for a better South Africa, and we will not be deterred by the government's attempts to divide us.

"We are determined to continue our struggle for a better South Africa, and we will not be deterred by the government's attempts to divide us."
Struggle on (IIA)

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 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.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY-ANC

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, which has apparently met to discuss the issue of DP-ANC cooperation. 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 (Hout Bay) and Louis de Waal (North Rand).

A DP MP tells the FM the committee has been looking at the party's role. "De Klerk, has apparently met to discuss the issue of DP-ANC cooperation. 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 are Peter Gasbrow, Pierre Cronje (both former PPF 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 in cooperation in the 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 senor) briefly raised the issue. De Klerk, he said, had correctly indicated that an important change in emphasis, visible in statement of viewpoints by the ANC, had already taken place.

"During our interaction with extra-parliamentary organisations, we have experienced that, despite differences in strategies, we are sharing more and more the same principles (beginnentstandpunke)."

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 meetings 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 colleagues and ministers 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.

THE LEFT

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 what 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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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 F W de Klerk's profound and far-reaching statements on Friday, what Andrei Treurnicht had to say in parliament this week appeared both predictable and lucrative.

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 collective-idealists' deals of 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 scorches 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 pißitude 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 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 dictatorships. 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 if it is to invest its 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 deprivations 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 politi-
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 privatized, 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 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 underused 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 flavour of the ANC's commitment to freedom of expression.

New-found freedoms, as well as the security and rising un worries that curbing inflation 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 AUS$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."

**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
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 shock of De Klerk’s speech. Nats leaders also appear to believe that such a statement would pre-empt negotiations; it’s another card to be played when the bargaining gets underway.

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.

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 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

‘We’d be walking into a trap’

THE exiled poet who wrote: “Walking till the chambers of my heartland my hand behind my quiet eyes heard the ribs and stern” is applying for a visa to come home. But Denis Brutus still walks, he still bears the cries and silences, for his “apartheid will still exist, (State President FW de Klerk) certainly hasn’t satisfied the Human Rights Declaration’s conditions for negotiation, and I don’t even know if my visa 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. Unlikely Brutus, however, most are quite frankly that they will not go back as a result of de Klerk’s speech last week.

“Has anything changed?” Peter Abrahams asks cautiously from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandaughter of black South African letters (the wrote Mine Bay in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Ludovic Mahara, 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 caught in jail again? If we all fled last Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap.”

And while some exiles were toweling between Manhattan’s skyscrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their

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Hugh Masekela … ‘We are not coming home yet’

SOUTH AFRICA’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 MOLEFIE.

“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 Africanists who are你看, who can not be trusted and De Klerk has no control over them.”

He said the question of refugees was confusing, with the government saying ordinary exiles could come back, but not “terrorists”.

“Who can come home and who should not be asked.”

“That is the character of the Nationalist government. You do not know what is right and what is wrong. Their wait for you to do it and then they tell you it is wrong.”

“Ek meer, oor die morgen nie die maan, we are not fools,” he chuckled. “You come, you do not know the traps.”

Freedom of our people is not the issue. 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 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.”

To PAGE 22
Exiles wait for real change

Composer Semenya, 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 Semenya 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 Manhattan.

But it was teaming up with Nathan Mildele and Sy Mogosi of the Manhattan Brothers that made her famous.

"I owe my fame to the Manhattan," 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 Ethlingweni" (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 Sisulu.

"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 banned 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.

Semenya 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."

Semenya is now based in Los Angeles and is married to South African music star Leita Mbuli.
World ready to beam in on Mandela's home

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.

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.
Even out of jail, Mandela will not be free

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.

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 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 Mkhosane, 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

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 assembled 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
colonial state and build a demo-
cratic state where colour, race, reli-
igion, sex or tribe shall not be a
point of reference.
(b) Abolish the constitution of
South Africa, the Bantustan sys-
tem and all other racist institutions
and draw a constitution according
universal adult suffrage to all
Azalians in a unitary state.
(c) Strive for the broadest unity of
the Azanian people at all levels.
(d) Guarantee freedom of associa-
tion, movement and assembly and
the concomitant right to free ex-
pression and to worship or not to,
provided such right is not ex-
ercised to promote racism, fasci-
nism, sexism, tribalism, discri-
mination 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 stand-
ing.
(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 pro-
ceedings.
(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 pro-
vide these with modern farming
methods, machinery, agricultural
advisors, veterinary services,
installations on Azanian soil and
abrogate all existing military
treaties with foreign powers.

Safeguard social rights
(a) Rigorously combat unemploy-
ment 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 ensure
equal pay for equal work irre-
pective of race or sex.
(d) Guarantee paid annual leave,
maternity leave and sick leave for
all workers.

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 econ-
omy and strive for self-reliance in
economic development
programmes.
(j) Improve land, sea and air com-
munication 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 coun-
tries irrespective of their political
systems.
(n) Put all energy-producing un-
dertakings and related industries
under the control of the state.
Ensure security and peace of the
nation
(a) Wage a war of national libera-
tion against the settler-colonial
regime and create conditions of
peace and security.
(b) Dismantle the racist and op-
pressive army and police forces
and replace them with the
politically aware people’s armed
forces and police service for the
people’s power, national independence and
territorial integrity.
(c) Remove all foreign bases and
(d) Tailor educational curricula to
serve the cultural, intellectual, so-
cial and industrial needs of the
people.
(e) Lay special emphasis on voca-
tional, 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
women’s work

Adequately provide for the
health and welfare of all
(a) Put all hospitals, clinics,
pharmaceutical enterprises and
trade in drugs under state owner-
ship.
(b) Build health centres in all
localities and improve health ser-
vices, especially in the rural areas.
(c) Put emphasis on preventive
medicine and the cultivation of
healthy living habits.
(d) Encourage research in tradi-
tional 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 con-
tribute 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
taxes.
(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 sys-
tems 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 na-
tions 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

"TAMBO nitekele AR47 lenna ke thuse chaba sa heso (Tambo buy me an AR47 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 toyi-toyi 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 boycott and maintain morale during the course of an industrial action and also to educate workers to get more involved in work and community issues.

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 Ndlou, 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 afterwards 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.
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.

Unions 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 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 Oto, installed as general secretary of the 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 is 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."
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 3J-year emergency.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriann 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, 2 or 3 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 transition, 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.
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 Thembu-muzi 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, 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 publishers 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 andOwn Correspondent
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 (Wesco), 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 although 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," he added.

After the rally, the pupils marched from the stadium down Klipfontein Road to Heideveld railway station and dispersed without incident.
Jackson shows anger at Botha's remarks

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 "intransigent" attitude came as no surprise. "These are the same people who think Nelson Mandela has no place," he said.

"They think 99 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

TANIA LEVY

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 1993 were exposing their organisations to risk, Edelston said.

Edelston said in the best scenario at least 30% of blacks would be infected with Aids between 1988 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

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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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 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 it had no further role and should disband, with Sactu members being absorbed into local unions, the sources said.
De Klerk speech aftermath...

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 alliance 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.

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Centre stage

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Weakened

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"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 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.

The Argus Staff Reporter writes that Mr. Mandela is to meet a delegation of 22 United Democratic Front members to discuss the release of his children. While the family was putting the airforce, Mr. Mandela's family was staying in the United States. The delegation will visit from 9am to 3pm.

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Soweto mayor welcomes FW's announcement

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."
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 Adam'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.

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 African 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 Bel- vue, Johannesburg, for a hastily arranged conference.

Ms Hogan said: "After eight years in prison, this..."
Press aborted FW Mandela meeting?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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 taking 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 finalised 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.
Breyten calls on ANC to return home

Our Correspondent

LONDON. — It was imperative for the expelled 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 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 our fingertips on the chance of a 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 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 about returning home because this would mean no more “meetings of mass organizations” and no more “international appearances”.

Mr. Breytenbach said the “gap” announced last week was a result of the majority’s complicity. “But De Klerk is not on the run. It is a restricted and trenchant space, to be sure — it is one of no one to expect miracles or immediately shift the geostat — but it can only be enlarged by opposition and resistance parties.”

He said that by “setting 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”. “It is not either or quicksilver because of irresponsibility and complacency and moral corruption of being the eternal victims, we shall find time to work through our fingers. And we may run out of sanctuary 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 camouflaged tensions 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 needs another South Africa if it is to survive, by that inside 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 tragic to demand that President De Klerk “liquidate apartheid before we demand to take on the task of facing all the contradictions on the ground, and of explaining to those who apparently think they can dance their way to liberation.”

In an apparent questioning of the current sanctions, he asked: “What if he (Mr. de Klerk) does so in such a way as to retain the essential power?”

“Global and mandatory sanctions are not going to bury apartheid. Not only will our inactivity with such policies further entrench inequality, but we shall soon need all the aid 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 be the historical responsibility of entering into alliances with other parties”.

Clearly influenced by recent events in Eastern Europe, he added: “There is no way to the implementation of a socialist state — except over the dead bodies 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 save off the Fols Fols...”
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 Sikelelwa Afrika.”

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”.

Natal: Sisulu quiet on Buthelezi talks

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

JOHANNESBURG: The pastor of a Methodist Church house in Soweto, the Rev Paul Verry, 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 Verry 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 Mokhele, a youth activist from Parys in the Free State, was found several weeks later.

Accusations were that the youths were abducted to prevent Mr Verry 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
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, reported to 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-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 Mthobe had spotted Kenneth Dlamini, a state witness “in Bissar’s case” in which the accused was jailed for 12 years.

Mthobe jumped Dlamini and they began fighting for control of Mthobe’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.
Overcome fears, Jackson urges

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.
First Prisoners Freed

By Andre Koopman

Two ANC members were released from prison yesterday following President F.W. de Klerk's announcement last week that certain categories of political prisoners 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

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 endangered "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."
The situation is becoming more and more complicated by the role played by Mr. Mandela, who, if he were to remain in the leadership, would be in a position to influence the government's policies. The ANC is currently divided, with some members calling for a peaceful resolution while others advocate for armed struggle.

President Dr. Kork is under pressure to make a decision, and it is reported that he will meet with the ANC president and other leaders to discuss the future of the party. The ANC is facing a leadership crisis, which could lead to a split in the organization.

Mr. Mandela has been in prison for 27 years, and his release would be a significant development in the anti-apartheid struggle. The government has been under pressure from both domestic and international sources to release him.

The release of Mr. Mandela would be a major step towards peace in South Africa, and it is hoped that it would lead to a more inclusive government that represents the interests of all South Africans.
olive branch to ANC

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 years in filtration 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”.

But in his letter he tells the three: “We have all seen too much bloodshed and suffering by the ANC as we 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.”

War criminals

“There 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 his cause he said: “Yes I believe I could be a target.”

“I realised these ANC operatives 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 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.”

Pat Devereaux

Williamson writes to the men he betrayed

CRAIG WILLIAMSON: feels he could be ANC target.
Call for Mandela in Natal '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

By SANDILE MEME LA 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," he said.

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, toyi-toyi 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 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

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 said.

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.
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.

Glad 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 numerous 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.
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 was 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, burying the lees of Jan van Riebeek’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 and congratulated him on his bold move and to invite him to visit Washington soon.

From today, together with President de Klerk, Mr Mandela will be at the centre stage of South African politics.

The announcement of his release launches the second phase of Mr de Klerk’s 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 and 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 yesterday, Mr de Klerk told about 300 local and foreign newsmen that he believed Mr Mandela would be welcomed as a “friend of the people” and as a “victor of the people”.

Expressing his hope that the release would take place in a dignified manner, he said: “Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter.”

secret

at gathering to welcome Mandela back to freedom

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 when 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 continuation 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 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 precedents for lifting international sanctions had been met in detail, the “most important” ones were now out of the way.

He said Mr Mandela had asked 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 Thabo Mbeki, the Finance Minister, and Mr 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 those 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.

“I say all of us now have the opportunity and the responsibility to prove we are capable of creating a new South Africa,” 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 paramountcy 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 “strates” to begin negotiations.

Many expect Mr Mandela to travel overseas quite soon, with his first stop likely to be Namibia, then South Africa and possibly the ANC’s “exiled leadership”.

Thereafter he may travel more widely to meet representatives of 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 top advisers to Mr de Klerk were involved in the planning, according to Government sources.

They were Mr Coetzee, 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, Mr de Klerk gave a public commitment that the state of emergency would be lifted within weeks after Mr Mandela’s release.
Inside the Temporary 'Lusaka' Headquarters

BY DR. RAS NHEHENI-LENGA

NOTHING Spooned the mango

STU-er, 11/1/90
HERE HE IS!

Mandela after 27 years — the first picture

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 Tambo's 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 F W Verwoerd building for the dramatic 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 also overjoyed.

FULL STORY See Page 2 and Page 4
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.
Query over Mandela Press coverage

BY SANDILE MEMELA

No invitation by Winnie, says SA Youth Congress

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 on 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 (Sayco) 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.
MANDela GOES FREE TODAY

BY ZB MOLEFE and LEN KALANE

NELSON Mandela, South Africa’s world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President P.W. 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 for its road to democracy.

Johannesburg: When the news was broken yesterday, children were playing on the streets, and television and radio networks were due on. The world’s media coverage was unprecedented since last March for “the story of the decade.”

De Klerk’s announcement was made at a press conference held at the State President’s residence in Pretoria.

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 a peaceful process.

“Tomorrow will bring us to the end of a long chapter,” De Klerk said.

He said Mandela’s release was dependent when he was released as a prisoner in June 1985.

Facing a battery of reporters outside the president’s residence yesterday, de Klerk spoke briefly of the significance of the event.

Government officials were working on 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 his legal adviser.

Asked about Mandela’s safety, de Klerk said that he would return to his own circle of friends and that it was certain they would see to it.

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 Zibani Molefe expressed his “absolute pleasure” at de Klerk’s announcement.

Meanwhile, said Winnie Mandela, “This is a day of triumph. It is a day of hope. This is a day of joy.”

New light on Stanza’s mystery flight

By SOPHIE TEMAN

INFORMATION in the hands of a group of Johannesburg lawyers could solve the strange disappearance of Stanza Bopape, a black film actor of the film “Tina Kibi.”

Bopape was last seen on June 16, 1985, when he was last seen in Johannesburg. His family and friends have been searching for him ever since.

In a note written on a piece of toilet paper found in the Sandton Police Station in Johannesburg, the body of Stanza Bopape was found.

Mampuru claims electric shock treatment was used to put pressure on him to agree to work for the police as a spy.

His family is demanding an explanation from the police for their actions.

According to Bopape’s lawyer, his family, friends, and colleagues were never questioned and the lawyers were not informed of his escape until July 5, 1983.
NELSON Mandela, South Africa's world-famous political prisoner, will be freed today, State President F.W. 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 of a transition to democracy.

Joining South Africans when the news was 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 noon Press conference called in the H.F. 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 his announcement at 05.05 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 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," one said.

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 journalists 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 democracy.

The family rejected 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 Adriam 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.

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.

Dedelli 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

ALEXANDRA community councillors have aligned themselves with the community’s call to resign from government institutions, a rally in the area was told yesterday.

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.
Protecting the workers: a new charter campaign

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 stepping-stones 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 Kheti 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 SACP 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.
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
Government finds positive aspects in tough speech

Jo’burg stands by to greet Mandela

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 A. M. Cachalia said that while plans arranged for the Mandela's 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 by the reference to peace and the remarks about Dr 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 time this week. No date for the conference has been set.

One National Party senior MP said it was very much an 'election speech' to re-establish himself with his own people and to challenge support in the ANC. The NNP could not agree with Mr Mandela's insistence on universal suffrage on a common voters' roll, but this could be sorted out in negotiation.

MDM spokesman Mr D. Boshoff has expressed concern that the government's 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 one could find similar cases worse at soccer matches.

'There is inherent risk in bringing a large crowd together. One cannot escape that situation. There is always a danger of looting and disturbance so it does not attach too much importance to this.'

Democratic Party veteran MP Mr. C. Boshoff said he 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.

'See what Mr Mandela felt he could not make any conciliatory moves until he had consulted the ANC leadership. Until then, he would not move from the ANC line.'

The last thing he could do was to give the impression that he was an individual who controlled 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 100,000 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 fight,' he told them.

The return of Mandela . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, salute the huge crowd waiting for him as he steps out of Pretoria’s Union Buildings yesterday.

One dead as violence mars welcome

Owls Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — One man died and more than 15 people were taken to various Peninsula hospitals when Mr. Nelson Mandela’s triumphant return to his people descended into chaos in Cape Town’s centre where about 5000 people had gathered to welcome him.

Trouble flared at about 4 pm in Corporation Street when a window in Cape Union Mart was smashed. Police ar- mored up with dogs and shotguns, and marksmen battled to control a small group of insubordinate police officers.

Youths then smashed windows of a dozen cars parked in Corporation Street and began throwing rocks at the police.

More bottles were thrown and petrol bombs were set on fire. Trouble spilled over into nearby streets.

The situation was defused by Mr. Mandela’s arrival on the podium.

At the end of the momentous day, the Salibas were seated in a back room at the Saliba restaurant. Among the 250 guests were a number of the city’s leading personalities. A popular party had been arranged for them all.

The party was held in celebration of Mandela’s return to South Africa.
Mr. Nelson Mandela's speech, in jail yesterday, took a tough line for the future.

Some sources say "largely at the request of Mr. Mandela's family, at this speech position, especially the family of Mr. de Klerk, Mr. de Klerk himself will attend the rally, and not the ANC at this speech position, especially the family and Mr. de Klerk's family."

The State of Emergency is a threat to Mr. Mandela's safety and safety, and some internationa

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Page 1, Tonight!

Wessel's from Boks

The batsman Kepler Wessel, the national side just and test with Mike and has already in Elizabeth.

A panel convener says Wessel is likely to be called up because he was "up and down and distinguished by the opportunity where his side was severely until played for the Australian side.

open?

Schools may be a projected politician consider the question.

* See Page 2

Okie's

A new Best Bet - Mr. Excelsior - Sand, 18/1

Secret squad

At least two members of the ANC in South Africa, including Mr. David Webster, according to sources. * See Page 5

Numbers

633-9111

492-3420

492-3500

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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 danger of "people who want to see the ANC leadership, but unshakeable collective leadership of the ANC."".

"The last thing he could do was to give the impression that he is an individual who has usurped the ANC 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. "But we express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon, so that there may no longer be any need for the armed struggle to continue."

Mr. Mandela added that "to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of sabotaging 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 honouring undertakings.

Mr. de Klerk had gone further than any other National Party leader to normalise the situation.
Soccer fans join ANC festivity in Maritzburg

MARITZBURG  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 Cosmos and AmaZulu, had to be abandoned 20 minutes before the end of play when thousands of chanting people with ANCYL 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 Qosolo 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. — Supa.
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 dissent 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 pursing 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 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 the 1984 Nkomati Accord, and then from Angola under the Angola-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

BY PETER FABRECHI,
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. Many are inclined to rely upon him to assist 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 expect certainly not to demand 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 much in the minds of Mr de Klerk. He said on Saturday that was negotiable, although Government sources have suggested the Government may yet make some limited concession.

Assuming that those 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 violence unless the ANC moves, which need he say he could do nothing but stick to the party line whilst in prison and they believe he will be prepared to hedge at the negotiation table.

On the larger question of majority rule there is also some uncertainty.

Unconfirmed reports have it that he presented a 15-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.

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 an unrealistic as to expect Mr de Klerk to lend his National Party votes into black majority rule.

And they point out that both leaders have uncompromising extremes breaking down their workers to mop up any disaffected minorities.

Mr de Klerk’s scepticism is, of course, the Conservative Party. The ANC’s is that of 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 do it?

Follow 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 Simunye 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.

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 1961 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.

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
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 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".

Mandela became an international hit.


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".

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.

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 his cell with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

From his prison cell 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, 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.

An icon of liberty 25 years later

Paarl, where he told friends he was lonelier than ever in a former waiter'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 Coetsee.

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 cell 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, 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.
He will work for peace, says FW

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said he freed ANC leader Nelson Mandela partly because he was committed to a peaceful solution for South Africa.

The move was in response to an appeal from Mr Mandela, who had been held in prison for 27 years.

De Klerk said the move was a sign of the country's readiness to make a transition to a new era of democracy.

Mr Mandela was given the honour of returning to the country he had led in resistance against apartheid.

He promised to work for a peace agreement in the country.

De Klerk said that the move was a sign of the country's readiness to make a transition to a new era of democracy.

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He promised to work for a peace agreement in the country.
THE release of Nelson Mandela is a high-stakes gamble by President FW de Klerk for a double payout - giving voiceless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority.

"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 at 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 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.

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 freedom 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.

"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.
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.
THE STARS WILL SHINE BRIGHTER TONIGHT.... TOMORROW, A BRILLIANT FUTURE BECKONS.
An exciting climax to the long wait

A week before the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was announced, Sizakele Koma spoke to his former neighbours. Excitedly she talked to him 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 regarded 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 Ndou, his next-door 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 hoisted, said 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 and 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. 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 anything, 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 Glady Masilinga, 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." Masilinga said.

Mrs Sophie Ngubani, who lives opposite the Mandela, 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 Buthelejis, 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.

"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.

Charlotte Buthelezi dreams of the return.

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WELCOME
BACK
NELSON
MANDELA
MANDELA: Free at last

AFRICA IS LIKE A SLEEPING LION. BEAUTIFUL BUT WHEN IT WAKES UP IT'S DANGEROUS

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.

Shouts of "Amandla" vibrated throughout the Jabulani amphitheatre where thousands of people of all races waited for Mandela to arrive.
MANDELA: Free at last

Redom: Freed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and wife Winnie the air after his release from Victor Verster Prison after over 27 years in detention.

Mrs Winnie Mandela (right) comforts her daughter Zindzi at the funeral of former ANC member Mr Sibonelo William district (20) who died at John Vorster Square Police Station, Johannesburg on January 29. Police said he was found hanged there. Sithole and Zindzi have a three-month-old son, Mambuza. He was buried in Soweto on Saturday.
USA
WASHINGTON - President Carter welcomed the announcement that South Africa's Foreign Minister Pik Botha had telephoned him on Saturday afternoon to give him the news - Sapa-AP.

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 significant event of the year, with four walls of the apartheid system now set to be breached.

Hawke said the South African Government was seriously committed to building on the good will flowing from the release, with the goal of extending equal rights and democracy to the nation's black majorities.

- Sapa-AP

TRANSEKSI
In his reaction, the chairman of the military wing of the African National Congress, General inglés, welcomed the decision of the government to grant him his freedom.

He said: "This is the beginning of a new chapter in the history of South Africa."

AZAPO
NELSON Mandela would be a great loss to the world. As a symbol of the struggle for liberation, he is an example to all people.

The world must remember his legacy and continue to fight for justice and equality.

- Sapa

ITALY
ROME - The release of Nelson Mandela was widely welcomed in Italy. The Prime Minister, Giulio Andreotti, said it was a "great opportunity".

He added: "It is a great opportunity for the world to work together for peace and justice."
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 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.

Educated at a Methodist boarding school, Mandela went to Fort Hare University College (as it was then), where he 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 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 interested.

The man never-ending game of hide-and-seek - hiding from family and the police, seeking to beat the system - for almost all his life.

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.

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 Mandela 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.
MANDELA: Free at last

Happy homecoming!

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PAC: Mandela not completely free

DAR ES SALAAM - Nelson Mandela is only partially 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 Mkwazazi of the Pan African Congress said from 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 colonial laws and there was nothing new except there were more draconian laws than when he first went into prison. (See p.4)

“The PAC hopes that Concorde Mandela will join the other dispersed and imprisoned African majority to continue the struggle for the return of the usurped land and self-determination,” Mkwazazi said.

His movement also called for continued pressure from the international community.

“All the pillars of apartheid are still in place and intact. The international community must continue to isolate the racist regime culturally, economically and otherwise and call for an electoral democracy in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be implemented.” — Mkwazazi 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 position 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 BCMCA hoped that this move would be followed by the release of all other political detainees and prisoners regardless of the misgivings under which they were held.”
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 Thabo 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 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 Morgen, reportedly had a meeting with Shamuyarira.

The Zimbabwean government did not comment on the cancellation of the Press conference. But sources here said Zim-

For the Week

Conference off could have upset delicate moves between the countries involved.

SAPA reports Coetzee said on Tuesday that SA's 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 Ziana the highest authority sanctioning the squad's operations was a former cabinet minister who allegedly au-

See Back Page 1

See Page 7

Comment: Page 10
CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's triumphant exit from prison after 27 years was not without tension as police and youths fought pitched battles on the Grand Parade here.

An alleged mix-up in organizing led to Mayor Josie Beka's car being unable to leave the carpark at the parade where thousands of people gathered in the early morning.

By the time he started walking almost three hours later, more than half the crowd had dispersed.

Mandela was both defiant and conciliatory in his first public address since being released.

He said he was a loyal member of the ANC and in agreement with all its policies, strategies and tactics, including the armed struggle.

However, Mandela expressed the wish that a climate for a negotiated settlement be maintained and that people be prepared to return to the ANC at any time.

He called President F W de Klerk a man of integrity who had gone further than any previous President in taking steps to normalize the situation in South Africa.

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, police violence and armed police reaction led to the death of at least one person and injuries to scores more.

Elements of the crowd who were waiting for Mandela's address began smashing windows and looting shops, and police fired warning shots 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 in the city center.

The disorder, said by some witnesses to have been initiated by drunkards, could not be contained despite the efforts of marshals and senior police officials, including the Rev Allan Boesak and Justice Minister in the cabinet.

Some reports put the size of the crowd at about 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 at 6pm, his wife Winnie and members of the National Reception Committee were arrested at the prison at only that time.

By 6:30, MDB and UDF marshals were having difficulty controlling the crowds who were growing restless, climbing dangerous structures for a better view. Some people were injured, and police fired through the roof of a temporary wooden structure on the perimeter of the Parade.

Mandela left the presiding officer at 11am, which meant that the scheduled 6pm Press conference and 6pm rally had to be delayed.

Mandela's car, bearing the cavalcade from Paarl, apparently took a wrong turn and there were anxious moments when it was trapped in the crush, where it stayed for 15 minutes as desperate marshals 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 that at least 45 critical injuries and two deaths had been confirmed.

A doctor at Woodstock Hospital told Business Day at 8pm that injured people were being treated.

The doctor said there are so many... I can't say for sure how many there are. There are not 300 yet, he said, adding the casualty ward was overflowing.

He said the majority of injuries were superficial gunshot wounds.

At the same time a Groote Schuur Hospital spokesman said 15 people had been admitted so far, 15 of them in a serious condition.

Among those injured were Sapa reporter and an ANC messenger.

Cape Town traffic officials were under "tremendous pressure" yesterday to contain the crowd and the traffic that gathered at the Parade.

The city's traffic manager W Smith said 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," Smith said.

He commended the ANC and UDF marshals who were the extent controlled the crowd well at the Parade.

A speaker for Cape Town's ambulance service said they had to pick up scores of people.

"Virtually all the windows in that area of the town were smashed in," he said.

SAP liaison officer L Denzel Brandt said people had begun breaking shop windows and looting goods in Cape Town's city center. 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 Aziz Cathcart 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.

"As our meetings with Mandela prior to his release, we 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.

Several hundred people gathered in the city center last night as hundreds of thousands of people throughout the sprawling township complex near Johannesburg looked 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
Most welcome Nelson’s freedom

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa has welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela, the man who has been imprisoned for 27 years. The release of the former President has been welcomed as a symbol of commitment and struggle for freedom.

The African National Congress (ANC) welcomed the release of Mandela, calling it a “重大 milestone” in the fight for freedom. The ANC has been a key player in the anti-apartheid movement and has played a significant role in the restructuring of South Africa.

“The release of Nelson Mandela is a significant moment in the history of South Africa,” said ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania also welcomed the news. The PAC, which was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle, has been instrumental in the struggle for freedom.

“Nelson Mandela’s release is a symbol of hope for all South Africans,” said PAC leader Ahmed Kathrada.

The release of Mandela has been a cause for celebration not only in South Africa but also around the world. People from all walks of life have expressed their support for Mandela and his struggle for freedom.

The release of Nelson Mandela is a important step towards the realization of a democratic South Africa. It is a milestone that has been long awaited and it is a cause for celebration.

Release was a calculated move

By MICHAEL MORRIS

Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990, a calculated move by the South African government that had been planning for years. The release of Mandela was a strategic decision to weaken the ANC and end the struggle for freedom.

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Mandela had been imprisoned since 1962 for his role in the struggle against apartheid. His release was a significant moment in the history of South Africa.

Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990, and he served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. He was the first black President of South Africa and played a key role in the transition to democracy.

The release of Mandela was a calculated move by the South African government that had been planning for years. The release of Mandela was a strategic decision to weaken the ANC and end the struggle for freedom.

Knockout win for ANC, says CP’s Van der Merwe

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Political Staff

The government would not be the state of emergency if Mr Nelson Mandela wanted it, 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 sided with the country. That's what he's doing. What he wants to do," he said.

Mr Mandela had not renounced violence, and he is a winner by a knockout," he said.

Mr de Klerk has been carrying a weight on his shoulders: the ANC has been quite bulky.

The CP would, if it were in power, have told Mr Mandela: "You are an old man. You have not been in that bloody prison for 30 years. You have the key to the cell in your own hands. Just remember 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 in our ballot," he said.

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 businesses.

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 bold step. I hope a peaceful solution will be found in South Africa as happened here in Namibia," said Mr Nujoma.

Chairman of the ruling Military Council in Transkei, Major General Butsi Kosousa, said his government had also welcomed Mr Mandela's release.

He said Transkei wanted to congratulate Mr de Klerk for taking bold steps with reforms and deal with other critical matters. He said if Mr Mandela wanted to live in Transkei after his release he would welcome him to do so.

The Roklotsosikosigenkwa government said Mr Mandela's release was "a crowning achievement 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.

Lehowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Bamabone 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 "myopia and arrogance" by far-right white leaders should not stop the process that had started.

Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H W Ntseka, 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 South Africa free of racism and apartheid."

He said the status of the homelands would form part of the negotiation agenda, and noted he saw them forming part of a federal system.

He added that Mr Mandela's release was a bold step forward for all the people of the world.

Chief President Isakqo Sebe said Mr Mandela's release had made the way for negotiations "smooth and wide."

"Full marks go to Mr De Klerk for his courage, vision, commitment to peace and also the great statesmanship 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.

Suzman delighted at release

JOHANNESBURG - Veteran politician and former member of Parliament, Mr 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 negotiations table was indispensable for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

Her release was long overdue, she said.

The Western Cape chairperson of the Black Sash, Ms Beva Hansman said: "We are absolutely delighted. "It is wonderful to have a man of his calibre involved in the change that has to happen." - Sapa.
HE'S FREE . . . A triumphant Mr Nelson Mandela walks out of prison yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS
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

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 vigour. 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 constitution affairs portfolio when Mr De Klerk wrestled 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.

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

"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, 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, don't hurt anybody, please ...

At 7.15pm there was still no sign of Mr Mandela, Dr Boesak came on the air again:
Tutu: A time to say ‘Yeah!’ and a time to celebrate

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 cherished. 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 SUMAN, former Mrs. F.W.: “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 BILLY, chairman of Anglo Americans: “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 MEER, 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 way 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.”

BARRY OPPENHEIM: “How 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 get 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.

PATTHA MEER, author of Nelson Mandela’s biography, said his release concluded for the Government the fulfilment of the most important remaining condition to negotiation.

Ivo 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, SACCO 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 that De Klerk is committed to creating conditions in which to negotiate a settlement in SA.”

KRISHNAUDDO, leader of the National Congress: “This is tremendous news, and I am very pleased to hear he has been released at last.”

GEORGE SEWEPFASA, 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 we will be able to assist in resolving the country’s problems.”

JF REDDIE, 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 moment in South African history and, while many South Africans will want to mark the occasion, the chamber hopes the workers will do so in a peaceful and responsible manner.”
The eighty-year rise of the ANC

“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 Preamble, 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 PAP and other anti-apartheid organisations to agitate for a national constitutional 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, Umhombolo 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, Umhombolo’s leadership progressed from sabotage to plans for guerrilla warfare.

A fanciful nine-page document entitled Operation Mayibuye was drawn up, which envisaged submarine bringing trained guerrillas home from Algeria and Russia. It was largely on the strength of this document, described by Umhombolo’s 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.

Umhombolo’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 Molele, 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 5 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.
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, 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 Molele, 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 blaring their horns drove by the house, the drivers giving the symbolic clenched-fist salute.

Nearly, 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 Rambuo 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 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 not 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 at an extraordinary central committee meeting.

Release 'stuns' ANC's leadership

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's release caught the ANC leadership in Lusaka completely by surprise yesterday.

"I am stunned," ANC spokesman Tom Selina 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 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 negotiating process. We would not have been able to do it without him."

However, Mr Selina 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 Selina 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.

By MANDY JEAN WOODS and EZRA MANTINI

By DRIES van HEERDEN

Lusaka
Schools

Schools are an important part of the learning process. They provide a structured environment for students to learn and develop their skills. Schools also offer a variety of extracurricular activities that help students to explore their interests and develop talents.

Different:

- **Focus**: Schools focus on academic learning, while non-school environments may focus on social or physical development.
- **Organization**: Schools are organized and have a specific curriculum, while non-school environments may not have a set plan.
- **Resources**: Schools provide resources such as books, laboratories, and sports facilities, while non-school environments may not have the same level of resources.

The differences between schools and non-school environments can be important to consider when making decisions about education and development.

Action to take:

- **Identify the situation**: Determine whether you are dealing with a school or a non-school environment.
- **Consider the focus**: Think about the main focus of the environment.
- **Evaluate the resources**: Look at the available resources and decide if they meet your needs.

By taking these steps, you can make informed decisions about education and development.
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."

"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 could no longer impose its ideas of freedom without consulting the authentic leaders of the black people, he said.

"Negotiations cannot be used as just another delaying tactic in the strategy to retain white supremacy."

However, he added, this was a time of reconditioning and not rearticulation, 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.

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
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 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.

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 Hall portico in front of the microphone, could see. Thousands of us, who had positions 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-flap-decked minibuses, Dr Boesak pleaded, egged, shouted and screamed from about 6pm.

It went like this:

"Please, comrades, get off the car. Get off the car, get off the car. Please, get off the car. Comrades, Mandela is going to speak to you..."

"Don't move this car, don't move this 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 around the car, don't run around 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. 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, 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

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 Zimbabwe news agency reports. In a statement released in Harare, PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanazi 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.

Mkwanazi 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 “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.
BOSTON — Nelson Mandela’s oldest daughter, Madziwe 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 emphasise 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-Reuters.
Cajee preparing for ‘active’ work again

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 Liliesleaf farm in Rivonia, yesterday said he was preparing for active work with Mandela again.

Cajee joined the ANC in 1933. "I began working with Nelson since May 2, 1930, 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 1956 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 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 £500 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 Liliesleaf farm.

CHARLENE SMITH

Cajee said that: "now we are going to do more work than ever before. I’ve arranged with Winnie to see him."

Amint sick Chachalia, a close friend of Mandela, recalled that one of the last times she saw him before he was arrested was on her 21st birthday.

Chachalia 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, 54, who was waiting for Mandela’s release to be screened on television when she spoke to Business Day, was a 1966 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 pills 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”. 
Soweto heard the news, sang joyfully, and waited

MAHALESLELE 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 shoed 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.

EDITH 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.

Marshall 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-toyi with placards and the ANC flag, singing and shouting slogans.

It was happening at last — he was coming home.
The next step towards a climate for talks hailed

THE ANC in Lusaka has welcomed the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela as another step towards ending 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 HOBS reports from London that ANC executive spokesman and chief Representative to Britain and Ireland Mendi Maimang said yesterday Mandela was immediately rejoining the NEC, which would undergo “some re-structuring”.

But Maimang 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.

Maimang and Mbeki — who is a likely future president — emphasised Mandela was moving to the mountain (meaning the ANC), rather than the other way around.

Maimang 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.”

Maimang 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.”
It is an ideal which I hope to live in harmony and with equal opportunities in which all persons live together of a democratic and free society I have cherished the ideal

THE CAPE TIMES

THE CAPE TIMES

by Mary Stiek

Mandela: The Man

Com 11/2 1990

Wes-Staatsman

It comes over in press

World Status a major problem
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 Headtown 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 adopted 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 P 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 nationalist.”

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.
CAPE TOWN - Shortly be-
fore his release yesterday Mr. Nelson Mandela called
on all South Africans to work towards a common
destiny.

Unity, he said in an inter-
view, 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 prob-
lems in our country."

He had always been com-
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South Africa ... and in exploit-
ing any opening that offered
hope of a non-racial and demo-
cratic country.

Reality

"Unfortunately whites fear
the reality of democracy," said
Mandela.

Any impression that he had
now accepted the Govern-
ment'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 is-
suces: majority rule in a unity
state; and the insistence on
the protection of the whites' politi-
cal position.

The guarantee of individual
rights in the ANC Freedom
Charter protected everyone
without resorting to the pro-
tection of group rights.

"As long as whites think in
terms of group rights they are
sabotaging the language of apart-
heid." He said the unbanning of
political organisations and
their members, freeing of
political prisoners and
only benefitted the white politi-
cally dominant group.

The Government should
know by now that it can no
longer impose its ideas of free-
dom 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 pur-
suing all positive moves and
not dwelling on broken
promises in the past, and a
time to concentrate on con-
structing a new South Africa.

Context

On the issue of the armed
struggle he said this was only
one element, albeit an impor-
tant one, in the overall libera-
tion strategy but one that
should not be blown up out of
context.

Only after the failure of
decades of peaceful demonstra-
tions to demand the repeal of discriminatory laws
which sought to destroy the
dignity of black South Afri-
cans, 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 Af-
ricans did not resolve to work
constructively ... with commit-
tment and discipline towards a
non-racial and democratic South
Africa.

It was absolutely essential
that every individual group
seeking a solution of the prob-
lems in South Africa, by
whichever means, should sub-
ordinate themselves to a com-
mon aim.

"We must work towards a
common destiny and that can
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city rendezvous
in to stop
Army called
sun blaze
under the
wait the people
and...
ANC urged: Give right response

By GRAHAM UZAMORE

The ANC has called for a united response to the recent events. The party has said that the current crisis is not about individuals but rather about the people of South Africa. The ANC has called for a united response to the current crisis and has urged the people to remain calm and peaceful.

A human wave swamped City Hall

City streets bear the brunt of huge crowd

The suburbs were flooded with a sea of people as they gathered to support the ANC. The streets were filled with people waving ANC flags and chanting slogans. The police tried to control the crowd but were overwhelmed by the sheer number of people.

At last he appeared and crowd impatience became jubilation

The moment President Mandela appeared, the crowd erupted in jubilation. The cheers and applause lasted for several minutes as the president greeted the people and spoke about the importance of unity and democracy.

Struggle goes on

The struggle for freedom continues. The police and security forces are still trying to contain the crowd. The situation is tense and volatile. The people are determined to see their leaders freed and democracy restored in South Africa.

Looting of ANC headquarters

A police station in Cape Town was looted by a crowd of people. The police were unable to contain the situation and the looters proceeded to pillage the building.

Soldiers on guard

The army has been deployed to maintain order in the city. The soldiers are on guard and are prepared to use force if necessary.

The ANC has called for a united response to the current crisis and has urged the people to remain calm and peaceful. The police tried to control the crowd but were overwhelmed by the sheer number of people. The situation is tense and volatile. The people are determined to see their leaders freed and democracy restored in South Africa.

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WELCOME

for SA, says Jesse Jackson
Release is a hopeful step
among prisoners.

By MLK JR

Church for F-W

Most critical

as history is made

High-stakes gamble

for double pay

SA history

The Rev. Jesse Jackson has been a strong advocate for prison reform and the release of prisoners. In this article, he discusses the importance of releasing prisoners as a step towards justice and rehabilitation. He highlights the need for rehabilitation programs and support for former prisoners to help them reintegrate into society. This article is a call to action for policymakers and the public to support these efforts.
Mandela!

Nelson

Back
A small part of the huge crowd who waited in the hot sun outside the City Hall to welcome Mr. Nelson Mandela.
Mandela's release

ANC: No talks yet

Mandela: SA peace

Copies, Monday, February 12, 1990

14
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 Mkwazazi 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 Mkwazazi 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 released 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
I greet you... in the name of peace.
WIN A CAR in the Argus-Alisons Toyota Sticker-a-pic — new clue on Page 9 today.

INSIDE

Mandela tells 80 000
Stronger goes on, 11

FREEDOM: African Democratic Congress

President: Nelson Mandela

Leader: Andrew Mlangeni

NOMINEE: Afrikaner Resistance Movement and "Afrikaner Volksfront" - apparently are among the candidates for the presidency of South Africa.

FREEDOM: The African National Congress (ANC) has been banned in South Africa since 1960. It is the leading political party of the black people of South Africa. The ANC has been fighting for the liberation of the black people of South Africa since 1912.

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 Thatcher's steps to SA visit to SA 

Africa's immediate rules

Mandela in America. Mr. Kofi Annan

WASHINGTON - P'W must

A bold and imaginative step. Says Bush

...
Mandela says ‘unity is the critical catalyst’

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.

"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 grandparents. 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 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 idea 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 for 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

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

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 Dingang Moseneke, 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.

"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.

Cheddi Jagan, 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 complete 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.

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 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.

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-Reuters.
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 toyed-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.
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 colours 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 worldwide reaction yesterday to Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia last night urged the ANC to suspend guerrilla 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.

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.

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.
Three dead in shack attack, say Crossroads residents

By EDWARD MOLODYANE
Staff Reporter

THREE people died when four men were 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 Ngobongwana, 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 Ngobongwana.

Mr Redamile 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 believe 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..."
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 4.15pm — 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 the prison gates.

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 5pm, 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.
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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 Teckie Jordana, 24, and Michael Jordana, 15.

A youth, Zolisa Ngxutyana, 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
FW: Mandela is committed to peace

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 because "it is certain" the moment he had stated his commitment to finding peaceful solutions.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release "is 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 Tzwembas, since that 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 releasing 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 insist himself in promoting talks about talks, the door is open to him."

Giving his impressions of the ANC leader, recent 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 compromising 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 since he was out of jail.

The state would ensure 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 peace that has been started."

"Ask whether he believed his announcement would meet United States pre-conditions for discussions, Mr De Klerk replied: "We are not working against checkpoints. 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 andfinity 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'

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 reconciliation 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.
FEBRUARY 11 was a date no-one had
ringed in red as a likely release date
for Nelson Mandela — and that in-
cludes the MDM's National Reception
Committee (NRC).
The NRC, formed last year when seven
ANC leaders were released on Octo-
ber 15, has co-ordinated their move-
ments, 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 Man-
dela 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 under-
taken as a result.
Among the issues the NRC is now work-
ing on are the timing and circum-
stances 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 Kaap and the Western
Cape, and wanted his first rally to be
in the Cape.
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” prides 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 (Sayco) have in the past decade been at the forefront of anti-apartheid resis-

PVT. DEVEREAUX

ance 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, 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 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, Sayco and the Soweto Students Congress (Sasco), 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 (Sasco), 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 5000 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 howling wind.

People were in a mood of noisy but well-behaved exhuberance, 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 bopper 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, 28, clutched an enormous poster of the youthful Mandela in 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 Samba 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, 23, 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.
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 "Boerfolk" 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 harrasinging Mr Jackson.

In a further altercation outside, one of the men was knocked down by a punch from a hotel staff. — Sapa
Turoks allowed in for a week

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.
Amandla

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.
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, Mandela said: "The ANC had no option but to continue the armed struggle. We hoped that factors conducive to negotiations would come about so that there would be no need for armed struggle." He added, "Replaced from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl at 4:30 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 5,000 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. Encouraging crowds of people lined the highway waving placards and shouting for Mandela and ANC slogans. Walter Sisulu, June 1921, 71st Birthday, Johannesburg. No credit.

The ANC's beginning to a stormy beginning.

Mr Mandela said the church's statement was a step backwards in the battle against apartheid. "The religious statement is a step backwards in the battle against apartheid," he said. "It is not even consistent with the freedom of speech that we have in this country."

Mandela called for the immediate release of all "not and now" political prisoners and said the Government should ensure all the requirements of the Harare Declaration before negotiations could begin.

As thousands of people, mainly the youth and many people, gathered at the Grand Parade where Mandela's full name, "Nelson Rolihlahla" had been unveiled. The crowd chanted slogans and sang freedom songs.

An estimated 100,000 people were in the parade. The Government had estimated the crowd to be 20,000.

"As thousands of people, mainly the youth and many people, gathered at the Grand Parade where Mandela's full name, "Nelson Rolihlahla" had been unveiled. The crowd chanted slogans and sang freedom songs.

The event was described as a "massive" one by the Government."
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 TVI for barely an hour yesterday afternoon. ( )

Phoning from Boston, an ecstatic Mrs Sarah Wilson Ciantrone said the ABC and CBS channels started beaming the event as early as 7:30am (1:30pm SA time) yesterday.

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 minutes from the main concourse as 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.
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 voiceless blacks a say in Government while assuring the rights of South Africa's white minority. (11B)

"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 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.

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 freedom 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. (118)

"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.
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 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 his cell with Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee.

For his own part, Mandela insisted always on unconditional release, consistently refusing to repudiate the ANC guerilla 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 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."

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An icon of liberty 25 years later

Pearl, where he told friends he was lonelier than ever in a former winner'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.

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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 doubtfully 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 new conference at Parliament.

Looking calm and assured, he answered questions easily but very carefully after making his momentous 5pm announcement that the release awaited around the globe.

Mandela's freedom after 27 years had become certain after his meeting last year with former President PW Botha who had started the process of his release.

There Mandela had offered himself to a peaceful solution for the country.

Describing Mandela as "an elderly man, a dignified man, an interesting man", Dr. 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. It's nice to think I also am a friendly man."

"Yes, the discussion really took place in a good spirit," he said.

De Klerk said that Mandela was free to Mandela and others, but the ANC leader wanted to involve himself in facilitating a climate of negotiation, or even talk 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 to play whatever support role can be played towards a peaceful transition to the process that has already started."

He called on Mandela and all other interested parties to make their contributions towards a peace in the world.

"The eyes of the world are presently focused on this South Africa," Dr. Klerk said.

"All of us 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 50 days ago, he believed the most important obstacles to negotiations had been addressed.

On foreign demands for release, including those from the US, he noted that the Government was not working to a checklist. "We are doing what we sincerely think is in the best interests of South Africa."

Turning to the state of emergency, Dr. Klerk said the final test of how the Government viewed it was the situation on the ground.

Any widespread unrest would 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 easy situation for negotiations.

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 means a condition where people can feel safe, to go work if they want, a normal life without threat or intimidation, free of looting, where political fate did not cost lives.

The Government would not go lengths to draw the distinction between plain crime and politically related violence, he hinted.

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 months.

He said there was obvious an element of uncertainty - "one 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 to ending the state of emergency."

We are as anxious as anybody else to have the state of emergency uplifted as soon as possible," he said.

On Mandela's personal safety, Dr. 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 a risk that might come from radicals from the right.

"Many public figures are being threatened throughout the world at the moment 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 be in a relatively safe, in the case of Mr. Sisulu and the others who were released, there was no request to the State to give assistance with regards 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

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s support for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa 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 South Africa 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 these 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 quoted here said Congress was unlikely to soften sanctions, with the possible exception of reinstating landing rights for South African Airways 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 South Africa 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 South Africa will have to be represented.”

The means of selecting these 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

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 Verry 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
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-Reuters
Lone CP hits out at Mandela speech

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 of 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 and 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 volk, 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 anti-Semitism.

Referring to Mr. Mandela’s speech on Sunday, he said there could have been more flexibility and a willingness to recognize 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.”
Parliament

DP hails police handling 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 renounce 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 be coming 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.
CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela is not free, he is simply out of jail, says US civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson.

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.

"These lies have led 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.
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 “madness 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 Africans, 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.

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.
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 Sabs 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 JP Kilian said employees were at their postions as normal yesterday. The company would deal with requests for time off to attend rallies for Mandela as they arose.

Checkers human resources director AS McLaurin said there was normal attendance at work yesterday. Managers 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.

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.

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.
'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.
‘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

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 spokes-
man yesterday, amid speculation in the British press that Mrs Thatcher was amusing 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.
Looting: Tutu, Omar express distress

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

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.

“The tour was a result of his own decision, and 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.

Diplomatic assurances 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.
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 statesmanlike 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."
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 3000 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 25.

"We will give President F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered," 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

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 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 Luckett 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-toyied past his committee's headquarters.

Mr Nongwe is Mr Ngxobongwana'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 stop" gives hope for SA — Page 7
International markets react to ANC plan

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.

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._
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**

MORE than 20 000 workers stayed away from work at Ekanedtstra outside Bronkhorstspruit 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 Kwanbokwe 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 their homes - the obvious reason being to celebrate the news of Mandela's release," Du Toit said.

* At Lith pute 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.

**Sowetan Correspondent**
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 school-children 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 school-children took to the streets waving ANC flags and banners.

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.
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 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.

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 Mhlakeng near Randfontein, youths broke windows at the Mhlakeng 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.
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 R5.56 to the dollar compared with R5.59 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 3 186.

And the all gold index fell 80 points to 2 051 as the gold price fell to $415.25 before recovering slightly to an afternoon fix of $416.75.

Trust Bank chief economist Nick Barnard 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 more volatile."

Manny Pohl of the stockbroking firm Davis, Borkum, Hare said he thought the falling market would create 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, Pohl 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."

"Spotlight swings to ANC economic policy"

"Negative reaction to Mandela statement"
for a new SA!

Imagination
the cultural

Do we have

school of thought

Alien Sachs: 2012

Open: 32/13/12

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7.5.2012
Talking to the public after 27 years...

I stand here not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people.

I pay tribute to the endless heroism of the youth. You, the young lions...
Crossroads women call for end to committee

By EDWARD MLOINYANE
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 Ngoobongwana.

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, 30, 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.

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 returned 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 burnt 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

Mandela returns

● 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 possible 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 Sabia spokesman said yesterday: “We wish to stress that the matter be treated with seriousness it deserves so as to work out mutually agreed arrangements with the local taxi associations.”

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
CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with treason

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 FW 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.

“FW 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, SAP 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 charges 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.
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

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.
On the question of democratic practice, I feel 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 allows for free political activity can allow us to consult our people in order to obtain a mandate.

**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 internal monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that
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 turnoff, 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. F.W. 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

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.
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 "up to now" and now 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 have taken so far as being sufficient for the normalisation of the political situation in the country, I can 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 economy 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 rights 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 re-arrested 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 this 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 whatever. 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 must see what happens before we can regard the situation as being normal.

Q: Comrades Mandela, 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?

Mr Nelson Mandela answers questions at yesterday's press conference

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Q: Comrades Mandela, 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 there are more whites who want to see themselves no longer as prepared to go on fighting for the government to free them. That is a clear lesson that says if we are given the opportunity to show ourselves then we shall take it.

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 unmoving 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 assurance 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 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 guarantee, 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 found?

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 them. We are just overwhelmed with joy and I am unable to go into this in the way that I can tell you what I can in any other situation. I am just unable to put it into words. I am just unable to put it into words.

Q: Your first impressions of the South Africa you found?

A: Well, it's a totally different South Africa. Along the route I was surprised to see the number of whites who come 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 seem to feel that a change is absolutely imperative is surprising.

Q: You said yesterday: "Our economy lies in ruins". Now, we are out looking and elsewhere in Africa it's actually not that bad. Could you elaborate on what you mean by that?

A: All, there are three important aspects we must look at 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 no progress in these three areas, then the economy of the country as a whole is failing very badly. But my impression is that it is not performing well in the sense that it is not able to do all that it must be done to make it work.

Q: In view of all the chaos and struggle on the perimeter of last night's rally — you will know the details now — do you still support President De Klerk's policy?

A: That would be totally wrong. Given the circumstances under which that meeting was held I think that supporter of the ANC who had organised that. The point is that the people are dissatisfied with what has taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, and elsewhere, that is why we are called the control crowds.

Q: Mr Mandela, there have been some important policy shifts on the government's side over the past few years which are important to the discussions and consultations with the government to the past few years, have you contributed to those policy shifts?

A: I would like to comment that I have contributed to those policy shifts. I 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. I otherwise could claim that I had not any effect on the government's attitude.

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. I have always told them that you cannot improve your life all over again would you change things so that you can enjoy all the things that you have now. I tell them that the people are very surprised, even shocked, to find the ANC selling off our country, to sell the ANC to the IMF. I thought that this is not only wrong, but not the ANC to be unhinged. Why do you think alignment that also? Also, it seems that many people seem to feel that the ANC was unimpressed by the ANC has been caught off-guard. Do you agree with that?

Q: Sir, it seems to me that you have not seen that the ANC has 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 go and how to go forward. They have not been getting feedbacks from me. They were never caught off-guard. It is very much the ANC. Sir, you and your personal staff is on this is of no importance.

Q: On your SABC this morning you said that you were in the Communist Party. When are you going to be in the Communist Party?

A: Let me make it clear: I do not belong to any party apart from the ANC.
ANC wants souls and white that they should join us.

Q: What do you plan to enhance black unity?
A: No single government can achieve this enormous task. It is the duty of the political organisations, particularly the ANC, to organize in this way that we can increase the momentum of unity among black organisations and press for a united front.

Q: Will you 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 Mrs Thatcher is not simply for a non-racial society. We are very far from that, and it is too early for any society to expect an end to the lifting of sanctions. But having said that, I would like to add that there are possibilities that we should look at that should be involved in policies of confrontation and we will seize the earliest opportunity of settling our differences through peaceful means.

Q: Do you think the South African government should push ahead with its policy of black homelands?
A: It is a policy which is acceptable to the South African government. The black homelands are a part of the South African government's strategy to deal with the black population.

Q: Will you take up Mrs Thatcher’s invitation?
A: Yes, we will consider the invitation. We believe that it is important to engage with all parties, including the South African government, in order to achieve a just and lasting solution to the apartheid crisis.

Q: What is your view on sanctions?
A: We believe that sanctions are an important tool in bringing about political change in South Africa. However, we also believe that they should be used in conjunction with other forms of pressure and not as the sole means of achieving our objectives.

Q: Will you accept Mrs Thatcher’s invitation to visit South Africa?
A: We believe that a visit to South Africa would be a significant event. It would provide an opportunity to meet with the South African people and to discuss the issues that are of concern to us.

Q: What is your view on the未来发展 of the ANC?
A: We believe that the ANC should continue to work towards the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa. We are committed to working with all parties, including the South African government, in order to achieve this goal.
ANC repeats its demand for pre-conditions

DRIEES 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 that this question has not yet resulted around this question.

The euphoria that was aroused seemed to suggest that all was almost over. Return was a must and we are, 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 resist on the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions."
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. "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 Ndoki said.

Tambo, 82, 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-Reuters.
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 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 the 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.

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.

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 ring- ing 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 (Sahco) 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 Sahco member Sheba Mosesa 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 announced 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 redirected 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 onlookers, 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.
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.

At 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 senior statesmen, were concerned with two questions.

“The first was the release of my colleagues, comrades Sisulu and others, for which negotiations were conducted.

“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 those 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 constitutional change could undertake such an enormous task.

“It is the duty of the political organisations, particularly the ANC, to determine if there 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 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 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 values 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

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.
Mr Nelson Mandela gives a dashing flat salute at his press conference in the grounds of Bishopscourt.

Cape Town, yesterday.

We want whites to feel safe,
Mandela's press conference

1. Can you tell us why you feel so confident about the ANC and the government?

A: Yes, I am very confident that the ANC and the government will work together to achieve a better future for all South Africans.

2. What do you mean by "government"?

A: I refer to all political parties that have been elected to represent the people of South Africa.

3. Are there any risks involved in this cooperation?

A: Yes, there are always risks involved in any political cooperation. But I believe that the benefits outweigh the risks in this case.

4. How do you think this cooperation will affect the economy?

A: I believe that this cooperation will lead to a more stable and prosperous economy for all South Africans.

5. What about social issues?

A: I believe that this cooperation will also help address social issues such as housing, education, and healthcare.

6. What about foreign affairs?

A: I believe that this cooperation will also help improve our foreign relations.

7. Are there any plans for constitutional reforms?

A: Yes, there are plans for constitutional reforms to ensure that the voice of the people is heard and respected.

8. What about the role of the media?

A: I believe that the media plays a crucial role in holding the government accountable and ensuring transparency.

9. What about the role of civil society?

A: I believe that civil society plays a crucial role in promoting human rights and social justice.

10. Finally, what about the role of the international community?

A: I believe that the international community plays a crucial role in supporting democratic values and promoting peace and stability in South Africa.
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.

David Dimbleby 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 program screened live from Johannesburg to British viewers.

Only a Conservative Party representative was missing. Chief spokesman Koos de 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.

Dimbleby 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 organizations 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 Masemola 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.

Forgotten

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 Molele, 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. Molele.

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.
3 extra 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.

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 a 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 economy 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.
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 "against white, as well as black domination".

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, Mr Koos van der Merwe, contributed via a video link.

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 major 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?

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-himpet 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 DF Malan Airport this afternoon.

The blast happened at 1.30am, partly destroying a ticket office and causing damage estimated at R50 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.

Page 2
Good chance
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 accommodating 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 democratic right 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 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 to 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 Gerrit Viljoen four times.

These meetings and those with Presidents de Klerk and F W Botha had been directed firstly at securing the release of Mandela's colleagues and secondly at trying to set up a meeting between the ANC and government. Mandela said he had played a mediating 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 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."

Mandela identified the obstacles as the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

Once government had taken those 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
NELSON Mandela, 71, spent his first night in Johannesburg at his 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 Learjet. 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 house outside 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 crowd," said Chikane.

The group was whisked away from the airport in a convoy of four cars led by what appeared to be a white policeman. The entourage left via a side gate 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 toyi-toyiing supporters and well-wishers maintained 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 atmosphere 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.
TALKS ‘SOON’

MR. NELSON MANDELA believes obstacles to power-sharing negotiations in South Africa will be removed ‘very soon.’

On his first full day as a free man, Mandela spoke with reporters during a demonstration in the township of Soweto yesterday. The official residence of the new political leader was briefly occupied by thousands of ANC supporters. The police said that 20,000 people were in the area. Mandela is expected to attend a meeting today in Soweto of the ANC’s national executive committee.

Mandela, who was released two days ago from Victor Prison in Pretoria after 27 years in prison, said that the ANC had decided to take power-sharing negotiations seriously. He said the ANC was ready to work with other groups to achieve a solution to the country’s problems.

The ANC says it is ready to negotiate with the government on a new constitution that will end white-dominated rule in South Africa. The ANC has been demanding power-sharing for many years, but the government has been unwilling to negotiate.

Mandela said that the ANC was ready to work with other groups to achieve a solution to the country’s problems. He said that the ANC was ready to negotiate with the government on a new constitution that will end white-dominated rule in South Africa.

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Mandela can sway SA whites — Economist

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 skillful 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."
Mandela supports policy of nationalising mines

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 support 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 mean that all land owned by whites would be confiscated or that there would be no compensation, said Mr Slovo.

Slovo: Only 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”.

“If course, as a party, we stand for an ultimate 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 25% 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.”

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-
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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.

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.
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 DETAINEE AND PRISONERS

-NORMAN WILLIS (GENERAL SECRETARY, TUC)
-RON TODD (CHAIRMAN, TUC INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE)
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 Ngobobongwana and his committee would reach the attorney-general "within a week".

The investigation follows claims by a breakaway group of 14 of Mr Ngobobongwana's 19 headmen, under the leadership of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, that "millions" of rand were involved.

On December 20 last year a Supreme Court interim interdict forbidding the Crossroads Town Committee and Mr Ngobobongwana 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 Ngobobongwana was "away in the Ciskei".

A spokesman for the CPTA said Mr Schelhase's court case, the Supreme Court interim interdict and the fraud investigation were "in sub judice."

However, allegations of long periods of absence by Mr Ngobobongwana from his mayoral duties would be investigated, he said.

He confirmed that police were investigating allegations of shots being fired by Mr Ngobobongwana'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 Ngobobongwana and his committee and a "thorough investigation into the whole situation".
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 Beale.

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 Kobi, 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
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 Msele Mnyu-kela, 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".

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 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 crossfire 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."
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 patriarchy 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 affects 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 organisations 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 endless violence. Joint initiatives at regional and national levels must be accelerated in order to address the crisis in education."
December 31, 1989

In December 1988 the productivity and efficiency projects resulted in a 50% improvement. The tyre business, its transfer to a wholly unilop Tyres (Pty) Limited, and the manufacture of industrial products brought about a 19% improvement.

If providing for deferred taxation was a fact of life for 1988 which has been restated, then its growth was 20% with the increase in allowances amounting to R2.5 million in capital expenditure during 1989. However, it will be more difficult in 1990 but the company continues to maintain its growth in line with the productivity improvements.

The board declared a final dividend of 90 cents per share making a total of 140 cents per share for 1990.

Chairman

E. J. Kranz

Managing Director

A share has been declared payable to shareholders on March 28, 1990 inclusive.

By order of the Board

D. M. Goodhead

Secretary

Mandela also condemned harassment of innocent people in the name of the struggle. "No 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 underemployed 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 nonracial 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.
Visit to Tanzanian training camps is planned this month

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 200km 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 Roebben 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-Reuters.
ANC had key role in tour changes

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 Selina 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 Selina 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 Selina 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 Ngconde 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.”
'Distorted picture of police'

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 willfully 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 praised the police.

He appealed to foreign media to refrain from "slanted" reporting.

'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.

Vlok: SA reaping the benefits of freeing Mandela

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."

'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."
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.”
Marching to Face to Face

Cheryl Carolus

Q: Why are there so many marches?
A: I think that our marches are not isolated acts. They are related to fairly extensive organized crime. The kind of stuff which enjoys a lot of publicity in the media. This is the media that the public is not interested in ourdoor-door talks with them, who are some of the people who are actually doing the marches, because they are not interested in talks with the public and everyone talks back to them.

Q: If the MDMA knew that there was for whatever reason public objection to the idea of a march, would it be better to cancel it?
A: Yes, I think so. We are all for getting to the job that we have been set up to do. We do not want to waste resources in doing something that we have been set up to do.

Q: If: the MMDA knew that there was for whatever reason public objection to the idea of a march, would it be better to cancel it?
A: Yes, I think so. We are all for getting to the job that we have been set up to do. We do not want to waste resources in doing something that we have been set up to do.

Q: Why do the marches take place at night?
A: We do not have a lot of resources. We have to make use of the night to do our work.

Q: If the MMDA knew that there was for whatever reason public objection to the idea of a march, would it be better to cancel it?
A: Yes, I think so. We are all for getting to the job that we have been set up to do. We do not want to waste resources in doing something that we have been set up to do.
much more difficult for us to in fact exercise control over these 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 provocations whatsoever and we basically drew the perimeter 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 did that. With the big march I know of three incidents like that where someone 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 areas are you from? What organizations 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 only 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 black bastards," 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'll be able to go and say we're 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 of change, it's got all sorts of constraints and we're saying that the main motive force of change will be the people and that it 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.

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 fulfill 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've clearly 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. I think we're trying to get people to govern, such as non-racialism, such as non-violence. We're trying to project our marches.

Q: On the question of the extent to 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.

A: I think that these are reasonable prerequisites for marches and to that end we are prepared to cooperate with those people who are responsible for these aspects. As far as the safety of our people goes, we're not prepared to cooperate 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.
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 85,000 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.
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 235 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 Masanya, who drove Mr Mandela from Lanseria Airport to 235 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 Masanya, 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 Glends 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."
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 easily identifiable."

"HELIICOPTER 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.
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 Woodglen 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 Nkeli 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 hailed off a bus by “comrades” and burnt while 60 passengers were prevented from going to work. Nkeli 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.
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
Crucial ANC talks in Lusaka today

LUSAKA. — Closed-door discussions are beginning in the Zambian capital today among top policymakers 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.

But some exiles must return very soon to legitimise the (ANC) movement in the eyes of the international community, said a Western diplomat.

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 those 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

Mandela to visit ANC’s camps in Tanzania

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.
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 addressing the inequalities caused by apartheid. "We will certainly introduce policies that address the economic problem we face," he said.

Earlier in the massive crowd, which sang and danced for several hours before the ANC leader arrived, a fan armed with a knife greeted the stadium. The couple, followed by an entourage, walked the perimeter of the stadium to cheer and sing.

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 surrounding the stadium collapsed as thousands streamed from the arena.

In the rally three rows of people in the stands in front of the press box were seen to elapse into the stands as people crashed against each other.

Children were squashed against the glass windows at the press room and a baby was rescued from the crush by a marshal.

People broke limbs in the crush on the stands surrounding the field.

Home at last for the Mandelas

Soweto. - Mr. Nelson Mandela arrived home at last yesterday. A tumultuous welcome from thousands of ANC supporters greeted him at the Orlando West house.

He arrived about 6.15pm in a motorcade soon after his helicopter, followed by five others, touched down at Orlando Stadium near the house.

As the motorcade approached the house, the crowd, which had been waiting since early morning, cheered, whistled and jeered.

Mr. Mandela, arm-in-arm with his wife Winnie, got out of a maroon BMW driven by Soweto businessman Mr. Richard Nwomwe 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 Zindzi 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 they again asked them to disperse.

At home... Mr. Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie at their home in Soweto yesterday.
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 R3.34 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's policies on the economy relating to nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

History had shown that apartheid infantilised, created mass unemployment and destroyed production 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
150 000 flock to welcome Mandela back in Jo'burg

People power

Part of the huge crowd at Soccer City, Crown Illines, 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 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 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

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 Mkhulisi 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.
MANDELA: Free at last

FNB too small for rally

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 Hillbrow 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 about 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.

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 Mptaha - could not attend the rally because of ill-health.

Mr Raymond Mhlaba, who had been sick, also did not attend because of "certainty 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.

Marshall were posted at strategic points inside and outside the stadium to maintain order.

Many weapons, including firearms, were confisced.
IC must change its positions, says Constitution Minister Viljoen

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 incumbent on all within the ANC to readdress 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.
March to a new S Africa

Mandela in his first address in 27 years in Johannesburg yesterday told more than 15,000 at the FNB Stadium near Soweto, that 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 to 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 patriots went on to salute exiled ANC leaders including Oliver Tambo. Today, he went back to the area he regarded as home.

“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.

Crisis

“The crisis in education is a site of struggle. All students must return to school and learn.”

The ANC leadership has called for a national day of action to focus on the crisis in education.

“Mandela also urged the people to build organisation and mobilisation of wealth, so that apartheid will have no room to operate.”

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

That apartheid has stifled growth and has led to inflation that undermines the financial power of black and white.

Only a participatory democracy will suffice.

“We call on employers to recognise the inseparable 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.”

“Mandela also issued a call on those who had out of ignorance, ‘collaborated with apartheid’ to join the liberation struggle.”

“Nobody or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a non-racial united and democratic South Africa.”

Sapa
CAREER suggests long-term path leading to a career goal, which may not be silvery change. A job on the other hand is somewhat short-term and could lead to the disillusionment of the goals of particular careers. In some cases, it may last more than one job to achieve the ultimate goal of a career. Career choice inevitably involves decision making. This decision is often assisted by the individual or for that matter, an individual's values right from an early age. The general idea being that you cannot change horses in midstream, you intend to be a fallacy here as it is coming to the subject of mid-career change. The notion of time to time making final decisions and variations to cope with mid-career changes is a question of motive. Some motivational theories postulate that job dissatisfaction is based on many things, human needs and motivational factors such as the intrinsic, extrinsic, rewards and self-realization.

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, race and sex discrimination, lack of promotional prospects, poor compensation, and others.

It usually is 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 in practice. In many cases, some professionals such as nurses, social workers and teachers do make a horizontal move towards other professions in the social services sector. Those professionals who are motivated by monetary rewards, the industry and commerce more attractive, to the extent that they may leave the social services 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 a key to catering for the needs of the youths, either at school or preparing for further 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 options available in order to make informed career decisions.

Mid-career change in itself is not a step backward but may lead to the advent of new career prospects. Career guidance and counselling service is intended to take place at any stage of one's life. Some persons and their workplaces are in need of greater understanding of their influence in parents on their children's education and career choice. It is well known that in more enlightened societies, parents 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 pressurizing children into their parents preferred careers.
* Assist on proper subject streaming towards a specific field of study.
* Encourage children to visit the Career Centre for professional career advice.
* Involve themselves and their children in career exploration, 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 Monemorey explains the signs and symptoms of a mid-career crisis.

Director of Careers Centre Dan Monemorey

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**GRADUATE PROGRAMME**

**GRADUATE PROGRAMME**

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**DIPLOMA IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION**

**DIPLOMA IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION**

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**BARGAIN SALE**

**BRAND NEW HOUSES**

---

**PRICES REDUCED BY THOUSANDS**

---

**COUNCIL OF MEMBERSHIP**

**COUNCIL OF MEMBERSHIP**

---

**GHOUGE COOPER HOMES**

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**“NOTHING BEATS A GHOUGE COOPER HOME!”**

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**MINER’S PRIZE POP**

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**JUST PASSED MATRIC AND NEVER WORKED BEFORE!! 6-MONTH SECRETARIATE COURSE starts 3 May!**

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**WE WILL PLACE YOU ON COMPLETION OF YOUR COURSE**

---

**NORTHEAST**

---

**CENTRAL**

---

**SOUTH**

---

**WEST**

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** opposing views on economic issues.**
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 Mineworkers' 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
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 withering 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 marked by violence in Cape Town. One person was killed and many injured 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 Roschehend and Simonsville 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 organizers.

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 court after city looting

By VUYO BAVUNA
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, 23, 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/Africa.

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, 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."

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 unbaned 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 meaning 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, and the trade unions.

Why on earth should we now abandon the struggle when we should in fact intensify it? When you roll the wheel 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/Africa 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/Africa a happy land to live in for our children and theirs too.
Exiled leaders gather in Lusaka

It's now up to the ANC

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 Jeje, Mr Palla Jordan, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Stanley Mabizela, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Simon Makanje, Mr Henry Makgotla, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Robert Nance, Ms Francis Mwi, Mr Sindiso Mtshweni, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Timothy Mokoena, Ms Jacqueline Molefe.

Ms Ruth Mompati, 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 Tloko, 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 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 Mutongash 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 spokesman 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.

ANC opens first office at Stanger

DURBAN — 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) 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 dropped 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.
Mandela comes home

Picture by Ken Corbin

Emergency units removed injured people from the
evacuation site. People carried the injured to the
evacuation point.

Hospital staff expressed their relief that the evacuation
process was successful. It was a moment of joy for the people who
were gathered here. It was a moment of unity and strength.

Welcome home... the hour of waiting is over for Mandela supporters at the ANC offices.
Africans strove for unity in early 1800s

The formation of the African National Congress in 1912 was the result of black grievances at the Witwatersrand that African nationalism grew most rapidly. 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 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 politicians, et al, so the 3 000 or more living in Lusaka could face stiff prison sentences for treason or sabotage if they returned home now, the source added.

"But some exiles must return very soon to legitimise the movement in the eyes of the international community," said a Western diplomat.

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

By Michael Shaffo

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.

Add to 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 South African government, therefore, at this point of view, 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

Spectators intending to watch the test who had already bought tickets will be refunded by Confiticket, but they will have to send self-addressed envelopes to the booking company.

Criticism of the decision to curtail the itinerary came from a police spokesman in Pretoria. The decision was described as "totally unnecessary."

SAP was of the opinion that the situation was not being "uncontrollable.

"In Cape Town a rumour has erupted within the non-racial sports movement over reports that the NSC Chief, Mr. Kai Naidoo, "struck a deal" with SACU over the curtailed tour.

Mr. Abe Adams, president of the Saco-affiliated Western Province Cricket Board and spokesman for the Anti-Tour Forum, said Mr. Naidoo had acted without a mandate and "embarrassed the whole move 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.

"Sanro's Mr. Sam Ramsamy said: "This is a victory of all the anti-protest organisations in South Africa.

"We salute our fellow South Africans who bravely faced 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 opposed the tour."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement's Mr. Mike Tuchman 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 Gaffing to proceed with the disastrous tour."

Conservative Party MP Mr. John Carlisle said: "It is a tragedy for cricket and for sports 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's 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."
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.
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 these.

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 dignity and discipline that our 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 scuffle 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 between 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 marchers and demonstrators. We condemn this.

I understand that implementing apartheid laws has made it extremely difficult for many honest policemen to fulfill 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 nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

We believe that apartheid has created a boom system of exploitation in which a racially 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.

Their need for 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.

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 the 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 that they do not control exclusively are an obstacle we must understand and address.

I stated in 1964 that 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 good will 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 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

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 UDP 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 deprivation our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is alarming 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.

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.

Back to 'matchbox' after 27 years in jail

By Sise 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 Avethu, We celebrate your release, Welcome home Mr 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 in 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 worldwide 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 were 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.
ANC policy needs revision — Viljoen

Enough common ground for peace

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 "naivity 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 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 was very encouraging."

The statement that the ANC was concerned to protect 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:

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."
Mr 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 waiting 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 cramped 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 Sipho Ndotu, of Soweto, described the scene as "horrid".

"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:

  Ma Selu Zwane, Dorkloof; Mr Simon Zwane, Mofolo; Ms Cynthia White, Mr Moses Lopola, Meloilo; Ms Mpetis Mlangeni, Emdeni, Ms Claudia Mashinini, Katlehong, Mr David Mabahlopa, Evaton; Mr Patrick Dlamini, Meadowlands; Mr Bernard Moroka, White City Jabavu; Ms Isla Milumane, Evaton; Mr Steven Hambaoko, Dorkloof; Ms Salome Sekhabele, Jabulani; Ms Lucy Manyo, Meadowlands, Dorkloof, Mr Benett Malekwe, White City Jabavu; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Joseph Serero, Orlando East; Mr Hjedi Kau, Vereeniging (Brakpan); Mr Johannes Oganze, Stellenbosch; Ms Ellen Shabane, Dube; Ms Seipati Moraung, Naledi; Ms Cynthia Gege, Zola 2; Ms Beatrice Dlamini, Meadowlands; Ms Edna Morake, Meadowlands; Ms Agnes Tsekelo, Melapo; Ms Nocwanda Nkosi, Mofolo; Mr Ephraim Maphaya, Mofolo; Ms Maria Mlangeni, Dlamini; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Hannes Mashilo, Potgietersrus; and four men known only as Goodwin, Mardi and Dumaana — all from Meadowlands and Peter from Chiawelo, and a woman known as Mama of Modimolle.
Quiet end to enormous Soccer City gathering

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 Mphatshwa 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, as many people outside as the stadium was capacity.

SA Helicopters said they flew out of people to exhaustion and were forced to land.

During Mandela's address, taxis continued to arrive and drive into the stadium in spite of requests to keep them out.

Eventually about 2 000 people mixed about outside the stadium.

After Mandela's speech, his wife was taken by helicopter to a Chequers in Mandalay's Orlando home to a tumultuous wave of cheering, which reports Sapa.

Mandela told the crowd of the former prisoners who had supported the support and invited people, which had resulted in his release from prison.

"The support showed that the oppressed people of this country have reached the goal of liberation," Mandela praised them, which had been even openly welcomed by the government after the release. Soccer City last year to welcome former prisoners.

"I request you to proceed in peace and I have confidence in you. Mandela concluded. — Sapa.
ANC sees our differences, but stresses unity

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.

Central to our identity as a movement if culture were merely an instrument to be handed on to the stage on ceremonial or fund-raising occasions, or to circulate at a meeting, we would ourselves be empty of personality in the interval. Happily, this is not the case — culture is, 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 extensive consultations taking place around the guidelines is that membership, 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 working document: they set out well-delineated steps of the NNC as enshrined by an in-house seminar, but they are not presented in 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 want to do is take on what implications they have for culture, and then say whether we agree and make whatever suggestions we have for their improvement. In part, this is not a method is the message; the public debate on the NNC wants on the part of the public to be to the open society the information that the organisation is to the burgymen of freedom of conscience, debate and opinion.

There are three aspects of the guidelines that bear directly on our territory.

The first is the emphasis 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 solved in a democratic context, the cultural and linguistic rights of our diverse communities can be addressed.

We are strongly for national unity, for building our country on a whole, not just in its geographic extension but in its human extension. So we have no grievances 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.

Yan-Nkosi is a homegrown South African, a man, a member of the majority of South Africa's people. It is his hope to be a witness to the time when all South Africans can, as he puts it, "look to a future of freedom without fear in South Africa."
**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 the 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 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' iAfrica 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

Michael Acott

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 budged 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, 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 now has partial grounds for claiming that 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 describes the NP as hensopppers and itself as the bitterenders fighting for white survival.

That leaves the NP with three constituencies from which to seek support, or at least a lack of hindrances. 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

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

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 were losing political acceptability being rejected in favour of Western free enterprise.

The Washington Post said: “We think we were not 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 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.

"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 lumpish 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.
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."
WELCOME HOME
COMRADE MANDELA
THE 27 YEARS OF YOUR INCARCERATION HAS NOT BEEN IN VAIN
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES
ANC office 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
ANC: Talks with govt have begun

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 "coordinate thinking".

He said there were no differences over whether the ANC's guerrilla 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-Reuters

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
'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 Mbantu, Mr Mohau Mnoledi, 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 Mnoledi 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 other political prisoners they left behind. They called for their immediate release.

Mr Mnoledi 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 Mnoledi.

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.
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.

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
ROLIHLALA 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 jail 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 intrenched 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.

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!

Sundet Tewit
Chairperson

Ciskei frees ANC cadres

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 Stoffel.

Announcing the releases, the Ciskei authorities said it strongly recognized that "genius 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 former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

They are Mewhaka Nelson Ntshela, a Zululand township, Bwewwe Sikuyile Qoty of Zweli and Mzimani Isaac Owu of the Towyi area near Kin Williams's town and Xolile Mvanbi of Transkei. Another was a PA cadet, Mokoni Eric Mgbusi of Sefapane.

The other two released political prisoners are Linda Stoffel and Mvulanza Gbithile, both of Alice.

Ciskei Chief Justice Benjamin Pickard sentenced Ntshela, Stoffel and Gbithile to ten years' imprisonment in 1987. — VERITAS

Omar takes up UWC law post

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 1977, was an attorney for the Pan-Africanist Congress in the early 1980s.

Sabotage

He later became the legal representative for the Coloured People's Congress and members of the African National Congress.

He represented detainees in the first sabotage trial in South Africa which followed the 1952 UWC uprising.

During the 1970s he acted for the Black People's Convention and Black Community Programmes until both were banned by the government.

Omar has since defended many activists and in a familiar face in terrorism and other political trials.
Mandela: "SA an important country"

Mandela: "SA an important country" proper for me to visit the area of my birth and there are certain places which I have to perform and for that reason I will go down. It's also long to see the little stones on which I played as a child, the little river where I swam and I will go down, but my home - I am stationed in Johannesburg." — Bishopscourt, February 12

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 South Africa should be improved and I would encourage such meetings." — Bishopscourt, February 12

On sanations: "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." — Bishopscourt, 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 I all can say.

"It's a totally different South Africa. After 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." — Bishopscourt, 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 police marched that have taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, and elsewhere, have shown that we can control crowds." — Bishopscourt, 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. There is a clear lesson that emerges from the demonstrations that have taken place." — Bishopscourt, 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, dealers, spakers 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 cheating 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 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 even unique economic problems can be solved together" 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.
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.
Comrade Nelson Mandela:

Dear Madiba,

In welcoming and greeting you on Sunday, we were struck by particularly three aspects:

1. 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;

2. How much you symbolize those superior values in your personal demeanour and your humble and respectful way with people;

3. Your courage and capacity to leave people with a sense of upliftment and encouragement to break down injustices 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 Dlamini Rektor
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.
Jubilation!

WHEN Nhlanhla 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 increas- ingly festive as cultural items were performed on stage.

As the time for Mandela to arive 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 roar 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 intrepid climbed the giant light towers for a bird's-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 multimillionaire 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 expect 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-toyi crowds. Rush-hour traffic was brought to a halt on roads leading to Soweto.

In the city centre, taxis filled with ANC supporters honked madly as they drove through home-bound commuters.
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, banned political activities 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 a loyal and disciplined member of the organisation. It is the organisation that will determine what role we should play.

"It is my intention to go to Lusaka at the earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role I should play."

— Bishopscourt, February 12

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 is 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 feedback 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 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 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
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 statesmanship.

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!
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.


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
Ecstacy and agony!

ECSTACY: 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.

Lekota said many of the current rulers had been "educated in different circumstances" and they had a "kind of sensitivy which made it possible for the democratic movement to exert pressure on them and get a response." (H/A)

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.
— Nelson Mandela, in a message from prison in 1984

Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return.
State's 'Christian' claims 'blasphemous'

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 heartbreakingly 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 have opened the beaches for themselves.

We don't want "reforms" but the destruction of apartheid, which cannot be reformed.

People mustn'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 will move 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, and restrictions on our comrades and organisations, and the state of emergency. If we 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 the pursuit of our freedom 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 grain of apartheid and set up our people's organs, from schools to offices. We must set up street committees, some committees and regional committees so that we can govern our own things.

Come down to earth to help us destroy apartheid, but he gave each of us brains to think, 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 MOTLORI, RAMATHUTI

Newlands ban shocks

IT shocked me to read in your February 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 cricketeers who drink alcohol and smoke dagga during breaks, sometimes in front of children. This practice has become a sickness among our present-day spectators.

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 1980.

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
THE STARS WILL SHINE BRIGHTER TONIGHT . . .

TOMORROW, A BRILLIANT FUTURE BECKONS.
ANC plan for Mandela to visit Sweden

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.
Mandela: Peaceful settlement possible

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 principles of one-person-one-vote.

"We are determined to negotiate on the basis of this demand, but at the same time we are conscious of the concerns 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."

"As soon as 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 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.

"Compromise 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
One person one vote ‘will not be a precondition to talks’

By PAT CANDIDO

The Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH — The recent speeches of President F.W. 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 black 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.

“Were living in an age where unity after nation has come to the realization that democracy, difficult as it sometimes appears to be, is the only available means whereby people can protect themselves and on the basis of which understanding and cooperation can be built.

“A tempering with democracy and its basic tenets is equal to a fresh victory over 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 of black and white South Africans desire for the future.

“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.

“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 in London 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 said he was convinced he would have done the same had he been a leader who was not only making promises, but who did not

…”

He added that he had 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, which was also 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-page special section on Mr. Nelson Mandela published last week, is published last week, is published at the counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George’s Street, Cape Town, at 60c per special section.
TEMPORARY RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Dutton trial told of R55-m duplicate deal

By Ann Louw, East Rand Bureau

An auditor told a Germiston magistrate yesterday that Interlink Limited made a duplicate payment of R5.5 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 (38), former manager-director of Interlink.

Mr Verster said Lignesu, a Germiston-based company, bought a plant from Spain, 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 R3.5 million.

Mr Verster said the parties made to Partic by Ed Dutton Holdings, Interlink and a firm referred to as HAMM totalled about R61 million.

The money was remitted via First National Bank in South Africa to Partic between June 1997 and December 1998. The court heard that no payment was made by Partic to the supplier.

Under cross-examination Mr Venter admitted he had not been able to scrutinize Partic’s books.

He said when he went to Britain to continue his investigation he discovered that both Partic and Lignesu had been liquidated. The hearing continues.

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 batches of political prisoners to be released from the island since the State President announced the release of political prisoners last week.

The six, some of whose relatives are in Cape Town to visit them, said that they were not aware that they would be released, and that the ANC did not get to know of the moves until last night.

Mr Norman Yengeni, Mr Mqabane, Mr Mlambo, Mr Mahou Mnsaleli, Mrs Mary Mnguni, Mr Bushe Maape and Mr Ncumu (from left) met last Saturday night with ANC members before being whisked to Cape Town.

The men attend a meeting with President de Klerk yesterday and were told that their release was not a “look-see” exercise, and that they were released because their release would send a message to the rest of the ANC.

Mr Yengeni, the ANC’s highest-ranking political prisoner, said that he had been in solitary confinement for 13 years and that he would explore his release next month.

The ANC’s political prisoners said that they would continue to work towards the ultimate goal of South Africa.

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Language of Inequality as
Reclaim Africa's Voice

Special Essay: The American plank

Language of Inequality as
Reclaim Africa's Voice
Toyi-toying 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 Kwanashu 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.

“Amadla 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 Masiyise 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, an 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 amaqahane, 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 “toyi-toyi”, 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.”
Govt installations are still 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 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.
Govt can play role in talks’

Current rulers 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 power because there is a potential of getting them as partners in solving the problems of the country,” he said.

“We are not making unreasonable and reckless demands. We are very sensitive 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 who fled 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) at 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.
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 Ntlokvana wanted to visit a friend, Mr H Hlopo who is serving a sentence on the island on terrorism charges, but a prison warder 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 Ntlokvana said he told the warder that the State President had unbanned the ANC but was told the ANC was still banned on the island.

Mr Ntlokvana then borrowed a jacket and covered his T-shirt but the warder 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 warder". The inconvenience was regretted.

Arrangements were made for the visit to take place yesterday, the Prison Services said. — Sapa
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 eying 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 Áxiz Loonat said about 200 000 people passed through the stadium gates at Tuesday’s welcome home rally for the ANC leader. The ground’s normal capacity is 36 000.

“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 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

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".
Mandela planning trip to Lusaka

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela plans to go to Lusaka "as soon as possible" and has had discussions with the Minister of Justice, Mr Ko- bie 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 Natho Motlana, and Dr Mamphie Ramphela had been appointed as her hus-

band's physicians "as from to-

day."

Mrs Mandela dismissed speculation that Mr Mandela has a heart problem.

Dr Motlana checks Mr Man-

dela's blood pressure daily.

"Yesterday's reading was as normal as that of a young man. Even Dr Motlana was sur-

prised by it."

● Sapa reports that the Afri-

can National Congress is so committed to the pardon of po-

litical offenders and to the abo-

lition 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 meet-

ing of the organisation's su-

preme decision-making body, the National Executive Com-

mittee.

The NEC is meeting to for-

mulate a response to President De Klerk's negotiation initia-

tives, and decide on the ANC's strategy now that it is un-

banned, and Mr Nelson Man-

dela is free.

In discussions with officials last night it became apparent the ANC was committed to the abo-

lition of the death sentence, and that it was unlikely to compromise on the issue of po-

litical 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.
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 largely 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.
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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LA FONDA de Pedro

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.
ELSON, dressed in a khaki uniform that had replaced his tailored suit, slipped into the border between Bechuanaland (later Botswana) without a passport in January 1962.

In a brief, among other assignments, was to lead the NC delegation to the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAMFECA) Conference in Addis Ababa.

Before leaving Johannesburg, he had waited at an address in the compound for Dumka Nokwe and Walter Sisulu to bring the latter's letter appointing him chairman of the ANC delegation. But when both Dumka and Walter arrived on the way, he went on without telling them.

He felt a sense of ease and belonging—liberated Africa that he had never known. Yes, he was an exile, but it was not the same, he thought, as being a homecoming from home.

Africa, beyond the southernmost tip of the continent, had a vast space and a deep history. He flew through her space and bugged her core. He rode on her back. And she, as ever, was overshadowed by the vastness of her population, her history, её отдаленность от суеты мира, и в то же время её близкость.

Tanganyika, as he moved northwards, to Tanganyika, where Oliver invited him. He arrived in Dar es Salaam, only to find that Oliver had moved on, leaving instructions with Frene Gwawo to meet him. Nelson knew Frene as a person who had been passionately committed to South Africa because of her political philosophy. She was close to Julius Nyerere, calling paper. Frene went on to meet Nelson to stay with a close friend who was also a Cabinet Minister.

He was impressed by the lands of Kilimanjaro and Lake Nyasa into remote sources, but rich in spirit and ideas. He met Julius Nyerere and his closest friends in the ANC leadership. Nelson joined them in his home, a modest bungalow occupied once by a Britishwoman, and he gave them all the attention they required.

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 Britishwoman, and he gave them all the attention they required.

This was Nelson's first visit to Africa, his first visit to the continent as the leader of the African National Congress. He arrived in a small car, not unattended by guards and without any fanfare.

They spent hours discussing the reconstruction of African society and were thrilled to see how clearly their perceptions of African forms matched each other's.

As far back as 1946, the Youth League had declared that Africa was naturally socialist—such as illustrated in the social practices and customs—and that the achievement of national liberation in South Africa would usher in the era of African socialism.

Nyerere identified socialism as a unison along with Africans and socialism and democracy.

The ANC and PAC delegates arrived in Addis Ababa for the PAMFECA Conference in February 1962. The capital put out its red carpet and Ethiopian dignitaries welcomed them.

Nelson was charmed by the people, aquiline-nosed, large-eyed, stoic-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.

Nelson and his comrades met this defeat 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 Italians.

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 sympathizers were for the South African liberation struggle and he pledged his wholehearted support. Nelson was in hisStudies at the conference. It was the sort of atmosphere he had been through, the charm of ideas, the cut and thrust of argument, the air of the old and the new of thought.

There was nothing outside the conference chamber. Foreign ambassadors were very interested in the ANC, and in particular in Mandela, on the whole publicly given the latest events in South Africa. Nelson met Joe Slovo who sat up a meeting with Tass. The Tass correspondent wanted the ANC to align itself with Russia in the Cold War. Nelson ardently avoided commissioning his organisation to any support, 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 and was not too happy about the PAC cause. It seemed to Nelson that he was more concerned to support the weaker, minority group. But his PAC protected him, as it had always been. This embarrassed and pained Nelson and he took special care of Scott.

The Committee objected to the presence of a contingent of North Africa, led by a Djiaia, 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.

peculiarly in the face of the fierce war the Algerians were waging against the French.

Besides, he emphasised, PAMFMECA was an affiliate of the All Africa 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. Diabo was ill during the last conference and I had to sit last three hours. He is well today, he will speak for three hours." A delegate said to all-round laughter: "Mr. Diabo was ill during the last conference and his speech lasted three hours. He is well today, he will speak for three hours."

Nelson rejoined that it was unreasonable to allow them a voice. Olivier, who had been following Nelson's vigorous championing of the North African case with some apprehension, passed him a lacoon note, "Shut up!" Nelson complied.

Then on the first day of the conference, the North Africans, and the ANC gained firm friends in Dr Galli, Vice-President of the Pan-African National Assembly, and Captain Abdul Al-Azam of the African 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 depression of these European powers that continued to dominates 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 leaders, representatives of leading liberation movements followed. The target of attack was European colonialism. There was an impatience for action, and when the conference was a confession of words, there was constant urging that the words be translated into deeds.

K Mpho, Secretary General of the Blacklanded Peoples' Party, argued: "The Franchise, during our brothers and sisters in Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola, the Belgians in the Congo, the Boers in the Republic of Verowood, last but not least, the English in the Rhodesia."

Sheik Mohamed Farah of Somalia declared: "Although the Somali Re- public is free from colonial rule, I personally will not feel that we have achieved anything until every part of Africa is liberated. How can I feel free and my conscience be at peace as 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 Africans in South Africa. They heard that the "mussendi" did not even have access to the law courts, that any policeman or agri- culturist could beat up a man to death and there was no appeal against such sentences.

Kenneth Kaunda of 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 Molotoli of the PAC waxed poetic about the three "clouds on the horizon, with the war drums taken on a striller note every day and every hour - we were going to dance to the music of beauty and to recapture the glory that was Africa."

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 to antiquity and throw light on the African civilization which flourished in the territories that are now Tanganyika and Kenya and whose traces exist in the Khoe and Mozambique and the Transvaal."

Nelson got up to deliver his address and, for the first time since leaving South Africa, dropped the profound and magnificent and publicly announced himself, South Africa immediately knew the whereabouts of the Black Pimpens. He was speaking on behalf of the ANC and he made a powerful and eloquent statement: "We are the African people, we are made up of the African people, and during which 95 people were arrested simply because they refused to move from a piece of land on which their land."

Almost every African family remembers a similar massacre of our African brothers in South West Africa when the South African Government assembled aeroplanes, hunted with guns, and killed 13 people, and

SOUTH, February 15 to 21 1990

At an Algerian military camp, 1962

He pointed to the "murderous", killing in Sharpeville in 1960 an attack on the ANC by a detachment of 20 000 police without trial. The 2 500 000 people of the Transkei, he told Conference, were under martial law. He went on:

The Government stubbornly refused to publish the names and number of people detained. But it is estimated that close on 1 000 Africans are presently languishing in jail in this area alone.

Among these are to found teachers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, workers from the towns, peasants from the country and other freedom fighters.

In this same area and the last six months more than 5 000 Africans have been sentenced to death by White judicial officials, and auctioning their of freedom arising out of political aspirations.

He told the Conference of the rebuffs against the pass laws, the pass tax and the government-appointed tribal authorities in Zees and Skaap River.

"Instead of meeting the legitimate political aspirations of the African 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 com- pletely outlawed both the African National Congress and the Pan- African Congress."
The centre and cornerstone of African liberation is the African liberation army. Africa lies inside South Africa's own world. From there to the borders, and to the South Africans themselves, liberation is the great task of the African liberation army. It is the task of the African liberation forces, and is the task of the people of South Africa to struggle for the liberation of South Africa. This is the task of the African liberation army. It is the task of the people of South Africa to struggle for the liberation of South Africa. This is the task of the African liberation forces. It is the task of the people of South Africa to struggle for the liberation of South Africa. This is the task of the African liberation army. It is the task of the people of South Africa to struggle for the liberation of South Africa. This is the task of the African liberation forces.

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Prisoners

FROM PAGE 30

Nelson remembered Vice-President Vuyisile Qunu. "The President's own words were used against him..." he said. "I told him that I was one of the prisoners who had been in solitary confinement. I asked him what he would do if he were in my position. He said he would do what he could. I told him that I was not asking for anything. I was just trying to make him understand that we were not just common criminals. We were human beings, with families, with children."

Qunu looked at Nelson for a long time. "If you are a human being," he said, "then you have the right to be treated as such. You have the right to be heard. You have the right to be treated with respect." He paused for a moment, then added, "The President's office has been listening to the complaints of the prisoners. They have been told that they will be taken care of."

Nelson thanked the President and left his office feeling a little better. He knew that there were still many obstacles to overcome, but he felt that he had made a step forward.

The next day, Nelson received a letter from his wife. "I hope you are doing well," she wrote. "I miss you so much." Nelson replied, "I miss you too. I will be home soon."

THE MANDELA STORY

"I was away from home for a long time," Nelson said. "I had to leave my children behind. I knew it was the right thing to do, but it was hard."

"I was in solitary confinement," he continued. "I was in a cell by myself, with no one to talk to. I felt like I was alone in the world."

"But I didn't give up," he said. "I kept working, I kept trying. I knew that I had to keep fighting. I had to keep believing that things would get better."

Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990. He became the first black President of South Africa in 1994. He worked hard to heal the country and bring people together. He was a true hero, and his legacy will live on forever.
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 Xhosa? Why do you discriminate against us? (Most prisoners in the Western Cape are coloured and most African workers. The incident was, of course, more complicated.)" I asked. "You have not been Xhosa. You can't accuse me of discrimina-
tion. Not! Not! 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: Gowan, Mkheli, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Man-
dela (told me one comedian). Mandela helps everyone. He does not discriminate against a man because he is a PAC or an anti-Apartheid activist. He is a man, and has problems, just like the rest of us. He is a man, and has problems, just like the rest of us."

"Faced with the problem, you go and talk to him, per-
sonal, a man is human, a man is a man, and, once you have
found him, the rest is easy."

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 con-
ducted in a more appropriate atmosphere."

Strini Moodley was one of the first members of the South African Student Orga-

nisation (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, menacing. 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 for-
ward to meeting our leaders, who were our legendary heroes. That was the one bonus of our long-term confinement. But we didn't see them, immediately. We were put in "C" Section and locked up in single cells. Our only view of the ROW was the dim figures we made out as we looked out of our cell win-
dows, across the passage, and through the high cell windows of the opposite cells into our yard in "B" Section. We could not distinguish

"Our section had not been used for a while and the weekly cleaning was not done. Some cells were small, about three feet each way. There were two high windows and one door; one was on the cement floor for 10 or 15 people. One pod was a puddle of water beneath. There was a hole in the floor for the toilet, and one cell was a narrow walled-in cubicle with six square meters."

"Our only treatment was the cells and the food. We were treated like animals, and the food was terrible."

"On the day before Christmas, Kathy (Adele Kahn) and Frank Anthony of the Non-European Unity Movement visited us. They brought us sweets and tobacco from their committee, Umlazi. We were very excited to see Kathy. He asked me to see him. He told me 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 bars between our cells. We could leave messages there. We had a way of passing messages under the mattress.

"We were moved later to Section "D", which was a communal block, and we talked. Like all the communal blocks, it had a number of advantages. The toilets and showers were built inside the block so that we had con-
inuous access to them and more im-
portant, we had each other's compa-
nity. At night we discussed, planned activities or attended to our reading

and our studies when these were al-
lowed 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 the garden. They worked on the railway and generally kept the island clean.

"There were two forms of hard labour that were particularly grim on Robben Island, collecting bird droppings and live quarrying. The bird droppings made us dirty and stinky that we could hardly accept our own bodies at the end of the day."

"At the quarry, the sun shone on the white lime and blinded our eyes. We could barely see, and we feared that we would strike 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's pockets. We were told 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 rein-
forcement 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 sank 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 bato-
ner-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 slapped us in recognition of our courage and support. We went on hunger strike, they joined in. Eventually the Red Cross intervened and the hunger strike was called off."

"Our case went on trial. A magician was brought in from the main-
land because we had insisted on the recusal 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
PAGE 18

1. “Your Government will where you have been. You will have your flashlights and your personal assistants to see you through.”

2. “We are very far from you, but if your people come, we are going to feed them.”

3. “But Nelson decided that he did not have to explain anything to him.”

4. “If we have any assistance they could give the ANC.”

5. “Lamont kept the secret of Nelson’s ownership of the boat until he was told by the authorities that there was enough evidence to prove that the boat was a cover for the ANC.”

6. “I was given a very prominent seat in the House, right in line with the Speaker and the President. I was pleased to be there.”

7. “I am David Motsumi; I corrected, but he waived his correction and I assured him that I had a distinguished visitor, Chief Albert Luthuli.”

8. “I was on the football field to protest. They were intent on having the Nobel Peace Prize winner and I had to get something out to the people.”

9. “He had been asked by Mr. Pieter Willem Rutten, a local man, to look up his sister, who was in the hotel. But when he followed the breakdown of her marriage, Lindi Pilloto was a "home girl" and a "honorary chief" in the community. She had qualified at Welwitschium, Durban, and had become a businesswoman from Sierro Leone.”

10. “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 glass ceiling.”

11. “Peter operated the television in the hotel, and when they visited the office the next day.”

12. “Peter ostentatiously handed a pile of money to a woman who was standing with him.”

13. “Postiche and be very careful about it. They are going to all the leaders in the African community and bring back the signs.”

14. “Peter was curious to know exactly where Nelson was in Accra and he was convinced there was a hidden agenda. He discussed this with Mihlame Njane, a sociologist who had resigned his post at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and joined the ANC.”

15. “Nelson had been the 5,000 pounds he requested for the ANC and was able to get the money.”

16. “I was told of the possibility of getting an apartment in Accra and I was pleased.”

17. “I was very pleased that my son was going to join me in Accra.”

18. “The President gave him a side, a beautiful young French woman. They served at the official dinner at the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Dauboscru, his secretary, a young black woman, asked the aide who had been sent by the President to interpret for Mr. Matsumi, and he asked the aide to interpret for him. "No, I have been sent to the President to interpret for Mr. Matsumi," the aide said. "You may speak directly to the President in his own language. "So, may we go in?" he suggested.”

19. “Minister Dauboscru spoke English fluently. You are not needed. We can speak directly."
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 meekly 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, Dumka Nkosi, JB Marks, Govan Mbeki, Dan Thoolsen and other friends. He had brought new experts into the struggle and glowing with a remarkable energy that infected his colleagues.

In June 1962 the newspapers headlined "The Return of the Black Peiper" 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, a police patrol arrives.

They ask me where my husband is and search the whole house. Sometimes they joke and at other times they say aggressively which frightens the children.

"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, bared her teeth and demanded a warrant. They pushed her aside and searched the house.

The neighbours gathered outside, angry at the intrusion but helpless against it. Some youth, not sharing their helplessness, and unhallucinated by the drugs of revolution, set it alight. The house exploded just as Winnie arrived. The police rushed outside, red-faced in hand, ready in fire. The crowd melted away. They confronted Winnie and questioned her about the explosion. She scoffed bravely, happy when she saw him.

"We saw him at different places. Mam Winnie took us to see him. One time I went to stay with him at Lilies farm.

"There was a big house which was the main house and there were outbuildings. Tatas was staying in one of the outbuildings. The white people were staying in the big house. Mam Winnie stayed one night and left. I stayed for a week, or it may have been two weeks.

"Tatas and I swam in the pool and we went for long walks. He taught me to shoot with a rifle and bought me a paintball gun. He used to cook for me. They was not with us. I don't know why we were 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 near...
WORDs

close to Mum Winnie then.
I 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 become sunken, and she was happy 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 dispirited as a chauffeur, carrying a pass that gave his name as David Motsumi, 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 in 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 reunion. The police were still 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 Nash Sunday sipping each other’s company and tranquility 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 to the back of said car and hide in the rear under seat.

“I was well trained in such matters. I had been one of the few superiors who was party to that. I would use my knowledge of such situations. I knew there was a back seat, which Nelson was undoubtedly sitting in at the back. I thought of

three decades of separation

THE MANDELA STORY

“I do not know to this day what eventually happened to them. Perhaps Cecil Williams found them. Perhaps they didn’t.

I was 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 Motsumi. 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 embargoes on the side was tantalising, but I was not sufficiently familiar with the terrain to take a chance. The debate never 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 realized 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 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: “Hallo, Mr Mandela,” and asked, “Why do you keep up this farce?” I replied cooly: “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 Pietersonburg 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 was signed himself to restoration for several years, cut off from Umkhonto activity during its most sensitive, formative period.

He suffered a bout of recriminations that he should be 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 police talk with the police, who were being friendly. They were twice on the way, at Ladysmith and at Vleikrust; 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 asked out to Walter. It was the first both men knew of each other’s arrest.

The newspaper headlined the capture of the Black Impumelwa. Winnie was at work where somebody showed her the paper.

She read the headlines: Police Sweep Ends Two Years on the Run,” and, under that, “Nelson Mandela is under arrest”.

She wept, but the friend caught hold of her and 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 up without their father, and Nelson would still remain in prison.

Mandela in the legal office he shared with Oliver Tambo. His life was always full of activity.
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 hanging into prison uniforms of coarse shirts and shorts.

They spent the early night in single cells, then at about midnight the Colored Auckland Loop told Nelson that they were being transferred to Robben Island. At the crack of dawn they were loaded into closed trucks and driven to the military airport. Fanacled together in pairs, they all against each other as they struggled to get on the aircraft.

After several hours, the familiar smell of the Cape mountains from time to time was evident. They looked in the military strip, were driven to the rocks and ferried across to Robben Island.

The first man to be imprisoned on Robben Island was one of the Khosai, men of men, Ateuthum, who had sworn to die for Jan Van Riebeeck’s up in 1652 as the contingent of tea vessels that had dropped anchor in Cape Town.

Ateuthum, whom Van Riebeeck called Herrie (Harry), had offered his life as an example, and guide to the first Dutch East India Community at the Cape, but he and his people were not ready to be led by a white man. He sought to disperse them of his dream of freedom and of their love for their labour. So he fought a guerrilla war with the whites. Van Riebeeck had inspired the Robben Islanders and was managed to escape in a little ship called by an official.

And so Ateuthum, who had a reputation of being so brave that he would have been equally at home in a world could match its security, killed Nelson nor his colleagues, but he had that they were in prison air live — perhaps the Prime Minister of the world, but certainly not in the air.

Rivonia trial of Ahmed Kathrada

Twice, he was tried for personal communication, and hungered for little titbits about births and marriages, schools, games, politics, film shows, theatre, books, flowers, travels, rain, new, social problems, changing attitudes.

In the eighteenth prison world these seemingly little things become immensely important. Ahmed Kathrada writes in his book in 1982:

"I think it was in 1971 or thereabouts that you, Shamim and Rushid came to Cape Town with your missionary. We wrote and told you how you all went up to Table Mountain and looked at Robben Island through the telescope. And how their little hearts were cut out to you, you 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 it a portion of the letter. And we spent a lot of time speculating what information could have been cut out."

"Let me tell you a book I read many years ago. I think it was called Mission to Murder. Somewhere the author describes her prison experiences. She went in, in five minutes and the hours that are the most precious to reading books are the most precious to her in prison."

A child, and children's voices, that I missed most," said Neville Alexander.

Ahmed Kathrada described gobbled up the ones of letters from home, wanting more, like Oliver Twist, he yearned for personal communication, and hungered for little titbits about births and marriages, schools, games, politics, film shows, theatre, books, flowers, travels, rain, new, social problems, changing attitudes.

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THE MANDELA STORY

In his cell each Robben Islander punched out the years. All except the Rivonia group, Wilson Mkwey, Jeff Masemola and a few other PAC members, knew how they would be released. The destiny of the Rivonia group depended on the changing political climate.

"A child, and children's voices, that I missed most," said Neville Alexander.

Ahmed Kathrada described gobbled up the ones of letters from home, wanting more, like Oliver Twist.
FROM PAGE 32

We received constant support and advice from the Rivonia men and especially from Nelson.

“Later, Saths, Aubrey and I were moved to 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-Sharpville political activity and understand the Black Consciousness movement first-hand.

“Tjie also 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. Nelson did not argue against that.”

“His tolerance of the range of attitudes that prevailed among us was remarkable. I found him more inter- ested in differing points of view than most of the others. I remember a film that was shown to us, deliberately chosen, I suspect, to impress us with the righteousness of our position. 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 laws outrageous- ly, and eventually horrified the biker clubs they racketed 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 symbolized the revolutionary youth of the 70s, Con-Bendit and his generation, and that the film concealed the utilitarian violence, but condemned anti- system violence. There was a furore against me. I was accused of supporting a bunch of rapists and the 70s unseemly 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.’

“We suggested he should be asked to prepare a paper on the subject. I prepared the paper and there was great interest and an emotional 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 dominos. 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 risque at times, he didn’t withdraw. He remained with us.

“One particular incident stands out in my mind. We had grouped ours- elves into sports teams in our section to introduce some healthy com- petition. We would choose a competitor from among us so to round up the day’s happenings. On this partic- ular occasion, I was the comment- ator 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 Siholhe gives an account of his life on Robben Island in the 80s. By then physical conditions had im- proved 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, Mhlaela 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 Gunya, 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 pre- pared their appeal and succeeded.

“Gunya had declined to be repre- sented, 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 in- fluence and it is as a result of the rules they laid down that political prisoners concentrate on studying, writing and passing exams. The prison authorities respected the Rivonia men because they feared them. They also respected the au- thority of other leaders, but not the way they did that of the ANC lead- ers. 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.”

Mbeki Sisulu Mhlaela

Kathrada Motsoaledi Mlangeni

But, says Siholhe, they also feared the leadership and therefore separat- ed it from the rest of the prisoners in Block B:

“The administration buildings over- look Block B and it is under con- stant 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 li- brary 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 Afrikaners, 30 PAC and about 20 Namlamistas.

“We got on well with each other and to some extent learnt to be more tolerant of our ideological differ- ences. The ANC people were at times accused of arrogance and they tried to bring us down a peg or two by intimating that if there were so many of us in prison, it was because we had made so many ideas. We, of course, pointed out that we were so many in prison because we were so many outside prison.

“Each political organisation had its

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Conditions improve

FROM PAGE 32

One approach to the prison authorities. The Namibians saw themselves as in a foreign country, the PNC 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 resolve.

“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 struggle. The ANC approach was to observe regulations, utilise the amenities and concentrate on strengthening our resolve.”

"Life inside the prison is highly organised and the organisation is on par with society. Firstly, there is the official bureaucracy, then the general committee set up by the prisoners to utilise the sports and library facilities, and then there are the cell committees of the political organisation to maintain organisational discipline, to share the masses that come from outside and to decide how these should be spent.

"Prison discipline depends on the last committee, and the discipline of the prisoners is to decide. I allow 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 prison authorities. If we had problems among each other that we could not resolve, we took them to the prison authorities.

"The conditions have improved considerably on Robben Island, especially since the mid-1980s. Prisoners get to piped water today, have running water and showers in the cells. I have access to radio and TV, and many subscribe to newspapers and periodicals. We are also taught a trade. None of these amenities were available in the 1960s and 1970s. We could only watch television in 1986 and the radio at five years' expiry.

"When the Rivonia trialists were imprisoned, conditions were very different. The prisoners were kept on the floor; their uniforms were very different and the conditions were worse. They were locked into their cells with sanitary buckets and a mattress. They had no access to reading material, or the radio, or a television. They were not to 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 bricklaying. Hard labour involves going out to the farm. It was very difficult for prisoners, of course, to get grades A to D.

"The conditions have improved considerably, and there is no longer any privilege. It could take a prisoner more than a decade to get promoted to the A grade, which allows you to smoke, eat and drink. I was there for 18 years, and I was not allowed to smoke or drink. I was there for 18 years, and I was not allowed to smoke or drink.

"In fact, the prison bureaucracy made sure that many visits per person, and prisoners' families cannot afford the visits because of the distance and the cost. The International Red Cross gives each family 12 tickets a year.

But as Nelson says today: "It was a good and bitter struggle to humanise the prison and improve conditions so that political prisoners could live with some semblance of dignity."

Penal reform is today high on the list of priorities that Nelson would like to get down to, if the opportunity arises.

In June 1967 Nelson had his third visit from Winnie. They met for half an hour. She brought him news of Thami, 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 the 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.

People all over the world demanded Mandela's release. 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 botany. He read whatever he could find on the subject in the prison library. The privilege to study, to enrol on a correspondence course, to order and receive books, write assignments and have them marked, to study up grades, courses, degrees, to share each other's academic achievements - these became the summation.

In 1978 Nelson wrote to Zindzi: "On some days the weather on the island is quite beautiful. In fact, beyond words, as Aunty Fatuma 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 farther than the naked eye could actually see. I could survey vast regions behind the long mountain range which I have no idea how I would have seen them.

"Later, I walked out into the courtyard yard and the few living things there the seagulls, sparrows, the plants small trees and even grass blades were gay and full of life. Everything was caught up in the beauty, the day, I looked into the vast distance of blue emptiness that stretched out above me in all directions and the illusion was still there, the size, the speed and what information they were sending to mother earth." March 1978.

Nelson Mandela
The struggle

索南南
"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.
YDOLIVE OAKES

N a summer's day in 1930, a barefooted boy "resed in shabby khaki" strolling down the dusty gravel main road in the town of Transkei, South Africa. His name was Rolihlahla, also known as Mandela. He was 10 years old and he was miserable.

It was a summer's day in 1930, and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, a young boy, was walking down the dusty gravel main road in the town of Transkei, South Africa. His name was Rolihlahla, also known as Mandela. He was 10 years old and he was miserable.

Mandela's father, a minor Tembu chief, had died. Mandela was left to care for his younger siblings. He was responsible for all the work on the small farm where they lived. Mandela soon realized that the only way to survive was to go to school and learn to read and write.

In the summer of 1930, Mandela started attending a local primary school. He was one of the few students in his class who could read and write. Mandela's teachers were impressed by his intelligence and his love of learning.

Mandela decided to become a lawyer. He knew that this was the only way he could help his people. He studied hard and passed his exams with flying colors.

In 1936, Mandela graduated from the School of Law in Cape Town. He then went on to study at the University of Witwatersrand, where he earned a law degree.

Mandela became a member of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1943. He was one of the founding members of the ANC's Youth League, which was established to fight against the British colonial government's oppressive policies.

Mandela was arrested in 1956 and spent the next 18 years in prison. During this time, he continued to fight for the rights of the African people.

In 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison and became the first black president of South Africa. He served as president from 1994 to 1999.

Mandela's legacy continues to inspire people around the world.

END OF PAGE
FROM PAGE 36

"elition" and "for giving way in the face of oppression".

In April of that year, the CYL held its inaugural conference and elected Anton Lembeda as its first president. With the CYL's influence growing, it attracted members from all over Africa, including those aged 12 and 40, and, not too long after, the age of 17 automatically becoming members of the ANC, the CYL was in a strong position to take over the ANC.

Lembeda's death in 1947 opened up the way for a significant CYL policy change, from a position of seeking cooperation with other Africans to examining possible alliances with other groups. By the time Mandela 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. For reaching, it was a point of boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience as a means of "destroying" all differences.

The "Old Guard" objected vehemently to the proposals. For a year the ANC was virtually paralyzed by the bitter infighting between the wing factions of the organization.

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, in turn, he would agree to persuade the ANC to cooperate the CYL's Programme of Action. Xuma, however, refused to cooperate and retained the CYL's opposition to the ANC's policies.

In May 1950, following a meeting in Bloemfontein, a new policy of the CYL was adopted, which was known as the "Methodist" policy. The policy was designed to be an alternative to the ANC's "Programme of Action".

In January 1952, shortly after per-

suing the national executive of the ANC to accept the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mandela lifted up the flag of South Africa to raise financial support for an armed struggle against the white government. He also at-

tended a conference in Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania in February 1952. The conference was attended by representatives from various African countries, including South Africa, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and South Africa. The conference was held in order to discuss the situation in South Africa and the possibility of forming a united front against the white government.

In March 1952, the ANC was banned and Mandela was arrested and taken to prison. He was charged with treason and other offenses and was 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 ROLIHLALA MANDELA
SOWETO — Mr Nelson Mandela says he earned the respect of his jailors 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 1968.

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 Jr and Mahatma Gandhi "very rewarding." — AP.
by Craig Kotze

Operation Hunger hopes to help a massive relief operation for refugees who have fled their homes in Natal.

A massive relief operation for refugees who have fled their homes in Natal was announced yesterday by Operation Hunger. The operation aims to help those affected by the violence in the province.

According to a statement released by Operation Hunger, the relief efforts will be focused on providing basic necessities such as food, water, and shelter to those affected by the violence.

The organization has partnered with local community groups to carry out the relief efforts. A team of volunteers will be deployed to the affected areas to assess the situation and distribute aid.

Operation Hunger is calling on the public to support the relief efforts by donating money or other物资. The organization has set up a bank account for donations and is also accepting food and clothing donations.

The violence in Natal has left many families homeless and without access to basic necessities. Operation Hunger is determined to provide relief to those in need and ensure that their basic needs are met.

The organization is working closely with local authorities and community leaders to ensure that the relief efforts are carried out effectively.

Operation Hunger is committed to providing aid to those affected by the violence in Natal and is calling on the public to support its efforts.

By Craig Kotze
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 FW 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.*

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

By DAVID BRAUN
Sowetan Foreign Service

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 questioned 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 any 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.

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.

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.
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 Mxu, Mr Mohau Moledi and Mr Nelson Gqobeka, 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

White South Africans who were expecting more from Nelson Mandela's statement 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 secular 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 an unofficial authority within the organisation is not doubt ed, 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 for Stakes President, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, "a man of integrity who had the force of any of his predecessors to try to normalise the situation in South Africa." He expressed 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 looking at what he described as "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 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, secretary-general Mr. Alfred Xuma 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, that there was an urgent need to try.

"The organisation's corporate attitude is that there cannot be a collateral ceasefire if claims are made in 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 freeze prematurely, before the process of reform has run its proper course.

They feel this could be happening already, which is why they stress the urgency of every opportunity that, a statute of limitations contained in last August's Lusaka Declaration remains to be met.

Therein lies the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the abolition of all political trials and execution, 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 on its own consciences without fear of its domesticities being banned under the state of emergency, while the ANC must continue to have some of its leaders in and 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.

Furthur 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 at the press conference that 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 by the bully's game.
Settlement possible by 1994 — Mandela

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 Robinson 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 Saps-Reuters.

Asked if guerrillas would include targets like shopping centres in the ANC campaign against white rule, he told Robinson: "We are concerned with government installations.

White civilians would not be deliberately attacked but could be caught in crossfire.

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 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 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 get under way

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.